

**Change yourselves completely  
to shoulder the tasks  
bestowed on you by history**

**(Call of the General Secretary  
in the 3rd plenum of the party)**

**Provash Ghosh**

**[ FOR PARTY ACTIVISTS ONLY ]**

**Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)**

Change yourselves completely to shoulder the tasks  
bestowed on you by history [3rd Plenum Speech of  
Comrade Provash Ghosh 30 June, 2019]

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## **Publisher's Note**

The 3rd Plenum of SUCI (Communist) was held on 28 to 30 June at the Study Center of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought in Ghatsila, Jharkhand. On the last day i.e. 30th June, the evening session was concluded with an appeal by the General Secretary Comrade Provas Ghosh.

The Central Committee has decided that this appeal of the General Secretary should reach the activists of the party at all levels. So it is now printed in a book form.

5 August, 2019  
48, Lenin Sarani  
Kolkata-700013

**Amitava Chatterjee**  
*Member, Central Committee*  
**SUCI (Communist)**



# **Change yourselves completely to shoulder the tasks bestowed on you by history**

**[Speech of Comrade Provash Ghosh at the concluding session of 3rd Party Plenum held on 28-30 June, 2019]**

*Comrade President, Members of the Presidium, Respected Comrade Mobinul Hyder Chowdhury, General Secretary – BASAD (Marxist) and Comrades,*

All of you have come from the election battle field. Being imbued with the teachings of our great teacher, leader, Marxist Philosopher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh – every comrade of our party fought this battle as a revolutionary soldier. You have come here with richer experiences, enhanced energy and more firm determination. When known left parties like CPI(M) CPI throwing overboard the flag of leftism, moved door to door from Congress to other regional party offices only begging for some seats, at that hour ours is the only party to have raised high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh's Thought and highlighting the need of militant leftism joined this Election battle to place before the Indian people a real revolutionary line. Now from the point of view of getting votes and getting seats we are defeated. But there is no sign of defeat in the face of our

comrades. There is no sign of frustration in the mind of our comrades, rather comrades feel they are victorious, they feel more enthusiasm. This is so because though in terms of election result we are defeated but in terms of political gains we are victorious. Whatever strength we have even in a remote village in a state, even where we have only recently started our work when a group of comrades with little experiences moved, they got tremendous moral support from the people. People appreciated our political line. People helped us financially. Our party is the only party which collected election fund only from the common people. People expressed keen desire for the rapid and speedy growth of our party considering it as their only hope. They are ready to help, cooperate and strengthen our party. That is the message we got from this election battle. We got few thousands of new contacts those who are left minded people, honest CPI(M) activists, non-left minded people, intellectuals, workers, peasants, students, youth and women – a very large number indeed. Many new areas are explored.

It is known to us if in a bourgeois country people are not politically educated and organized then in election people get swept away by the wind of media propaganda just like a straw as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out. He said, essentially parliamentary election is a bourgeois politics. We are compelled to participate in it following the teachings of Great Lenin. He said if a country is not prepared for revolution, if people do not reject election out of political consciousness it is the duty of a revolutionary party to join election in order to fight bourgeois politics, to expose bourgeois parliamentary politics and to educate the masses on the revolutionary line. So the question is not the number of votes or number of seats, question is, whether we are able to provide

correct and real expression of the working class interest, of the theory and policies of the revolutionary proletariat. From that point of view we are successful.

You have witnessed a very dirty atmosphere in this election. Two bourgeois combinations, one was organized and the other was not organized rather were at loggerheads with each other to capture the seats of the power with the blessings of the ruling bourgeois class. In election campaign their filthy languages, their dirty behaviour, their mud throwing against each other practically would put even the urchins of the streets to shame. They stooped so low that the ugly face of capitalist politicians today was revealed nakedly. Not only in our country, but in other bourgeois countries also same is the situation. Today for the bourgeois politicians, principles, morality and concern for the people do not matter at all. Their sole concern is anyhow to grab political power. Comrades, you know the verdict of this election and you know the cause of this verdict. Long back Comrade Lenin pointed out that in bourgeois democracy election is merely selection of servants by the bourgeois class. During that time there were at least some values of the bourgeois democracy. So in a bourgeois republic, election means change of servants. They select their chosen servants. That was the expression of Great Lenin. 'By the people', 'of the people' 'for the people' 'verdict of the people' – these were the lofty slogans once raised by rising bourgeoisie. Even at that time also in the truest sense bourgeois democracy could not fulfill it. When there is class division between exploiter and exploited how can there be equality? How can there be fraternity between exploiter & exploited? Liberty to exploit the workers enjoyed by the bourgeoisie under bourgeois democracy is not the liberty of the exploited people to fight for emancipation. They use the workers

just as human raw materials to be grinded by their exploitative machine. They suck their blood to satisfy their greed of profit. But whatever democratic practice was there at that time, now there is no trace of it. That's why instead of calling it a parliamentary democracy we call it a parliamentary autocracy. Under the garb of parliamentary democracy there is a simple autocracy. BJP has served multinationals, corporate sectors, monopoly houses and big business houses to their satisfaction. So they wanted to reinstall BJP in power. Moreover the ruling class could not trust the other bourgeois parties as alternative. They were disunited, quarrelling with each other in the matter of distribution of seats, and even before election there were many claimants of future Prime Minister's chair. How the ruling bourgeoisie could trust them in providing stable government? That is why again they selected their most faithful servant BJP to be saddled in power. It is known to you that the entire election was managed by money power, muscle power, media power and administrative power. What happened in Pulawama, whether it was an act of the terrorists or it was engineered by others remains an unanswered question. That incident and Balakot air strike – all these were used by BJP to suppress all other problems haunting the peoples mind. All other burning issues had been relegated to the back, only bogey was “save the nation” and the “danger of Pakistan.” All those slogans were raised to foment national zingoism, particularly the Hindutwa sentiment. Who can save the country – this question also was posed. Thereby they bypassed all other questions related to fulfillment of their promises made in earlier election in 2014. This was a conspiracy. EVM manipulations also were there. Election Commission had practically worked as a servant of the ruling class and the ruling party throwing away any shade of neutrality. That's why

although BJP grabbed many seats in the country there was no sign or mood of jubilation among the masses. On the other hand at the time of swearing-in ceremony, who were present there? They are the chief representatives of all the multi nationals, corporate sectors and monopoly houses. It was they who enjoyed this victory as actually it is their victory. And you know that the 95% of the so called representatives of the people, the members of Parliament are owners of billions of rupees. They are representing the starving, half-starving, dying millions of people of our country! This is the naked reality of bourgeois democracy. Comrades, these are all known to you.

