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The only way of wresting concessions from the bourgeoisie is not by 'bringing' with it not 'adepting' ourselves to its interests or prejudices, but by preparing the revolutionary forces of the masses against it.

— V. I. LENIN

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7th all-India AIDSO Conference in Calcutta

Largest Students' Gathering in Recent Memory

The flag was unfurled 53 years back. In 1954, AIDSO was founded in Kolkata in a small hall by a handful of students who, at the call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist thinker, took the pledge to fight capitalist onslaughts on education and build up militant students' movement conducive to anti-capitalist revolution. And now, AIDSO was holding the 7th All India Students' Conference in Kolkata with 2150 delegates from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Delhi, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Assam, Tripura, Sikkim, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal and with fraternal delegates from Bangladesh and Nepal.

On 8 January '08 was the open session of the Conference at Rani

Rashmoni road. The huge dais draped in red went up high boldly proclaiming its battle against fee hike, sex education, GATS, SEZ, etc. On the left of the dais was put up a big portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh bordered with a deep line of white flowers. Two huge spirited processions, one from Howrah and the other from Sealdah Railway stations, converged at the venue turning into a tumultuous sea of vibrant students. They voiced slogans in their mother tongues and in English presenting a mini India before the wonder eyes of the people flanking the huge rally of the might of over 30,000. "No one has seen such a massive students' gathering in recent times", commented a leading Bengali daily in their next day's edition. The open session began with Comrade Pratap Samal, President AIDSO, on the

chair. Seated on the dais were Comrades Provash Ghosh, Central Committee member, SUCI and advisor, AIDSO, Debasish Roy, General Secretary, AIDSO, and fraternal delegates Comrades Fakhruddin Kabir Adik, Vice-President, Socialist Students' Front of Bangladesh and Jivan Gautam, President, All Nepal Free Students' Union (Unified).

Also present were AIDSO leaders from the 20 participating states.

In his opening remarks, Comrade Navendu Pal, West Bengal State Secretary, pointed out how the CPI(M)-led West Bengal government put up obstacles by cancelling booking of the Salt Lake stadium, the originally scheduled conference venue, at the last hours, refusing allotment of government

Contd. on page 2



Massive students' gathering in the open session of AIDSO conference on January 8 in Calcutta

Students' movement must conduce to anti-capitalist revolution

Contd. from page 1

buses at concessional rate, a traditional and legally valid practice, and advancing examination dates to coincide with the conference dates. Comrade Pratap Samal drew a vivid picture as to how AIDS starting its journey five decades back has through struggle and braving all odds become such a big organization. The massive students' gathering, he observed, bore eloquent testimony to this massive growth and expansion. Comrade Debasish Roy stressed the role of AIDS in taking up the cause of the toiling people while conducting sustained movements against all-out attack on education. Comrade Fakhruddin Kabir Adik presented a detailed picture of the mounting assault on education in Bangladesh and narrated how his organization drawing inspiration from the illuminating thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is building up revolutionary students' movement there. Comrade Jivan Gautam said that both Indian expansionism and US imperialism are out to destroy mass movements in Nepal. All Nepal Free Students' Union (Unified) is engaged in building up movements on education.

Next Comrade Provas Ghosh addressed the students' rally. He said: When we started AIDS, we were a handful few. Our only weapon was Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. With this weapon, through countless struggles AIDS has reached the present stage of strength all over the country. The concept of secular scientific education free from tutelage of religion was brought by the bourgeoisie during the advent of capitalism as a progressive force. But now capitalism having been turned reactionary, is reversing the current and opting to curtail education, rob it of its essence and stuff it with all unscientific rotten

thoughts. Bereft of the ideals of secular scientific democratic universal education, man will turn into beast. Congress-BJP-CPI(M), as political managers of the ruling bourgeoisie, are, through their governments at the Centre and in the states taking up measures after measures to buttress its class motive. All sorts of rotten debased culture, sex perversion, drug addictions, social alienation, meanness, ego-centricism, utter opportunism, crass individualism, religious fanaticism, obscurantism, communalism, parochialism are being merrily encouraged, overtly or covertly, to turn the students and youths in particular into beasts.

Absence of desired enlightenment through secular scientific education is helping this nefarious design in implementation. On one hand, sex and violence is widely promoted through cinema, TV, obscene literature and so forth while on the other, sex education is being introduced at school level on the plea of stymieing the pernicious effect of sex perversion on the children. Alongside, the ruling class is closing the door of education to millions by steep fee hike, capitation fee and donation system. Plunged in severe market crisis endemic of the system, imperialism-capitalism is closing down existing industries throwing millions out of job and turning back from setting up job-breeding labour-intensive industries. Instead, in its bid to find new avenues for earning maximum profit, it is now turning education into a commercial commodity. So education is being made exorbitantly costly and affordable only to a handful of rich. The ruling class has included education in GATS. Thus it has commercialized education opening the door for super profit in the field of knowledge also. Also there is

Contd. on page 12

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Message to the Students' Conference

On the occasion of the Seventh All India Students' Conference of the All India Democratic Students' Organization, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, Socialist Unity Centre of India, sent the following message on 8-1-08 :

It is heartening to note that the All India Democratic Students' Organization (AIDS) is going to hold its seventh All India Students' Conference from January 8 to January 10, 2008 in the city of Calcutta, that has remained through decades a citadel of democratic movements of students in particular and people in general. It is significant more so, because the AIDS is a students' organization that was founded at the inspiration of and guided by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the present era and the founder General Secretary of SUCI, the revolutionary party of the country, with a view to not only conducting democratic movements on problems of student as well as teaching community and of education, but also imbuing students with revolutionary consciousness based on correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the edifice of high moral and ethical values.

As far back as in those days, Comrade Ghosh pointed out that any education movement should be directed to make education truly scientific, secular, cheap and universal at the same time fighting for democratization of the entire educational system. While secularism means non-recognition of any supernatural entity, a secular state must neither encourage nor obstruct faith, thus leaving religion as a matter of personal belief. But in our country, secularism as practiced came down to equal encouragement of all religions by the state. Even religion was, and is, incorporated into education, thus reducing democratic and scientific education, for which the leading educationists and stalwarts of the Indian renaissance had fought, to mere verbosity. This made Comrade Ghosh fix the tasks of students to uncompromisingly fight for secular, scientific and democratic education. Through his brilliant analysis, he

indicated that the prevailing capitalist society of the country, as a part and parcel of the world moribund capitalist-imperialist system, is bogged in an all-out crisis, economic-political-social-cultural. Acute industrial recession leads to closure, lay-off and such others, in turn giving way to ever-mounting unemployment, job-crunch and such other maladies.

Unable to cope with them and rather with a view to restricting the number of educated unemployed, the ruling class has long been curtailing the scope of education for common people. Comrade Ghosh made it clear to the students that they must fight tooth and nail against such curtailment and restriction of education. Side by side, Comrade Provas Ghosh emphasized, education is being robbed of its essence, its man-making, character-building role that fortifies students with rational scientific outlook towards life, instilled with lofty moral-ethical and cultural values making them valiant competent soldiers in the march for social progress. It is only by dint of such education that students acquire the capacity to find out the roots of evils that stand in the way of progress of society as also the correct path to eradicate those impediments and open the course of progress.

It is also by dint of such education that student can develop themselves into characters that stand out as laudable examples before the society. On the contrary, the ruling class has been opposing this correct and desirable approach to education, through their slogans of job-oriented or vocational education, stripping education off its essence. Further, by incorporating religion into education and by emphasizing upon the technological aspects in place of true scientific outlook in education and true scientific and systematic reasoning, the capitalist rulers has

Contd. on page 10



A view of the dais of delegate session

On the Recent Happenings in Latin America —Maelstrom of Anti-Imperialist struggle

[Continued from previous issue]

Upheaval with anti-imperialist battle-cry

But the people of Latin America did not accept all these devastating maneuvers lying down. An unprecedented upsurge of mass demonstrations, strikes, popular revolts, dislodged from power the authoritarian rulers who followed the 'Washington Consensus'. Governments after governments were toppled either by way of electoral defeats or as a sequel to direct mass action. Let us have a glimpse of the picture.

In Mexico, the peasants halted building of multi-million-dollar airport on agricultural lands by the multinational-local entrepreneur-government combine. On 1st August of 1994, the peasants of Chiapas burst forth in a massive resistance movement against the decision of the Mexican government to join NAFTA, an imperialist economic bloc. This is known as the historic "Japatista rebellion". That followed a nine-month long historic strike by "General Strike Committee" formed of students, teachers, guardians, trade unions, left parties and groups against privatization and commercialization of education in April 1999. Later on, the strike committee captured the University Campus (UNAM) on 6th February 2000 and was fired upon by US special commandos and Ernesto Zedillo government army killing 700 students and injuring 5000. On 27-28 February of 2001, 25 thousand strong students demonstrated and gheraoed the meeting place of World Economic Forum (WEF) in Kanbul of Mexico that resulted in a barricade fight with police followed by country-wide general strike.

