

Tribute To A Revolutionary Character

At the demise of Comrade Subodh Banerjee, member, central committee and polit bureau of the party, on 16 September, 1974, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh addressed a gathering of party workers on 17 September in the auditorium of Mahajati Sadan in Calcutta. His speech centred on the basic aspects of character by which to judge a communist revolutionary, and how Comrade Banerjee, being guided by the party's ideology, thoughts and basic teachings with unquestioning loyalty to party leadership and revolution, surrendered to the party and revolution everything personal and developed into a revolutionary character of truly high standing. An English version of the speech is produced below. Any mistakes and inadequacies in rendering it from Bengali into English are the responsibility of ours. — Editorial Board, Proletarian Era.

Comrades

This meeting today takes place in the midst of a profound grief (voice chokes with tears; after some pause he resumes), but it is not one which we call a condolence meeting. You know, Comrade Subodh Banerjee was a leader close to the hearts of the people. So many people looked to him as one of their own, and they held him in the highest of esteem. He was one deeply loved by the downtrodden masses. It is only proper that his condolence meeting should be held in the public, and people of all walks should have the privilege to attend it. Meaning just that I said, today's meeting actually is not a condolence meeting.

As you know, we were going through a school of politics of party workers. In the course of it we have come up against a harsh reality, a profoundly painful development. The programme of the school could not be continued any further. In the very short time available, members of the central committee who were present and leading comrades of the state committee (West Bengal State Committee — added) took the decision that all workers attending the school and other comrades who had reached Calcutta from outside in connection with this event would gather and I should address the gathering to speak on Comrade Subodh Banerjee. For this is this meeting today.

Comrades, you know, politics is the response of noble feelings of heart. Nobler still is the feeling that spurs on to revolutionary politics. Tender as it is in one way, it imbibes stern reality, strict discipline, and steadfast sense of duty. Our task cannot suffer because of our grief. Outwardly, the conduct of this politics appears so heartless. It is here, in what appears so heartless, that the significance of true realization of grief lies. That is why, leading revolutionaries, even when they are in the most profound of griefs, unwaveringly pursue their task (voice again chokes with tears, and he continues in a tearful tone). In no event can they allow themselves to muddle up the task. Else, it was not for them to

tread this path. They had better lead lives of ordinary mortals. So I said, revolutionary politics is the response of nobler feelings. Whereas, its style of functioning appears so pitiless. Outwardly, it looks as though it is devoid of compassion and tenderness, it is much like a machine. In reality, it is truly not so. In this obligation to task is revealed the true nature of the tender heart of the revolutionary. The agony, pain and sense of values of the entire society have struck the chord so deep in their heart that they are steeled in resolve to translate the revolutionary task into reality. That is why, the revolutionaries never neglect their duty. Even death of the most beloved, a profound loss, or an event leading to

deep emotional upsurge cannot make them oblivious of their task. So, it is not to merely express grief, or pour out heartfelt sorrow and sentiment that other members of the central committee and leaders of the state committee (of West Bengal — added) have called this meeting. They urged me, at this memorial meeting of Comrade Subodh Banerjee I address those aspects which will help comrades take bold initiatives for rapid strides to accomplish the unfulfilled mission of his life.

My charge at this moment truly appears formidable. At times, words are coming out in their natural flow, but now and then a memory or
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5th August, 1923 — 5th August, 1976

Not Only Know But Consciously Apply In Life The Teachings Of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh —Nihar Mukherjee

Comrades

Twentyfive years before, on 5th August 1976, our most beloved leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh passed away, leaving behind the burning example of his ceaseless, uncompromising, fierce life-struggle and an enriched understanding of Marxism-Leninism covering all aspects of life, which he raised to a new height, and which contains newer contributions of his own. He developed it by continuously concretizing, developing and elaborating Marxism-Leninism in course of confronting and resolving the objective problems before the Indian and the world proletariat. We call it Shibdas Ghosh Thought, which is the

source of all our strength and which guides us in all our activities. Today, it inspires the confidence and esteem of communists of many other countries also.

As far as we could carry to the masses of our country the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, they have evoked in them sincere emotion and deep respect for this great leader of the proletariat. The toiling masses, honest individuals and best sons and daughters of our country are feeling increasingly attracted to our party solely due to the inherent truth and power of his thoughts, and the party has grown severalfold since his demise, working now in 20 states of India. So we see that, when the all-pervasive crises of Indian capitalism

have thoroughly exposed all the national and regional bourgeois parties like the Congress and
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Organ of the

SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

Founder Editor-in-Chief :

COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

With us, revolutionaries, emotions and feelings are not just personal affairs

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another makes it immensely difficult to speak out (at this point tears completely choke his voice; pausing awhile, he resumes). Whatever that, I wanted to say that mere expression of grief and emotion has just no meaning for revolutionaries if they fail to realize the significance of the pain in them and what that enjoins them to do. Remember, even as one might be shocked at the experience of a grievously harmful trend in society, the true manifestation of torment would be reckoned in him only when he discerns the correct course of action through it, and, realizing the correct course to deliver society and his own role in it, he does not neglect his duty. The same applies also to us.

So far I remember, in the past two days of the school of politics, I emphasized a particular point. That is, to us, the revolutionaries, a pain, sentiment, liking, love, compassion, or sense of duty, responsibility, anger and hatred — everything carries a specific meaning. With us, these are no personal affairs. At least to him, if he is a leading revolutionary, a Marxist-Leninist who grasps revolution, it should be clear that such responses from personal reactions have truly no significance for him. If these responses arise merely from personal reactions, it goes to show he is no revolutionary of worth. These are common to find in ordinary humans. At times, maybe responses at the personal level also overwhelm many among the revolutionaries; indeed such happens. It happens because we live in this social environment and turn in the vortex of constant conflict and tussle of its class struggle, the struggle between the bourgeois and the proletariat. We want to rid ourselves of the filth of this society; but it does not come about that all of us and automatically at that could wipe off the filth just because we want to. Nor can it be asserted, on the other, that filth is not accumulating again in those, or not tending every moment to gather in them who once had cleansed themselves of it. Thus, maybe for a moment even, it catches us off guard and makes victim of vices. Only those revolutionaries can immediately save the situation whose consciousness of revolution is clear, as crystal, sharp and free from all confusion, who see through everything clear as daylight and are aware of every development, who grasp intricate issues with as much ease and clarity as they understand simple issues. If one is a true revolutionary, one immediately grasps or is quick to grasp which aspects of an issue are without significance. He realizes that to us, the revolutionaries, these feelings have no significance of worth except in relation to the cause of revolution and the party. Those others who act in some way in response to feelings under influence of other considerations or in personal interest care in the least to realize the true significance of these feelings in the life of a revolutionary in terms of revolutionary activities, moulding oneself as a revolutionary, and for development and progress of the revolutionary movement. I emphasized it in my earlier discussion also. I need to emphasize it again today.