Now I want to discuss the background of the rise of RSS-BJP. When bourgeois democracy was in the dying stage, even then some relics of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois humanism were still alive. At that time the last representatives of bourgeois humanism like Einstein, Romain Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Rabindranath, Sarat Chandra, Premchand, Subramanyam Bharati and others hailed the rise of Soviet Socialism as a savior of mankind. Romain Rolland even commented that if socialism is destroyed in Russia it not only would enslave the workers of Russia, darkness would engulf the whole mankind for a few decades. That agony expressed by great humanist Romain Rolland, had happened in course of time. When Soviet Union was in existence, when international communist movement was in its onward march, when anti-imperialist struggles were going on, when Chinese revolution was on the verge of the victory, when revolutionary struggle was continuing in Vietnam, there was a different atmosphere. At that time in Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America there were surging waves of working class movements, democratic movements and revolutionary struggles. At that time, religious

fundamentalism could not raise its ugly head. But now after the fall of socialism, situation has turned quite different. The western countries where at the time of renaissance there was fight against religion now the ruling classes of those countries are reviving religion and encouraging it. In other countries also religious fundamentalism is now a sweeping current and all sorts of reactionary ideas, medieval ideas, ultra-nationalism, racialism are being encouraged everywhere to destroy class struggles and democratic movements.

In this background we are to view the rise of BJP in our country. Here I want to mention that if you go through the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, you will find that he had shown that at the time of freedom movement Indian bourgeoisie which as a compromising bourgeoisie had opposed revolutionary line and real secularism and compromised with religious thought. National Congress leadership represented that class interest of the Indian bourgeoisie.. You know Indian renaissance started with Great Raja Rammohan Roy, followed by another great pioneer Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar. Rammohan came just like the red colour in the morning sky of the east just before the rising of the sun in fighting religion, but still he was not free from religion. However he opposed Sanskrit and Vedanta education. That was his position. Vidyasagar as a full rising sun stepped up further and very courageously declared all religious scriptures like Vedanta, Sankhya as false and so they do not reflect truth. Students should understand this. They need scientific thinking, materialist thinking. All books written by Vidyasagr reflected these ideas. Vivekananda opposed Vidyasagar and tried to uphold Vedanta. Although Rabindranath compromised with spiritualism but he had upheld modern democratic thought in the main. But Sarat Chandra fully supported Vidyasagar's ideas and

strengthened them further. Among the political leaders, only Shaheed-E-Azam Bhagat Singh denounced religion wrote an essay with the heading 'Why I am an atheist'. Subhas Chandra Bose preached secularism in politics. He said that politics must be freed from the influence of religion and should be guided by scientific, economic and political theories. Though not many know it, but the fact is that in the later part of his life Subhaschandra also freed himself from religious thinking. But the Indian nationalist movement was pre-dominantly guided by religious approach. You know in India, religious thought, spiritualist ideology existed as a very powerful idea since long. It was not fought out properly by bourgeois leadership rather they strengthened it. They were afraid of scientific thinking because they were opposed to armed revolution, working class revolution. Even united CPI which was formed in 1925, also never fought ideologically against religious thinking, religious ideas. They also compromised with it. Some of you may not know that this CPI had even provided a queer theory that Hindus & Muslims are two separate nations. So there was nothing wrong in partitioning India between the Hindus and the Muslims. CPI also along with the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha and RSS, had supported the partition of India. Some of their leaders and cadres might be atheist individually, but as a party they never fought against religious approach and spiritualist ideas. All these served to prepare the ground for the rise of RSS-BJP. You must note it.

So long there was the current of left movement and impact of Soviet revolution in our country, RSS could not raise its head as it has done today. From 1950 to 1966 was the period of militant left movement. Leftism was developed in India by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Leftism means uncompromising, bold, militant struggle

against the ruling power. In India during the days of freedom movement, there was a powerful left current centering round Subhaschandra Bose, Bhagat Singh and other martyrs. CPI took advantage of it to expand its influence and support. CPI was further helped by the impact of world communist movement, Soviet and Chinese Socialism. In 1964 CPI was divided into CPI and CPI(M). Till 1966 they had played a role in militant left struggle. We were a part of that struggle. Their object was to strengthen their reformist line; our object was to carry forward our revolutionary line. In the joint movements there always was a contradiction between their approach and our approach. Here I want to refer to another point. Some comrades know, some may not know, that in 1948-49 the Forward Bloc, RSP, RCPI being powerful left parties at that time opposed united movement with CPI against Congress as because CPI opposed 1942 August uprising. Incidentally, the CPI line was later bitterly criticized by Great Stalin. Further CPI castigated Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as an agent of Japan. For these reasons, those left parties did not want to include CPI in the joint movement. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh directed Comrade Nihar Mukherjee to convince them that CPI is a powerful party; they must be included in the interest of the united movement. Accepting this proposal, CPI was included in the united movement. First CPI came in power in Kerala in 1957. There we came to see a different face of CPI. They started functioning just like a bourgeois government there. They suppressed workers' movement with police in Kerala. We condemned it. But in 1967 when United Front came to govt. in West Bengal bitter contradiction appeared between our party and CPI(M) led other parties in West Bengal. Lenin said, communists will participate in election and if they are elected, as opposition they will expose ruling bourgeoisie and

develop extra parliamentary struggle. At the time of Lenin, there was no occasion for the left parties to form a government. In such a situation, a new formulation was needed and that task was fulfilled by our departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He said, united front government must function as an instrument of struggle to develop class and mass struggle and police must not be allowed to suppress legitimate struggles in the name of maintenance of law & order. CPI(M), CPI and others vehemently opposed it. To some extent our party had been able to implement this policy despite opposition from CPI(M) & others and this made the ruling capitalist class more apprehensive about our party and it insisted to exclude our party from United Front government. Here I will not elaborate it further. At the time of 1977 election, CPI(M) leader Jyoti Basu declared in the radio speech assuring the bourgeoisie that although at the time of united front government in 1967 there were troubles (by troubles he meant movements) but this time SUCI was excluded from the front. So there will be a peaceful government without any movement. Jyoti Basu assured in that way and fulfilled that condition. Since then, CPI(M), CPI abandoned militant left movement only to satisfy the ruling capitalist class. Absence of powerful left-democratic movements also helped BJP to strengthen its organization. How CPI, CPI(M) had contributed in the rise of RSS-BJP, that is another instance. In 1974, there was a massive upsurge of students and youth movement throughout the country on some democratic demands. At that time CPI openly supported Congress. CPI(M) was keeping clandestine relations with the Congress. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh defined it as a mass movement on legitimate democratic demands but RSS-Jansangh was misguiding it in their own interest taking the advantage of absence of the left parties. He suggested let the left