In Bolivia, the 'Movement Towards Socialism' (MAS), a confederation of left parties and groups developed a series of powerful movements. Among them, the first 'water war' against President Sanchez Lohada's government which sold off the water resources of Bolivia to US multinational company 'Betchelet' in 1999, was a historic one in which 100 protesters were killed. Finally the privatization process had to be abandoned. The second 'water war' against French multinational Suez

Lyonnais compelled President Carlos Mesa to relinquish power in June 2005.

In Argentina, in May 2000 two lakh people put up a blockade before the luxurious hotel of the capital, Buenos Aires where representatives of World Bank and IMF were staying in. This was followed by a general strike of 9th June, a 72-hour strike on 23-25 November. In December 2001, hundreds and thousands of poor, impoverished middle class people, retrenched workers, and unemployed youths demonstrated before the President's palace. 30 agitators fell to the bullets of the police. So severe was the people's outburst against this ghastly killing that President De la Rúa had to flee the country. In January 2004, 3-million strong unemployed workers defied police firing and captured 160 factories. On 23rd May the parliament was laid on seize.

In Brazil, the people fought pitched battle with the armed forces of the government, sacrificed many lives and ultimately succeeded in ousting President Caraduso regime. Later on, 22 days' continued strike over pension bill and the agitation of the landless peasants' (by MST) for distribution of land forced the government to relent.

Chile saw lakhs of health workers coming out in the streets against cut in health budget as per the dictates of WB-IMF in November 2002. Health workers including 30 thousand doctors and 1 lakh nurses fought a barricade fight with the police of president Ricardo Legas. On August, 2003 14 lakhs government employees launched a prolonged strike against withdrawal of allowances, security benefits as well as against wage-cut dictated by the World Bank-IMF combine. On March 2004, 40 thousand mine workers went on a 72 days' strike, demanding minimum wages, health insurance to the multinational owners of copper mines and conceded demands. In 1990, massive mass upheaval ousted General Pinochet, the American stooge, from power of Chile.

In Uruguay, the people under the leadership of "Broad Front" fought and stalled privatization of power sector and civic water supply. Under pressure of movement, the newly elected President Tobaró

Varquez had to announce dissociation from US hegemonic bloc FTAA with the slogan "yes Cuba, no Yankee".

In Dominican Republic, in 1984, an upsurge of ten thousand strong people, of slum dwellers and trade union prolonged over a three days against Bank-Fund policies was brutally put down by President Jorge Blanco. 186 protesters were killed.

In Honduras, in March 2006, 50 thousand strong students' demonstrators took to the streets of Tegucigalpa, the capital, and engaged in barricade fight with the police demanding withdrawal of US army base and US armies from the region

In Peru, the people halted the attempt of the Canadian Manhattan Mining Corporation to grab agricultural land, public land and water resources. In 1989, the IMF dictated bus-fare hike was militantly opposed by the people of Venezuela by blocking capital Caracas from all sides. United Fruit Company of America, the MNC, who owned and controlled trade in banana, coffee, cocoa etc., in Costa Rica had to retreat in the face of militant protests by the peasants of indigenous origin against privatization and globalization. Revolt of indigenous people of Ecuador in 1997, 2000 and 2005 compelled the government to yield. Nicaragua and El Salvador had become legendary for popular revolt against US overlordism which the Pentagon rulers branded as "insurgencies". In this way, the "anti globalization" movement in Latin America had risen to a glorious height over the last two decades, examples of which cited above are a few for record. Over and above, these countries are calling for a "Bolivarian Alternative" to "globalization" that attracts a special mention.

The "Bolivarian Alternative"

Nowhere in the world the policy of 'Washington Consensus' has been so expansively and rigidly implemented and also rejected so loudly as in Latin America. No doubt, the people of Latin America have been setting brilliant examples of struggle against imperialism, US-imperialism in particular, that has been stirring not only the American

continent but also inspiring the anti-imperialist fighters round the world at a crucial time when global imperialism led by US imperialists appears to be unassailable, particularly after the invasion of Iraq. The myth that in this age of 'globalization', "there is no alternative" (enunciated by Margaret Thatcher) but to comply with imperialism — is being shattered by the heroic people of Latin America. In this background, championing the fight against the US imperialism and following the footsteps of the great nationalist fighter Simon Bolivar who dreamt of a "greater Colombian Federation" in Latin America, Hugo Chavez, President of Venezuela has given a call for a "Bolivarian Alternative for the Americans", ALBA (Alternative Bolivariana para las Americas in Spanish).

Hugo Chavez's party, Fifth Republic Movement (MVR) along with some other small radical forces including some left parties are in governmental power in Venezuela since 1998 with some undulation and interruptions in between like surviving a coup d'etat by US backed military officials in 2002, a prolonged 'strike' by the 'oligarchy' in 2003, 'Recall referendum' in 2004. He was re-elected as the President of Venezuela in December 2006 for 6 years to come. Some democratic reforms undertaken by him with the people's support annoyed the US regime so much that its spokesperson Condoleezza Rice indicted him as "a negative force in the region." He re-nationalized all important oil-field that jeopardized US interests. The national oil company (PDVSA) was for the first time fully nationalized after a bitter struggle in 2003. There was a spree of nationalization of industries including huge aluminum industry. He stopped privatization of social security sector, enhanced budgetary allocation for health, education and creation of employment opportunities. He constituted an "Intervention Commission" for land reforms. He bypassed dollar by establishing non-monetary barter deals for its cheap oil with over a dozen Latin American and Caribbean countries. Cuban doctors, numbering 20 thousand, took the responsibility of

Contd. on page 4

Establish working class leadership over the anti-imperialist struggle

Contd. from page 3

providing health care services to the Venezuelan people in exchange for cheap oil. Chavez is helping Latin American countries to rid themselves of the Bank-Fund loan once for all ('pay-off and withdraw policy') by supplying them cheap oil. He at present is reportedly trying to build up a socialist party in his country.

While defying American dictates himself, Hugo Chavez is also attempting to unite other countries of Latin America against US overlordism and has met with some success. US imperialism had in 1948 created an organization of American states (OAS) in Bogotá, Colombia for tying the Latin American countries with pan-American policies. But when US imperialism in a meeting of 2005 sought to isolate Venezuela within OAS, the move was thwarted by other members of the OAS. Defying the threats of George Bush, Venezuela, Argentina and Uruguay with socialist Cuba, established their own news and TV network called TELESUR. The economic bloc of FTTA (Free Trade Area of Americans) formed in 1994 was a brainchild of US imperialism for introducing 'free trade, American style' that allowed US access to all Latin American markets but not the reverse. The said move however has been foiled. As an alternative to that MERCOSUR, a regional trade agreement with Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Venezuela as members and Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador and Peru as associate members has been launched. Efforts are also on to form a larger union of South American Nations (UNASUR). All these efforts signify a very formidable resistance to US hegemonism in Latin America. The Bolivarian Alternative for the Americans is a bold step against the vile attempt of US imperialism and aims at a regional economic integration with the vision of social welfare and mutual economic aid among the Latin American countries.

Cry for socialism is also there

Though inconsistent at times, in Latin America, there is emergence of a new breed of leadership who is trying to articulate pro-people and anti-imperialist aspirations of the

people. Hugo Chavez of Venezuela, Evo Morales of Bolivia, Lula Da Silva of Brazil, Mrs. Cristina Kintchner of Argentina, Michelle Bachlet of Chile, Manuel Lopez Obrador of Mexico, Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, Alan Garcia of Peru, Rafael Correa of Ecuador, Tapare Vosquez of Uruguay, Rene Pravel of Haiti and the like form part of this emergent leadership. But it is also observed that some parties or groups of various nomenclatures, who are coming to power riding on the crest of anti-imperialist movements, are later striking compromises with imperialist machinations to backstab people's cause. This no doubt is matter of concern. But we are also happy to note that in many of the cases, militant people's movement has forced the misguided leadership to backtrack and revert to pro-people stand.

Of course, Cuba stands distinguishably alone as a socialist country consistently combating US imperialism. Cuba has also become the inspiration to the fighting people of whole of Latin America who long for eradication of all exploitation of man by man. The exemplary facilities of healthcare, education, food, shelter available to the common man in socialist Cuba, their economic and social progress are keeping the hope alive in the people of Latin America who look forward to the day socialism would extend to all their motherlands. Cuba is also helping the fighting people of Latin America by all means (of which sending 20 thousand doctors and health workers to Venezuela is an example). She, under the spirited leadership of Fidel Castro is successfully repulsing all covert attacks and foiling all conspiracies of US imperialism to dismantle her socialist system and in the process is performing the role of a forerunner in spearheading anti-US-imperialist struggle of Latin America. We also observe that leaders of some countries, particularly Hugo Chavez of Venezuela is speaking about "socialism" as the only path of emancipation. Speaking at the closing session of 'World Social Forum' at Port Alegre of Brazil on 30th January 2005, he enthusiastically said, "It is necessary to transcend capitalism ... But capitalism cannot be transcended from within capitalism itself, but through socialism, true socialism

with equality and justice." He has already undertaken some pro-people reforms in the system. Yet, it is a matter of serious and detailed analysis whether his rhetoric of socialism is in consonance with the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism and hence we postpone it for a separate discussion in the pages of Proletarian Era in future.