About Comrade Subodh Banerjee I should point out one thing in the first place. You know

very well, Comrade Banerjee was a powerful leader of the forefront of our party. Leaders of the forefront of the party have a distinctive quality and Subodh Banerjee also possessed it. Leaders, all, have the firmness of character, but it would be unrealistic to think that all have their quality, capability and character at the same level, exactly in accord to the level of thinking, ideology, culture and ethics to which we are trying to elevate everyone. Some have attained it a little higher, some a little less. Some have a little weakness in some respect, some have deficiency in some regard, and some others are strong in some or other respect. These are always there. These differences arise because though everyone is engaging in struggle with the same ideology and principle there are variations in their capability to imbibe and apply it in all spheres of struggle. This apart, it has also to be remembered that humans all have both virtues and vices. Only that, between an ordinary human and one of leading stature or a revolutionary leader, and between an ordinary cadre and a leader of the forefront of the party, the nature of good and bad is different. Because, qualities and defects are such that compared to what are good qualities in some those which are not as good are their defects. If you lack in those which are to be reckoned good qualities in you, they are to be deemed your drawbacks. That is why, corresponding to differences in level of character, qualities and also defects come to differ. At every level it is so. Whether it is Lenin, Stalin or Mao Zedong, or, say, when in the communist society more advanced characters than Lenin, Stalin or Mao Zedong would emerge, all the many great characters in the communist society who would be much more advanced would also be humans in blend of both qualities and defects. There will be this difference, however, that if we go by our present concept of the highest standard of quality in that future, it will perhaps turn out to be their drawbacks — this much. In other words, their drawbacks will be of different nature. Which means, what may be considered a defect in a revolutionary character more advanced than you is not understood to be a defect in you. Similarly, what is understood to be a defect in an ordinary cadre is not one and the same as what is understood to be a defect in a leader of the forefront. Likewise, what are understood as qualities in ordinary cadres are not understood

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As I said, you see, humans are a blend of both qualities and defects. It is natural, Comrade Subodh Banerjee had abounding qualities and he had some drawbacks as well. A memory which is churning me up again and again today (again tears choke him, he pauses for some time and then resumes) is how often in the presence of so many comrades, even in the presence of ordinary comrades, I severely criticized him; even reproached him for one or other of his faults and his drawbacks — and not that I did it only among the leaders. There are many leading comrades here, and many senior comrades from old times. Many of them will bear me out. I have tried to introduce it as a practice in our party that there won't be any criticizing at one's back. The practice is still living. This is why, on many occasions, I openly criticize the mistakes and shortcomings of leaders. It is in your knowledge, Comrade Subodh Banerjee, as a beloved leader of the people, was most popular among all leaders of our party. And, as cadres trained in the revolutionary politics, you are also aware how popularity is apt to degenerate a man. This is why, all revolutionary parties conduct uncompromising struggles inside themselves to fight to eradicate this populism, or the makeup and conduct to win cheap popularity so that it cannot worm its way into any leader and he does not fall a victim to it. Otherwise, it may so happen, even a revolutionary talent of great promise lapses into degeneration. Such criticism and self-criticism should be the practice in order to correctly mould the revolutionary makeup of all cadres and leaders, and I can affirm with pride

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A Revolutionary does not allow his reasoning and basic approach to be confounded by false sense of prestige and ego

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that this practice is living in our party. Because of this, leaders, too, come under criticism for their drawbacks, and the criticism is openly conducted in our party. I already told you, many comrades of ordinary ranks living in and around Calcutta, or those who moved together have been witness to it. They have, in fact, seen it happen in the case of all leaders. Other parties cannot even conceive of it. To my knowledge of history, I do not know whether in the Bolshevik Party of Russia or in the Communist Party of China a leader of this stature and enjoying so much popularity ever came under open criticism in this manner. I found it happen only in the Chinese party during the last cultural revolution, and you know well I welcomed it wholeheartedly. As regards our country, I am sure, if this kind of open criticism and severe reproachment were made in other parties, let alone against an acknowledged leader of this stature, cliques would have immediately been stirred up, or gross misconduct would have been the recourse undermining party's cohesion. But you all know, nothing such has ever happened in this party.

Comrade Subodh Banerjee, who enjoyed so much popularity with the masses and had a definite weight to bear on the administration, of which he was aware himself, never conducted himself in a manner which might go to undermine party's leadership, unity and cohesion even though he was severely and openly criticized by me at different times in the presence of comrades, and he might have occasionally felt hurt at it. The type of reaction generally found in ordinary humans, nursing a false sense of prestige and ego for which they lose their head and utter and behave in such ways as do hamper the unity and cohesion of the party and leadership, was altogether absent in Comrade Subodh Banerjee. Maybe at times comrades of ordinary ranks and new recruits, who failed to understand the real purpose of these open criticisms, raised questions. But Subodh Banerjee, always and in the same way like other leaders of the front rank of the party, tried to explain to those comrades the real significance of all these criticisms inside the party. Let alone form cliques with them, he never gave them indulgence even as their questions were prompted by sympathy with him. Wherefrom did he acquire this makeup of mind? Other leaders of the front rank of the party also possess it. You should realize, this extraordinary makeup of the leaders of the foremost rank of this party, which Subodh Banerjee also possessed, is the product of party's politics and culture. It has not come of just some tall sermons. It has not also come out of slogans, or as such from the political line of the party. This party has been moulded on a new model, a newer ideological understanding through correct application of Marxism-Leninism in the specific particular context of India. The methodology and process of its formation has altogether been different. You will not find the same in any other party. New comrades now-a-days coming into the party are to acquire this cultural tune, side by side with their education in

politics, by pursuing the cultural essence of party's ideology and political line. Only through this can Subodh Banerjee be understood correctly. Otherwise, even paying respects to him leaves much to be desired. Even emotional outpourings will be tainted by pretence. Truth will not be there, falsehood will take its place. Even when tributes are showered upon a man, but from a wrong understanding, its consequence cannot be good.

If you wish to pay homage to Comrade Subodh Banerjee from the correct understanding, you should realize which quality of his was the noblest and greatest, something that is even rare to find in many of the towering and powerful revolutionary leaders of history. You will, however, find it in leaders of the front rank of this party. It is no simple or commonplace a matter. Not a few men have come into the international communist movement who, considering their level of learning, scholasticism, erudition and intellect, were far more knowledgeable and erudite than leaders of the front rank of this party, and, considering this way, Comrade Subodh Banerjee does not compare with many of them in respect of learning, erudition and scholastic attainment. But, because they lacked in this element of the revolutionary culture, which Subodh Banerjee had

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acquired, many of them later degenerated — as you know of the one-time leading revolutionaries, men like Plekhanov, Bukharin and Kautsky, known for their high erudition — they all degenerated. Their erudition could not save them. It is in this respect precisely, Subodh Banerjee stood towering above many a revolutionary leader. I affirm this without doubt, and you cannot deny. Because, many leading revolutionaries, too, failed to set examples in their life struggle on how to behave like true revolutionaries, accepting all criticism from the leadership in proper spirit so long the party's base ideological line and leadership remained correct — even if the criticism is made openly and severely, even if

momentarily at times the criticism appeared unjust which no doubt would hurt one's prestige in case he carried even vestiges of a false sense of ego and his revolutionary culture and ethics were not tuned to the higher pitch. Comrade Subodh Banerjee had the clear understanding that not ever to lose head over all this, not to allow reasoning and the basic methodological approach to be confounded, not to undermine party's leadership and cohesion — such were the qualities essential to developing into a leading communist revolutionary. For, he never failed to grasp that all this criticism had the object of helping one to develop and did not aim at disparaging him. It is a practice being constantly followed to elevate each and every comrade in the party to the level of worthy revolutionaries. It does not aim at belittling one, its sole purpose is to elevate everyone.

Always remember, emotions do abound for those who are subjected to harsh criticism (with tears welling up, voice completely chokes, and at this point everyone in the audience breaks into tears; after a long pause he resumes). In this party severe criticism is a practice. It continues to be a practice and I am in favour of it. I do it myself and also encourage others to do it. When someone takes the criticism otherwise, you may have noticed, it makes me flare up, and I come down upon him heavier still.

I hold that a false sense of self-respect and prestige has no value at all. There is a height of self-respect and prestige above the personal sense and, when that height is attained by a leader, no criticism can deprive him of respect. All people then pay their respects from the core of heart. Inevitably they will, men who are worth the name. Else, what use drawing respect from lowly creatures? Respect should be won from those of higher character. That should be the object of everyone and Subodh Banerjee's standing was indeed high in this regard. He had realized that whatever the form of leadership at any time concretizing the ideology and principle to which he owed allegiance, undermining it by whatever means and on any plea whatsoever was in reality tantamount to going against progress itself, and this could only harm oneself and also harm the cause of revolutionary movement. Whatever his mistakes, drawbacks and faults, and howsoever harsh the criticism for that, he never faulted in grasping this essence. This level he attained. He became great because he had grasped this essence, and because he had grasped it he won respects of all comrades, of countless others. If you bear in mind the lesson he left for you through his own example and if you conduct yourselves in the twists and turns of every day in the same manner in which Subodh Banerjee did himself, then that would be paying true respects to his memory.