parties join this struggle to provide an alternative correct left direction. But they refused. They did not join with the plea that rightist forces were there. With our limited strength, we joined and tried to spread our ideas. Thus entire prestige of the movement was usurped by RSS-Jansangh at that time. It helped RSS-Jansangh to rise further. But note that when election came in 1977, CPI(M) with a view to getting electoral benefits did not hesitate for a single moment to forge unity with Janta Party composed of RSS-Jansangh (later became BJP), Congress(O), Swatantra Party and others. Janata Party won the election and the central govt. was formed and led by Morarji Desai, in which Vajpayee-Advani became ministers. The West Bengal LF government led by CPI(M) and the central Janata Party govt. called each other as friendly government. This also helped RSS-BJP to consolidate further. Next CPI(M) and BJP jointly supported VP Singh government in Centre. In Calcutta, there was a meeting addressed by both Jyoti Basu and AB Vajpayee along with V P Singh, where Jyoti Basu and Vajpayee clubbed their hands together and raised up to show their solidarity. These were all against the spirit of leftism and proof of sheer opportunism. All these helped the rise of BJP. This also we must understand.

Now, in the present juncture, comrades, I want to call upon you that we should face the situation very calmly, coolly and intelligently. Do not take it for granted that BJP ideology is fully accepted by the common people of the country. It is true that their influence has increased, they have created some confusion also, but it is not a fact that the people as a whole have accepted them. People are still prepared to listen to anti-BJP views if presented properly and they can be convinced. Fifty-sixty years back RSS & BJP had some honesty on the basis of religious morality. Now they have lost it almost fully.

RSS is also corrupt, has become money greedy, power hungry. BJP is also as a bourgeois party very corrupt, now their leaders are quarrelling with each other for ministerial post. BJP has been engaged in horse-trading to purchase MLA from other parties in its bid to capture power and spending millions of rupees to purchase unemployed youths and anti-socials to use them in election. Their leaders are also accumulating wealth in terms of crores of rupees. Swayang Sevaks of RSS now-a-days are not much attracted by ideology but more attracted by money. These things are there. People are also witnessing it. Once Comrade Lenin said, honest priest is more dangerous than dishonest priest. By honesty, a priest creates more confusion. But if a priest is dishonest he creates less confusion. From that point of view, BJP may appear very strong being in power in many state governments and centre, but this is the situation internally. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh already pointed out whether advanced or backward in all capitalist countries fascism has developed in diverse forms with its three distinct features i.e. concentration of capital, centralization of power in the hands of executive and fusion between spiritualism and technical aspects of science. Further he pointed out that fascist features are already there in India since the rule of Congress but it is difficult on the part of ruling class to develop all out fascism in India like Germany as there is antagonistic contradiction between national monopoly capital and regional capital as well as contradiction between big capital and small production besides caste-parochial-linguistic conflicts. Moreover there are large number of scientists, historians, academicians, intellectuals, artists and journalists who are already protesting against all undemocratic acts of government. We can depend upon these contradictions and also on liberal democratic forces

to counter fascist advancement of BJP. It is noteworthy, when they protest, they protest honestly and courageously. Still then, we should not undermine the strength of RSS-BJP. Firstly a well thoughtout propaganda movement is very essential. There are two types of propaganda. One is formal, another is informal. Formal means holding meetings, selling literatures and organise discussion. Informal means public talk in tea stall, in bus, in train, in market place, in the house of a relative or friend. This is the informal propaganda. Informal talk is also very powerful. Comrades must be working in that way. Suppose in a train two comrades are moving. One is raising the arguments of BJP, another comrade is answering those artfully. There will be a discussion. Other passengers will listen to it, some may participate, if they are convinced, they will in turn preach those in their own sphere. Everywhere you can talk in this way. In mass meetings, you can discuss our views one by one. For this prepare yourself. Leaders should educate the comrades accordingly. Ask any person do you hail Indian Renaissance? Do you consider renaissance was a great achievement. What the pioneers of renaissance preached at that time? Even Rammohan believed in Vedanta but suggested not to includee Vedanta in school, college education, because Vedanta denounces material world. It will not help the new generation. Rammohan told in that way. Rammohan opposed Sanskrit education also. You quote Rammohan, Vidyasagar, Rabindranath, Sarat Chandra, Subramanyam Bharati, Prem Chand and others also. They are respected personalities. Collect their quotations. Ask them, do you respect them? If you respect them, how you can accept BJP-RSS? They are opposing the views of these great men. They are attacking their ideas. Raise this point. Comrades must be furnished with the materials with 1-2-3-4-5- points in this way. Already

I advised West Bengal state committee and All India DSO leaders to prepare their comrades. In this house also I suggest that all the states should prepare accordingly. Secondly you say, do you consider Indian freedom movement was a glorious movement? Do you respect Netaji Subhas Chandra, Bhagat Singh and other freedom fighters and martyrs, but RSS condemned the Indian freedom movement branding it as a reactionary movement. Even they denounced these leaders as unpatriotic. Do you know this? Raise these points. Quote RSS accordingly, all these are available in our publications and you will get them. Then you tell even if one believes in Hindu religion, if he considers Chaitanya, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda as the authorities of Hindu religion – tell them what they preached? Make reference to those. These you will get from our booklets, publications. We raised these questions in public meetings also. Who are real Hindu—Chaitanya, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda or the RSS-BJP leaders? In this way, calmly, patiently, intelligently you prepare the materials, educate the comrades, you can find even from your own mind many arguments also while you are in discussion. Give emphasis on informal talks or discussions. Truth is very powerful. If a truthful word is spoken in train, if the passengers accept it, they will carry it. They will preach it.

