

# **CARRY FORWARD THE BANNER OF COMMUNISM**

**Provash Ghosh**

Comrades,

We all know with what a noble and revolutionary object and by conducting what an arduous, difficult and tortuous struggle with firm determination and strong commitment to the revolutionary ideology and the oppressed people of India and the world, our leader, teacher, guide and a great Marxist thinker of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh founded this party in 1948 and in the process elaborated, concretized, developed and further enriched Marxism-Leninism. Till his death in 1976 he had led, developed and guided this party. Then Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, a life-long revolutionary, the closest compatriot of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, took up the responsibility of leading the party and under his leadership the party grew further. We also know history has bestowed upon our party a great responsibility at this critical hour of human civilization.

The responsibility assigned to me, I know, is not an individual responsibility, but a collective one. On the basis of collective guidance, advice and cooperation of the members of the polit bureau and central committee, of all the comrades here and outside, and the class conscious proletariat of our country, I have to perform this responsibility. I can assure you I shall continue, intensify and heighten my struggle to acquire the required standard with all of your cooperation and guidance.

Comrades, we all see that world imperialism-capitalism is continuing to be in a dying condition. In fact it is writhing in the grip of the ever deepening, ever widening, ever lasting crisis. Whatever measures the capitalists-imperialists take to come out of the crisis, those are creating more problems for them as was observed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh long ago. He said “So, it is giving birth to crises, one after another. One measure is taken by the bourgeoisie to come out from, to get out of the impasse of a crisis only to re-enter into a much graver crisis.” Since the days when capitalism reached the stage of moribund capitalism, that is imperialism, the rulers have taken recourse to colonialism, neo-colonialism, two world wars, many regional and local wars, militarization of the economy, protectionism in trade, so-called free trade and globalisation, outsourcing of business processes, dumping, currency manipulation etc., one after another, but none could solve the basic irreconcilable contradiction and endemic crisis of capitalism-imperialism. Now, the condition of the world capitalism is just like a drowning man struggling to catch a straw. The crisis is now so all-pervading that even if Adam Smith, Ricardo, Keynes to present-day bourgeois economists are brought together to find out solutions, they too are to fail.

Take the example of USA, the chieftain of world capitalism. During the last 3 years, 10 million or one crore workers have been retrenched in USA. More than 40 million people now live there below poverty line. This is only the official report. Its dollar empire is crumbling, self-proclaimed master of the unipolar world is tottering. Similar is the condition in Europe. Most of the European countries are suffering from sovereign debt crisis. Now and then, the imperialist-capitalist leaders are found to be

huddled together to discuss ways to solve the crisis. In front of the camera they shake hands with each other with smiling faces, but each one has his knife up the sleeves, waiting to backstab the other at the opportune moment. Each one strives to snatch other's market. This is going on. Depression of the market is continuing. Occasionally, the rulers try to console themselves and declare that recession is receding. But soon the state of the economy stares at their faces and they are compelled to admit that it is a fragile recovery, anemic recovery. They are afraid to withdraw economic stimulus package or the ventilation supporting a dying patient. Now it is evident that neither the so-called social security nor the consumer credit network could solve the market crisis. Rather measures of economic stimulus, tax reduction of corporates, gradual reduction of social security fund allation, wage freeze, wagecuts, job cuts, excessive defence budget to feed militarization of economy, and the wider network of credit have led to unprecedented sovereign debt crisis, inflation, price rise, unemployment problems resulting in all round recession in all imperialist-capitalist countries. World capitalism is gasping. But we know it will not die automatically. In nature, natural laws operate and accordingly changes occur. But in human society depending upon the contradiction between productive forces and production relation, the laws of development operate differently. There is a role of human consciousness, which sometimes accelerates and sometimes retards the process of development. In class divided societies while productive forces strive to develop, the obtaining production relations work as brake. The necessity appears to change the production relation in order to remove the fetters to development of productive forces. Objective necessity reflected in human mind through the process of interaction is translated in the form of human consciousness, i.e. leaping from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. The question — when the production relation will be changed — depends upon the role of the productive forces, particularly the human aspect of the productive forces i.e. upon the labouring people. So long they are not conscious enough, are not subjectively prepared, capitalism will not die automatically. It will continue to generate crisis after crisis, bringing in its wake untold sufferings to the people in all aspects of life, i.e., economic, politics, culture and ethics. The fallout is not only seen in ever increasing unemployment, retrenchment, inflation and price rise, cultural ethical degeneration but consequent upon the government's economic stimulus to the corporates from public exchequer, there is further attack in the form of tax hike, wage cut; slashing of budget allocation in public service schemes as well as further fascization of political set up trampling down minimum democratic norms and ethically dehumanization of people. You see that the present capitalist crisis has also evoked popular protests in USA, Europe and other countries. In France, Spain, Greece, Britain and other countries, spontaneous waves of workers' and people's movements and strikes are surging forth. These are unprecedented. Here the role of the vanguard is essential. Long back Great Lenin pointed out that trade union movement does not automatically develop into revolutionary movement. Trade Union movement only provides trade union consciousness from within, revolutionary political consciousness is to be brought from without. That is the task of the vanguard. That is the task of the real Marxist party.