Comrades should be conscious, when paying homage to Subodh Banerjee truth should not mix with untruth. I might draw your attention here to what once Saratchandra (Saratchandra Chattopadhyay, renowned litterateur in Bengali — added) said. Nothing great can be achieved with

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Truth mixing with falsehood lends falsehood a veil of truth

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falsehood, you know that. Taking falsehood for truth may create an upsurge of emotions, but that does not help accomplish anything great. On the contrary, it causes harm all-round. It harms one's own self, too. In which sense? In the sense that one failed, in the first place, to grasp truth. The result was, he followed falsehood taking it for truth, and he made falsehood his ideal, shaping out his mental frame in keeping with that. Conducting himself that way, how could he truly develop and elevate himself? He cannot develop by treading this course. His self becomes an exercise in falsity. Similarly, in the instance of a movement, if one considers untruth to be truth, he would exhort others to follow suit, and, in the course, with his belief in falsehood as truth, his conviction, his sincerity of purpose, and with whatever ability at his command to convince others, he induces others to accept his mistaken view. The consequence is, the movement causes harm to people. For this, Saratchandra put it in his beautiful style: "To tell a lie is an offence. But to tell a lie, mixing it with truth, is a crime with few parallels in life." Why he put it in this way? The reason is, if somebody tells what is actually false he commits wrong. Because, by his commission he acts against the good of people. By trying to pass falsehood as truth he acts to confuse people. Not only he is confused himself, he is actually seeking to confuse others, too! But because it is actually false, so, man, the seeker of truth, would some day easily detect the falsity. Today or tomorrow its falsity will be exposed. Its harm will be only temporary. But, consider, when one says something mixing truth and falsehood, it creates additional difficulty for people to recognize the nature of falsehood. It becomes too difficult to unravel the threads of falsity. Thus, with falsehood mixing with truth and truth mixing with falsehood, from their experience people can neither recognize truth in its concrete form, nor can recognize falsehood in its true nature. Because, there is also some truth in what has been said. And because of its invincible power, truth mixing with falsehood lends falsehood a veil of truth. As a result, falsehood eludes recognition. And because of falsehood mixing with truth, whatever truth may be present is not manifest concretely. A long time passes by in the confusion between truth and falsehood, and one cannot come out of it so easily. So, dedication and emotions notwithstanding, if the outlook and the course of action are wrong — if these are incorrect and not based on truth — then, in the end, not only they cause harm but engender evil as well.

So we hear Lenin sound the caution that an honest priest does more harm to society than a dishonest priest. Similar is also what we hear from Saratchandra that telling a lie is an offence condemnable. But no crime is greater than mixing truth with falsehood. It is the height of crime and there is nothing to be condemned more. Everything, even emotional feelings, is to be guided along in the light of truth, on the correct understanding of truth. Emotions should not be allowed to run in a false vein. Bear it in mind.

And bearing it, you will see, that the quality of Subodh Banerjee standing out as the greatest in him is the aspect I just told you about. This was

the noblest element of his character. Otherwise, learning and sacrifices considered, there have been many such leaders who joined political movements. Why should students of history be confounded in judgement? They should know what the truth actually is in this regard. In every country, also on this soil, so many people sacrificed everything they possessed, giving away all they had, everything of theirs only for the cause of movement and revolution. During the freedom movement, was there dearth of such people in enough numbers in this country? And considering knowledge, learning and intellectual ability, were there any fewer in this country and in the whole world with the same level of knowledge, same learning and intellect which Subodh Banerjee had? Yet, though they had all these, what many of them lacked in or at least what has been found to be wanting in many but which Subodh Banerjee possessed and for which he will be cherished and respects would pour out for him from the core of heart was his unquestioning loyalty to the ideology and political line — ideology, object and overall interest of the movement centring round that object. On this question of loyalty to the leadership he never wavered —

making no plea whatever, no crooked argument, not under any force of vulgar individualism — even if might be he felt hurt somewhere or pained and aggrieved, or because his prestige, self-esteem and ego were injured at something. Through relentless struggle and dedication, by following party's thoughts and ideology, Subodh Banerjee attained the standard where one does not allow oneself to confuse the basic and primary consideration. One does not muddle over it even if one felt hurt, or sometimes felt one had been treated unfairly or was subjected to injustice. Take into heart these words of mine, whatever his defects and drawbacks you might have noticed. This is the lesson one should learn and imbibe — precisely this. Many leading comrades, good comrades, do not always remain conscious about it. I can say, there is a category of good workers in our party who have elevated themselves to the level of good communists, in the relative sense, in the particular condition of India at present. They have more or less acquired this metal. But their number is not that enough. This large auditorium is full of you — leaders and cadres present here. There are numerous other comrades, supporters, sympathizers and well-wishers who are not present here. If you could reach them the message, if you could inculcate in each and everyone this attitude, this ethics and standard of education that whatever his personal problems, so long party's thoughts, base political line and ideology are correct then, if he were a true revolutionary, he should not lose head to muddle up his judgement and the basic issues, howsoever he might feel hurt and whatever his feeling of injustice and unfair treatment meted out, and he

could not thereby undermine the revolutionary movement, the party leadership, unity and cohesion, he could not busy himself gathering support to form coterie nor could go about

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bickering, squabbling and forming cliques — all which are so often found in other parties. Remember, whatever their plea in justification of their acts, those are but crooked arguments. Subodh Banerjee attained that standard of revolutionary consciousness where, with this acquired standard of political consciousness, sense of values, ethics and culture, a revolutionary cannot even conceive of such acts. This is, to be sure, no ordinary standard. Plekhanov, whom Lenin called the father of Marxist movement in Russia, had erudition of high level. Ultimately, however, he could not save himself from degeneration because he had failed to attain this standard. Men like Bukharin and Trotsky, who had erudition and were once known as revolutionaries of high standing, could not elevate themselves to this level. So, inevitably, they also degenerated. In China, after so great a cultural revolution, those giant old guards of revolution, who even now could not return to the party — because they could not agree to openly admit to the party their faults and defects for which they were criticized and to happily take on any assignment at any position given by the party, prove by their attitude and conduct that they have not yet attained this standard. A group of leading revolutionaries has, no doubt, already returned to the party, but there is a section yet to return. They became quite big leaders, and were in the lead of the revolution, they wrote volumes and at different times in the past took classes of the cadres, but they are yet to attain this standard. Otherwise, they would have returned to the party without attaching any condition and without caring for a

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Personal problems, even profound grief, cannot make a revolutionary neglect his assignment

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false sense of personal prestige or its injury but solely in the interest of revolution, progress and social advancement in spite of all criticism against them and all insult they were subjected to in the public. Many such so-called communist leaders, intellectuals, erudite men and pedant authors are here in this country, too, most of whom are nowhere near to this standard of revolutionary culture and ethics. So, bear in mind, this is an aspect of foremost importance, and without acquiring it, but simply by oratories and getting publicity in press and writing volumes one cannot develop into a revolutionary of worth.