Today, tomorrow or the day after we have to face the religious ideas, because without defeating religious ideas intellectually we cannot establish superiority of dialectical materialism in our soil. So it is also another opportunity before us. We are to fight spiritualism, religious idealism in the intellectual level. Scientists are raising the voice of protest. They are opposing government policies in many countries. On 9<sup>th</sup> August, there will a ‘March for Science’. They are opposing

government's policy on science. But they are not aware that, government's policies are reflecting the interest of the ruling bourgeois class. Historians are opposing distortions of history. They think it is merely a governmental policy. They do not understand that it is the need of the ruling bourgeois class. Academicians are opposing educational policy. They do not understand it is the need of the bourgeois class. Who can make them understand? Only we can make them understand. That is our task. But when you talk about religion among common peasants, common workers you must be very careful. There are many honest minded religious people. And they will cling to religion so long they are not educated on the basis of scientific thought. Nature remains a mystery before them. Many things are unknown to them. So they are bound to believe in super natural world. So long there is class division as ruler and ruled they are bound to believe that there is a ruler of the world. So long they are not getting justice in the world they will seek justice in another world. Moreover there is the motivated campaign from ruling class and parties to create religious illusions among the people. So, do not injure their religious sensibility by your uncared comment. You can mention two things to them I tell you. One, great founders of all religions preached to fight against injustice, to fight against crime. But what is happening today when there are so many injustices in the society, so many crimes are in the society, no religious institutions Church, Temple and Mosque – are coming out against it. Why? When women are raped, when children are dying in the street what religious priests do? Vivekananda said first provide bread, then talk of religion. Vivekananda said do not waste money for building temples. Spend for the hungry people. Seeing rape of women, would Hazrat Mohammad say let us go

for Namaz? Rather he would have come out with a sword to fight it. Why it is not happening today? Raise this question. Those founders of religions were executed; they starved. But now the religious preachers are having huge wealth, they are accumulating more wealth. Why exploiting ruling class backing them? Tell these points. Then you will say, you believe in Gita, Koran, Bible, alright. But today's problems confronting our lives are price increase, tax hike, problem of unemployment, retrenchment, eviction from the land – there are many problems of modern life, is there any chapter dealt on these in Koran, Bible, Gita, Ramayana, Mahabharata? Then how to solve these problems? Who can provide solution? Only Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought can provide the real path today. Founders of religions dealt with the problems of their times. Those were adequate at that time. We respect their struggles and contributions. But for today, are their teachings applicable to solve the problems of life? In this way, you may discuss. I can tell you my own experience. In 1971, in a village of Murshidabad in West Bengal, I faced a peculiar problem. I was conducting a class dealing on the differences between our party and CPI(M) regarding the functioning of a government. A written piece of paper was given to me with the question-”comrade tell us whether as communist we should believe in Allah or not.” I became astonished because it was not relevant to my discussion. After few minutes again the slip came asking”comrade I asked this question but you are not answering.” In the recess , I asked the district secretary (he is no more with us) about the questioner. He became agitated to see the name. Because that person was an anti-party element. I had felt he raised the question with ulterior motive, so that if I bluntly answer him that we must not believe in God, then he would get the chance to

campaign against our party. In the next session he stood up and asked in the house that comrade repeatedly I am asking the question, but you are not answering me. I said you will get your answer after my discussion. Then I told, Hazrat Mohammad himself told that before him three messengers of Allah namely Ibrahim, Musa, Isha came and he was the last one and they also must be respected. He said Ibrahim carried the message of Allah, Musa also carried the message of Allah and then again Isha also brought another message successively. But Hazrat Mohammad said, those messages were no more valid in his time. All three brought different messages one after another from the same Allah. I respect this Hazrat Mohammad. At that time people believed whatever was coming in their mind actually those were coming from super mind that is Almighty God or Allah. They honestly believed in that. They did not tell lie. At that time science did not develop to analyse the functioning of mind. They all were honest men and believed honestly that the supermind controls the human mind and if one honestly with full dedication in meditation prayed to God, definitely he would receive the message of God for the welfare of the mankind. Accordingly with full conviction they preached religious ideas. Hazrat Mohammad felt society had changed. Earlier messages of Allah were no more applicable. He again appealed to Allah for a new message. Whatever came in his mind, he told that it is a new message of Allah. Then I told the meeting, just see, Hazrat Mohammad rejected earlier messages of Allah and prayed for new message to guide people who were facing new problems of life. And then I asked why Allah sending one after another messenger to create conflicts? How is it justified? Because situation changes, accordingly message or path of truth also changes. So Koran and other religious books also cannot deal today's problems.

Questioner became silent. I do not know whether he was satisfied but house was satisfied. Now today also I use these arguments. Regarding discussion on religion you must be very careful. Even I told in mass meetings also that in Ramayana, Ramchandra without any question being instructed by King Dasharath went to forest. Dasharath was committed probably to his 4<sup>th</sup> wife and accordingly he instructed Ramchandra to go to forest. Sita and Laxman followed him. If today it happens that a father is instructing a son to go to the forest and son obeys what will happen then? Both father and son will be sent into mental hospital. Ramchandra instructed Sita to enter into fire to prove her chastity and Sita obeyed. Today if one man asks in that way he will be charged with attempt to murder and Sita will be charged with attempt to suicide. People simply laugh if you put in this way. So you have to deal these things intelligently and artfully.

Now let me deal with the next point. You know at the time of party formation what obstruction was faced by our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. At that time CPI was very powerful. Their leaders and cadres were mostly honest and dedicated. Great Stalin and Great Mao Ze Dong supported them. With 6 compatriots Comrade Shibdas Ghosh started the struggle to build up a real communist party in this soil. These are written in books, you know that. When we joined the party in 1950, Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Comrade Mubinul Hyder Chowdhury and myself, we used to face banter from CPI. They used to ask do you consider Shibdas Ghosh is greater than Stalin & Mao. We used to organize demonstration with just twenty or thirty peoples, not more than that we were able to mobilize. A public meeting addressed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was attended by 150 persons, or at best 200. But at the later part, of course