United Movement – Need of the Hour

It is thus clear from the picture described above that the people of Latin America alongside fighting against the mounting oppression on their life and livelihood are fuming in rage against imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular. Under pressure of movement, the stooges of US imperialism had to backtrack on many occasions, even bow out of power. In this situation, top most priority is to be given on organizing, stepping up and intensifying with every passing day the anti-US imperialist movements in these countries with all out involvement of the toiling masses groaning under the yoke of savage exploitation, either capitalist or semi-colonial aided and abetted by the Pentagon rulers. All movements on the burning problems of life must be so developed against the ruling classes of the respective countries conniving with the Pentagon rulers to fulfill their sinister class motive and aspiration by ruining the people as to be conducive to this anti-US imperialist movement. The imperialist assault in every sphere of life-- economic, political or social-- and in whatsoever form it comes, must be resisted and repulsed. This warrants broadest possible unity of all sections of the oppressed masses. All patriotic forces need to be combined within a broad based united front and necessary organization as well as mentality to carry out this all important struggle on a prolonged basis ought to be developed. Such a sustained uncompromising battle against US imperialism which stands today as a demon with fangs of enormous military might, money power and fathomless chicanery that stops at nothing to perpetuate its monstrous exploitation round the world, can be conducted best in the desired manner if there exist genuine revolutionary forces or parties in these countries. In the light of correct Marxist analysis,

they would surely understand that the spate of anti-imperialist movements sweeping across Latin American countries do have the potential and possibility to free people not only from the clutches of US imperialism and its associates but to pave the way for this much-cherished socio-political revolutions provided they are conducted adroitly along the correct base political line of revolution. Hence, they would surely take upon themselves the essential task of steering and gearing the movements uncompromisingly on that line by functioning as the core. If no such forces have evolved so far in the process of struggle, conduction of a fierce well-knit anti-US imperialism movement with an uncompromising tone and direction combining all patriotic forces on a broader platform, we are of firm opinion, will create necessary conditions for emergence of such real revolutionary forces or organizations in these capitalist or semi-colonial countries. Because, as shown by Lenin, in the present era of moribund decadent capitalism when world capitalism has entered the stage of imperialism and turned reactionary, the bourgeoisie in all countries, even the bourgeoisie who are participating in the national liberation struggles or anti-imperialist national movements in colonial countries, as part and parcel of world reactionary capitalism, ceased to have a revolutionary character and destined to make compromises with imperialism at one stage or the other backstabbing the people's cause. Hence, it is imperative to establish working class leadership on these struggles to lead them to logical culmination. Otherwise, these struggles would either be aborted midway or end in a half-baked and truncated way. So in course of conducting the movement forming a united front, whatever little anti-imperialist role the various compromising forces of different hues within the movements have will be exhausted, their non-revolutionary character will get exposed and they will be then isolated from the masses paving the way for establishing genuine revolutionary working class leadership. From this perspective, conduction of the anti-imperialist struggle under the aegis of a united front of all anti-imperialist patriotic forces is not an exigency but necessity.

It is also imperative that since the anti-imperialist struggles round the Latin American belt is mainly

Contd. on page 11

Memorial Meeting in Calcutta

Glowing Tribute to Comrade Tapas Dutta

The memorial meeting of Comrade Tapas Dutta, veteran member of the Central Committee and Orissa state secretary, SUCI and a renowned mass leader was held at Rani Rashmoni Road, Calcutta, on 11 January last with deep reverence and revolutionary discipline. The huge dais with the portrait of the departed leader on it was adorned with 82 half-mast Red Flags from top to bottom symbolizing 82 years of his struggling life. Before the meeting, floral tributes were paid by different state leaders of the party, central leaders of All India class and mass organizations and on behalf of Party organs.

Thereafter, wreaths were placed by Comrades Mihir Banerjee, Shyamal Chakraborty and Kalyan Goswami, on behalf of RSP, CPI (M) and CPI(ML), Liberation, respectively.

The formal proceedings began with garlanding of the portrait of Comrade Tapas Dutta by the central leaders of the party. First of all, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member, Central Committee placed a bouquet of 82 roses on behalf of our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. Then floral tribute was paid by Comrades Anil Sen, veteran member, Central Committee, Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Central Staff on behalf of ailing Comrade Sukomol Dasgupta, member, Central Committee as well as on his own behalf, Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Central Staff on behalf of ailing Central Committee member Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta as also on his own behalf, Comrades Provas Ghosh, Asit Bhattacharyya and Krishna Chakraborty, all members of the Central Committee. Then the song composed on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was rendered and Guard of Honour paid by the young communists of Komsomol. One minute's silence was observed as a mark of respect to the memory of the departed leader. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, president of the meeting, read out the text of the tribute by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, beloved General Secretary of the party and Comrade Ranjit Dhar read out the condolence message of Comrade Khalequzzaman, Convenor of the Socialist Party of Bangladesh (BASAD) sent by Comrade Mobinul Haider Chowdhury, member, central committee, BASAD. Then representatives from fraternal parties were invited to speak. Comrade Kalyan Goswami, member, central committee, CPI(ML), Liberation, said that as a great artist and revolutionary, Comrade Dutta found beauty not simply in carved stone or paintings, but in life, society and man. To him revolution was the greatest art. Comrade Mihir Banerjee of RSP

also paid glowing tribute to the revolutionary memory of Comrade Tapas Dutta.

Then Comrade Provas Ghosh rose to address the meeting as the main speaker. He said: Today we have gathered here to pay our respect to an outstanding revolutionary soldier who was indoctrinated and inspired by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. Many had come in contact with the revolutionary thoughts of Marx and Engels, but everybody did not become Lenin; many had come in contact with the thoughts of Lenin, but everybody did not become Stalin, Mao Zedong or Shibdas Ghosh. Likewise, many including ourselves had come in contact with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. But everybody could not become Nihar Mukherjee, Sachin Banerjee, Subodh Banerjee, Pritish Chanda, Hiren Sarkar, Ashutosh Banerjee, or Tapas Dutta. Whether one would be able to reach that lofty a height depends on how deeply does one imbibe the teachings through ceaseless struggle, apply them in every aspect of life, assimilate the essence in flesh and blood.

We are all born and brought up in this capitalist system with all its vile culture, ethics, morality and way of life. So to transform ourselves into Marxist revolutionaries, we must as per the teachings of Comrade Ghosh apply through relentless struggle revolutionary politics and culture in every walk of life spanning from personal conduct, sense of values, ethics, morality to personal and family life in order to free ourselves from the rotten bourgeois culture, concept of life and outlook. The manner and intensity of conducting this struggle will determine how much have we advanced or what level of communist character have



Members of the Komsomol paying guard of honour to the memory of the departed leader

we attained. You have heard from the tribute of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary that Comrade Tapas Dutta was a successful revolutionary fighter in this regard.

When Comrade Tapas Dutta was at his teens he dreamt of being an artist and with this dream he took admission in Calcutta Art School.

At that time, he got attracted towards Marxism-Leninism by attending the study circles of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh where he was taken by Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta, his bosom friend and class-mate. Earlier, he was influenced by religious values. He asked Comrade Ghosh a lot many questions, tried to understand various things and aspects and in the process embraced Marxism-Leninism as the guiding philosophy of life once it dawned upon him that this was the only ideology to emancipate the suffering humanity from all oppressions and suppressions. With this was inseparably linked his dream of an artist's life. Answer to this question also he could get in course of his interactions with Comrade Ghosh. He could realize that the greatest of all arts lay in creating a new society free from all sorts of oppression, exploitation, poverty and humiliation and building up countless revolutionary workers for that. Comrade Provas Ghosh recollected how in his school days he was initiated to the party being attracted by a painting exhibition by Comrades Tapas Dutta and Sitesh Dasgupta and how both Comrades

Asit Bhattacharya and Krishna Chakraborty followed the suit through him. But for that, all three of them could have been lost in the conventional life. So they all are indebted to Comrade Tapas Dutta to that and that must be admitted in this memorial meeting. Continuing further, he added: In the early period, Comrade Dutta worked among the workers of Calcutta Dock union formed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh himself and the jute mills at Kamarhati, Jagatdal, Bhatpara area in North 24-Parganas. Later on, Comrade Dutta was deputed in Orissa to build up trade union organizations there. In 1956, Comrade Dutta started his work among the workers and tribal people in and around Rourkela. Gradually, his party work extended to almost all districts of Orissa. In course of organizing and leading numerous glorious trade union and tribal people's movements, he emerged as an undisputed leader of trade union movement in the whole of West Orissa.