You should realize, if it is not an echo of habit when you say 'we have a stupendous task before us', but if it is in your blood, if it comes from the soul of your existence, if you grasp it from depths of heart, then it is your onus in the first place to grasp this basic point that, be it the question of development of the individuals in India and their well-being, the question of well-being of all families, their betterment and advancement, the question of saving the individuals, families, family relationships, affection, compassion, love, sense of values, ethics, and even pursuit of science from the economic, cultural and allround degeneration — in a word, saving the whole country and transforming it — there is no alternative to revolution. And in the particular context of our country this revolution means socialist revolution. This is the point you should grasp in the first place. It is another matter what materials of information you will have to collect after that to understand it better still from different angles. I am not going into it here. The more you will grasp it from different angles, covering all the different aspects meticulously and in every detail, the more lucid will be your understanding, and the more will develop a firm makeup of mind, capabilities and a foundation of character in all of you which I am urging you to develop — and which, as I have been expounding so long, Subodh Banerjee possessed — and I can assert with pride that all frontranking leaders of our party possess it. Subodh Banerjee stood on this strong foundation of revolutionary character, and all frontranking leaders, whatever the variation in their capabilities, possess it. You must have noticed, it is actually for this that when at times I find them erring or doing something wrong, I criticize them without hesitation in presence of all in such language which I do not use when it comes to many ordinary comrades. In that case, in any circumstances, I do not allow myself as best I can to be victim of impulse. It happens at times that I feel very much disturbed in many ways by the behaviour of some comrades who are new to the party, or weak-hearted, or politically unconscious, or of other such comrades who are yet to attain this standard. This type of behaviour does not conform to party's interest, culture and tastes, nor are conducive to these in any way — still I do not normally use any harsh words against them. I do not criticize them in the same language as I do in the case of leaders of the frontrank. They get sympathetic treatment, but leaders of the frontrank

do not get it when I criticize them. For what reason? In the first place, leaders are like pillars of the strong foundation on which the party stands. Their defects and mistakes may lead the whole revolutionary movement and political line into the wrong track to cause very serious damages to the party and revolution. In their case mistakes entail a serious danger. Secondly, the leaders have attained such a standard of political consciousness, education, culture and ethics that the real significance and beneficial purpose of my criticism howsoever severe cannot be lost upon them. I have full confidence about it; so without hesitation I often criticize them. But that does not apply to ordinary comrades. So the manner of criticism and behaviour become different in their case. It is a matter of adopting specific approaches depending upon the specific nature of different cases. It is so because truth is concrete by nature. The style and manner of discussion and criticism which may reflect concrete truth when it comes to the leaders, the same style and manner of discussion and criticism does not reflect concrete truth in the case of cadres of ordinary ranks and for all categories of workers. But many leaders in the party do not keep it in mind in practice. In the case of ordinary comrades, if the language of criticism be harsh then it takes them time to realize that this harshness does not entail malice; on the contrary, it has comradely affection and compassion behind it. It takes them time to realize that despite rebukes and reproachment a thousand times there has been no dearth, in the least, in feelings, emotions, compassion, love and sense of duty in the core of heart. From words alone one cannot get touch of it. From conduct outward it cannot be understood. It has to be realized by fighting together shoulder to shoulder for long. With those, however, who I feel have realized it, I get furious and I feel no hesitation then. But with others who may take it wrongly or get puzzled and find it more difficult to follow the point, I am always in favour of doing discussion in a calm and quite manner.

Whatever that, as I was saying, that is, the basic point we were going through is that if we want to effect a radical social transformation encompassing individual lives and the entire pattern of life of society in every sphere, there is no alternative to revolution. In the present stage of our country it cannot be anything other than anti-capitalist socialist revolution. We take to studies in different fields and we want to learn in order to understand this revolution, but the basic point remains the same. The more we heighten our understanding, the sharper it grows and clearer; the stronger grows our determination and more enriched our mental faculties; more we build our body and mind to meet the needs of revolution, more we mould the pattern of our culture and ethics, more we enhance our political capability and more we constantly improve the style of organizing movements, their course, methods and tactics, and can always maintain it at the dynamic level. For this we need to study and learn from in all different aspects. But the fundamental point remains that social transformation cannot come

about without revolution, and we cannot do with any superficial and shallow understanding of this question of revolution. Therefore, along with it, we, all who have assembled here, must also hold that the question of revolution and the revolutionary party are inalienably linked together. For, it can never be that revolution happens whereas the revolutionary party is not ready to provide leadership. Such never happened in history, such does not happen, such cannot happen. Out of discontent of workers, peasants and all exploited masses, revolution will again and again try to surge ahead in waves after waves. In waves after waves it will try to burst forth. The contradiction within society will deepen and sharpen many times more, calling for radical transformation of this order. It will beseech our consciousness, it will appeal to humanity that revolution is the necessity. Still, revolution will not come, again and again it will recede, it will go astray, and reaction will again and again gain by that — revolution will not see the light until the revolutionary party emerges, capable enough to lead revolution. Be clear, just to want revolution is no reflection of revolutionary consciousness. So also, to think about the working class, the proletariat, is no proletarian class consciousness. The correct revolutionary consciousness is the correct proletarian class consciousness, and the correct proletarian class consciousness is the correct proletarian party consciousness — which means, whether you have been able to recognize the genuine revolutionary party or not.

All of you present here, all who fill up this auditorium, want to build the SUCI as the party capable of ushering in revolution in the prevailing condition of India. It means, you maintain that unless you can build this party — which has developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and a new model moulded upon the ideology, base political line and teachings of the party, a new concept, and with this makeup of mind, and in this process — revolution will not materialize in India. Should this not be your mode of thinking, then with all those Marxist-Leninist parties around who all talk of revolution, many of which, small or big, even talk of socialist revolution, why should you not consider any of those but think of the SUCI? It is so because, from your knowledge of their theories and from what you understand of their conduct through your contact with them, you have at least understood that these parties are not the one capable of making revolution a reality. These parties are here only to trade in revolution. They will be always at misdirecting revolution. So, you find, time and a gain the upsurge of revolution is breaking out, people in multitude are rushing in to lay down life in the turbulence of revolution, struggles are mounting, bloodshed is all around, but revolutionary movement is suffering setbacks — it is getting channelised into wrong tracks, and reaction is gaining ground, though temporarily. This is exactly what is happening in India since long. After the Congress had lost its popularity and capitalism got enmeshed in extreme crises, struggles came forth

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Equipping yourselves with party's ideology, basic teachings and revolutionary politics and constantly attending to party assignment would be deemed your revolutionary homage to Comrade Subodh Banerjee

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in so many surges, so many times. For long people have been yearning for a change. But revolution keeps on eluding us. It is because, just what I said, in history it never happens that revolution is going on or that revolution has been achieved but the revolutionary party has not come to the leadership of revolution attaining the minimum required of organizational structure — that minimum of form and content required of a revolutionary party to lead revolution in a country in a specific situation. So you must be realizing, if revolution is the task essential to accomplish and if this party is the party to lead revolution, then — for all the contradiction of its good and bad qualities, all its defects and drawbacks — so long its base revolutionary political line, its theoretical and ideological line are correct, yours is but to carry the struggle ahead, aiming at consolidating its leadership — strengthening it and freeing it from weaknesses. Maybe, when you move together in the party, in some situations — say, in a locality, a district committee, a cell, or in regard to some personal matters of a worker or a leader — an injustice occurs; but for that, under any circumstances, you cannot move away from the basic point, that is, the question of strengthening party's leadership, unity and cohesion.