he addressed mammoth gatherings. When we joined the party we attended a class consisting of twenty to twenty five persons addressed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. We recollect those hard days. Now what is the position of CPI, CPI(M)? What CPI(M) did in West Bengal? What was the result? I tell you, BJP could not have gained so many seats in West Bengal without the help of CPI(M). In the last election CPI(M) got 28% vote. In this election it has been reduced to 7%. Where have gone those votes? It has gone to the pocket of BJP. CPI(M) supported BJP to dislodge TMC government with the hope that in the next term, CPI(M) will be able to capture power. Being faced with questions CPI(M) leaders are arguing in self defence that due to religious polarization their workers & supporters were carried away. Even if it is so, then an inescapable question will arise what sorts of leftist education not to speak of communist education they provided to their workers and supporters so that they are not swayed away by religion? CPI(M) leaders & cadres feel powerless without governmental power. They ruled for 34 years in West Bengal, but they have become so unpopular that even the section of people who are anti-TMC government due to its misrule, have considered BJP and not CPI(M) as an alternative to TMC. CPI(M) is practicing utter opportunism and has no principle at all. They themselves have exposed and disgraced themselves by their election oriented opportunist policies one after another. Their Party is now in disarray. In India, everywhere you will find honest CPI(M) workers, activists and honest left minded people who used to support them, now are thoroughly frustrated. They are raising questions. They are listening to our views, some of them are joining us also. In India now we are not facing those hurdles what we once faced from the united CPI and then the CPI(M). I can tell you, once in a joint public

meeting in Calcutta in 1952, when our party comrades insisted on allowing Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to speak in the meeting, initially they opposed, ultimately gave just one minute for Shibdas Ghosh. I was present in that meeting. In that meeting he created a sensation by speaking in one minute. But now the situation has changed to such an extent that the erstwhile CPI(M) General Secretary Prakash Karat came to Calcutta to talk with me. He also invited me for the first time to their Party Congress. You know this. Now CPI(M) is suggesting let us have a unity. They want to exploit the prestige of the SUCI(Communist). We are not against unity. But first they must break with Congress and other regional castiest, parochial parties. They must join militant left movement. A six-party combination was formed after our talk with them. We are in it. But the fact is it is now on ventilator. It is not at all working. Everywhere they are very much eager to combine with Congress and other parties. This political line they will continue, they cannot give up it. They cannot go back to the phase of their earlier militant left line. They cannot exist without assembly seats, parliament seats or without government. At least they have to remain in the corridors of power. In 1952, CPI was the largest opposition in the Parliament, now this time CPI(M) has won only one parliamentary seat with their own strength, two more seats with the blessings of DMK. CPI also got two seats in the same way. That is their position. Entire field is open for us, not only to develop as a real communist party but to develop as a real militant left party also. This is a scope before us.

Regarding honest CPI(M) followers, I will suggest that you do not engage in discussion with them in an aggressive manner. Observing the standard of each one, you talk with them very sympathetically, carefully and

patiently. Broadly there are three categories among them. One section is completely polluted. Second section is still with the party but bear criticism, differences and frustrations. Third section is ready to support us, even ready to join in some of our activities. Accordingly you give emphasis on 2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>rd</sup> section. First, listen to them, and then accordingly put your arguments in a convincing way. Tell them, you joined the party honestly with left and pro-communist mind. But now what is happening? Who is responsible for it? CPI(M) leadership, and its wrong political line is responsible. In this way, you put your arguments. Not that, you will quote from 'Why SUCI(C) is the only genuine communist party in India'. You can discuss on that book only with the advanced sections of the left minded and CPI(M) people. You can tell them entire history of undivided CPI and then CPI(M) which was a complete deviation from Marxism-Leninism. But ordinary CPI(M) cadres even do not know what is their political thesis. You will have to first tell them that their thesis is people's democratic revolution. That means alliance with the national bourgeoisie. They seek this alliance when national capitalism already reached the stage of monopoly, developed multinationals, exporting capital and emerged as a contending imperialist power. Theirs is an utter anti-Marxist formulation indeed. This is the one of the reasons or a plea that they discover progressive bourgeoisie in the bourgeois parties. First convince them and then involve these contacts, new comers in different new forums. Develop Save Education Committee, Anti imperialist Forum, Intellectual-Artist Forum, CPDRS, Committee fighting against communalism – different types of forums. In whatever forum they can be involved you develop that type of forums. Many of them may not join our party but they will help us. Involve them in these forums and in many

movements. And gradually through our association, love, affection and discussion, attract and convince them. That should be our approach. We will get a large number of CPI(M) followers and left minded people. Situation is very ripe for that. In local movements, in any programme if CPI(M) people like to join involve them. There is no difficulty. Even if a local unit of CPM wants to join with their banner in the movement there should not be any objection or rigidity in our approach. But remember although CPI(M) has sufficiently exposed and disgraced itself among the left & democratic minded people, ruling bourgeoisie in its class interest will fully back CPI(M) as a social democrat party with money and media power to mislead and disrupt class & mass struggles and distract attention from revolution to election.

Comrades, now to utilize this very excellent situation for the development of the party, class and mass fronts and for the development of class and mass struggles we must be prepared ideologically, organizationally, politically and ethically. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh repeatedly emphasized on this point. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee also emphasized on this point. I am also trying to put emphasis on the same point. Our comrades are very good, honest and dedicated. They are fighters also. Many of them sacrificed many things without expecting anything. But it is also a fact that due to the impact of social environment we are carrying many shortcomings. Firstly we are surrounded by a degraded capitalist environment. A capitalism which is completely polluted, decomposed and spreading poison everywhere destroying all human qualities. Constantly, daily hourly, in every minute this environment is pervading us, permeating us, corrupting us and causing constant relapses among ourselves into bourgeois individualism, selfishness, consumerism, immorality, various types of

weaknesses, lust for name, fame and post. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us to remain alert in every moment, because within me also there is contradiction between bourgeois and proletariat. In some aspects knowingly or unknowingly bourgeois approach is influencing me. In some other aspects consciously I am carrying proletarian approach. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh himself said that till the last breathe of his life he would have to prove that he was a revolutionary. This is a very difficult struggle. How we can be alert? It means we must have alert mind. I should alert my mind on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thought. When we study Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thoughts, we are to understand two aspects. One is the process of thinking, the process of judging things that is philosophical aspect, dialectical materialistic outlook. Understanding of this philosophy is general but it is to be particularly applied in particular concrete situation. Just like a doctor is examining a patient with the knowledge of general medical science, but when to diagnose whether it is TB Typhoid or Pneumonia, particular branch of science is to be applied. Whether it is electron or proton, what types of molecule these are – here application of a particular science is necessary. Similarly when we approach a social problem, economic, political, moral, ethical any problem or whenever we approach any organizational problem, or when we are dealing with a movement, or even while we are judging a comrade, everywhere this scientific philosophical outlook is to be concretely applied. Most of us are incapable to apply this science. It is very difficult to acquire this science. Only by reading three principles of contradiction i.e. unity and struggle between two opposite forces, from quantitative change to qualitative change & vice-versa, negation of negation and external contradiction, internal contradiction,