At Rourkela the tribal people out of their affection and reverence to the party and Comrade Tapas Dutta, has built up a party office named as WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' HOUSE with their own contributions. It was Comrade Tapas Dutta who built up the entire party organization in Orissa. It was his dream to train up every party worker as worthy disciple of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh for which he untiringly toiled days in and days out. It was he who built up workers,

Contd. on page 6

To Tapasda, pursuit of proletarian revolutionism was pursuit of art

Contd. from page 5

cadres and leaders in the state, steered and geared the internal organization of the party and at the same time emerged as a distinguished mass leader of Orissa.

Rarely does one become both a party leader as well as a mass leader. Comrade Tapas Dutta was one such rare a leader. As Indian renaissance sprouted in Bengal where proliferation of Western education was first and fast, the then British rulers sent English educated Bengalees to other provinces for running their administration. The Bengalees naturally dominated in government services starting from ordinary employees to high ranking bureaucrats and police officers. This generated a sense of superiority complex among these Bengalees deputed in Bihar, Orissa, Assam and Tripura, which made them consider the local people to be inferior to them. In such a situation, it was extremely difficult for some one coming from Bengal to win over the people of Orissa. But Tapasda overcame this difficulty. He not only mastered Oriya language but developed an emotional relationship with the workers, peasants and other downtrodden people of Orissa.

In 1964, Tapasda stood up in resistance to the terrible communal conflagration that erupted in Rourkela, endangering his own life. At that time, Shri Nabakrushna Chowdhury, the first chief minister of Orissa, came to Rourkela. A co-fighter and a dedicated follower of Gandhiji, he was honest, democratic minded and possessed a lofty character. He was the only chief minister in the country till date who had resigned from his post in protest against the killing of two peasants in police firing during his tenure. He was deeply attracted by the bold role that Tapasda, a trade union leader, was playing against the communal strife. This brought them together. Tapasda explained to him that it was the compromising leadership of the Indian freedom movement who was responsible for such communal strifes in the country because during the freedom struggle, it all along compromised with religion and religious thinking and never fought for true secularism.

Nabakrushna Chowdhury was deeply interested

and wanted to know more. Then Comrade Tapas Dutta handed over to him the booklet containing Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's analysis on the communal problem.

Nabakrushna Chowdhury captivated by the same, came to Calcutta, met Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and had discussions with him. These discussions brought about a great change in his thinking and ever since, till his death, he used to say everywhere that it was only Shibdas Ghosh who could show the path to the movement for emancipation from exploitation in the country. Nabakrushna Chowdhury came in contact with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh because he was attracted by Tapasda's character.

Many intellectuals, litterateurs, lawyers and reputed physicians of Orissa hold Comrade Tapas Dutta in high esteem. It is through Tapasda that they came to know about Comrade Ghosh and respected him, respected the SUCI. Tapasda used to rush to be by the side of the people at every distress or calamity affecting them. He took up the programme of a bicycle procession that covered 3100 km through the length and breadth of Orissa, for making the people conscious about the demands for protecting Orissa from the clutches of droughts and cyclones. During the super cyclone in 2003, Tapasda rushed to the affected areas and personally organized massive relief works, running 600 free kitchens. During the movements and relief works at difference places, he used to be personally present to inspire the comrades. Sometime back, the central government took up a plan for building a missile launching centre in the Balasore district. Comrade Tapas Dutta organized a mass movement to resist the military installation and eviction of thousands of peasants due to it. The central government had to bow down ultimately and the construction had to be stopped. In this way, he had developed many a mass movement in Orissa. That is why, Tapasda is a name symbolizing revolutionary struggle and mass movement to everybody in Orissa cutting across party affiliations.

Continuing, Comrade Provash Ghosh said: The heavy

Contd. on page 7

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Tribute to Comrade Tapas Dutta on behalf of Central Committee, SUCI

'To a revolutionary, there is nothing more precious than revolution, no nobler a life than that of a revolutionary. So he does not consider it a sacrifice to leave behind anything of his old life, not even to give away his own life, in his struggle to embrace a revolutionary life for the sake of revolution'. This teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was glaringly manifest in the life of Comrade Tapas Dutta. Unhesitatingly, he had accepted revolution and revolutionary life as his sole mission of life.

In the later half of 1946, Comrade Tapas Dutta was a student of the Government Art College of Calcutta. His classmates included Sitesh Dasgupta, Bani Majumder and others. A few of them were expelled from the college for having organized sustained movement on students' demands against the college authorities. The struggling life of Comrade Tapas Dutta began from that point.

At that time, Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta used to attend a study circle conducted by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in the yard of the Birla's Shiv Temple at the Lake Temple Road in South Calcutta. One day in 1946 he brought Tapas Dutta, his classmate and intimate friend to the study circle and introduced him to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Then onwards Comrade Tapas Dutta came into close contact with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He had a series of discussions with Comrade Ghosh, which lead him to realize that scientific socialism was the only way of emancipation from all sorts of exploitation and it was only such a socialist society which could also guarantee the unimpeded development of fine arts. The question as to why CPI did not develop as a true communist party also became clear to him. He realized that there was no way out other than developing a genuine proletarian revolutionary party. From Comrade Shibdas Ghosh he learnt that life could have only one objective, there could be only one meaning to live. And that was to live as a revolutionary. With this lesson to guide him through his life, he continually went on extending his sphere of knowledge through pursuit of Marxism- Leninism -Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

Genuine knowledge is always creative. So in the light of the knowledge he acquired, Tapas Dutta with unwavering dedication under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, started to mould himself into a new man, throwing away the outdated outmoded values, ethics and culture, ideas and concepts, behaviours and norms of the bygone days that he had been bearing in his life.

At a certain juncture of this process, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh assigned Tapasbabu the task of setting up labour union in the Bard Company affiliated to the Calcutta Port Trust in Kidderpore Dock areas of Calcutta. It was here that he was initiated to organizing workers' movement. Once he went to the coalfield areas of Jharia in Dhanbad, on discussion with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. There, at Jeolgora, lived three brothers of Comrade Hem Chakraborty. They owned a grocery and were supporters of our party. They used to extend all sorts of helps to us including food and shelter. While staying there, Tapasbabu, with all his empathy for the oppressed coalfield workers as a revolutionary artist, created some memorable paintings on their life, their miseries as well as their struggles.

During the early stages of party formation, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh sent Tapasbabu to different areas of the district of South 24 Parganas to organize the historic Tebhaga movement (demanding two-third share of the crop for sharecroppers). At that time, the sharecroppers were subjected to a terribly wretched life under the tyrannical oppression of the jotedars (rural kulaks). They could not even dream of protesting or voicing their just demands. Under such circumstances, it was very difficult to organize them in movements. But overcoming all difficulties posed by this stifling situation, Tapasbabu began working among the peasants exercising due caution in an area completely unknown to him and availing of all help and guidance from Comrade Sachin Banerjee, Comrade Subodh Banerjee and myself. He organized the oppressed peasants to raise and realize the legitimate demand for allotment of one-third share of crops to the helpless sharecroppers.

In course of time, this movement gained militancy, ultimately turning out successful.

In 1948, after formation of our party, SUCI, Shibbabu and myself had taken two rooms on rent beside the cemetery on Congress Exhibition Road in Park Circus. We ran the party office from there and also lived there, though it was extremely unhygienic all around. Shibbabu used to conduct study

Contd. on page 7

Tapasda's Kshudiram — a bold living characterization of revolutionism

Contd. from page 6

responsibility of being the party secretary and of conducting class struggles and mass movements in a state like Orissa could not impair the creative artistic faculty of Comrade Tapas Dutta. When the Special Committee formed by the P. W. Department of the Second United Front Government in West Bengal in 1969, selected Tapasda to sculpt the statue of martyr Kshudiram, he accepted the responsibility and sculptured the unforgettable bronze statue of Kshudiram that stands in front of the Calcutta High Court. When this statue was installed, the revolutionaries belonging to the uncompromising trend of the Indian freedom movement who were still living, appreciated it highly and felt inspired by it.

Later on, when the renowned sculptor Ram Kinkar Baij was being taken round Calcutta to have a look at the statues in the city, he was amazed at the monumental character of the Kshudiram statue, expressed deep appreciation and highly praised the sculptor Tapas Dutta whom he did not know. When this was reported in the Press, the people of West Bengal for the first time came to know the name of sculptor of Kshudiram statue. The bourgeois news media of our country virtually do not mention the name of or provide any information about the SUCI. This is the reason why Tapasda's name was kept in the dark. We hold large meetings, organize processions of lakhs of people, but the media hardly ever report them. Recently, we organized the International Anti-Imperialist Conference in Calcutta. An internationally acclaimed tireless anti-imperialist fighter like Ramsey Clark came to Calcutta to participate in it and marched at the helm of a huge anti-imperialist procession. But the news media almost blacked it out because the conference was held at the initiative of the SUCI.