Remember, in a revolutionary party incidents may occur on occasions like, say, an injustice happens to the extent that a stigma is motivatedly attached to a good worker who knows he is honest and is not in want of dedication, but party's doors are closed on him. There may be a conspiracy even to murder him. Of course, no such features have yet appeared in our party, but it should be borne that despite utmost care at times, in some situations, such incidents may happen because the constant class struggle within society is casting its influence on the cadres and leaders of the party, and in the future the possibility of any such incident happening cannot be ruled out altogether. If an incident of this kind happens to any worker, what is he expected to do if he is a revolutionary worth the name and has his unquestioning loyalty to revolution and the party? If it is in his mind as to why the leadership at the higher level did not understand the issue properly although he had informed them of the development, then he is committing a serious mistake. If he is thinking in this line, it means he is thinking only about himself. He should understand, while he is giving his own version of the incident, others who are speaking against him and who, he thinks, are conspiring against him, are also executives and they are conducting party works. So in this circumstance, the leadership may take some time to understand who is right: in most cases, in fact, the leadership needs time to understand the matter from their assessment of works of respective comrades. But if that comrade cannot wait for this, or from his consideration that injustice has been done to him he conducts himself in such ways that he in fact muddles up the cardinal question of trust and loyalty to party's thoughts

and leadership, undermining its unity and cohesion, and the basic point, that is, the significance to a revolutionary of questions like whether he lives or not, his prestige or lack of it, justice and injustice meted out to him. If his mission is really that even at the cost of life he wants to strengthen the revolutionary activity to the best of his ability and if he considers the base political line of the party correct and he is convinced that this party is the genuine revolutionary party, then no matter the injustice to him from whatever position, if by his act he weakens the revolutionary movement itself and undermines its cohesion, or if he deserts the party, then with all that sense of injured feelings what great act of deliverance he performs other than furthering his petty self-interest? If such be his conduct, then it can only mean he has muddled up the basic point which Subodh Banerjee never did. Other frontranking leaders of our party and several other comrades have attained this level, and they are still maintaining it — they never muddled up this issue, at least so far they have not.

You have heard that the frontranking leaders of our party are openly criticized. I have lost count of how many times members of the central committee and leaders at other levels have been openly criticized for their defects and drawbacks. Many comrades have been witness to it in the party office. Wherefrom did the leaders acquire this metal? Taking note of this characteristic of our party but failing to grasp its significance — as many from other parties and from the people at large do — it is possible to make an easy and oversimplified assessment that Subodh Banerjee and other leaders of the party are my sycophants; if one gets pleasure from it, one is free to do so. But the matter is not so simple. This is not how sycophants are created. Considering the social standing of Subodh Banerjee and his weight — he enjoyed much more reputation than me — there was no reason for him to be a sycophant to happily and unhesitatingly accept everything after all the harsh and severe criticism. The only reason for it is that he had dedication to ideology and had loyalty to the leadership. If ever he felt hurt, he had the realization that this criticism was of a different character. It had no intent to belittle him; it was purported to help him develop higher as a revolutionary. It arose from a deep emotional attachment to him (voice chokes). He never erred in realizing this.

In the same way that each of you have dedicated yourself to strengthening the party, if together all of you can attain this level, if you can acquire this makeup, then only you can strengthen the leadership, unity and cohesion of the party like Subodh Banerjee did. Otherwise, did he have no problems in his life? Do not problems arise in the lives of great revolutionaries? Did not problems appear in the lives of the revolutionaries of Vietnam? Did all of them live lives in which no problems ever cropped up? Did all have enough to eat at home? Did not they experience any

problems of love? No problem in sex life? No pecuniary crisis in the extreme? Did not they have to face situations with their children starving to death before their eyes? Did not they have to see their parents weeping, with all their boundless respect for them? Great revolutionaries of all ages had to endure all these, they had to bear with this. But they made no plea, no excuse of all this to step back from the revolutionary life. All the time and as best they could — whether or not others made way for them, with their own effort and to the best of their intellectual ability — every moment they strove to strengthen the party, movement and revolution. Subodh Banerjee belonged to this class of leaders. This is the point to be grasped in paying homage to his memory. This way you have to mould yourselves. Short of this all homage paid to him is of little value to me. In that event, I should make out that some people are shedding tears out of blind emotional attachment and paying false tributes. I understand well their emotions, but that will not serve any purpose. They have failed to understand anything. They will in fact do more harm. If they understand Subodh Banerjee properly they will strive to emulate this quality of his character.

Subodh Banerjee also had problems in life and turmoils arising from these. Whenever he failed to resolve a problem he approached the leadership. He took guidance from the leadership and tried to act on that. But never he muddled up the question that because of the problems he would not be able to carry out party assignment or would not be in a position to discharge party's responsibility, or was not trying his best to do his work the way it should be done within the reach of his ability. Always he carried out his work for revolution and the party to the best of his ability. Whether he could always do or could not sometimes do what was needed to do, whether party's workers would be able to do something or not is a matter of competence, of course. Whether everybody is capable of carrying out every type of work is again a question of competence. I need not stress that in the first place. But what is required of everyone is whether he or she is striving utmost to do what they are capable of doing completely or to the extent they can do it — what is within their limit. Whether they are getting stuck by all their personal problems and allowing their time and capabilities to waste. This is the moot point. Then comes the point that one's capability develops through work in many directions, the capability grows in him to do many different types of work.

If you pay homage in this way to the memory of Subodh Banerjee, if you can glean this essence from his life — pure gold to be precise — then howsoever adverse the situation for you, you will be able to accomplish revolution. Without this revolution, remember, you cannot lead the country to its well-being, even your own development and progress will not be possible. You cannot render any good to society in the real sense, you cannot even keep yourselves in the

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Unless you strengthen SUCI on a new model moulded upon the ideology, base political line and teachings of the party, revolution will not materialize

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right track, unless you dedicate yourselves to the task of revolution. If this realization correctly develops in you, you should also bear in mind that only by pondering you cannot deliver revolution. Revolution needs its organization to lead it through, which is the revolutionary party. If the SUCI is that revolutionary party — in other words, taking into consideration the base political line, ideology, principles, culture, ethics, world outlook and its method of analysis, application, ideas, concepts and in every other way if the SUCI is that revolutionary party — then being one with this party, whether that entails trouble or not, onslaughts or not — its weal woes are your concern, mind that.

You must give up the attitude that only its benefits will accrue to you, that the party is yours if reputation comes your way when you are in it, but the party is not yours, if being in it entails danger, or you feel isolated. Subodh Banerjee had no such attitude, no front-ranking revolutionary leader has it either. So learn this attitude of his life to inculcate it in you with all seriousness. Whatever your problems, howsoever adverse the situation, so long you consider this party, its ideology, base political line and basic teachings correct, the movement organized on that ideology and the leadership also correct, you cannot undermine the movement and weaken its cohesion out of a feeling that you are hurt, or have been subject to injustice, or that you face difficulties. If this attitude develops together in every worker present in this gathering which has packed up this auditorium, you just cannot imagine what a tremendous power that will turn out to be. In no time it will go to make a qualitative difference of the cementing unity of the party. There is hardly a limit to the height to which it will raise political initiative of each in one stroke! This one is a very important aspect, and you cannot undermine its importance. You should all strive to acquire it.

There are two basic lessons you should learn. One, not to go against the party on any plea whatsoever so long the party is correct. The other, if you aspire to become a leading revolutionary of the stature of Subodh Banerjee and you wish his life to inspire you, then, remember, a basic prerequisite is that whatever the problems in life under its brunt as soldier of the revolutionary movement, you cannot leave uncared your task and responsibility even for a moment. Even when in tears, you must carry ahead your work. You cannot disown this responsibility. You cannot argue as to how can you carry out your work because of some personal setback. If you approach life with this outlook, if you attain this level of realization of the ideology and can mould your character with unquestioning loyalty to revolution and the party — drawing these two lessons from the life of Subodh Banerjee — then only you can pay him true respects. And only this way, in the struggle ahead in the coming days in which the SUCI will have a very important role to play, you can strengthen the party. Unless you can fast strengthen the SUCI and you can fast prepare the party, both politically and organizationally, to

confront the situation — in other words, if it turns that the party is ready politically and all issues are taken care of in the thinking and understanding of the leadership, but you have not acquired the strength to translate that politics into reality by developing alongside the mass organizations as instruments of struggle — then, as did happen in the past, in the future also people will again and again surge into battles only to be misled by the pseudo-leftists. By that these politicians will sometimes go to power and position, sometimes will become ministers only to arrest people within the orbit of parliamentary politics and completely undermine the cause for which people made all sacrifices. Or, maybe, in some cases they will be misguided to resort to petty bourgeois ultra revolutionism or somewhere else to petty bourgeois romanticism to exhaust the power of revolution, helping reaction to consolidate thereby. But revolution will not materialize. To accomplish revolution the SUCI has to be strengthened politically and organizationally. If you go back with the firm resolve to strive for this I shall deem that to be your true homage to Subodh Banerjee.