But we know the world communist movement today is passing through a very difficult period. In the past also the world communist movement had faced many

serious problems and reverses since the proclamation of the historic Communist Manifesto in 1848. Great Marx had to disband the First Communist International due to the subversive role of the anarchists led by Bakunin. Great Lenin had to dissociate himself from the Second Communist International due to the degeneration and treachery of the social democrats. Later, we know, Lenin founded the Third Communist International after the successful socialist revolution in Russia which established a society without class exploitation for the first time in human history. We know how Great Stalin like a rock defended, protected and developed socialism in Soviet Union, defeated the fascist forces in the Second World War, how under his leadership world communist movement had spread throughout the world and anti-imperialist struggles in the colonial countries got momentum. We also know Comrade Mao Zedong, another great communist leader, made chinese revolution successful through a long and tortuous historic battle. But, it is painful that since the later half of 1950's, modern revisionism led by renegade Krushchev began to surface in the world communist movement. The sway of modern revisionism ultimately led to the counter-revolution in East Europe, Russia and China. As a result, the world communist movement has suffered tremendously from confusions, frustrations, disarray and disintegration. But, here, we the leaders & workers of SUCI (C) though felt serious pain at this development, we did not succumb fall victim to confusion or pessimism, because we were armed with the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He, way back in 1948, could foresee some dangers brewing in the world communist movement and accordingly prepared our mind to face any eventuality. Further, he denounced the formulations of 20th congress and had warned "it will open the floodgate of revisionism". He termed the attack against Stalin as a serious attack on Lenin and Leninism and thereby against socialist system and world communist movement. He provided a profound Marxist analysis of the root causes of this revisionist degeneration and the ideological weapon to fight it. So we, armed with this sharp & developed Marxist-Leninist weapon, could face the situation boldly, and during this adverse period too, our party has advanced and is advancing.

In this connection, it may be recalled that in the history of human progress, every new ideology, every new progressive movement till the final victory, had to pass through the phases of defeat and defeat, then victory and again defeat. Even religious ideals, whose preachers were considered by the believers as God-sent, had to face this. If you take the instance of bourgeois democratic revolution, then beginning from the Renaissance to final victory, it took more than 300 years. We know that from slavery to capitalism, all social changes were merely the change of one type of exploitation by another, yet those took so many years to change from one to another. But the object of socialist revolution was to eliminate exploitation of man by man and abolish private ownership, which was in existence in different forms for thousands of years. Hence objectively socialism, in its 80 years of existence in the 20th century had to battle against hangover of thousand of years of exploitative system. The present setback, therefore, is not something beyond comprehension or unnatural. But we must keep in mind that socialism emerged out of the inexorable laws of social change. None can stop its ultimate victory. By drawing necessary lessons from the present setbacks on the basis of correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, struggle for socialism and world communist movement will revive again with more

strength and vigour as an irresistible tide. It is our historic responsibility to develop revolutionary movement in our country and to help and strengthen revolutionary movements in other countries too. How can we do it? I am not to provide any guideline. Guideline is already provided by our great teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I can only remind you certain points from the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as I have realised them. And I will point out certain lapses on our part too. I cannot go into a detailed discussion as time is very short.