Many artists regretted that they came to know about the demise of Comrade Dutta much later. The students of the Art Colleges felt pain that they did not receive the news in time. This was because the news media did not report his death as he was an SUCI leader, however great a sculptor he might have been! Eminent sculptors like Sunil Pal, Madhab Bhattacharjee and Niranjana

Pradhan and painters Subhprasanna and Ganesh Haloi have spoken very highly about Tapas Dutta, the sculptor as well as Tapas Dutta, the man — his honesty, integrity, dedication, selflessness and lofty character. They have said that Tapas Dutta's Kshudiram is not just a statue but a bold, living characterization of the revolutionism of the Indian freedom struggle. Many wanted to know from him how could he attain such a realization of Kshudiram. To all of them, Tapas Dutta had only one answer, "I have understood Kshudiram from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Had I not acquired the realization of revolutionism and the revolutionaries from him, I could not have conceived this characterization of Kshudiram."

Among Tapas Dutta's other works, another statue deserves special mention. It was that of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the guiding light in his life and the teacher of all of us, installed at Ghatshila, Jharkhand. By looking at it, too, one can realize how Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts were assimilated by him, mingled with his very flesh and blood. Tapas Dutta considered the whole society to be his studio. To him, pursuit of revolutionism was the same as the pursuit of art. That is why, more he advanced in the pursuit of revolutionary politics, more he flourished in the realm of art.

Comrade Provash Ghosh further said: Many of you may not know that being impressed by the statue of Kshudiram, Indira Gandhi had sent out a request to Tapas Dutta for sculpting a statue of Nehru. He informed the party Central Committee about this. Had he accepted the offer, a lot of money would have come to the party fund and he would have become famous throughout India and also outside the country as the sculptor of Nehru's statue. But Nehru was the first prime minister of the Indian capitalist state. How could a proletarian revolutionary present Nehru before the people in a glorified form through sculpting his statue? So, the party Central Committee decided that Tapas Dutta would not do it. He was glad and felt relieved at the party's decision. The base of his communist character

Contd. on page 8

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Tribute

Contd. from page 6

circle inside the cemetery. Tapasbabu attended it regularly. During this phase of party formation, Shibbabu sent him to develop workers' movement as well as party organization in Rourkela, the steel city of Orissa. We had no contact-connection or acquaintance there to arrange for boarding and lodging. Everything was uncertain, every situation adverse. Indomitable as he was equipped with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Tapas Dutta by dint of his hard work gradually organized the steel workers, set up their union based on revolutionary ideology. He also developed, along with late Comrade Banabehari Jena, a sustained militant movement for long six months organizing the workers of the nearby Probhat Iron Foundry, Rourkela and other unorganized workers. To break this movement, the police resorted to firing. Two workers courted martyr's death in that police firing.

In addition, Comrade Tapas Dutta took courageous initiative to fight communalism that often burst out in vicious communal riots in different parts of the state of Orissa, including Rourkela. At that time, Nabakrushna Chowdhury, distinguished Sarvodaya leader, and former Chief Minister of Orissa, and Malati Chowdhury, his wife and eminent social worker were deeply impressed by Comrade Tapas Dutta's views on communalism and his courageous role as well as untiring efforts towards fighting its riotous flare-ups. Holding him in high esteem, they became very close to him.

The task of building up party and workers' organizations in Orissa, which Comrade Tapas Dutta had undertaken with determination, starting from scratch, slowly took definite shape in different corners of the state, particularly among the mine workers. Along with developing organization and movements, he took great care and pains at conducting regular study circle and study classes, so as to generate and develop revolutionary consciousness and materialist thoughts and ideas based on proletarian revolutionary ideology among the workers. From amongst them, he picked up selected cadres and trained them up specially to play leading role in workers' movements and enthused them with party's thoughts and ideas, thereby laying the foundation of party organization in Orissa. It was at the impact of these uncompromising militant workers' movements that Comrade Sambhu Nayek was elected to the Orissa State Legislative Assembly from Mayurbhanj and under the untiring guidance of Comrade Tapas Dutta on the basis of the party principle, played a resolute role in upholding the interest of people on the Assembly floor and despite being the only MLA to represent the party in the House, succeeded in creating lasting impact of our party on all.

Along with carrying out the difficult task of developing organization and cadres of a revolutionary party in different corners of the country including Orissa, Comrade Tapas Dutta also left mark of excellent artistic creations. He was a sculptor of very high order. Inspired by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, he made the life-size bronze statue of Martyr Kshudiram, one of the outstanding revolutionaries of the fiery days of freedom struggle. It came to be regarded as one of the best sculptures in the country. The scientific approach to the cultivation of arts, which he had acquired on the strength of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, were reflected in the art pieces Comrade Tapas Dutta created and in the discussions and articles on art he held or wrote. Later on, I arranged for him a studio at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatshila, to sculpture a full-length bronze statue of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the greatest revolutionary of this era and an eminent Marxist thinker. He carried out the task, working untiringly and arduously with great care and dedication. On the occasion of unveiling of the statue, an international gathering was organized by our party which was enthusiastically attended by fraternal delegates from Russia, America, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. All these delegates acknowledged that the enriched and developed understanding of Marxism that is contained in the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh would, in the present complex international situation, act as the beacon and weapon in organizing proletarian revolution and struggle against modern revisionism.

The demise of Comrade Tapas Dutta, a lifelong revolutionary, is a great loss to our party and its Orissa state organization. But all of us including all comrades of Orissa have to face it with indomitable revolutionary zeal and courage acting as one man imbued with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

I offer my revolutionary greetings to Comrade Tapas Dutta
Red salute to Comrade Tapas Dutta

With great care and affection, Tapasda nurtured the comrades to develop as committed revolutionaries

Contd. from page 7

was so firm that he was totally indifferent to attaining personal fame. As a proletarian revolutionary artist, he could not do anything for his personal gain or fame.

Comrade Dutta had great affection for the young comrades in Orissa. He loved them as his own children. He used to live with them and talked being very close to them, cut jokes with them, all the while educating them with patience about Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, proletarian revolution and proletarian revolutionary character. Among the comrades nurtured by him with love and affection in Orissa, Comrade Dwarika Rath is now entrusted with the responsibility of building up party organization in Gujarat. Another is Comrade Pratap Samal, In-charge of the party organization in Delhi and former president of AIDS.

In this context, you should know about another aspect. At different times, some party workers and organizers had to be expelled from the Orissa state party because of their ideological deviations. But after the demise of Comrade Tapas Dutta, many of these expelled former party workers have come out with their heart-felt tributes showing deep respect to Comrade Tapas Dutta in the columns of newspapers. These expelled comrades have understood that Comrade Tapas Dutta had been deeply pained at their degradation and that they had been expelled only on ideological ground and not on any personal considerations. Only a man of great stature and genuinely pure character can command such respect.

Comrade Tapas Dutta was a very outspoken person. I have found him arguing on and on with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and also with Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, on a point until he was fully convinced. But the moment he understood the reasoning, he accepted it at once. He used to dislike falsity, shyness and deception very much. He used to criticize sharply any display of self-conceit and bravado. If a worker committed a wrong but later on admitted his fault, he wiped off his sense of disgrace with affection. We are much younger in age than him. But we had discussions and altercations with him on many occasions on various subjects. Just as he helped us to understand many a thing, he also used to accept

smilingly if there was anything worthwhile we had to offer.

If he received any guidance from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, any instruction from Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, he used to plunge into activity to implement it whether he was fit or sick. He never raised questions like whether it was possible or impossible, whether he would be able to carry it out or not. He had no personal life separate from party life. He had inherited a portion of his father's house in Behala, Calcutta, He handed over the same to the party. Some comrades live there now. I would request them to always remember that Comrade Dutta had dedicated the house to the party to further the revolutionary activities.

When comrades went to him about some work, Tapas Dutta, even when he was sick, never said that he could not talk to them because he was unwell. He would discuss about the work, provide necessary advice. Comrades had seen that till the time he was hospitalized, he used to study Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's works, books on Marxism, lying in the bed. When comrades remonstrated with him saying that such continuous study would put strain on him, he replied that he needed to develop himself further, to become fit for conducting the struggle for revitalization-consolidation for which Niharbabu and the party had given a call. In this way, he went on cultivating knowledge up to the end.

Another distinctive contribution of Comrade Tapas Dutta was his article on the world-renowned sculptor Rodin, published in the Bengali magazine Pathikrit (Pioneer). Another article by him on modern art was also published in Pathikrit. So was an interview on creative art in the journal Yuba Sanskriti. We have heard many an invaluable discourses from him on modern art, abstract art, realism and surrealism from the Marxist viewpoint. His language and style of writing were superb, comparable to those of a talented litterateur. These writings based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought would act as a guideline in evaluation of art. We shall publish these writings again. It is very necessary that all of you read these.

Continuing, Comrade Provash Ghosh said : When Tapas Dutta was

attracted towards Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, it was a period of victorious, onward march of socialism and the communist movement. There was then a tide of revolutionary movement, liberation movement in Asia, Africa, Latin America – everywhere. The present period is different. The socialist system has been dismantled due to revisionist conspiracy and imperialist-capitalist machination. This has been a painful development for the whole of mankind. But we are not despondent because we understand, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism -Shibdas Ghosh Thought, what caused this setback to socialism. We are sure that the struggle against imperialism-capitalism would develop again. If we look at the world, we see that the workers and common people are bursting out in protest everywhere. In Latin America, the anti-imperialist movement has gained tremendous momentum. From this struggle against globalization, against imperialism would be generated the urge for searching out the alternative. Inevitably, the people would again strive for establishing socialism.