You should all acquire the attitude that, mustering all your ability — not minding whether someone has party membership or not, or even if the party has not granted membership to some but they have the understanding that because revolution is a must and in consideration of ideology, politics and culture this party alone is equal to the task of revolution so the truth does not alter just because they were not granted membership — you will go ahead carrying out your work as best you can to strengthen the revolutionary movement and this party on your own.

This process is the correct revolutionary process, and when it is living in the party leading revolutionaries whom the party may have once expelled for temporary lapses may return on their own to party fold afterwards despite the fact they were openly criticized and condemned. They do not raise questions out of a false sense of prestige to claim how could they return since the party did so much of criticism and so much of open condemnation. Take the instance of the Chinese party. Till before the Cultural Revolution started, Deng Xiaoping was the party's general secretary. In the party ranking, after Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai was Deng Xiaoping, general secretary to the central committee of the party. In terms of the party posts, after the chairman and vice-chairman comes his post. Such a person along with Liu Shaoqi came under open criticism and condemnation by the party and the people as a 'capitalist roader', 'new Khrushchev', or 'China's Khrushchev'. At one

stage he refused to accept party's instruction, and said what he did he did right. For that he was criticized all the more and the party expelled him.

Unless you can fast strengthen the SUCI and you can fast prepare the party, both politically and organisationally, to confront the situation — in other words, if it turns that the party is ready politically and all issues are taken care of in the thinking and understanding of the leadership, but you have not acquired the strength to translate that politics into reality by developing alongside the mass organisations as instruments of struggle — then, as did happen in the past, in the future also people will again and again surge into battles only to be misled by the pseudo-leftists. By that these politicians will sometimes go to power and position, sometimes will become ministers only to arrest people within the orbit of parliamentary politics and completely undermine the cause for which people made all sacrifices. Or, maybe, in some cases they will be misguided to resort to petty bourgeois ultra revolutionism or somewhere else to petty bourgeois romanticism to exhaust the power of revolution, helping reaction to consolidate thereby. But revolution will not materialise.

After the Cultural Revolution when party's Ninth Congress was held he still did not return and at the Ninth Congress he was openly criticized and condemned. Afterwards, on the eve of the Tenth Congress of the party he admitted his mistakes and rejoined the party. (After demise of Mao Zedong, developments in China revealed that Deng's admission of mistakes was deceitful, and by his acts in later years he proved himself to be an ultra-revisionist and conspirator — added.) See, how merit is given recognition in a genuine revolutionary party, a party of truly high standing. Such happens if and when a party has the distinctive characteristic of a leading revolutionary party. Such criticism and condemnation are impersonal in nature. A person who was made the subject of so much criticism and condemnation as to tear him into shreds, when the same person joined the party after admission of his mistakes, he immediately became none less than a deputy prime minister. He was not made a member of party's central committee and polit bureau as his return was about the time of the Tenth Congress, but his rank was next to Zhou Enlai only — that was where he was placed. Recently you have read in newspapers that Zhou Enlai, as his health is broken and he cannot carry on the burden of all the many works because of extreme pressure on him altogether, he continues only as a member of the central committee and polit bureau of the party, and a body has been set up to look after all other assignments. But the position of the in-charge of this body has not gone to that Wang

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Revolution will not see the light till the revolutionary party emerges, capable enough to lead revolution

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Huang of Sanghai, about whom there has been so much speculation in different quarters that his position is next only to Mao Zedong — Zhou Enlai being on one side and he on the other. That veteran Deng Xiaoping, no sooner he returned, admitting his mistakes, was immediately posted at the head of this body. The question did not occur to him that since he had been criticized so how could he come back and how was he to face ordinary comrades. He was conscious that comrades, all who made those criticism, would rejoice when they would see him return on admission of his mistakes; and the same comrades would be willing to make sacrifices for him and sympathize with him in hours of grief. He had no difficulty to realize this, and this is one of distinctive qualities of every leading revolutionary. True, of course, scheming men with ulterior motives can also take to coming back in such ways. But history bears out leading revolutionaries have conducted themselves in this way on many different occasions. I only sought to draw your attention to this makeup of mind. At the same time, at this memorial meeting of Comrade Subodh Banerjee, I ask you to take it into heart that whatever your personal difficulties, sorrows, and pains, whether some situation favours you or is against you in the extreme, in spite of all adversities and thousands of turmoil — mind you these are all common in people — you must not flinch from this fundamental teaching of the party under any circumstances. It is no doubt true, if you cannot adequately fight against these temporarily you may be in difficulty and for that your work may slow down somewhat. So, you should fight against these to prevent even that

much. But if you are revolutionaries worth the name, you cannot take to excuses for why you cannot do your work or why you cannot take the responsibility and carry out your assignment, even offering a 'materialistic' explanation for why you cannot do it at all.

I say this because since Marxism-Leninism teaches that everything comes from a material condition and we just cannot disregard reality, so many comrades try to offer a 'materialistic' explanation in self-defence to rationalize as to why, being circumscribed under what condition, he cannot properly carry out his assignment for revolution. I would say, there is no need to invoke materialism for this. Why take pain to learn materialism to understand just this little? If you are in need of a proper materialistic answer then all you need to know to understand exactly for what difficulties you think you cannot do your work for revolution and what misconception makes you think so, you should at once take to fighting out those and recover strength to do your work. To guide your ideas and thinking in this line is to be properly materialistic — then you are conducting it in line with the dialectical materialistic concept. He who conducts struggle from this understanding has the correct realization of dialectical materialism.

Earlier, too, I said, 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,

his sphere. While you are at this work, you are to mould your mental makeup and thinking, asking yourselves whether you find you are doing it properly, whether you question yourselves or you are giving up your work because you think you cannot give it the right shape, and, when these questions come up, you call to mind the example of Subodh Banerjee and other leading revolutionaries. Constantly remember, when this is the only road and revolution is a must, you have no other work but to educate the people on the revolutionary party and the revolutionary politics, to organize people on this basis and try for the emergence of people's political power — there is no other way before you to become revolutionaries. So, if you find no outcome of your work is coming along today, not in ten years or twenty years, still this alone remains the only correct course before you. Only by adhering to it one day you will seize political power and radically change the face of this society. If you are revolutionaries, all other roads are but wrong roads. If you get confused, finding you cannot achieve the goal — revolution does not come about — and you take some other course, will that bring in revolution? So, ignoring the task of revolution on any such plea as 'you are not equal to it', 'it is eluding in any case', 'people are just not convinced' or, say, 'there is want in your family and you don't have food to eat', say, 'you feel dejected, so sad that you cannot keep your cool nor can do your work' — it means you have not really grasped revolution. Then, you have not also understood the significance of the life struggle of Subodh Banerjee. Even with all your grief and tears you have not understood it. But if you have understood it even a little, then developing yourselves as revolutionary workers will be paying true homage to him. You cannot then offer any such excuses, and before you could, shame will overpower you. If it so happens that you are explaining to people a thousand times but that takes you nowhere and nothing comes of it, everybody can see that. What is there to lose heart of? If you have got the feeling that you are failing to achieve anything, or if it happens that your effort is bearing no fruit, you have stopped working out of frustration and you feel no enthusiasm for work, that will only mean you have not learnt anything from the life of Subodh Banerjee. You have failed to understand him. Respects showered with no proper understanding behind — do you think that is any respect at all? It is sheer blindness.