In our youth, when we started our revolutionary work in the early 1950's, Marxism was very popular throughout the world. We were drawn by the current of popular support to the communist cause. But now Marxism is under attack from the schools of idealism, mysticism, sophism and the attack is more virulent than our time. As communists, we have to defeat the attack of all these schools of reactionary thought. And the sharpest weapon in our hands is Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. So, comrades must master Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to remind us again and again that Marxism is more powerful than all the weapons the imperialists-capitalists do have in their arsenal. We have to understand and assimilate it so that we can creatively apply it in practice. Learning Marxism does not mean going only through some books and quoting from the texts. Knowing the three principles of dialectics, theories of contradiction etc. from books are not enough. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh clearly stated that from Marx and Lenin's teachings or their formulations he had taken the kernel, the methodology, not simply their conclusions or analyses of a given situation. He had learnt the Marxist method, the dialectical method, the process of thinking in analyzing a situation, in judging things. From books we learn dialectical principles, i.e., the general laws in abstraction. But, through practice on the basis of theoretical knowledge acquired, one has to know how those laws operate in the real world in a particular way, in a peculiar form at a given situation. Unless one can grasp it, one will not be able to discern the operation of dialectical laws in a given phenomenon and handle a situation successfully. We know everything in this world is in constant motion, in a state of change through a law governed process. How the general laws, i.e. the three principles of dialectics are in operation in a particular given phenomenon, what are the internal and external contradictions and how the one is influencing the other, whether the nature of contradiction is antagonistic or non-antagonistic, what is the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of the contradiction — all these one cannot understand by merely going through books. These are to be learnt from real lives through constant consistent struggle applying the science of Marxism concretely and creatively. And again Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that without attaining higher proletarian culture, we cannot grasp Marxism, we cannot dialectically integrate theory and practice. So attainment of higher proletarian culture is necessary. Elaborating further on this he said : the values, with which we join the party, are humanist values. It played a revolutionary role in society during the period of western bourgeois democratic revolution and to some extent in our freedom struggle. But moribund capitalism no longer nurtures those values, rather is destroying them. Proletarian values and culture do not fall from the air. It is born in continuity and break with the humanist values. But today the modern bourgeoisie has destroyed all moral-ethical values to dehumanize the people. It is very difficult to find out even the vestiges of

humanist values today, which once was upheld by the bourgeoisie. And that sordid picture is reflected in social and political conduct, even in family and personal lives today. With much pain Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said : we have lost our link with the high standard of humanist values of renaissance and freedom struggle. Thus we have become rootless. He taught us that by acquiring and in the course exhausting the humanist moral values, we could in its continuity and effecting necessary break, acquire new and higher proletarian culture. He, therefore, gave immense importance to our learning and relearning from the life struggles and values in the lives of the pioneers of Renaissance and the leaders and martyrs of freedom struggle. We have to begin with those humanist values. But the humanist values wont help us much to advance further in revolutionary struggle of the working class. 'Revolutionary interest first, personal interest secondary' was the call of not only the freedom movement or the bourgeois democratic revolution, but was also of proletarian revolution in backward capitalist country of czarist Russia and semi-colonial semi-feudal country of China. But now for us, in a relatively advanced capitalist country it will not be enough after a certain period. With further intensification of revolutionary class struggles and mass movements, the necessity arises to free oneself not only from personal property but even from personal property mental complex to attain complete identification with proletarian revolution, the class and the party. It is a very difficult struggle. But today without this struggle one cannot realise and apply the Marxian science properly. It is a very important battle.