In conclusion, Comrade Provash Ghosh said : Towards the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, when Comrade Ghosh was engaged in life and death struggle to build up the SUCI and Tapas Dutta and the likes of him came forward, nobody knew about Shibdas Ghosh or the SUCI. At that time, some had advised Comrade Ghosh like this, "What you say is correct, your arguments are correct. But you have no money, no man power, no press backing; this is a vast country with so many established big parties; you will not succeed; you should not persist in the effort to achieve the impossible; why waste your valuable life like this?" Comrade Ghosh had replied: I do not desire any other life by shunning the revolutionary ideal. In fighting for my ideal, I may die under a tree by the roadside, nobody may even know about it; but if there be truth in my struggle, history will value it. The SUCI has grown up on the basis of this struggle, without any publicity in the news media, without any international backing. The appeal of our party has reached not only the nook and corner of West



Comrade Provash Ghosh addressing

Bengal, but has spread throughout the country even overseas. Student delegates from twenty states of India have attended the just concluded AIDS conference in Calcutta. The strength of the party has increased and will increase further. Just as imperialism-capitalism have not been able to thwart spread and entrenchment of the thoughts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, so would it not be unable to prevent dissemination of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts. It is invincible. It has won the hearts of millions and will further continue to do so. Many more workers will come into the party. But comrades, mere increase in numerical strength will not do. Just as Lenin had stressed that fewer, but better fewer, so also Comrade Ghosh laid emphasis on the quality. We need leaders and workers like Comrade Tapas Dutta who would struggle with hearts dedicated to the ideology, staking their all. Standing below this portrait of Comrade Tapas Dutta, let us all take the pledge that we shall, like him, conduct all-embracing struggle in our lives, organize the movement and revolution against imperialism-capitalism. It is only through translating this pledge into reality that we can show true respect to the great revolutionary leaders like Comrade Tapas Dutta.

In his presidential address delivered in Hindi, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty said: Like birth, death is also normal and every demise creates a kind of void. But to fill the void created by death of a life long revolutionary like Comrade Tapas Dutta particularly in the situation obtaining now, a much greater struggle is needed. You can well understand that when imperialism-capitalism is mounting fierce onslaught on the toiling people of India as well as the whole

Contd. on page 9

No art is greater than revolution, no artist greater than revolutionary

Contd. from page 8

world and necessity of revolution is felt so intimately, what big a void is created at the demise of a revolutionary like Comrade Tapas Dutta. Intoxicated with the exultation over dismantling of socialism in Soviet Union, China and some other countries following revisionist conspiracy, the imperialists-capitalists are running amuck. Without revival and advancement of scientific socialism through a socialist movement and revolution, this ferocious attack can not be resisted and repulsed. So long revisionism is not squarely defeated, revolutionary movement would not make bold strides ahead. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who at the very incipient stage of growth of revisionism in Soviet Union alerted people of its real character and danger inherent in it. In order to inflict a crushing defeat on revisionism, one has to proceed armed with the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Ghosh. As success of Soviet revolution and progress of Lenin's Bolshevik party once spurred revolutionary movement round the globe, likewise the movement can spread today with desired intensity and massiveness if Comrade Ghosh's thoughts can reach out to every corner of the world. And that will be possible if we can develop mighty revolutionary movement on our soil and inspire the working people of the world. If we can succeed in accomplishing revolution in India, then there is no doubt that red flag will again be unfurled with all its glory throughout the globe.

It is true that absence of the valuable role of revolutionary leaders like Comrade Tapas Dutta in spreading the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is a great handicap in pursuance of that objective. But there is a process to overcome that.

Comrade Tapas Dutta had come to Calcutta to become an artist but transformed himself into a proletarian revolutionary leader after coming in contact with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. In the light of the teachings of Comrade Ghosh, he could realize there is no artist greater than a committed revolutionary. It is revolutionary purposiveness that brings out the great artist of a potential talent.

Comrade Ghosh taught him that art and science are needed to change the world. With the help of science, we can understand and analyze the course of nature and society, the



Comrade Krishna Chakraborty delivering his speech

process of changes and the inherent laws operative behind. Once we know these laws, the principle of law-governance, we can act in the process of law to change the society. It is an art worth the name to correctly apply this science.

Science is a tool to know the truth, to guide the thought process, bring clarity and sharpen realization. That is why, revolutionary activity is just not a combination but integration of science and art. Likewise, it is imperative to adopt science, have an analytical mind and derive scientific outlook to understand human beings. Without that, a man can not be changed. This integration did take place in Comrade Tapas Dutta. All of us must be dawned upon the truth that unless men are changed, society can not. There have been many talks of social change in our country. In the name of revolution, even armed struggles have taken place. Many precious lives have been sacrificed. It is also in currency today. But that has not brought about revolution nor will it. So long the thought process, culture, behaviour of the people do not conduce to revolutionary ideology, revolution will not come about.

Mark of real revolutionary activity is in transforming human beings into revolutionaries. With strength and weapon, it might well be possible to capture state power. But if no change takes place in the concept about life, in the realm of culture and conduct, if old cultural beliefs, traits and habits do not give way to new cultural mooring to build up new civilization, even the state power would cease to be in hand. This is what we have learnt from Marxism-Leninism and its enriched understanding in Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Comrade Tapas Dutta could assimilate the essence of this teaching and hence become an artist of such a height. He has not only been creator of a marvel like the statue of Shaheed Kshudiram but also sculptured yet

higher character of a proletarian revolutionary.

You ought to remember that great revolutionaries do not emerge out of nothing. No one is born genius. All of them are products of a process of struggle. Mere struggle is not everything as each of us have to conduct struggle to stay in life. Life itself is a struggle. But unless one conducts a relentless conscious struggle covering all aspects of life in the correct process, what we call the Marxist process, to elevate his thinking, culture and mode of working, he can not attain the standard of a great revolutionary. It is very difficult to organize people. Still more difficult and arduous is to build up a revolutionary party. No matter how many people congregate, a Marxist party can not be built up unless one process of thinking and oneness in approach based on Marxist methodology is developed. Otherwise CPI, CPI(M) could grow as Marxist parties. They had also talked of Marxism, had enough people with them, were honest as well. Yet they failed because they could not grasp Marxist outlook and methodology of analysis.

This is also not enough. This alone will not make one a revolutionary or found a revolutionary party. It is essential that the leaders and cadres give up their old lifestyle, habits and culture and acquire higher proletarian culture. Understanding of this higher culture can not be gained just through any intellectual exercise. For that one must acquaint himself with what new concept of culture is emerging in the process of establishing new society by overthrowing capitalism. Marx showed that the base of this emerging culture is collectivism, collective ownership, collective living. The essence of this culture is social interest. By explaining the course of history, Marx held that this was the highest form of culture. Based on this culture only can come socialism and communism. Cultivation of this ethics and culture can only abolish individualism. On the basis of this concept only, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that in the current era, one has to completely merge his individual interest with the interest of proletarian class, revolution and party to attain the character of a true communist. Only this can eradicate all shades of individualism.

Those who attain this standard through struggle do not have any

interest other than that of proletarian class, revolution and party, no life other than party life. Only they can create new culture, new society. And the party who can create such a band of revolutionaries can only accomplish revolution.

Comrade Ghosh had shown that retention of private-property mental complex among the people only triggered the process of degeneration within socialist Russia. Many saints had given up property, freed them from the lure of money. But they could not become communist. Based on Marxist analysis, Comrade Ghosh had also shown that to become communist, one has not only to free himself from material property sense but from the private property mental complex as well through conduction of an all-embracing life struggle. In course of releasing this struggle in his own life along with his compatriots like comrades Nihar Mukherjee, Sachin Banerjee, Hiren Sarkar, Subodh Banerjee, Pritish Chanda and others, Comrade Ghosh engaged himself in building up the SUCI. Comrade Tapas Dutta was one among those promising youths who joined this struggle subsequently. So Comrade Tapas Dutta was one of the finest products of that historic struggle released by Comrade Ghosh. Unless we are not in a position to keep this struggle living in the party, continuously enrich the process of the struggle, then our party would also degenerate. When parties founded by great leaders like Lenin and Mao Zedong have degenerated, there is no guarantee that such will not happen with us.