antagonism, non-antagonism, principal aspect of contradiction – you cannot acquire these concretely. Acquiring means to be able to understand whether this contradiction is antagonistic or non-antagonistic, what form of the unity and struggle between opposite forces are there, what is the state of change whether it is quantitative or qualitative, or how one is being negated by another negation, I can objectively visualize those laws governing a phenomenon concretely with all its particularities and peculiarities. According to science from smallest to biggest elements everything is in motion, in the process of change. Unless we can acquire the understanding of those laws governing the motion, i.e. understanding the principles of dialectical materialism, the only scientific philosophy, we cannot act consciously to accelerate the process of revolutionary movement. Comrades the leaders at least must acquire this capability by conducting hard struggle. Not by simply reading the books. That will be merely a scholastic knowledge. Only applying Marxism in all aspects of life including love & sex following the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, by constantly participating in building party and by conducting class and mass struggles we can acquire higher proletarian culture. Only that will enable us to realize and acquire Marxist philosophy. Remember, there are thousands of threads of capitalism. We are entangled by those knowingly or unknowingly. Our instinctive force, habitual force, that itself is a degraded bourgeois force. Unless we culturally change ourselves defeating bourgeois culture in all aspect of life and acquire proletarian culture and by that being impersonal identify ourselves with revolution I cannot acquire that Marxist science also. Next is, by applying this science Comrade Shibdas Ghosh propounded many theories on various national-international-organisational-cultural questions.

Those are guiding us. Since his time although not qualitative but some quantitative changes have been there. So following his teachings we are trying to elaborate some of his ideas to meet the concrete situation. Our literatures are carrying those things. History will say whether these elaborations are right or wrong. Comrades should also study these.

Comrades, firstly ideological and cultural struggle is necessary. We must know to discern from any political and topical incidents the manifestations of political, ethical, moral side of the ruling class. We must apply dialectical analysis in estimation of all aspects of life of the ruling class. We must be able to understand their economic nature, political and cultural features. We must acquire the capability to know the weakness and strength of our enemy. We must acquire the capability to understand by which deception they are confusing the masses and by various acts how they are serving their class interest. These things cannot be found in books. These things we can acquire from living incidents in our surroundings. Many incidents are happening. What is the public discussion around us? Sometime people may talk loudly, sometimes in whisper. We must follow those. Always we must have keen observation. Remember, only correct ideology and political line itself will not bring success. It has to be won by conducting hard struggle, a long stubborn struggle which demands firm discipline, unwavering conviction, undaunted spirit, clarity of mind, perseverance, unity of will and courage of the comrades. Here let me quote Great Stalin. He said, *“Victory never comes of itself – it usually has to be attained. Good resolutions & declarations in favour of the general line of the party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire for victory, but not the victory itself. After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution*

*of the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organized; on the organization of the struggle for the application of the party line; on the proper selection of personnel; on the way a check is kept on the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading bodies. Otherwise the correct line of the party and the correct solutions are in danger of being seriously prejudiced. Furthermore after the correct political line has been laid down, organizational work decides everything including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure.”*

It does not need any explanation comrades. It is an education for the communists of all over the world. So even if our line is correct that itself will not make us victorious. We will have to attain victory. We have to follow the teachings of Great Stalin. Comrades, let me remind you our great teachers Lenin, Stalin, Mao- Ze Dong and Shibdas Ghosh all of them have emphasized repeatedly – go to the masses, remain with the masses to raise their level of standard, to upgrade their level of standard, but not to degrade ourselves to their low standard. That is also lacking in our party. Comrades occasionally go to the people. Most of us have come from middle-class families. It is natural. Lenin said some of the bourgeois intellectuals developed the idea of scientific socialism because without the knowledge of science, history, economy and philosophy it cannot be developed. They were the product of class struggle. That is why concept of scientific socialism comes from without not from within the working class movement. Working class itself can acquire trade union consciousness. So it is the task of the de-classed middle class intelligentsia as a vehicle to carry it among the proletarian masses and to educate them accordingly. But if we cannot be declassified by conducting hard struggles invariably there will remain many bourgeois approaches in our life. In our family life,

in our centre life, in any places of our life we will reflect those. Last time in West Bengal MSS meeting I raised a point. A considerable section of the comrades who are now mothers, are developing their children in a different way. They have forgotten their past. How our illiterate parents took care for us. There was no impact of consumerism then. Now bourgeois approach is influencing them to build up the carrier of their children. Academic result, singing, dancing, swimming, this & that, many dresses, new dresses, mobile phones – these are coming. These are polluting the society. These are invading our life also. Once I asked a mother comrade do you know what is my academic degree? Do you know the degree of our leaders? I am not asking to give up the school-college education. But give emphasis and develop real manly character. That is the most important thing. Many bourgeois approaches are unknowingly invading us and we are getting habituated in that way. That is also a danger. Go to the slums, go to the workers' barracks, live with them just to see how their children are brought up, how they are staying during cold winter, at the time of hot summer, under torrential rains, their death due to starvation and absence of medical treatment. Then you can feel how capitalism is exploiting them cruelly. Out of that an emotional feeling will be generated. The emotional feeling must always keep our character alive. Once emotion develops, it may die out also. It is to be kept alive. Out of emotional feeling for the oppressed people we seek revolutionary ideology. That's why we need Shibdas Ghosh's Thought, we need SUCI (Communist). If the link with the common oppressed people is disconnected then merely good words, and speeches will not save us. Constantly I should ask my conscience- today what I have done for the oppressed people? What I did for the revolution? How I spent my