In our party there are many honest comrades who possess personal property though very little. Again there are comrades who can give up personal property, but not yet able to be free from 'private property mental complex' in respect of personal fame, post, love, affection, relationships, likes-dislikes etc. Property complex centering round all these exist in us in a very subtle form. Here lies the danger. Many of us study Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings, his celebrated work *On Communist Code of Conduct*. But how many of us are prepared to accept our critic as a teacher, how many of us are prepared to note first of all our own shortcomings and only others' qualities, not their defects; how many of us are prepared not to take individual reading or draw individual impression without verifying it collectively; how many of us are prepared to submit to the collective decision happily; how many of us are ready to learn from junior comrades, from the masses? It is good that many a comrades are joining the party with their families. Their struggle should be to become the members of the single party family as there should not be any separate family within party family. Within the party, on some issues many comrades do reflect personal family outlook. It works in a very subtle way. We often fail to make difference between love and weakness. Love, affection must be based on revolutionary principles, ideology and ethics. Again, we like only appreciation, appeasement not criticism. We indulge in self-glorification, become victim of inflated ego. These problems are there. By this I do not mean that all our comrades are behaving in this way. There are also a considerable number of good comrades, who are bright, struggling and are advancing very well to attain the higher proletarian culture. In ethics they are also reflecting more and more higher standard.

Comrades, don't forget that we are surrounded by degraded capitalist environment. It always tries to corrupt and pollute us economically, politically, culturally. So

always we must be alert. As a person of this society we join the party virtually with the viruses of capitalism in our culture. It is easier to recognize the enemy outside than to detect it within myself. This is very difficult too. Unless we find it and eliminate it, the danger remains. Again, this struggle should be continued till one's death. Because so long the breeding ground remains alive, and if we are unalert and complacent, there will be continuous attacks in different forms, even in more subtle forms, destroying our ideological and moral vitality. We cannot forget that in Soviet Union and China problems of degeneration started to develop from the rank of the leadership itself. The very central committee of CPSU after Stalin's demise started degenerating. The same thing occurred in China. That is why Comrade Nihar Mukherjee asked the comrades and even the people several times in public meetings — 'criticize me whenever you find any fault of mine'. Saving the leadership is the most important task. Critical attitude and dialectical relation between leaders and rank & file cannot grow without developed understanding of Marxism and higher proletarian culture. Comrade Stalin warned against slackening of ideological struggle and said that it was the prime task of the party and if neglected, there would be irreparable damage to the party and the socialist state. Out of complacency, the soviet party leaders and cadres did not pay heed to it. Now the disastrous consequences is known to all. Most of our organizational bodies also neglect ideological struggle. I too neglected it when I was the secretary of the West Bengal State committee. Today I realise it. We feel more concerned with mass movements and practical day to day programmes. These are not to be neglected. But prime importance should be given to ideological struggle. We must know how to combine the ideological, ethical, organisational struggles and conduct those in close integration with class & mass struggles. Comrades must find time to study, to exchange views while conducting day to day work and struggles. Otherwise in future when present polit bureau members including some elderly members of the central committee will not be there owing to the operation of the natural laws, only books of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh will not save the party. That was why Comrade Nihar Mukherjee while in death-bed had conducted serious inner-party struggle and took some hard decisions to save the party from future danger. And you know that.

We should not study classics or other important literature at random, in a haphazard manner or just like a scholar. We must study systematically, critically and by integrating it with the burning problems of people's lives and day-to-day practical struggles. Mark the important points, note which are clear to you and which are not, on which points you need clarification. Study individually and collectively. If you study individually, bring it in collective discussion to ascertain whether your understanding is correct. One pertinent point here. As we have not properly defined there is a misconception among many comrades that by classics we mean only the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. No, this is wrong. Classics mean those celebrated writings which provide fundamental principles and guidelines and which are universal. Important and valuable works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also belong to this category.

Collective reading, study classes, study circles, schools of politics must be organized regularly and periodically. Besides, we should select some important questions confronting the revolutionary movement, inform the comrades beforehand

so that they can prepare themselves and then involve them in discourse in presence of a leader. Role of a leader will only be to ensure that deliberations are conducted properly and to help the erring comrades in correcting themselves. Moreover, constant common discussion on theoretical questions should be encouraged and developed. Our mental make-up and attitudes do create hindrance to our advancement in ideological struggle. Firstly, there is a deep-rooted thinking in society that as wealth is only for a rich few, not for all, so also the cultivation of knowledge is the exclusive preserve of only a gifted few. Secondly, our lack of seriousness in search for truth and serious study is particularly fostered and encouraged by the ruling class. Thirdly, too much pressure of practical work and failure to adjust both theoretical and practical works prevents comrades from undertaking continuous study. Fourthly, the leaders who themselves neglect study, do not encourage others to study. So to improve ideological standard, we must overcome all these by relentless struggle.

As communists, we must know that all the Marxist leaders including Comrade Shibdas Ghosh urged us to live with the masses, mix with the masses and to win over the masses. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh even said that every party member should be the leader of a section of the masses. That should be the essential qualification for all members of the party. He said: win over the people by love and friendship. Stereotyped political discussion does not help, earn their respect by your behavior, character, culture, by your devoted service in helping them in their day to day problems. Attract them and involve them in work. He also said, involve a new contact in such a work where he or she feels interested, and becomes more close to party. May be all at once will not become a DSO, DYO or MSS activist. So you are to develop hundreds of cultural, social, welfare organizations, say for example, music and drama club, literary society, sports and science organizations, etc. Involve the ordinary members of mass organizations, ordinary supporters of the party in these activities and through these gradually try to imbue them with revolutionary ideology and culture.

Senior leaders should consider junior comrades as their children. Help them to develop with fatherly and motherly affection. We used to see in our earlier days that when a child was born, the mother and the father underwent a change. The child became the centre of their whole attention and concern. Leaders also must engage their minds in that way. Junior comrades will commit mistakes again and again just like a child. A child while learning to walk tumbles and repeatedly falls down, but again gets up and strives to walk. The elders do not stop them rather encourage them to walk. That should be our attitude to our junior comrades. We cannot forget that we too committed many mistakes. Even today we are committing mistakes. We very well remember how our leaders, particularly Comrade Shibdas Ghosh helped us to develop with immense affection, devotion, patience and care. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh time and again said: while criticizing junior comrades do not dampen their spirit and initiative, rather encourage them, help them to develop self-initiative and creative thinking. Let them apply their brain, let them think, let them prepare their planning; do not intervene lest it obstructs the initiative. Of course coordination and centralism must be maintained. Collectively we will decide and individually we shall implement. Again, collectively we shall exchange our experiences and through that enrich our future decisions. We need individual initiative, but not individualistic initiative. It is difficult to differentiate the two. So long one is not free from individualism, problem

of individualistic initiative would remain. Leaders should carefully and continuously educate the erring comrades with perseverance and patience, without dejection and grudge. In the process the ability, skill and wisdom of the leaders would also develop.

In party bodies also, there are problems of individualism. I cannot accept, say, Debbabu's (comrade Debaprosad sarkar, member, central committee) suggestions, because he is only a cc member and I am the general secretary or a polit bureau member. This is my individualism, this is my ego. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that in the name of democracy what works in bourgeois parties is formal democracy. Formal aspects (conference, committee meeting, decision on the basis of majority votes) are there, but not the essence, the real democracy. In a factory bureaucrats or managers direct the affairs of the factory and the workers are to blindly obey them. The bourgeois parties also function in that way. Bourgeois formal democracy is just like that. In bourgeois democracy industrialists, bourgeois leaders, bureaucrats are active, people are compelled to remain passive. You know all these from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's speeches. I need not repeat or elaborate it here. Proletarian democracy develops on the basis of proletarian culture. More I am free from individualism and personal factor, more I can acquire proletarian culture, accordingly more I am able to contribute to collective body functioning. The collective body is like a medical board. Reports of blood, urine, stool, heart, etc. get collected; doctors sit together, examine those reports, exchange opinions on those among themselves and finally conclude scientifically. Remember, examples are always imperfect and here this example is only to help you understand the point.

Wherever we initiate work or struggle to achieve something, we must not expect immediate success. That will bring frustration. What are the lessons of history? Failure, failure and again failure, and then comes the success. It does not of course mean that failures and defeats automatically lead to success or victory. One has to study the causes of every failure and defeat, learn from those. By that we can turn failures into pillars of success or can turn defeat into victory. We should remember that for achieving success, desire is not everything. Objective conditions, which also undergo changes, must be studied scientifically. A peasant may not know the ABC of the theories of agricultural science, but does apply the science empirically in cultivation. He studies the soil to ascertain whether it is suitable for rice or wheat cultivation, studies the nature, selects the season to sow and accordingly goes for cultivation. After tilling he uses water from either rain or irrigation, and applies manure. To help the plants grow, he has to remove the weeds and attend to many other things. Then comes the appropriate time for harvesting. But if there is a natural calamity like drought or excessive rain, all efforts go in vain. The poor peasant draws necessary lessons and accordingly prepares for next cultivation. This is so in every aspect of human activity. In confronting nature, men unknowingly apply science, even if in a rudimentary form. If one is conscious and wants to understand the operation of all the principles of dialectics or laws of contradictions, one can surely find those in nature and human activities. When we try to convince a person on some points, we should first understand what at the given time his internal and external contradictions are and of those which one is dominant at that time. Again, of his internal and external contradictions, which one is positive in accepting the revolutionary idea and which one is working against it. How principal contradiction and principal aspect of



contradiction operating concretely with all its peculiarities in him. With these judgments we should initiate discussion. If our judgment is correct, there is every possibility that the person will open his mind to listen, to receive and accept our ideas gradually. In the beginning do not go for a long discussion. Your discussion should be brief, lively and attractive. Remember that association, friendship and love are more helpful vehicle in imparting revolutionary ideas to a person. An unprepared mind will not receive even a good idea. So we should not do things in a haste. Even when a person advances well due to your efforts, all of a sudden, like a natural disaster, some internal or external contradictions or both may cause a setback for him. You must be prepared for that and act accordingly. All these things also hold true in building both organization and movements.

As communists we must critically study all political and topical events. We must be able to apply Marxist methodology to know the role of different classes in these events, distinguish the different aspects of the lives of these classes, i.e. their intellectual, political, social, ethical lives. We must know the economic, social, cultural nature and features of different sections of the people. We must be aware of the deceptions of the ruling class, bourgeois parties and social democrats and know how they camouflage their design with sweet-sounding words. We should be capable of gauging the mood of the masses from their voices, faces and even sighs. We should try to understand not only what the people say, but also what the people want to say but cannot express in words. As communists we must, to the best of our capacity, protest and organize movements against any oppression and injustice. Organizationally and individually, we must always be prepared for any eventuality so that we can adapt and remould ourselves to any situation. It is difficult, if not impossible always to foresee everything, to know beforehand when the lull period of movement will give way to a period of turbulence.

Comrades, it is good that we are organizing movements in many states. In almost all the states, comrades have been organizing movements on burning issues of the people. A large number of people are getting involved also. Movements enhance the standards of the comrades, it widens the horizon of their outlook, it steels them, it enhances their ability, firms up their will. Comrades get changed in the midst of struggle. In study classes you get the line. But it is to be implemented. Leadership from the cc level to the lowest bodies must check those activities. Checking must be systematic and all embracing. Continuous checking means finding out the defects, lapses, problems and providing remedies as well. The system of checking is very weak in our party. That is our fault. We take many programmes, but of those how many are implemented wholeheartedly, how many in a halfhearted manner or stopped in the midway, how many comrades get involved, what are the problems or difficulties or what are the experiences, what abilities, qualities or shortcomings are reflected by the comrades in the struggles, each in his way, — we do not examine these things properly. We do not keenly note how the lower bodies are functioning. Even if their functioning is regular, they may not function in a democratic way. If it does not, we should find out the reasons and strive to remove those. This is necessary. It is also necessary that while organizing and leading a mass struggle we must apply our anti-capitalist revolutionary line in the movement, not in a mechanical but in a living way, so that people are convinced from their practical experiences. Only

achieving some demands and getting public appreciations for the party is not enough. It is very important that while organising and leading class & mass struggles we are able to be engaged in convincing the people, workers, peasants, students and women that the root cause of all the problems are capitalism which must be replaced by socialism through a revolutionary upsurge by developing revolutionary political power of the people. Change of govt. through election is no solution. We must see that the people get convinced that the bourgeois and the social democratic parties are in fact, serving capitalism and that only the SUCI (Communist) armed with Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought is serving the real interest of the toiling people. This should become the people's realisation through the experiences that they would get from the class and mass struggles. In the midst of struggles, we must strive to transform the people culturally also. That means they are to be freed from religious-idealistic outlook, nationality, caste & craft complex and from parliamentary illusions; they have to become capable to judge everything from a class conscious proletarian outlook. It is a difficult and arduous task no doubt, but we communists are prepared to do all necessary as well as difficult tasks in the interest of revolution. In this way gradually we must educate the people.

There is another point. We find many left-minded people and intellectuals, now being disillusioned with CPI(M), CPI, CPI (ML) are supporting our movements, a section are joining our movements also, some of them are even supporting our party. There is another section, non-left but liberal democrats, humanists; they are also coming forward in support of people's movements. We should try to involve them to the extent they are ready to join. It is a new feature developing in our country. We know that the petty-bourgeois democrats vacillate between capitalism and socialism, between revolution and parliamentary democracy. We must utilize those elements who in some way help proletarian movements, at the same time would fight those who are against the proletarian cause. Class struggles and mass movements will get many allies, may be temporary, unreliable, vacillating and undependable. Here I will quote a teaching of Lenin from his book 'Leftwing communism — an infantile disorder' — *"It is possible to conquer the more powerful enemy only by exerting the utmost effort and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest fissure among the enemies. ...By taking advantage of every, even the smallest opportunity of organizing a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."* Comrades should understand it; otherwise they would not be able to fight confusions. Lenin also said, *"To refuse to work"*, note it very carefully, *"to refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of the workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labour aristocrat., ...In order to be able to help the masses and to win the sympathy, confidence, and support of the masses, it is necessary to brave all difficulties and to be unafraid of pinpricks, obstacles, insults and persecution of the leaders. ...And it is imperatively necessary to work wherever the masses are found. Every sacrifice must be made, the greatest obstacles must be overcome in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly and persistently, patiently, precisely in those institutions and societies, associations — even the most reactionary — to which proletarian and semi-proletarian masses belong."* Comrades must understand these

invaluable teachings of Comrade Lenin. Comrade Stalin, Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, — all giant communist leaders had shown brilliantly how to implement this teaching of Comrade Lenin in a given situation. We should not suffer from dogmatism and at the same time should not sink in opportunism. Only the needs of revolutionary struggle, democratic movements and class struggle at a given time will decide who are to be considered as an ally and for how long.

Now regarding class & mass fronts I like to refer few problems in brief. We will have to depute more comrades in the two class fronts, i.e. trade union front and peasants and agricultural workers' front. Our party is a working class party. Working class i.e. workers and agricultural workers are the leading force of revolution. Poor peasants, lower middle class are our allies. It is true that in these two fronts also, we are developing but the progress is slow and not all uniform. Let us give more emphasis here.

Our women front is developing, but it is mostly confined among the middle class women. Their sphere of activities must be extended to workers, peasants, and downtrodden masses. Male comrades should struggle to free themselves from patriarchal sense of superiority and help in the unhindered development of the female comrades. The party is to develop organizations of different sections of toiling people having different problems. Employees' fronts, teachers' fronts are to be emphasized upon. Different forums on different issues are also to be developed.

It is notable that whenever proper efforts are made, large number of students and youth join our party. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee also had emphasized upon developing Komsomol, students' front, youth front. They are our future. The party needs young cadres. It is good that some states are giving proper emphasis. Some are still lagging behind. All the states should give adequate attention to these organisations. Some state party organisations are advancing, but some are not advancing adequately. The advanced states will have to release some comrades to work in the weaker states, at least for a temporary period, if not permanently, for exploration. Within a state also, some districts are developed, some are not. The developed or advanced districts should release comrades to develop the weaker districts. Comrades must be educated so that they can protest instantaneously against any oppression, repression, injustice as a revolutionary. They should not wait for a party circular. Indian workers should know how the workers of France, Germany are fighting. It should be discussed with them. West Bengal comrades should know how comrades of Kerala, Karnataka, Haryana and other states are organizing peasant movements and what to learn from them. Everywhere this sort of discussion is necessary. Party comrades and mass front activists should carry the news of those struggles to the common people. Students' front should mobilize opinion among the students in favour of movements of the workers, peasants and women and vice versa. Otherwise how will solidarity develop? In absence of solidarity, only sectarian outlook will thrive.

Nothing is static, development and change are continuous and we will have to remould ourselves accordingly. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh asked us to engage ourselves for 24 hours in revolutionary activities. Then he added: By this I don't mean you will not take food, you will not sleep, you will not exchange emotions with children, wife and your friends and comrades, but your mind should not be occupied with all these things, you should be fully engrossed in revolutionary thinking and works, otherwise

you cannot fulfill your revolutionary responsibility. He taught us in this way. Similarly we need a band of young leaders. PB members are old, CC members, PC members are also old. Most of them are above sixty. So, young steeled leaders are necessary. We have to help the struggle for emergence of new leadership. Comrade Manik Mukherjee is sick. Comrade Ranjit Dhar is also sick. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty is not so physically able today. He has explored a good number of states in India. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya has explored the eastern part of our country. They are also old. We need also some able comrades to go to foreign countries. World communist movement needs to be acquainted with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts — the developed understanding of Marxism-Leninism. So a good number of capable propagandists and organizers are necessary for work within and outside our country.

Comrades, I shall conclude with an appeal of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I'll read it for you. In 1974 he addressed a meeting of the party workers in this hall and said, *“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 the 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 the revolution.”*

Further he said in this speech, *“Earlier, too, I said, that the coming days are very important to us. You are to build this party fast within a very short period, with the political and organizational strength necessary to provide leadership to revolution. We could not have achieved this task earlier even if we had contemplated it. But now, with our present numerical strength, if all of us — each and every leader and cadre — strive to put it into reality, with adequate contemplation, we shall succeed to achieve it. To that end, every worker present here shall have to carry out his respective work without turning away from it, with individual initiative and intellect — no matter whether you can achieve it or not, you succeed or fail. ... with this objective — be it in a club, a peasant and agricultural workers' organization, a slumdweller's welfare association, a literary forum, a poets' forum, a gymnasium, a trade union, or a worker's welfare association, or if you are conducting political classes with the workers — in whatsoever way, you are mixing with the people, trying to rally them around you and free and wean them from the wrong political line and draw them into the fold of the party's politics. This is the task to be accomplished by you, in your respective sphere, each with full initiative and to the best of ability.”* (Tribute to a Revolutionary Character, Selected Works, Vol.-3)

Now Comrades, here are the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Shibdas Ghosh, the six giant communist leaders hung above. We know their historic struggle. We know their invaluable contributions in history. And we are their sons and daughters. We are to advance their struggle for the emancipation of the exploited people. When we die, we'll have to die with the full satisfaction that we could perform our duties as their worthy students. You have been gifted a memento containing photos of the first elected 7 CC members of our party at the founding convention.

Look at them. All of them were then below 30 yrs. Under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh what a history they have created! Look at this assembly in this big hall. How big it is, though only elected delegates and observers are present here. Outside this hall, there are thousands of party activists in the country. If we all stand up like one man with firm determination, what we can achieve that is understandable to you all. We cannot act like one man only by good wishes. For that a determined struggle is necessary to acquire one process of thinking, uniformity in thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose based on Marxian science. That too needs constant common association constant common discussion, and constant common activity and making these habitual in our day-to-day life. This will develop, strengthen and heighten the standard and functioning of democratic centralism within the party.

So, remember the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, apply those in your life. That should be our mode of existence. Continue relentless revolutionary struggle to develop yourself. Carry forward the banner of communism. With this I conclude.

Red salute to you all

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought

Red salute to the great leader of the Proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Inquilab Zindabad

SUCI (Communist) Zindabad

Long live Proletarian Internationalism