So, grasp the basic point — Indian revolution is on the threshold of emergence, and nothing of worth remains of this society — that you should realize; no longer the ruling class can keep it on lease, trying out any palliatives whatsoever. The Indian society is in the throes of birth; only that, it suffers from want of people's organized conscious political movement, from want of a genuine revolutionary party with that minimum of necessary strength with which this fervour for revolution in the people, this situation ripe for revolution can be led into an organized protracted

So, grasp the basic point — Indian revolution is on the threshold of emergence, and nothing of worth remains of this society — that you should realize; no longer the ruling class can keep it on lease, trying out any palliatives whatsoever. The Indian society is in the throes of birth; only that, it suffers from want of people's organized conscious political movement, from want of a genuine revolutionary party with that minimum of necessary strength with which this fervour for revolution in the people, this situation ripe for revolution can be led into an organised protracted powerful war for revolution....

Once the tide of revolution breaks out, no argument will succeed to prevent the onrush of the masses. Then the ruling bourgeoisie will be left with but one weapon to deploy against revolution — the military, police and armament. But when a country, a people stands up erect and takes to battle on the correct revolutionary line under the correct leadership, can it ever be stopped with military power? Could anyone in history ever do that?

taking everything into consideration, 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. Its method shall be that, on the one hand, you will be learning party's politics, and, on the other, you will make every effort to organize people on the basis of this politics in any sphere. With this objective — be it in a club, a peasant and agricultural workers' organization, a slum dwellers' welfare association, a literary forum, a poets' forum, a gymnasium, a trade union, or a workers' welfare association or if you are conducting political classes — 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 party's politics. This is the task to be achieved by you, each with full initiative and to the best of ability in

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Pressing need to reinforce and rejuvenate the party spirit of collective activity, collective discussion, collective association at all levels

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the BJP as well as the 'left' parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI, admiration for and support behind our party is steadily increasing in the people. In fact, complete bankruptcy of all the political parties on the one hand, and desperate desire of the people to find a way out of the present impasse on the other, coupled with the faith and the hope they repose in us, make the present situation extremely favourable for the rapid growth of our party — provided only that we ourselves carefully and firmly pursue the appropriate organizational methods and correct style of work and free the party quickly from those shortcomings which prevent this. The proof of this favourable situation is the eager and immense mass support we are enjoying while building up democratic mass movements in different states.

An important factor here is the devoted, dedicated and tireless activity of our comrades who are bravely facing the police repressions as also the onslaughts of the Congress and the CPI(M) hooligans but who, at the same time, know how to behave modestly. Many valiant comrades have courted martyr's death in this course. The correct line of the party, the undeniable reality of the series of democratic mass movements being organized by our party alone and this conduct of our comrades are our distinguished achievements. The impact of all these attract the masses towards our party despite anti-SUCI canard of the CPI(M) and all other bourgeois parties and inspite of the 'policy of silence' adopted towards us by the bourgeois media.

All comrades will agree with the truth of these. But some other aspects are also there in our ways of functioning and inner-party life which are not our achievements but our drawbacks. For example, I said that our comrades are making sincere and tireless effort for organizing mass movement. I also spoke of enormous goodwill and support of the masses behind this effort of our comrades. People appreciate their tenacity and devotion. But, it is also true that we in the leadership have not succeeded in conducting these movements in such a way as to turn this support into an active force from a passive one. So we find that while the comrades did their utmost to organize these movements, as instructed from above, these movements ended without producing a broad organized mass force in the form of 'People's Struggle Committees' and 'Volunteer Corps.' Nor did so much effort and such support create a commensurate number of active party supporters and sympathizers. And why so? So because, greater emphasis was given only on the factors of spontaneity of the masses and sincere service of the comrades; least on conscious and methodical organization of the masses. It was a lapse of us in the leadership that we did not take the necessary care to educate the rank and file comrades about the very method of conducting these movements at every stage; how, instead of waiting for circulars and carrying out faithfully only the instructions laid down there, they should work their own brains, their own contemplations and unhesitatingly exercise their independent initiative in applying the party line innovatively

and imaginatively by always being with the people, staying with them and also fighting to resolve their problems not alone but by arousing and organizing people's own initiative and so on and so forth. Unless these lapses in method and style of work in conducting the mass movements are soon rectified, they will continue to hinder the process of emergence of the people's own instruments of struggle and obstruct the mass movements, being led by our party in different states, from assuming real 'mass' character despite all sincerity, dedication and sacrifice of the comrades below.

There are also certain other limitations and weaknesses which should be eradicated without further delay. For example, we in the leadership should frankly admit that the methodical and painstaking work of developing the cells as self-sufficient, potential and resourceful basic party units has not made much headway. In fact, it has not even begun in right earnest, because, the meticulous and constant attention demanded by it is not being given to it by the leadership. It is too pre-occupied. But cells are the basic party units, and ideological schooling and organizational training of the comrades begin from here. I will not elaborate further, but the magnitude of the task here can be seen very well. Similarly, take the problem of ensuring regular and proper collective functioning of all party bodies from the local committees upto the central committee. We have not yet attained a satisfactory and adequate level here, although we have undoubtedly achieved the minimum. By the way, how to judge whether or when a body attains this requisite level? "The mere existence of three-members in a cell does not make it a party body. It becomes a party body only when one of the three members becomes the leader and the remaining two his followers. The collective knowledge of the members of the cell expresses itself ... through its leader. Without this expression of concrete leadership, a body does not become a party body. This principle works from the cell ... to the central committee, the highest unit of the party." This is the teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, regarding the yardstick by which alone we can judge concretely the success of collective functioning in a party body or its limitations in this regard. It will be found in his article *On the Steps taken by the CPSU against Stalin*. Needless to say, it requires a high level of ideological consciousness of all members of the bodies, of the entire rank and file, without which such leaders cannot be produced at all levels; ordinary comrades cannot be elevated to the level of organizers, and organizers to that of leaders. But in order to emerge with the decisive strength to mould the present situation — and I am not here speaking of numerical strength — we need to elevate hundreds of comrades to the position of leaders. Indeed, promotion of cadres to positions of leadership at different layers of the party is our urgent need today. This needs constant training and schooling of all party members with true communist consciousness. The party is above all the school of communism, and this needs to be well understood by us all.

Thirdly, there is the pressing need to reinforce

and rejuvenate the party spirit of collective activity, collective discussion, collective association at all levels without which practical activity is bound to sink into narrow routinism and blind instruction-following and party atmosphere is sure to lose its warmth.

Under moribund capitalism, particularly today, class struggle has become incomparably more complex, subtle and insidious especially in the realm of ideas, culture, morality and ethics. Without conducting a relentless and conscious struggle in these domains and continuously raising our very level of consciousness thereby, it is impossible to continuously maintain and elevate our political initiative and ability also. So, we need to wage an intense and all-embracing inner party ideological struggle, closely linked with the practical activities of all leaders and cadres at all levels. Without waging the struggle to realize Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's invaluable teachings concretely, without linking them with the experience of struggle in all spheres and at all levels of the party, their revolutionary kernel cannot be grasped and they cannot be concretized and developed. Without constantly concretizing and elaborating them, they cannot be applied correctly. Therefore, the leadership, at all levels, while assigning comrades with increasing organizational responsibilities and encouraging their individual initiative and power of contemplation in discharging these responsibilities, has to whip up an intense ideological struggle covering all aspects of life, thought and organization.

What is the reality today?

Everywhere comrades are engrossed in everyday party work, or in organizing mass movements, or in election battles. But they find little time for serious study of the Marxist classics or of the *Works* of Comrade Ghosh or even the party organs. Lively exchanges, discussions, debates have become rare in the party offices, communes and party centres. Everybody is busy in work. But work and association, practical activity and ideological struggle should go hand in hand. What to speak of ordinary comrades, many central and state level leaders are so engrossed in and encumbered with purely technical details of daily activity and with committee meetings and so on that they cannot find time to give association to comrades, mix with them, share jokes with them and in this way tune them culturally and ethically. Of course, they are doing everything for advancing the cause of the party. But being leaders, they should have seen it before all others that half of the problems that so occupy them could have been solved more easily, had they paid greater attention and time for raising the general level of ideological consciousness of the rank and file. If the leaders cannot change their own old habits, style of work and mode of existence as demanded by the changing situation, how can they inspire and educate the comrades? We should better recall Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's searching analysis of one of the reasons of the weakness of communist movement in his article *On the Steps Taken by the CPSU against Stalin*: "... like the proverbial one-eyed deer, the communist leaders in

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Conduct a relentless and conscious struggle in the realm of ideas, culture, morality and ethics

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general, to a very large extent, neglected the important task of conducting ideological struggles inside the party to raise the ideological standard of thousands and thousands of young communists ... and kept themselves busy mostly in organizational activities."

It is time to put a check to this one-sided emphasis on 'narrow practical activity' and to the lack of sufficient vigilance in conducting ideological struggle. We should take note and, without trying to gloss over it, admit frankly that this practice has already bred some alien features in our party.

Lack of uniformity of thinking and oneness in approach on many serious questions of life, individual conduct and organizational practice, compromises in personal and 'familial' relations of not only ordinary comrades but even many leaders, susceptibility to the pervasive influence of bourgeois culture and habits and such features, which were unthinkable in our party, have now grown in it as alien features. What is more, many innocent and inexperienced comrades who are not sufficiently tuned with the party culture cannot even detect and so cannot combat them, and a section of those who can do it either underestimate their danger or live in peace with them, accepting them as a fait accompli. All responsible comrades understand that these are the real obstacles before the consolidation, growth and development of the party. These cannot be allowed to grow further. But they cannot be eradicated without raising the level of ideological consciousness of the entire party membership. It cannot be raised without releasing an intense inner-party ideological struggle. I have already spoken of it. To act according to the teachings of our beloved leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, to get rid

of these alien features, all party members must discharge their conscious communist role and play their initiative in this struggle.

It would be erroneous, and harmful, to believe that this partywide movement can be conducted successfully by the effort of a single leader or even of all the leaders of the party. Quite the contrary. Without the active role and contribution of the cadres, the question of the leading role of the leaders does not arise at all. Both should go together, maintaining their dialectical relationship, if we are to avoid narrow and blind practice. "Progress is absolutely impossible if the relation between the leaders and the rank and file is not reciprocal. It is not sufficient only to have the right to judge the leadership but what is more important is to apply it in practice. ... Thus, the sense of responsibility and the nature of relationship between the leadership and the rank-and-file is reciprocal. But very often it is found that this teaching of Marxism is forgotten." So said Comrade Ghosh in his article, *On the Report of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU*.

Towards the later period of his life, he repeatedly stressed that the time was fast changing, that from a 'propaganda nucleus' the party was fast going to emerge as a mass party. He repeatedly exhorted the leaders that it was time to change gear, to change their style of work, to provide political leadership instead of a bureaucratic one and to let the cadres share ever greater responsibilities by applying their own heads and acting on their own initiative. We must act accordingly.

Even after feeling the necessity of acting in the interest of revolution and the party in a certain manner in a certain situation if a comrade hesitates to take the initiative, to take up the challenge and plunge in the struggle, if he feels afraid or nervous

to criticize the leadership openly even when he feels it necessary, and instead rather prefers to follow the beaten track and the routine and thus while away his time, then he is only undermining his own conscious communist role as well as the interest of the class, revolution and the party. But the need today is that every comrade fulfils his conscious role.

The party gave the call for releasing an intense inner-party Elevation and Rectification struggle from its 1994 Cuttack Plenum with this aim. If you leave aside its formal aspects, the essential message of it is what I placed here. On the rock-bottom foundation of this very ideological struggle, our party was firmly built by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. But it is the task of his followers, of the leaders and cadres of the party at all levels, to continue this struggle ceaselessly, tirelessly and uncompromisingly with constant vigilance. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, in his article *An Appeal to the Leaders of the International Communist Movement* taught us this invaluable lesson that : "In fact, the revolutionary consciousness, the constant upgrading of the ideological standard of the ordinary members of the party and the active discharge of the conscious communist role are, in the ultimate analysis, the real guarantee in the party against ideological error and deviations."

Comrades, rectification of the negative aspects and eradication of the alien features of our inner party life, continuous elevation of all our leaders and cadres and rapid growth and development of the party as a whole depends, finally, not upon the mere knowledge but upon the conscious application in life of these teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh by all of us.

**Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh !
Long Live Revolution !
Long Live SUCI !**

Tribute To A Revolutionary Character

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powerful war for revolution. In entire the objective condition for revolution is ripe, with all its ingredients and ammunition. The people yearn for a change. The ruling class has nothing else to rely on, except the military muscle of this old order. They count also on people's ignorance and political confusion, but that is not of any major importance. So pressing is the reality for the people, no confusing logic and delusions of religion can hold them back. Once the tide of revolution breaks out, no argument will succeed to prevent the onrush of the masses. Then the ruling bourgeoisie will be left with but one weapon to deploy against revolution — the military, police and armament. But when a country, a people stands up erect and takes to battle on the correct revolutionary line under the correct leadership, can it ever be stopped with military power? Could anyone in history ever do that? Think of a small country like Vietnam and that big military power of the USA. The US had bombed the whole of Vietnam to raze it to the ground. Could it thwart in the end the liberation struggle of Vietnam? Could it destroy its peasants, workers and ordinary people? They are

ignorant who think an entire people can be wiped off with bombs — they do not understand it cannot be done so. It is not so easy. Those who understand the might of humankind know it well. History is to be studied with care to keep this outlook in right orientation. This knowledge helps to understand that any harm to humanity notwithstanding, even for a strong countercurrent whipped up to temporarily forestall mankind's onward march, it is never possible that a demoniacal power would destroy humanity. If it could, human society would not have progressed at all. On this realization stands the ethics of revolution, its indomitable spirit, its determination.

So, as you see, the objective situation in India is ripe for revolution. What is lacking? There are big political parties here, even parties with Marxist-Leninist labels. There are men who raise fiery slogans, men who play tricks. There are men in plenty who are organizers of sorts, men who can cleverly put up big federations overnight, who can call strikes by thousands and lakhs of workers under the banner of these federations. But what is lacking? It is that genuine revolutionary party, based on the correct revolutionary political line, ideology and comprehensive revolutionary theory

with the minimum necessary strength. There is that party, it has developed — only it lacks in that strength with which it can channelise the outbursts of people's agitations into the correct course on a definite revolutionary line for protracted battles. Fast you are to muster this strength — anyhow, at the cost of life even. Many workers of the party could not be present in this meeting. Only those comrades of West Bengal are present who got the card to attend the school of politics. Comrades, numerically many times more, are spread all over the country. If every worker in his area engages with all his understanding and capability whatsoever, on the one hand to equip himself with party's ideology, basic teachings and revolutionary politics, and, on the other hand, constantly attends to his assignment without ignoring his responsibility on any question of personal difficulty, and if in this meeting you all take the firm resolve to carry ahead the task, then I would deem that to be your revolutionary homage to Comrade Subodh Banerjee. Only then, will it be possible, in-a-not-too-distant future for his unfulfilled mission to be fulfilled by his own party, the SUCI.

With this I conclude today.

**Long Live Revolution!
Long Live Comrade Subodh Banerjee!
Red Salute to Comrade Subodh Banerjee!**

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