day? Ask yourself individually and collectively. So we will have to go to the oppressed people to learn from them, to educate them, to organize them, to live among them, to develop and keep alive our emotional feeling for them. There must not be any selection or preference, wherever oppressed people are found we should go there. Let me quote Great Lenin in this context. He taught us, *“In order to be able to help ‘masses’ and to win the sympathy, confidence and support of ‘the masses’, it is necessary to brave all difficulties and to be unafraid of the pinpricks, obstacles, insults and persecution of the ‘leaders’; and it is imperatively necessary to work wherever the masses are to be found. Every sacrifice must be made, the greatest obstacles must be overcome, in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly, persistently and patiently, precisely in those institutions, societies and associations – even the most reactionary – to which proletarian or semi-proletarian masses belong ... 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, influence of the reactionary leaders ...”* Just see, Lenin is asking us even to work in a most reactionary association or organization if there are proletarian or semi-proletarian masses.” This is the guideline of Lenin. Comrades, we have to develop our class fronts. A good number of comrades from all states should be deputed to develop trade union front. This is very much lacking. Young energetic leadership is necessary here. Party state committee must look after it. Other trade unions have practically deserted the trade union struggle. They are bribed by the bourgeoisie. Already I have told barring DSO, DYU, KOMSOMOL all women comrades of the party and MSS should be

deputed for unorganized sectors, where millions of poor women are working. Out of poverty, they left their homes and joined the rank of semi-proletariat and proletariat. They are very vocal and militant. Organize them. If you can win them you will get millions of families. Generally women are better than men because women do bear more responsibility in family life. They have to look after family, children. Only some upper class women are victim of alcohol, some other addiction and ultra-modernism. Ordinary women are not victim of that. If you can win a woman you can win her husband, her children also. So organize them. Depute comrades also to organize male workers in unorganized sectors. Similarly in organized sector also if there is no contact organize gate meetings. Party should involve party comrades, youths and student volunteers who will address those meetings, they will go to the worker's barracks to organize coaching classes, to organize medical camps in slum areas, by that you will find out contacts and develop organization in organized sectors. You can develop committees in the slum areas, in workers' barracks. Out of that you can develop union also. Large number of workers are there. Similarly in the villages all village party committee should develop peasants' organization. In India, peasants are in a vast number. You organize them. Peasants are the worst sufferers and mostly unorganized. Lakhs are committing suicide out of distress. Sometime sporadic outburst are here and there. They need organization. They need proletarian leadership. Party committee should look after it. You must give emphasis on DSO, DYU, MSS and KOMSOMOL also. From here you will get cadres. Party should look after it.

I am having another suggestion. There are states which are yet to be explored, there are areas in states which are yet to be explored. In South India, I already

suggested in Central Committee meeting, Kerala and Karnataka should undertake to help Tamilnadu, Puducherry, Goa and other areas. Regarding West Bengal and Odisha they will send cadres to explore and develop in Hindi speaking zones. It is the responsibility of Assam to develop Tripura and other North-Eastern states. Depute comrades in new areas. At the time of party formation, when cadres were very few, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh sent Comrades Sachin Banerjee, Pritish Chanda, Hiren Sarkar, Tapas Dutta and others to develop organization in other states. He sent Comrades Krishna Chakraborty, Asit Bhattacharyya in different areas. He sent Comrade Mobinul Hyder Chowdhury to build up party in Bangladesh. Today, a if one is released from an area or front then some comrades feel our local committee, our district, our front will suffer. Even a weak state like Gujarat has released comrade Mukesh for Uttarakhand, a newly explored state. You have heard his very inspiring report that within two years he has developed organization there. Not only the organization developed in a new state, that comrade has also developed. Our weapon is very powerful. Wherever we preach Comrade Ghosh's ideas and views on the basis of his teachings, it evokes tremendous response. Entire India is thirsty, crying for leadership, crying for new path. We can provide it. So comrades have to be released for that.

Another point, despite this victory of BJP, there are severe grievances among the masses on burning issues of life. Gunpowder of grievances are accumulated. At any moment it can burst forth and explode at any place in the form of spontaneous outburst as happened in earlier times, like peasants outbursts, workers outbursts, students outbursts. That situation is still prevailing. We must be prepared for it. A revolutionary party must be prepared for any eventuality. Situation is continuously changing.

The change is diverse and sometime very rapid. We must be prepared to adapt to the changed situation. Immediately we have to adapt to any new situation. Anything can happen at any moment which may not be foreseen. A calm period may give way to a stormy period or a favorable situation may turn into most unfavorable condition and accordingly without minimum delay we will have to change our form of organizations and activities. A communist must have the mind to protest against any injustice even if he is alone. Against any sort of injustice or crime I must object and protest. If I compromise, that will destroy my character. There is a plenty scope of developing movement throughout the country. You must develop movement everywhere. Sometime, there are sparks of discontents flying around us and at any moment any spark can turn into a big fire. We must be prepared for all these eventualities. And while developing this movement raise the point whether in respect of problems of life there is any difference between Hindus & Muslims? Is the unemployment problem affecting only the Hindus and not the Muslims? Is there any special price rise for Hindus not for Muslims? All the problems of life are same, we all are attacked, we are all exploited. There is no question of religious division here. Only division is between rich and poor, exploiter and exploited. This is the only division. Religious minority section of the people of our country is very much terror-stricken. Go to them, mix with them. Tell them, if you seek Muslim solidarity and for that choose a political party to save you, you will only be played at the hands of the particular party and will be exploited as vote bank of that party. You have been exploited many times in that way. You join this class struggle, democratic movement, there is no religious barrier here. Convince them in this way. Unity in class

struggles and democratic mass movements is the only guarantee against communalism, caste and tribal eviction. At the time of movement we can educate the people. Struggles and movements are the best educators for the common people. Common people do not attend school of politics. They do not attend political classes. They get lessons from struggles. At the time of struggle flashes of rudimentary political consciousness gleam in the minds of people. That is the moment you can introduce your political views in them. Who is the real enemy? Apparently people feel government is the enemy, but we will have to prove that the real enemy is the capitalist class. We should link it in a way that they can understand. There we can fight communalism. Why this communal approach is there, because they plan to divide the proletarian people. They are dividing the poor people. They are diverting people's attention from class and mass struggles to communal riots. That is a heinous conspiracy. They are emphasizing on religious and communal ideas because they are to use religion as opium. They say, you are unemployed, starving, dying, because you have committed sins in previous life, it is your bad fate. That is why they need religion. Tell people and expose the ruling class at the time of movement. Similarly fight caste oppression, tribal eviction, free them from exclusiveness and involve them in class and mass struggles against real enemy i.e. capitalism. At the time of movement you will find many brave fighters. They show their valour, courage, undaunted spirit. Choose them and contact them. You will find many brave cadres. Develop this type of class and mass struggle everywhere on local, district, state, national issues. Even if a rudimentary form of discontent is there, you utilize it to organize a movement. That is our task.