That is why, the Central Committee of our party led by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, a giant revolutionary, has given the call of 'revitalization and consolidation'. If our comrades do not become equipped to handle the newer problems emerging in the ever complex situation, we shall not be able to save the party. On the contrary, if the leaders and cadres can achieve that standard through struggle, enrich the process of struggle, then not just one but hundreds of Comrades like Comrade Tapas Dutta will emerge out of it. We must take a vow in this memorial meeting of a great revolutionary that we shall keep this struggle alive, take it to a new height. Only by that, we can accomplish the unfulfilled task of Comrade Tapas Dutta.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Message to the Students

Contd. from page 2

actually been bringing about a fusion between spiritualism and science, which is a characteristic of fascist culture. They want to leave people uneducated in essence and blind, fanatic, dehumanized in character turning them into defenceless tools in the hands of the rulers. With such education imparted to students and youths, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointedly emphasized that the decadence in our social and cultural life has aggravated further, as it could not inculcate among the students proper understanding of ethics and any sense of social obligation. Hence education movements must be based on the ideology which is capable of imbuing them with higher cultural and moral values, values that would equip them for social action. Marxism-Leninism is the only ideology today, which can guide students to correct action and can lead them to higher and loftier cultural and moral standards. So student movements must also be conducted on the strength of Marxism-Leninism, equipping students with ideology and character that will help them build up their movements so as to accentuate the process of revolutionary transformation of the society and ensure its progress and all-out development. This was the guideline Comrade Shibdas Ghosh provided to the AIDSOS.

How correct and infallible were all these warnings and guidelines of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has been proved in the recent past. The intense crisis of capitalism has pushed the society and the students to a completely dark future in so far as their life and livelihood are concerned. Poverty, unemployment, insecurity of job haunt them at every moment of their life. In the exploitative capitalist system, education for all or job for all have become daydreams. The majority of people, downtrodden, poor are debarred from education; they, in place of sending their children to schools, are compelled to use them as child labour to earn the minimum for their livelihood. Over and above this, there has come the present onslaught of globalization-liberalization which the capitalists-imperialists have thrust upon the common people of the world. With that, the ruling capitalists are trying to avert their industrial recession developing capital-intensive, high-

tech industries only at the cost of labour intensive counterparts, to the effect of bringing about tremendous squeezing of job opportunities.

With a hopeless bleak future in front of them and surrounded and engulfed by acute cultural and moral degradation, students are being pushed more and more towards totally unethical means of livelihood as the last means in their efforts to survive.

Besides, as a part of this onslaught, the ruling capitalists are bringing down fresh and tremendous attack on education and the student community. In result, education for common people, right from the primary level of schools to the highest rung in the colleges and universities is almost completely shattered. All the maladies such as curtailment and restriction of education, exorbitant rise in cost of education and erosion of the essence of education from its man-making character-building role are spreading and deepening like a wild fire.

Sarba Shiksha Abhijan, in the name of education for all and implemented at the behest of the imperialists-capitalists, has devastated the infrastructure of primary education, leaving the vast masses of children of common people totally at bay. In keeping with the policies of globalization and liberalization in broader fields, rampant privatization in education at the cost of government-run institutions, advocacy for commercialization and self-financing along with management quota, NRI quota etc., with huge curtailment of government funds on the other side, exorbitant fee-hike at all stages of education — all this is making education a costly commodity, affordable to only the microscopic minority of affluent and the rich for their children while the door of education is closed to those coming from poor and middle class families that comprise no less than 95% of the populace.

Side by side, in the name of globalization, the imperialists are thrusting putrid imperialist culture, thereby destroying the distinctive characteristics and the noble aspects of indigenous education and culture of the society of different countries, including ours. As a part of the GATS agreement, not only education is being privatized and commercialized to the extent that entry of foreign imperialist capital in the field of education is being

facilitated and encouraged. At the beckoning of imperialists, even the content of education is being attacked and changed. Once during the freedom struggle of the country, people in general and students, in particular, fought for the right to determine the course and content of education on the basis of the need of the country and its people.

Now through, GATS and globalization, as a part of heinous imperialist design, the very objective of complete independence in shaping the content and form is being tempered.

Along with these, measures like gradation system, doing away with the system of promotion-failure in examinations, are being introduced only to lead to a process that, without any effective checks on the performance of students, will simply diffuse the urge for learning and also teaching properly. It will mean further deterioration of the total ambience of the education system.

On the contrary, along with making education beyond the reach of common people, it is being filled up with communal, obscurantist, superstitious thoughts and ideas, all in place of rational and scientific contents. Even the history of the country is being presented in a distorted manner in textbooks; life-struggles and contributions of the towering personalities of the Indian renaissance and freedom struggles are being removed from the texts. In addition, there is at present a dangerous move for introducing sex education in school curricula. Whatever might be the plea, in the prevailing all-out crisis of morality and culture in our decadent capitalist society, sex-education in schools will only act as additional means to the end of establishing such type of culture and value system in the society as to promote impulses and urges for satiating base instincts, leading to abject self-satisfying and self-seeking attitude, complete apathy towards social problems, lack of sense of social responsibility, lack of courage and determination, all this to shatter the moral backbone of students, apart from destroying the very character of youngsters.

AIDSOS faces the challenging task of countering this vehement onslaught on education for common people and fight uncompromisingly for genuinely democratic, secular and scientific education at all stages of it. At the same time, it must not

fail to note that the ruling capitalist class is fomenting, by overt or covert means, communalism and all sorts of divisive tendencies so that people's unity is destroyed and they fail to stand and fight united against capitalism, that has developed as a stumbling block to peace, progress and prosperity of the common people of the society. In addition, when it was necessary that the left and democratic forces of the society including their student organizations forge unity to build a massive movement against this crisis-ridden capitalism and its conspiracies, in reality the so-called big left parties like CPI (M)-CPI have not only shunned the path of movement, but is playing a naked subservient role to the capitalists-imperialists of the country and abroad.

Thereby they are disastrously maligning the leftist politics, and even Marxism-Leninism, creating serious obstacles to the development of militant leftist student movement. The AIDSOS faces the task of fighting all this. It has the task of freeing students from the influence of the so-called left student organizations as also the organizations of extreme rightist, fanatic, communally oriented student organizations. Whatever may be the differences in their jargons, both these types of organizations stand as great impediments to students' movements, alluring the students with opportunist politics that fail to equip students to rise up to fight effectively the tremendous onslaught the education system for common people faces today. AIDSOS has the responsibility to fight both these trends.

While continuing its struggles in the present complex situation, I hope, the AIDSOS is aware that long back, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh made an fervent and penetrating appeal to the students, where he laid down that there was one surest way to live and die with honour and that was by taking active part in the revolutionary struggle of the masses to bring about revolutionary transformation of the society. I am sure AIDSOS will keep this appeal alive as a beacon in their day-to-day struggle and release their all-out initiative to reach the goals and objectives set by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I wish the Seventh All India Students' Conference of the All India Democratic Students' Organization all success.

Change in government does not mean change in state structure

Contd. from page 4

directed against US imperialism, all these movements surging forth in different countries are appropriately coordinated, if possible by forming an umbrella organization, forum or in any such other form so that it is viewed by the people cutting across territorial boundaries in the region as a united struggle against the most devilish force and common enemy. Any attack on any country must be considered by the people of fellow countries as an attack on all of them by the US imperialists. Hence, it should be incumbent on all of them to rise up against any such attack, resist and repel with all might. In other words, it would just not be an expression of solidarity but beyond that—unleashing action spurred by a sense of oneness. The enemy would know that if it targets one particular country, the people of the entire region would retaliate and strike back. If such co-ordination and fraternity among the fighting people of Latin America could be developed, it would not only give fillip to the democratic movements in each country but would also enfeeble the enemy to a great extent. The age-old ploy of the imperialist sharks to pit one country people against the other or overpower one particular country by unleashing massive onslaught would be frustrated. In this way, while movements in the respective countries might assume different forms and have within the fold different combinations of forces, they will surge ahead on a higher plane of unity to set up an example not only in the continent but for global toiling people to emulate.

Task imperative of pro-people forces in governmental power

In this connection, there is another aspect that needs to be discussed. We have been observing that the anti-US imperialist fervour is so strong among the fighting people of Latin America that taking fullest advantage of whatever little scope is available and exercising whatever democratic rights they still have, they are, wherever possible, voting to power the forces they consider militant and consistently anti-imperialist. The thinking people round the world are really concerned as to how far would such governments be able to carry out the anti-imperialist aspirations of the Latin American citizens, in what manner would they tackle the

problems of the exploited masses. This concern is not unfounded. Experience is that in the past, left and pseudo-left forces did make it to the government in some capitalist countries. But after assuming power, they, instead of pursuing pro-people line, turned into faithful obedient servants of the ruling bourgeoisie. While those like the Labour party of Great Britain became a full-fledged right reactionary outfit, some other forces vending extreme social democratic formulations covertly capitulated to ruling capitalism-imperialism. These social democrats who mostly came to power usurping the credit of people's movements against the incumbent ruling classes tried to convolute the question of state and government and began preaching that fundamental changes in the society could be brought about through parliamentarian route.

This, as any student of history and political science knows, is unrealistic, unhistorical, unscientific and a travesty of truth. Change in government does not mean change in the state structure. The state denotes a system, a concept of law and order, fundamental rights, and a structure made of bureaucracy-administration-judiciary and the military to protect a particular economic system. In a class-divided society, state is permanent coercive machinery in the hands of the class in power to protect its class rule. The government acts as its caretaker or supervisor only. Even if any pro-people if not revolutionary force is saddled in power, that does not alter this caretaker character of the government in a bourgeois or semi-feudal semi-colonial or monarchical state. A capitalist state or a semi-feudal semi-colonial state functions in a definite way to perpetuate and oversee the class rule of the bourgeoisie or landlord-imperialist combine in power. As a weaver howsoever skilled he may be can not at his pleasure crush sugarcane in his loom, so also a government even run by pro-people forces can not set up socialism in the framework of a capitalist or semi-colonial semi-feudal economic system and state structure. The 'Paris Commune' unfolded the education to all the revolutionary forces of the world that one cannot utilize readymade state machinery of the bourgeoisie for achieving the social revolution. To accomplish revolution and establish socialism, it is mandatory to smash the bourgeois or semi-feudal semi-

colonial state machine by revolution and replace it by a socialist state. There is a definite process of bringing about proletarian revolution through intensification of class struggle along the correct base political line based on concrete analysis of the concrete situation. It can not be achieved by pursuing either reformist-revisionist or left-adventurist line. If anyone ignorant or oblivious of this basic truth and overlooking class division and class struggle operative in the society thinks that having ascended to the governmental power he could beget socialism merely by inserting the word 'socialism' in the bourgeois constitution, he is only building castles in the air. No amount of nationalization and reforms, no amount of Machiavellianism will be able to crush the exploitative state machinery to lead the people to complete emancipation. Rather those living in such fool's paradise might well fall in the trap of the ruling class and knowingly or unknowingly end up in serving as its puppet. Hence, the forces that have made to the government riding the crest of anti-US imperialist movement should neither harbour any such misplaced notion that they have won the final battle nor misguide the people in nurturing any illusion about possibility of a fundamental change being brought about in social structure by replacing one government by the other. In that event, they can not escape degeneration in course of time and find themselves as constituent of the capitalist-imperialist camp.

In fact, there is instance in many Latin America as well that some groups or parties with different nomenclature and professing radical thoughts who assumed governmental power riding the tide of people's fiery movement against imperialism, began to compromise with imperialist machinations. However, it is also heartening to note that under pressure of people's militant protest, they had to backtrack from their anti-people moves. But the phenomenon is worth taking note of. Such perfidy is normally typical of social democratic forces who in the name of maintaining law and order and fostering development crush legitimate people's movements, preach theories of class collaboration, pander to economism-opportunism, spread parliamentary illusion and thereby disarm people in every respect to move away from the

path of revolution. Naturally, they curry increasing favour with the ruling imperialists-capitalists much more than the chosen bourgeois outfits and forces and hence preferred over the latter in running the government. Pointing at this treacherous role of the social democratic forces who, according to Lenin, work as a compromise between labour and capital, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh warned long back that given adequate opportunity and strength the social-democratic forces might, one day, foster fascism in a new guise. He said way back in June, 1962, "It was the social democracy which prepared the ground for the emergence of fascism and fostered it. Out of the school of social democracy was born the philosophy of fascism... fascism grew and developed in the womb of social-democratism. If it was true in the pre-war days, it is thousand times more true now. Because, social democracy is the last prop of capitalism in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution." (Call of the hour—SW Vol. II p. 60-61)

So the obvious question is that since this custodial character of the government remains unchanged so long the state structure stays unaltered, what strategy a genuine revolutionary force should adopt if voted to power in a capitalist state? Should it decline to form the government since it like other bourgeois or social democratic forces can not play second fiddle to the class-need and class-motive of the ruling class? It is here that we consider it relevant to recall an invaluable teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder General Secretary of SUCI and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, in the context of West Bengal, a province of Indian capitalist state. When a United Front of the Left-democratic parties with the SUCI as one of the constituents took office there in 1967 on popular verdict, a similar question came up in sharp relief as to what should be the guideline for a pro-people government to run the administration in an anti-people set up. What would distinguish this government from the erstwhile bourgeois Congress government? Comrade Ghosh in pursuance of the correct Marxist-Leninist approach provided the answer to this question. He said that revolutionary

Contd. on page 12

Largest Students' Gathering

Contd. from page 2

progressive curtailment of education in order to bring down the number of educated unemployed. This enables capitalism to continue with its brutal devastating exploitation as in absence of necessary consciousness and with moral backbone broken, students will not rise up against the exploitative system. Congress, BJP, CPI (M) are all boasting of 'growth'. But whose growth is it? Crores are losing jobs, many more crores are remaining unemployed, lakhs of peasants are losing their land, the poor scavenging food left overs from garbage. Is it spectacle of growth? Of course, there is aggrandizement of the ruling capitalists and their lackeys. So all aberrations, discriminations, deceptions, deprivations, miseries and privation are stemming from the moribund decadent capitalist system. The direction of Indian students movement, therefore, is to be conducive to the struggle for overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. Undeterred by dismantling of socialism because of revisionist conspiracy, revolutionary proletariat throughout the world is again raising their head, closing their rank to bring back socialism. AIDS0 should take vow to continue ahead with this ideology, outlook. Students and youths have to fight with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

After Comrade Provash Ghosh,

the AIDS0 leaders from various states delivered brief speeches.

The delegate sessions were held at Nazrul Mancha on 9 and 10 January. On 9th morning an exhibition depicting the 53 years of struggle of AIDS0 was inaugurated. Following it the AIDS0 flag was hoisted by Comrade Debasish Roy. A panel discussion was held from 12 noon to 2 pm on "anti-SEZ, anti-eviction movement in the context of Singur and Nandigram". The speakers included eminent personalities like Prof. Tarun Sanyal, Prof. Miratun Nahar, Prof. Chaitali Dutta and Nanda Patra, Convenor, Nandigram BUPC. At 4.00 p.m. the delegate session started under conduction of a presidium with Comrades Pratap Samal, as president. The draft main resolution was moved by Comrade M. N. Sriram and seconded by Comrade Saurav Mukherjee. The messages sent by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, and Justice V R Krishna Iyer, eminent jurist and President, All India Anti-Imperialist Forum were read out.

On 10th, delegates from different states spoke in support of the main resolution and finally it was unanimously passed. Next, the Organizational Report was placed by Comrade Debasish Ray. It was also unanimously passed. The other resolutions that were moved and passed were (1) On Foreign University Bill, (2) On Nandigram, (3) On National-Rural Health Mission, (4) On recommendations

Latin America

Contd. from page 11

movement can gain strength and gather momentum if the legitimate democratic movements on the burning problems of the people's life stemming from the exploitative social order can be developed and intensified in a manner conducive to the need of revolution. But the ruling class suffering from the fear complex of working class revolution ensures through its subservient governments that such movements either do not surge at all or in the event of breaking out, are crushed by the coercive state apparatus. So if a revolutionary force gets an opportunity to form government, it ought to function in such a manner as to encourage growth and development of the legitimate democratic mass movements on widest scale free from any encumbrance. The police-administration would not be pressed

of Lyngdoh Commission.

A strong All India Committee with Comrades M. N. Sriram as president, Saurav Mukherjee as general secretary, Navendu Pal as treasurer, Mridul Das as office secretary alongwith 14 Vice-presidents, 16 Secretariat members, and 68 Council members from 19 states was formed.

Comrade Provash Ghosh, Advisor, AIDS0, delivered the concluding speech.

The All India Conference came to an end with rendering of the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

to crush such movements raising bogey of law and order. If that happens, then toiling people through struggle become conscious about the nature and modus operandi of the exploitative system and based on that get further impetus to build up the movements much more actively on the edifice of higher ethics and culture. Instruments of people's struggles develop at grass root level to conduct these struggles on a protracted basis. On the other hand, the government under genuine revolutionary force should try utmost to give some relief to the people by undertaking all possible reform measures and provide a corruption-free administration. Through that it would be able to make people aware of the fact that whatever may be the sincerity and honesty of the government, it can not resolve the basic problems spawning from the system. The limitation of parliamentary democracy will also be exposed and parliamentary illusion removed. Urge for smashing the exploitative state structure will accentuate. In the process, higher revolutionary consciousness will dawn upon the struggling masses paving way for expedient transformation of the society through revolution. With this end in view, at the initiative and instance of the SUCI led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the first United Front government of West Bengal made a historic declaration on its labour policy that 'police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements'. The revolutionary significance of this pro-people pro- working class policy in advancement of the mass and class struggles towards the goal of final overthrow of capitalism was tremendous and it did send shivers down the spine of the ruling capitalist class.

We sincerely hope that the pro-people forces who have formed governments in some Latin American countries would guide all their actions and activities on the above line, honour the anti-capitalist aspirations of the people and pave the way for proletarian revolution. We are also sure, no matter how arduous the struggle may be, the fighting people of Latin America will take up the gauntlet and lead the anti-US imperialist struggle successfully to the glorious height.



A section of the gathering at the memorial meeting of Comrade Tapas Dutta in Calcutta on January 11

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