In every area in one's locality each comrade must be

a friend of at least 100 families. Each comrade in his/her locality whether you are All India leader or state leader it is immaterial, you visit the houses. If they do not want political talk, avoid it. Talk about family problems, local problems and on local issues, civic issues. Ask for tea, or for a glass of water, in this way you enter that house. Mix with them, attract them by your culture, character, behaviour. If they feel attraction they will accept you. By that they will accept party also. You must develop your root in the locality. We must not be the rootless in the locality. All comrades must implement 11 points tasks meticulously. These are not merely programmes, but should be the mode of life of a revolutionary. Spare two hours in the morning on Sunday to organize sports & other cultural programmes involving local children to build up their character. They are getting spoiled by degraded filthy culture of capitalism. Save them, it is our humane duty. In the corners of the streets or in the tea stalls there are young people gossiping, mix with them in friendly way. In India there are millions and millions of young people unemployed or migrant labourers. They are having migrant culture also. They are daring, desperate but devoid of moral values and social obligation. They can do anything. They are the victim of the vile culture, filthy culture, but they are a force. They are purchased by bourgeois parties. Unhesitatingly you will have to mix with them. Hate their culture but do not hate them. As Comrade Mao Ze Dong taught us fight the disease, save the patient. Win these forces. Change these forces. They are sufferers, oppressed but misguided and polluted. If we cannot win and change them, then this young force who are now being utilized in election they will be a force against movements and revolutionary struggles in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Another point, in the society almost all the values have been destroyed. Corrupt

bourgeoisie is corrupting the masses. Rampant corruption is there in the peasant family, workers family, in the village life. Old village life is completely shattered now. That is the position presently. Comparatively it is easy to involve them in movement, but it is very difficult to change them culturally. For that you have to conduct a hard struggle, a cultural movement to uplift their morality. What happened in the election? People wait for election because they will get money. People feel these leaders will do nothing. Only thing they can get is some amount of money or some material benefits. This mentality has developed throughout the country. Note that for a proletarian revolutionary party it is very difficult to win election today. Unless an area is developed on the basis of class struggle, and masses are educated on the basis of revolutionary education in the furnace of class battle, these masses will be bribed and carried away by the ruling class. Earlier the situation was not so deteriorated as it is turning out to be now. All the states, districts and local units must select some areas to develop them as mass base where most of the downtrodden families, exploited people can feel observing our diverse activities that SUCI(Communist) is the only party serving their interest.

Comrades, there are difficulties, problems and disadvantages. But there are also possibilities, potentialities and advantages. Both are there. We are to decide how to utilize this excellent situation. Here I quote an appeal of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh made in 1974. He appealed, "On one side there are big hurdles, many difficulties, but on the other side is the prestige of the party, the interest about the party's political assessments, that is, the interest about the party that has grown in the people's mind and the possibility of the party's expansion. If we correctly understand these, we would realize that it

is an excellent time in the history of the party's development. In other words, if we make good use of the present circumstances, compared to all in the past, the present time is very good for us. Good does not mean that there is less opposition. Good time means that it is an excellent time to grow, if the party workers can show the stamina, the working ability, the political consciousness and the maturity to politically combat the opposition in all spheres, to properly develop party bodies and committees of mass organizations. It is because the public want to hear us, they harbour a soft feeling for us. And not only among the public but, in spite of all the opposition, even among the rank and file of different parties the direct and indirect influence of SUCI's analysis comes to notice. We can see this from its many symptoms. Hence, at this juncture it is necessary to close further the ranks of our party. The individual initiative of every party worker has to be increased, his political consciousness elevated, his ability to carry out political activities, his style of overall collective functioning, his working style — all these have to be developed further and made adequate to meet the need of the hour... Each party worker should try to augment his political initiative, raise the level of his political consciousness, so that his individual political and organizational initiative in the spheres of political movements, of various struggles of daily life and of discharging his various responsibilities gets augmented more. What it means is not the taking down of instructions from leaders at every moment, being briefed by them and then acting according to it. It means equally to act using one's prudence when instructions come, and to act according to one's own contemplation when there are no instructions. When a question is being raised, I should be able to provide the answer myself; I do not have to rush to the leaders. I may commit some

mistakes, but I would myself learn from them, or others would point them out. In this way one has to equip oneself... Under the given circumstances, a historical responsibility has devolved on us, whether we want it or not. One course would be to shirk this responsibility, and thereby go down in history as cowards; the other course open to us would be to accept as a challenge, manly and as a revolutionary, the responsibility that has devolved on us. But it is not enough to just resolve to act. To act would mean to release a torrent of efforts, initiative and preparation.” This appeal was made in 1974. All of you surely will agree that situation is hundred times excellent today for the growth of the party.

Shall we respond to this call of our departed great leader? Ask our conscience? Now the present situation demands who can dare to carry forward the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh’s thought? It is only we who can dare to carry forward this great banner. Who can highlight the nobility of the great idea of communism which was tarnished by the social democrats? Only we can highlight the nobility of communism in this soil. Entire mankind is crying for emancipation. Who can provide that path? Only the party who is carrying forward the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh’s Thought, banner of internationalism, the great party founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh i.e. SUCI(Communist). It is our task to develop our party, class struggles and mass struggles in the soil of our country. If we can develop it only then we can help to develop international communist movement also at this critical hour. In other countries also there are spontaneous movements and struggles. There will appear more movements like Great Wall Street Movement in USA, many strikes in Europe, which will cry for leadership, but no leadership is there. If we can develop our party here

with the requisite strength we can help them and provide them with real guidance. That is the urgent need of the hour. This is our international obligation too. So again I call upon you. You are all young cadres. You change yourselves completely accordingly to the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in order to carry forward this noble banner, that is my appeal to you all. Let me here conclude.

Red Salute to you all.

Long Live Revolution  
Long Live SUCI (Communist)  
Red Salute to our great departed leader  
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh