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5th of August — clasped in resolve

Whetted on the steel of revolutionary purpose, country pays homage to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Many are the people to whom does reach out the call of History, only a few respond. Only as few can. For, they bear the agony of humanity who reckon the self in identity with the cause of the masses. These are the people who bear the agony of mankind. Who paraded the streets on the 5th of August, in every nook of the land. They were out here to respond to the behest of the Helmsman, the Great Leader of the Proletariat. Who set the hearts of millions afire with the song of emancipation. Who kindled the spirit of life in bosom of the downtrodden, of the destitute. Who embraced them with the warmth of his noble heart. They were pupils and disciples of the Great Leader, Teacher and Guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. His words ring in their ears incessantly: Politics imbibes noble sensibility; nobler is the sensibility which spurs

you on to revolutionary politics. Resplendent is his life, like the Sun is, with the mighty spirit of truth. Truth has been his supreme quest of life — its concrete realization his mission. Truth he accepted as the philosophy of life, the truth of Marxism-Leninism. It was not one of the possible choices of the course of life. It is the Course. It is the Life. It is the Truth. For him truth is life, life is truth. His life is completely identified with truth, with Marxism-Leninism. So are drawn people to his life. So are drawn people to the cause he espoused.

So were people of all walks on the road 5th of August — workers and peasants, men and women, teachers and students, the aged and the children, the professional and the household man — like every year. They sang glory unto him, the Great Leader. No parliamentary politics, this. No shadow of the

political crook, this. Sustained on the thoughts of the Great Leader, whetted on the steel of revolutionary purpose, and fired by zeal for realizing the behest of the Great Leader, the legion of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh beckons the way to emancipation.

Kolkata, West Bengal

Rani Rashmoni Road at the heart of the headquarter city of Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), the revolutionary party of the Indian proletariat, founded, reared and steered by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was teeming in thousands of people well before 4 pm, the scheduled time for commencement of the memorial meeting of the great leader. Disdaining inclement weather, they came from each and every district of the state, took their seats and eagerly waited for listening to

Comrade Provas Ghosh, beloved General Secretary of the Party, who was to address the gathering as the main speaker. The solemnity of the occasion was marked by demonstration of rare discipline. Dot on time, the proceedings began with paying floral tribute to the great leader of the proletariat by the central and state level leaders as well as on behalf of various party units, mass and class organizations. After rendition of the song composed on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, guard of honour by Komsomol, the young communist league and a few introductory words by Comrade Soumen Basu, Member, Central Committee and Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the Party, Comrade Provas Ghosh delivered his speech. In his speech, Comrade Provas Ghosh while recollecting

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Latest ethnic-communal violence in Assam

Arch communal-chauvinist-parochial forces rearing ugly head in absence of desired surge of democratic movement

Flames of ethnic-communal conflagration has again erupted in Assam and taken in its sweep many innocent lives, inflicted grievous injuries to many more and rendered lakhs homeless. The fury of the violence targeted children and schools as well as lives and property — anything frenzied rampaging mobs could get their hands on. This insane killing and violence which continued for over a week in mid-July last in Kokrajhar and affected adjoining districts of Chirang, Dhubri and Bongaigaon as well is still not fully contained. Fresh violence is reported from the area and as is learnt, this is precipitated by the perpetrators of this crime to prevent the displaced people from venturing to return home. Both the Congress-led state government as well as central government practically remained mute spectators

when frenzied armed mob went berserk against ordinary people belonging to religious minority community. Rather, they started trading charges at each other for not taking due action to stop this frenzied bloodbath making one wonder if there were any civilized administration. To one's amused disbelief, the Congress chief minister sought to defend himself by saying that the army did not respond even after being approached, a statement that would make even Goebbels envious. When approached, the police clearly stated that they had no orders from the top to take action. Had there been timely intervention by the police and army, this orgy of violence could have been stopped within few hours. It is, therefore, obvious that both the central and state governments had no desire to deal with the situation

firmly and decisively. Only when the conscience of the people of the state as well as of the country rose in protest and public pressure began to mount, the army which is deployed in heavy number in the entire North-East area for containing 'insurgency' and 'ultra-terrorist activities', was called in and there was a semblance of abatement of the holocaust. Thereafter, in a customary fashion, first the chief minister and then the prime minister (who, incidentally, is a Rajya Sabha member from Assam) followed by the erstwhile home minister air-dashed to Assam, had close-door confabulations with the state government and the army personnel, called the large-scale ethnic riots as a 'blot on the nation', exhorted the people to 'learn how to stay together', and then dropped, for the media's consumption, some beaming nuggets of confidence such

as the "situation is under control" and "all would be well soon". But the sporadic violence reported not only from Kokrajhar and the adjoining areas but even from other parts of Assam only goes to prove that the quick-fix solution to such a serious problem and the so-called 'healing touch' of the echelons in the government to be mere hoax.

Fact of the case

Before we proceed to go into the root cause of this erupting violence and mindless killing, a brief account of the factual position is necessary. Let it be cleared at the outset that this carnage, loot and arson has not erupted spontaneously but has been orchestrated in a planned manner. It has taken a huge toll on human lives. But the toll does not tell the entire tale and do not always speak for the

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Violence in Assam : Ruling bourgeoisie perpetrating and fomenting chauvinist-communal-parochial thoughts to keep people divided

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levels of fear and uncertainty created by such violence. Given the history of this kind of ethnic or communal violence, be it in Assam or, for that matter, in any other part of India, it is always preceded by months of rumour-mongering and efforts by vested interests to create high levels of distrust among the targeted communities of the people, precipitate a kind of hate-feeling and whip fanaticism and then pitting one against the other to net sectarian gains. This time also, there was clear evidence that some conspiracy was being hatched to trigger a fresh spate of ethnic-communal violence. Certain stray incidents like murder of two innocent persons belonging to the religious minority in Gosaigaon, killing of a daily wage belonging to the same community in Sherfanguri, murderous attempt on two leaders of All Assam Minority Union (AMSU), clashes between two groups in Barua para adjacent to Kokrajhar town over grabbing of land housing a mosque and then killing of four former members of erstwhile Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) by unidentified gunmen in a village dominated by the religious minorities within the Bodo Territorial Area District (BTAD), bore enough testimony to the genuineness of such an apprehension. It is, therefore, hard to believe that the state or the central government had no prior information from their respective highly-sophisticated intelligence wings about imminence of such a flare-up. Eye witnesses say that clad in the dress of CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force), an armed frenzied mob instigated by the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), one of the ultra-Bodochauvinist factions led by Ranjan Daimary who is for a 'sovereign' Bodo state, in alliance with All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) and Bodo People's Front (BPF), two other Bodo-chauvinist outfits, had led a brutal attack on the villages of the minority community. Initially, the innocent villagers who were already panic-stricken because of reported provocations for another ethnic-communal carnage and growing unease presumed that the police personnel had come for their protection. So they came out to welcome them. But soon barrages of bullets showered indiscriminately on them bared the sinister camouflage. In a bid to save life, the attacked people fled abandoning their home and hearth. In scenes reminiscent of medieval India, the mob rushed from one village to another, torched the

houses, destroyed the properties, mercilessly killed and burnt people. The law and order machinery had completely disappeared as violence of the worst kind overtook the entire area. All plugs were pulled out as the invading fanatics then raged the remains of the gutted houses to the ground with bulldozers to wipe out any trace of any habitation there. It was virtually a one-sided savage attack by a group of miscreants on poor villagers with obvious aim to drive away these innocent masses belonging to religious minority from their habitations at gunpoint and then grab their land and property. Similar incidents have occurred in other parts of the disturbed zone as well. A few incidents of counter-attack against common Bodo people instigated by the arch communal elements in the name of defending the minorities have also been reported. This lends enough credence to the belief that this mayhem, loot and arson has not been bizarre a coincidence but a well-crafted design on the part of communal-chauvinist-parochial forces to stoke the fire of ethnic-communal conflagration abetted by the bourgeois government. The situation continues to be explosive and slenderest of provocation or a slack on the part of the administration can inflame the situation any time. The people slugging it out are the poorest of the poor while the government continues to flounder.

Background of this explosive situation

It is pertinent to mention here that this organized violence is no new a development in Assam. Since independence, it has been in the grip of such periodic ethnic-communal clashes with tacit backing of the central and state governments. In fact, it has been a smouldering volcano waiting to erupt any moment at the slightest of instigation. To trace a root of this explosive situation, one has to recollect the history a bit. Undivided Assam which comprised all the subsequently carved out North-eastern states except Manipur had been traditionally home to innumerable ethnic communities including innumerable tribes, both in the hills and the plains speaking different languages, professing different religions and practising diverse social customs and culture. In fact, it was akin to Mini-India with no particular section constituting numerical majority. True, the character of the populace was heterogeneous but there was no

mistrust or disaffection among them. Varied communities had shared a common space in peace for millennia, observing traditional protocols of mutual engagement in the cherished spirit of amity and fraternity. There was an opportunity to transform these different segments of the people into a homogeneous entity during the freedom movement when the aspiration for an Indian nationhood was live in the country. But as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary of SUCI(C) and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era had shown in course of his penetrating analysis of the concrete socio-political situation of India: the process of formation of nation here started when capitalism, as a world social force, had not only lost its revolutionary character but also become definitely anti-revolution. Over and above, Indian capitalism grew and developed under the domination of foreign finance capital with feudal relations surrounding it. Though the nationalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie was naturally stirred into movement against imperialism because, the imperialist rule in our country stood as an insurmountable obstacle in the path of establishing its class rule here and freely exploiting the Indian masses, it was mortally afraid of revolutionary mass struggles against imperialism and apprehended that the revolutionary struggle by the Indian people for national liberation, if successful, would not only end the imperialist rule in our country but also remove it from the leadership of the struggle and completely shatter all possibilities of establishing a capitalist rule in India. Antagonism with imperialism, on the one hand, and mortal fear of the revolutionary struggle by the people against imperialism on the other hand, made the nationalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie maintain a *reformist oppositional* role against imperialism. Its role against feudalism was equally compromising. As a result, the Indian national bourgeoisie could not and did not carry out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions essential for the democratization of the society and complete merger of different nationalities speaking different languages and different communities professing different religions, into a nation. So, though the Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically in course of anti-imperialist freedom struggle, they remained socially and

culturally divided into different communities disunited by religion, caste, language, race, etc. (vide 'On Communal Problems', SW Vol. II) And after independence, this divide and disunity were not only perpetuated but accentuated by the ruling Indian national bourgeoisie suffering from fear complex of anti-capitalist revolution to shield its exploitative class rule and disrupt the process of development of desired united people's movements centering on the pressing demands of life.

This is equally true for Assam also. But there have been some additional features which made Assam more prone to communal-ethnic conflicts. The British imperialists, who, in order to perpetuate their colonial rule and economic interest, resorted to a divide-and-rule policy in our country. In keeping with that vile policy, they made every attempt to drive a wedge between Assamese-speaking and non-Assamese speaking people as well as between tribal and non-tribal populations. Also, through Christian missionaries, they sought to generate a divide between the hill and plain tribals and the other sections of the people living in the plains and thereby to foster an anti-freedom movement mentality among the tribal communities. So, these tribal people in general remained alienated from the mainstream of Indian freedom movement and nurtured a kind of separatist feeling from Indian nationhood. Even the chapter of freedom movement in Assam had been very short. Whatever little of that had developed was under the aegis of the Congress leaders who mostly belonged to the elite section of Assamese-speaking people and themselves were not free from Assamese-chauvinist thoughts. So, they took no initiative to free the soil from such sectarian chauvinist feeling and integrate various ethnic-religious-linguistic groups into a homogeneous whole. This notwithstanding, it is a fact that in course of living together under the same economic-political-administrative system and through natural socio-cultural intercourse, a process of voluntary fusion and assimilation of the tribal people with the Assamese-speaking people had also set in side by side. Slowly, the tribals were developing thick and thin relationship with the Assamese-speaking community.

After independence, contrary to their expectations, all sections of the toiling people of Assam found that

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Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day

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the historic struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in building the Party and the contributions of the great leader in developing and enriching Marxism-Leninism in course of its creative application in deducing the strategy of Indian revolution and providing answers to the various emerging questions and problems in both national and international spheres, mainly showed why emancipation of the suffering multitudes cannot be brought about by following Gandhite line or spiritualism professed by Swami Vivekananda and others and why one needs Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought to abolish exploitation of man by man for good. The entire audience heard his lucid but penetrating discourse which indicated how people are eager to know the ideological standpoint of the Party guided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. (Text of the speech of Comrade Provash Ghosh will be published later.) The meeting ended with presentation of the *Internationale*.

Bangalore, Karnataka

Memorial Day meeting was held at Town Hall in Bangalore city on 11th August. Here also, Comrade Provash Ghosh was present as the main speaker while Comrade K Radhakrishna, Member, Central Committee and Secretary, Karnataka State Committee presided over. In his brief presidential speech, Comrade Radhakrishna said that the untimely death of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh at the relatively young age of 53, was an irreparable loss to the Indian and international communist movement, seeing the very many

contributions he had made towards enriching Marxism-Leninism, and thereby providing answers to the many questions troubling communists worldwide. His greatest contribution being, in the absence of a genuine communist party in India despite the existence of the CPI, the founding in April 1948 and, after fulfilling all the painstaking struggle and criteria for doing so, including an intensive socialist struggle involving life struggle, rearing and gearing it so that it had taken roots among the masses of most states in the country today. He appealed to all to strengthen the Party in the days to come and build up democratic mass movements. Thereafter, Comrade Provash Ghosh addressed the gathering and showed how Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought can guide not only Indian revolution but world revolution as well and thereby emancipate the suffering humanity from the yoke of exploitation. (Synopsis of his speech will be published later)

Patna, Bihar

Memorial meeting of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was organized in Patna at P & T Hall on 5th of August, 2012. The main speaker of the meeting was Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI (C). Comrade Shiv Shankar, Secretary, SUCI (C), Bihar State Committee presided over the meeting. Comrade Manik Mukherjee in his address mainly emphasized on the point that one cannot have a comprehensive understanding of Marxism-Leninism today without being acquainted with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought which is the most

developed understanding of this noble ideology. In his presidential address, Comrade Shiv Shankar, veteran leader of the Party, said that while there is too much ado about better governance and developmental work, the people of Bihar are plagued with untold misery and suffering in every sphere of life. He called upon all to join the democratic movements being developed by the Party based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought against the anti-people policies of both central and state governments.

Kollam, Kerala

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh memorial meeting in Kerala was held at Kollam on 8th August. The meeting held in T.M. Varghese Hall in the evening was chaired by Comrade C.K. Lukose, Member, Central Committee and Secretary, Kerala State Committee and Comrade Manik Mukherjee was the main speaker. In his presidential address, Comrade Lukose informed all about the struggle being conducted by the Party in the state based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought upholding the nobility of Marxism-leftism and how is the Party rapidly growing in every district and how the pseudo-Marxists like the CPI (M), CPI are fast getting exposed before the people. Comrade Manik Mukherjee dwelt upon the various aspects of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and called upon all to strengthen the Party for materializing the dream of Comrade Ghosh by expediting anti-capitalist revolution. (Synopsis of Comrade Manik Mukherjee's speeches at Kollam and Patna has been given separately.) Comrade G. S.

Padmakumar rendered the speech of Comrade Manik Mukherjee in English in to Malayalam. The meeting started with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and ended with the *Internationale*. The meeting was preceded by a well decorated memorial demonstration.

Guwahati, Assam

State level Memorial Day meeting was held on 5th August 2012 at Kumar Bhaskar Natya Mandir, Guwahati. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Bhupendra Nath Kakati, Member, Assam State Committee of the Party while Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Member, Polit Bureau, was present as the main speaker. Addressing the gathering, Comrade Chakraborty said that the solution of the burning problems of the people of the country as well as of Assam lies in the thoughts and teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Ghosh, in course of his penetrating analysis of the concrete situation of India, had shown, among other things why the Indians despite having grown as a nation is divided on caste, ethnicity, religion and language and how the ruling oppressive bourgeoisie in order to shield its exploitation is cunningly using this divide to pit one section of the people against another. Only development of powerful united conscious democratic movement under correct revolutionary leadership can constitute an effective bulwark against the fratricidal bloodbath. (Synopsis of Comrade Chakraborty's speeches at Guwahati and Hyderabad will be published later). Comrade Chandralekha Das, Assam State Secretary, while

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Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) [Inset] addressing the massive gathering at Kolkata on Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day on 5th August

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speaking in the memorial meeting urged upon all sections of the people to isolate communal, parochial chauvinist forces and come forward to build up united democratic movement conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Comrade Bhupendra Nath Kakati in his presidential address appealed to all sections of people to cultivate Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought and strengthen the SUCI (C). Two resolutions on the current spate of ethnic-communal killing and on the devastating flood and erosion of the river Brahmaputra were moved and adopted. The meeting observed one minute silence in memory of the people who died in the ethnic clashes and the fury of the flood.

Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh

Memorial meeting was held on 8th August at the Press Club, Hyderabad. Comrade B S Amaranth, Member Andhra Pradesh State Organizing Committee, presided over while Comrade Krishna Chakraborty was the main speaker. In his brief speech, Comrade K Sridhar, Secretary, AP State, mentioned, inter alia, that it was at the initiative of our Party that a united left-democratic movement surged forth in the state in 1993. But afterwards the CPI (M) and CPI in order to reap electoral benefits like any other vote-based outfits deserted the left combination and sided with either separatist TRS, or the Congress or the regional TDP. He also described the miserable condition of the common masses assailed by the anti-people policies of the government and called upon all to strengthen SUCI(C), the only force of movement. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty in his speech elaborated on the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and touched upon apart from other important points the aspects of all out cultural degeneration, deluge of corruption, crime and atrocities on women, casteist-communal-ethnic flare-ups, separatist wrangling and menace of bourgeois individualism which are bred by decadent moribund capitalist system and eating into the very vitals of our life. Proletarian culture, that is collectivism and proletarian internationalism based on Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought is the only way which can fight all narrow, sectarian, divisive tendencies among the people and pave way for anti-capitalist revolution.

Cuttack, Odisha

SUCI(C) Odisha State

Committee Observed the 36th Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh at Cuttack, SaheedBhawan on 5th August, 2012. Comrade Dhurjati Das, Odisha State Secretary, presided over and Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Member, Polit Bureau, was the main speaker. In his long speech, Comrade Bhattacharyya, inter alia, said that all great human beings are products of great historical movements and thinkers. Emergence of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as a foremost Marxist thinker, philosopher and great revolutionary leader of the proletariat has also been in fulfilment of a historic necessity. He is identified with the cause of Indian revolution. The very names of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and SUCI(C) send chill down the spine of the oppressive capitalist class and its servitors suffering from fear complex of anti-capitalist revolution. Emancipation lies in correct grasp and application of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought and faster growth of SUCI(C), both ideological and organizational. (Synopsis of the speeches delivered by Comrade Bhattacharyya at Cuttack and Jaipur has been published separately). Comrade Dhurjati Das in his brief address called upon all to build up powerful democratic movement in the state. Comrade Shankar Dasgupta, Member, Odisha State Committee, translated Comrade Bhattacharyya's speech in Oriya. Before commencement of the meeting, the state Komsomol staged a colourful guard of honour.

Chennai, Tamilnadu

A state level public meeting was held at Tana Street in Purusaiwakkam in Chennai as part of observation of the 36th Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrades from all districts as well as supporters and sympathisers of the Party from different parts of Chennai attended the meeting. A quotation and photo exhibition on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and the March 14 Delhi Rally, was on display whole day at the venue. The well-attended meeting was presided over by Comrade A Rengasamy, State Secretary, Tamilnadu State Organising Committee, SUCI(C) while Comrade K Radhakrishna, Member, Central Committee and Karnataka State Secretary was the main speaker.

In his address, Comrade A Rengasamy mainly dwelt on the various attacks brought upon the people ever since the present

AIADMK government had assumed power. All the opposition parties, including the pseudo-Marxists are serving capitalist class interest and therefore people have nothing to expect from them. People have to identify the right party to lead them, the leadership, have to organize themselves in people's committees and be prepared for sustained and united movement against these anti-people pro-capitalist measures being taken by the state and central governments.

Comrade Radhakrishna while recalling the invaluable contributions of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in correctly analyzing not only national but even international situation based on correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, showed how even after the death of Com Shibdas Ghosh on this day in 1976, his teachings had spread not only in the country but internationally, under the able leadership of his closest comrade-in-arms, departed Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. The Party has been taking all efforts to build up a militant worldwide opposition against the rampages and ravages of world imperialism led by the USA, ever since the fall of the socialist camp. In the process it was bidding to consolidate communist forces of various countries and imbuing them with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. He said that the working people of India has the right Party to lead them in their struggle against capitalism, the overthrow of which alone could solve all the problems of their lives. He called people to strengthen upon the SUCI(C), build up their own instruments of struggle, people's committees at every level.

Agartala, Tripura

Memorial Day meeting was held 8th August at Matangini Pritilata hall in Agartala. After guard of honour by Komsomol and a brief speech by Comrade ArunBhowmik, Secretary, Tripura State Organizing Committee who presided over the meeting, Comrade Soumen Basu, Member, Central Committee and West Bengal State Secretary addressed the gathering as the main speaker. In his long speech, Comrade Basu described how through conduction of a historic arduous struggle, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, once unknown and unheard, emerged as one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era. Recalling the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, he called upon all to transform themselves as good communists by assimilating and exhausting the lessons from the

life and struggle of the past luminaries like Vidyasagar, Netaji Subhash, Bhagat Singh, Saratchandra, Rabindranath, Nazrul and then emulating them. Referring to the obtaining political situation in West Bengal, Comrade Basu mentioned in what specific situation in the context of Singur-Nandigram movement and the fascistic attack on people's struggles by the then CPI (M) government, we had formed unity with the TMC without having any illusion about it and knowing fully well that once saddled in power it would also like any other bourgeois petty-bourgeois outfit pursue anti-people policies. Now, we are ready to build up powerful democratic movements against both Congress-led central government and TMC-led state government.

Delhi

A central public meeting in was organized by the Delhi State Organizing Committee at Hindi Bhawan, ITO on 5th August. Comrade C K Lukose, Member, Central Committee, SUCI(C) and Secretary, Kerala State Committee, was the main speaker on the occasion. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Pran Sharma, Member, Delhi State Organizing Committee, SUCI(C). Comrade Pratap Samal, Delhi State Secretary, also spoke on the occasion.

In his speech, Comrade Lukose while referring to the all-pervading crisis of the capitalism/imperialism, stated that the problems faced by the people all over the world cannot be solved unless the decadent system is overthrown and replaced by a socialist system which alone is capable of opening floodgates of progress and abundance in material as well as spiritual production. However, he stated that such a transformation cannot take place on its own. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that ultimately it is the people armed with correct ideology alone who can bring about this great social change. After the recent debacle of the erstwhile socialist camp, the Capitalists-Imperialists were propagating that Marxism has failed. But the ever deepening crisis of the Capitalist world has pushed people again to find an answer to the decaying Capitalism-imperialism. If Capitalism-Imperialism is the root cause of all the ills of the present day society, Marxism-Leninism Comrade Shibdas Ghosh thought provides the answer. today our struggle is not only against Capitalism but also

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against the social democratic forces that guard capitalism. These forces, he stated, have to an extent been exposed through the recent people's movements in Nandigram-Singur and in Kerala where their criminalized political activities are now thoroughly laid bare before the people. The people of the country are keenly watching us, reposing faith in our party and are joining it in great numbers. We are single handedly building up people's movement everywhere on the edifice of higher cultural-ethical-moral standard conducive to anti-capitalist revolution and are striving to form people's volunteer committees which in course of time will be able to grow into people's alternative political power. He appealed to the comrades to continue and sharpen the struggle of revitalization, reorganization and consolidation and involve themselves as a product of this struggle so that the party can emerge as an invincible force capable of accomplishing the arduous task of revolution.

Vadodara, Gujarat

On 8th August, a state level Public Meeting was organised in Vadodara at Vakad H Seva Kendra Hall. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Meenakshi Joshi, Member, Gujarat State Organizing Committee. Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Member, Central Committee, was the main speaker. In her presidential address, Comrade Meenakshiben held that we lost Comrade at a very crucial time when our country was witnessing waves of people's movements against fascistic attacks of the Indira Gandhi government and recalled how late Jay Prakash Narayan, who led that movement was deeply impressed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's analysis and was convinced that total revolution in capitalist India cannot be anything other than anti-capitalist revolution. Since Anna Hazare and his associates failed to understand that, they could not build up any effective sustained movement against corruption. In her address, Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee said that on the Memorial Day of

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we need to analyze the present situation of our country in the light of his teachings and chart out the correct course of bringing about the desired emancipation of the people from the yoke of capitalist oppression. While calling upon all to draw necessary lesson from the historic struggle conducted by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh along with his handful of revolutionary compatriots in building up SUCI(C) braving all odds, she focussed on the present socio-political situation in which the gap between few rich and billions of poor is widening with every passing hour. She showed that all misery and penury, aberration and distortion, corruption and degeneration, deception and discrimination are stemming from the rotten outmoded capitalist system and hence remedy lies in revolutionary overthrow of capitalism from state power. Revolution is not sporadic eruption of violence and mindless destruction. Revolution means total change in all aspects of the society—social, political, economic,

cultural, educational, emotional. When people understand this, when they engage themselves in the struggle to build up movements on the burning problems of life based on higher ethics and culture and conducive to the ultimate decisive revolutionary battle, they will be able to bring about revolution. Without revolution, there can be no end to people's woes. The earlier the people realize this truth and join revolutionary politics, the faster we shall be able to accomplish revolution. This is the essence of teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which we need to assimilate. Then only we can show real respect to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Dwarikanath Rath, Secretary, Gujarat State Organizing Committee, appealed to all to strengthen SUCI(C) and all its class and mass fronts and build up people's movements.

(Coverage of other memorial meetings including the ones our Polit Bureau members and Central Committee members addressed as main speakers would be covered in the next issue.)

Without grasping Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, one cannot have true understanding of Marxism-Leninism today — Comrade Manik Mukherjee

(This is a synopsis of the two speeches delivered by Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI (C), at Patna and Kollam on 5 and 8 August, 2012 at the memorial meetings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our leader, teacher and guide. Responsibility of translation error or inadequacy in expression, if any, lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era)

Observing the Memorial Day of our great leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is no ritual to us. We observe this day with due solemnity to learn and relearn the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and resolve to fulfill the task bequeathed to us by him—task of fulfilling his dream of accomplishing anti-capitalist socialist revolution on this soil, establish scientific socialism, provide everyone the basic needs of life and open up before them an unhindered path of progress and development by abolishing exploitation of man by man. Comrade Ghosh is no more with us. But his thoughts, his revolutionary teachings are incarnate in us. The flame he had kindled is aglow in us. His thoughts, his exemplary revolutionary life and struggle continue to be the beacon in guiding us.

65 years have rolled by since independence and you are well aware of the outcome. While the rich has become brutally rich, the vast multitudes of the toiling people

irrespective of caste, creed, religion, ethnicity or language have become increasingly impoverished, misery-stricken, deprived of the basic needs of life. During the days of our freedom movement, our national leaders tried to make people understand that all burning problems of life like unemployment, price rise, hunger, penury, starvation, lack of proper education and healthcare were due to the British imperialist rule. If British are compelled to leave the country, the entire wealth of the country would remain in this land and the common people would have an access to it without discrimination. In other words, once the British imperialists were ousted, we would be free —economically, politically, socially—in real sense of the term. The country would make bold stride ahead in progress. But, things have gone just the other way. All the parliamentary parties as well as the projected national leaders like Sonia, Manmohan, Vajpayee-Advani and the ilk are crying hoarse of development and prosperity. But

whose prosperity they are talking about? Prosperity of the giant monopolists like the Tatas, Ambanis, Birlas, Jindals, Mittals or of the common people? While four of the first ten richest persons are Indians and eight to nine families possess almost half of the country's wealth, 77% of the Indians, as per the report of a government-appointed committee, are languishing in abject poverty, unable to have even one square meal a day. This is the spectacle of growth and development. But why has this happened? This question is seriously bothering the common people who are gradually refusing to buy the trash arguments of the so-called economists and economists of the ruling capitalist class and seeking to understand the precise reasons for their escalated destitution as well as proper remedial course. They are also disgusted with the vote-seeking political parties whom they now hate for practising political opportunism, lust for power and indulgence in limitless corruption. On the other hand, wherever we are able to reach out with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought and present to them the alternative revolutionary political line, we are receiving tremendous response. So the time is

very favourable for us to grow and make people aware of and imbibe the illuminating thought of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which is the developed, enriched and heightened understanding of Marxism-Leninism today.

Even at a very tender age, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, then a volunteer of the uncompromising trend of Indian freedom movement, could realize that the political independence we were going to get was coming through compromise and would not mitigate the problems of life of the common people. Rather, one exploitative rule would be replaced by another exploitative regime under the aegis of the aspirant Indian national bourgeoisie who was going to be saddled in power by usurping all fruits of the glorious freedom movement. So, the people would have to prepare themselves for another revolution, anti-capitalist socialist revolution, to abolish exploitation of man by man and force open the path of social progress and development. But to bring about that revolution, as taught by Lenin, three essential pre-conditions needed to be fulfilled—a correct revolutionary theory, a correct base political line and a

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Comrade Manik Mukherjee's speech

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought is the most developed, enriched and heightened understanding of Marxism-Leninism

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correct revolutionary party. Based on Marxist methodology of analysis, Comrade Ghosh correctly arrived at a conclusion that the party which was formed with the name Communist Party of India (undivided CPI) did not grow as per the correct Leninist model. The leaders who formed the party notwithstanding their honesty, sincerity and willingness to sacrifice viewed Marxism-Leninism only as a political ideology and did not embrace as a life philosophy. That is why, though it was then enjoying recognition of international communist leadership and the glory of world communist movement, it could not emerge as the real revolutionary instrument in the hands of Indian working class and thereby could not fulfil the essential pre-condition of revolution. Dawned upon by this realization, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, then in his teens, showed the revolutionary audacity to initiate the process of building up a correct revolutionary communist party on the Leninist model alongwith a handful of his revolutionary compatriots like Comrades Nihar Mukherjee, Sachin Banerjee, Subodh Banerjee, Pritish Chanda and Hiren Sarkar. Together, they subjected themselves to the arduous struggle of conducting a socialist movement covering each and every aspect of life to be freed from the private-property mental-complex and thereby attain at least a minimum communist standard to lead a real communist party. Only at the culmination of the first phase of that struggle, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh founded the Party in 1948. Since the undivided CPI did not develop with correct Marxist outlook and character, its analysis of the specific economic-political situation of post-independent India and deduction of the stage of revolution was also erroneous and far from reality. In fact, their theory of people's democratic revolution which even today all the split factions of the then undivided CPI like the present CPI, CPI (M) and various other Naxalite parties and groups espouse to be correct, will, if analyzed on the anvil of Marxian science, reveal that the ruling Indian national bourgeoisie which in course of development has not only given birth to monopoly capital but has acquired imperialist character through export of finance capital to other countries, is their ally of revolution. In fact, this is providing a theoretical cover to the CPI (M),

CPI in joining hands with the Congress and the BJP, two trusted political representatives of the ruthlessly oppressive ruling bourgeoisie, in securing berth in the corridors of power. On the other hand, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in course of fulfilling the task of Indian revolution by concretizing Marxism-Leninism on this soil had shown that once the national bourgeoisie had assumed state power, the stage of Indian revolution had become anti-capitalist socialist revolution which is aimed at overthrowing the ruling bourgeoisie. Pending that, people would not be able to come out of the shackle of inhuman exploitation. He



Comrade Manik Mukherjee addressing at Patna

also in the process showed how democratic centralism based on ideological centralism and organizational centralism should be established and operated within a real communist party and how as best manifestation of operation of democratic centralism, a leader emerges through struggle as the best personified expression of the collective leadership and hence the authority. When Comrade Shibdas Ghosh alongwith his revolutionary compatriots started his journey, many had lampooned him, called him lunatic, caricatured his struggle as mission impossible. But, Comrade Ghosh remained unfazed, unwavering and asserted that he was pursuing what he had rationally grasped as truth. Even if he failed, died on the roadside, unheard, unseen, he would not give up pursuit of truth. If there was truth in his struggle, history would recognize it one day. Such firm was his conviction, conviction of truth.

So, while all the big parties including the undivided CPI gradually lost the reputation as well as organizational strength, became disintegrated, SUCI (C), founded, reared and steered by Comrade

Shibdas Ghosh went ahead, braving all odds, overcoming all obstacles. Today, Party has functional units in almost every state. And in many states, as alternative to bourgeois power politics, we are now reckoned as the only force of mass and class struggles. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is no more, but his thoughts, his teachings, his exemplary life struggle are very much alive. And not only in India, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought is creating waves in the minds of the progressive forces and revolutionaries in many other countries. Except Australia, we have now contacts and connections in all other continents. Recently, we have received one invitation from the Sinn Fein party of Ireland, a very militant and fighting force. Our Party has decided that I will go and talk to them. The name of our Party and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought has reached so many countries. To that extent, we have achieved some success. But, since our resources are limited, we are unable to take advantage of many unfolding opportunities. You all know that after dismantling of Soviet Union and setback of socialism in the East European countries because of revisionist conspiracy aided and abetted by world-imperialism, there was mounting confusion and frustration among the working people throughout the world. World communist movement received a big jolt. Under the impact of bourgeois propaganda about obsolescence of Marxism-Leninism, many doubted feasibility of scientific socialism. And in the unipolar world, the world imperialism-capitalism became unbridled in rolling out steamroller of oppression and repression by invoking the vile doctrine of capitalist globalization. But we did not suffer from any despair or perplexity. Because, we are armed with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who was first to point out ingress of mechanical thought process as against dialectical thought process in the international communist movement and warned that if corrective steps were not taken, it might open up floodgate of revisionism and endanger very existence of socialism. Later, he, based on Marxist science and methodology of analysis provided genesis and comprehensive understanding of modern revisionism. He also showed how

the menace of noxious bourgeois individualism had, in absence of appropriate vigil and process of being combated and defeated, infiltrated into working class movement as well as socialist countries and posing serious threat of counter-revolution. So, when socialism collapsed in Soviet Union and later counter-revolution took place in China, we were not taken by surprise because we were aware of this impending danger and also of the ways and means to fight this. That is why, under the guidance of our beloved departed leader Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, a life-long revolutionary compatriot of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who took up the reins of the Party after untimely demise of Comrade Ghosh, our Party took initiative in mid-1990s to develop and intensify anti-imperialist movement throughout the world combining all anti-imperialist and patriotic forces with genuine communists acting as the core. In the process was formed the International Anti-imperialist Coordinating Committee with Ramsey Clark, noted Human Right activist, as its President and our Party nominee as the General Secretary. Under the aegis of this Committee, anti-imperialist militant peace struggles are surging forth in various countries. In the light of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, our Party led by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee could correctly conclude that in absence of the mighty socialist camp which notwithstanding many limitations worked as the bulwark against capitalist-imperialist machination, only way to build up an effective deterrent to the growing overlordism and brigandage of world imperialism-capitalism led by the US imperialists was by way of developing worldwide anti-imperialist militant peace movements and coordinating those movements. This has helped us in carrying Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought to the various communist and revolutionary forces who are seriously thinking of closing their ranks to revive world communist movement free from the attack of modern revisionism. Many of them are seriously studying Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought and have also appreciated his brilliant analysis and prognosis of modern revisionism. You also know that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that today when fighting bourgeois individualism has become so

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Comrade Manik Mukherjee's speech**People need to acquire revolutionary political consciousness joining class and mass struggles***Contd. from page 6*

important to keep the self insulated from degeneration, in order to attain the character of a good communist, one has to struggle for complete identification of self-interest with the interest of the working class, party and revolution. Thus he provided the definition of a good communist character. And he also showed that democratic centralism cannot operate if the consciousness level of the comrades remains low. So it is essential to make democratic centralism living within the Party through continuous upgradation of ideological and political standard. And this upgradation depends on how deeply can the leaders and workers grasp Marxism-Leninism and apply the same in life and how best the relentless collective struggle to attain this higher ideological standard is conducted within the Party.

But merely taking a pledge to fight bourgeois individualism would not suffice. One has to struggle in the right process. Comrade Ghosh explained that those who are coming for proletarian revolution and have dedicated their lives for this cause, must thoroughly understand that we want to develop a society where there will be no individual ownership in the field of production. All individual ownership would be abolished from the society. And so if those who will lead this revolution are not themselves free from individual sense of property and mental complex of private property, they cannot lead this revolution. And this is the struggle, as I referred to earlier, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh released inside the Party from very inception. You know, on the days of Party formation, Comrade Ghosh repeatedly stressed on leading

collective life, common constant association, common constant discussion, common constant activity. If there is no collective life, we cannot develop collective thought process. For developing collective thought process, we need to launch an all-out struggle collectively covering all aspects of life, not only political but economic, cultural, sex, personal life, everything to transform ourselves as true revolutionaries. And only in this way, we can make ourselves free from private property mental complexes. If this struggle is not conducted properly inside the Party, mere sincerity, honesty and emotion would not bring success to us. And unless we can elevate our standard collectively, collective leadership would not emerge and there would be formal individual leadership, the trend and tendency of sinking into bourgeois individualism would persist.

Next point is that our comrades must learn to lead mass life. Mass life does not only mean organizing class and mass struggles. We go to the masses, live with them, try to organize them and make them conscious for revolution. We must go to the masses, stay with them, treat them as kith and kin and share their joys and woes. Test of one's realization of Marxism lies in one's ability to attract the masses with the proletarian values and culture ingrained in one's character and initiate them into the vortex of mass movement. Alongside undertaking normal routine Party activities, emphasis ought to be given on becoming near and dear one of the common toiling people. It is effective in two ways. In the one hand, if you mix with the people with a view to fostering in them revolutionary consciousness, not by mere preaching but by dint of

qualities of your character, they would feel emotional attachment towards you and respond to your call. On the other hand, through establishment of this kind close emotional purposive relationship with them, you would develop the desired impersonal attitude and free yourself from individualism to some extent.

We must understand one more aspect. The pale of gloom that loomed large after collapse of socialism in Soviet Union and later China is fading fast. People are again rising in protest. Massive demonstrations and working class movements are rocking the USA, the heartland of World imperialism, the entire Europe, number of Latin American and Asian countries. People are raising slogans against capitalism. "Occupy Wall Street movement" has spread throughout the world. In other words, objective condition for revolution is ripe not only in India but in the entire world. But subjective condition i.e. necessary ideological and organizational leadership of the genuine revolutionary party to overthrow capitalism is yet to mature. How can we make the common masses understand revolution, imbue them with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought? We can do that only by developing various class and mass struggles right from the grass root level by forming innumerable people's struggle committees and involving maximum number of common people. These people's committees must function as instruments of struggle to be gradually upgraded into the centres of alternative political power of the people. It is in this process of participating in class and mass struggles under the leadership of

correct revolutionary party that people would develop necessary political consciousness and imbibe imperativeness of proletarian revolution.

So, as I have pointed out earlier, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought is the most developed, enriched and heightened understanding of Marxism-Leninism today. This is a historically determined truth. No one can have a correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism today without being acquainted with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. We are proud that the Indian working class through appropriate struggle has been able to produce such a gigantic revolutionary leader, thinker and philosopher who, as worthy continuator of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong, has provided the revolutionary proletariats of the world invincible ideological weapon to make world revolution a total success. But this pride means we are pledge-bound to intensify struggle for expediting Indian revolution, free the working class from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and thereby accomplish the task history has adjured us. And Indian revolution would show way to accomplish world proletarian revolution.

With these words, with this expectation that our comrades will rise up to the occasion and shoulder this responsibility and devote wholeheartedly in spreading Party organization and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought to every nook and corner of the country and thereby show our heart-felt respect to our beloved leader, teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, I conclude.

Red Salute to
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Fulfilling historic necessity, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh emerged as a giant revolutionary leader — Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

(On the occasion of 36th death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Member Polit Bureau of the Party, addressed a mass meeting at Cuttack in Odisha state on 5 August last. Abridged version of his address is presented below.)

This occasion has come out to be the day of deepest grief in our Party life, when with tearful eyes and from the furthest bottom of our heart we reminisce our beloved leader. Truly speaking, during Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's lifetime, our Party could not grow to a great strength in the country. But to whatever extent it had grown, its

leaders, cadres and whoever had come in even the slightest touch with him, all were gripped by a feeling at his demise that it is no longer of any use to live. But instantaneously, again with his teachings guiding us, we overcame that overawed stance to stand up as one man. He had taught us that the deepest grief must give rise to the

deepest sense of responsibility and duty. If it does not, we must take it that the grief itself is not really deep; within a short while, it will give off itself into thin air. It was this teaching on which we were reborn, which gave us the new life, on the strength of which we tried to stand up again and develop further, trying every day, every moment to struggle with all our might to strengthen the SUCI(Communist) on the soil of India. Following his guidelines, we are trying our

utmost to overthrow capitalism from the country as early as possible and establish socialism. This memorial meeting of today, is thus the day for us to take pledge to fulfill this task, to concretely give effect to this goal, as early as possible.

You know at all ages, the greatest sons and daughters of the world of that time emerged as concrete expressions to fulfill the historical necessity of their

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Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech**SUCI(C) the greatest creation of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's life-long path-breaking valiant struggle***Contd from page 7*

respective juncture, to fulfill the historical necessity of the people who had been living at that time in that society. That historical necessity itself had given birth to them. All great men and women, are thus said to be the product of great historical movement. In India from Vidyasagar to the main characters of the revolutionary movement of that time Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Netaji Subhashchandra Bose, the way they had emerged as the boldest characters to bring about a revolutionary change of society, in the same way Comrade Ghosh also emerged as concrete expression to fulfill a historic necessity. And I would like to state emphatically that in course of conducting an unique all-embracing revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed and exploited people of the country Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, like all other great national heroes of our country also came to be regarded as an outstanding national hero dear to people and an exemplary towering character to emulate to the people of the whole country.

It is said that three personalities, Lal-Bal-Pal, that is Lala Lajpat Rai, BalGangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal initiated the freedom movement of this country as with immense audacity, they challenged the British imperialism. At that time, in 1919 in the Jalianwala Bagh massacre the British rulers opened fire on a peaceful assembly of thousands of unarmed people including children, women and old to send a message that whoever would dare to seek freedom of the country would have to meet the same end. But after the Second World War, The Azad Hind Fauz, though defeated officially, had brought out people of all ages and of all sections, workers-peasants-students and teachers without exception, on to the streets to embrace any and every kind of sacrifice for the sake of attaining independence. In course of this there was naval mutiny. Not only that. The native army which the British rulers had formed with the people of this country, the rulers felt, was no longer inclined any more to abide by the command of their foreign rulers, they were standing up in favour of independence. India became independent by dint of these struggles waged by the freedom fighters who had come out like

tigers; it did not come through the *satyagraha* of Gandhiji or Congress, though people of the country had once believed words of Gandhiji or Congress leaders, had placed confidence on them, and thereafter rushed into the struggle for independence of the country embracing immense sacrifice. Independence came at last on 15 August 1947, on which date the British transferred power to the Indians. But before going back they left their parting sting: they divided this unified country into two, India and Pakistan, artificially on the ground of communalism, on religion, taking advantage of the betrayal of the Congress. People of India, however, did not visualize



**Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya
addressing at Cuttack**

independence simply as an act of ouster of British imperialists. It had a deeper meaning to them. By freedom they meant freedom from hunger, from abysmal poverty, from all sorts of injustice and exploitation of man by man. So long as these remained there cannot be an iota of happiness in peoples' life. And for attainment of these Comrade Shibdas Ghosh envisaged *ganamukti* that is freedom from all sorts of exploitation. In the later part of 1945 and beginning of 1946 when it was becoming apparent that the British imperialist rulers have no other alternative than to leave India at the earliest and that too hatching conspiracy to hand over power to the Indian National Congress, the political party representing the interest of the Indian bourgeoisie, a deep frustration set in the minds of hundreds of thousands of uncompromising valiant freedom fighters. It became apparent to them that with the assumption of power by the Indian national bourgeoisie the fate of the downtrodden millions of the country was sure to remain where it had been. The question that seriously shook their mind was that

millions of freedom fighters had made infinite sacrifice for the freedom of the country. In spite of that why then the freedom movement going to meet this tragic end, what was lacking in that freedom movement. These questions in particular, were tormenting thoughtful people, but people were not finding the right answer, though historically it was extremely important to find the right answers.

At that crucial hour, the then undivided CPI, communist by mere name, under the leadership of PC Joshi added insult to injury. They openly welcomed the imperialist design, the Mountbatten Plan, of partitioning the undivided nation artificially in the name of religion. They called for unity between Congress and Muslim League. And when after the partition was accomplished and the new Indian state was born and Jawaharlal made its prime minister, the same undivided CPI raised the slogan: Support Jawaharlal against Patel. CPI extended their support to none other than Jawaharlal terming him progressive, who, in reality, had emerged as the chieftain of the Congress. But immediately afterwards, there came a precisely opposite trend. The same party under the changed leadership of BT Ranadive cried aloud the exactly opposite slogan: *Ye azadi jhootha hai!* This independence is fake and false! In reality, unable to face the relentless thrashing from the Indian people the British imperialists fled this country; but to the CPI it meant nothing worth noting, of no significance. This was the extent of their understanding of Marxism. They trampled Marxism while clamouring for it. But the thinking people of the country were not ready to accept this answer of the CPI.

People of this country had noted during the entire freedom struggle that this communist party by name, did not keep any relation with the Congress in its early days, when Congress was sort of a loose platform, when Mahatma Gandhi did not appear in the leadership. And later when Mahatma Gandhi developed the Congress as the only trusted weapon of the capitalists, they supported that Congress and till the last days of independence struggle eulogized Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal. Subhaschandra Bose who had been fighting within the Congress against its compromising leadership representing an uncompromising

trend and who was supported by MN Roy, an eminent Marxist of that time, the CPI, going by its banner of communist party, actively opposed him.

Under these circumstances, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who had just been entering his youth at the end of his teen ages, and who was a single person along with a few compatriots convincing them with his thoughts, emerged with his realizations to present before the Indian toiling people that bitter though it was, it had been a truth that in the Indian independence struggle there were two opposing trends working. One was the trend that was guided by the innate goal to concretize the desires and aspirations of the Indian national capitalists, the Tatas and the Birlas. They wanted to utilize the aspirations of the Indian people for freedom, with a desire for availing of the opportunity that as and when the British would leave the country, the state power would be vested with them, and they could establish domination over the Indian market to establish their grip over the larger undivided Indian market as also could venture outwards with the help of the state power, in markets of other countries as a powerful partner of the bigger imperialist powers.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said there was another exactly opposite trend working in the independence movement among people, 90% of which envisaged that independence should not only end the British rule and exploitation, through it people would be free from all sorts of exploitation. Had there been a genuine communist party, armed with Lenin's teachings it could have and should have stood boldly in defence of the aspirations and desires of this 90% people of India smashing the designs of the 10% exploiters on the basis of Marxist ideology, making Indian people conscious of their tasks.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said however painful it might be, people would have to recognize also this truth that with the independence the state of the Indian capitalist class had been established; in place of white skinned rulers and exploiters, dark-skinned rulers and exploiters had risen to power. He said further that to overthrow this capitalist class from power, what was required was anti-capitalist socialist revolution; capitalism must be uprooted through mass uprising and in no other easy way. This goal

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Violence in Assam : Chauvinists-Communalists illegally branding bonafide Indians as ‘foreigners’ and targeting them for murderous assault

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there was no betterment of their lot. Rather, in keeping with general spectacle of capitalist India, all prosperity and development were skewed to a few rich. With every passing day people irrespective of caste, creed, region, religion or ethnicity were being deprived of the bare necessities of life and dragged to the dregs of virtual ruination. The burden of on-going price rise, spiralling unemployment, large-scale retrenchment and job loss, absence of any means of earning, non-availability of minimal education-healthcare-sanitation and civic amenities were making people bleed white. Obviously, there had been mounting discontent against all these deceptions and deprivations. Unable to make both ends meet and enraged at concentration of all wealth, privileges and prosperity to a handful of rich, the poor and have-nots as well as the pauperized middle class were seething within. Lest this accumulated grievance of the suffering multitudes should get channelized against the capitalist system and even its subservient governments, the ruling class and its servitors resorted to all possible means to keep the downtrodden multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual people of Assam disunited over their ethnic-religious-lingual identities and to pose one section of the poor responsible for the destitution of the other. Assam soil, as stated above, was ripe for working out such a stratagem. So, the ruling Congress leaders in Assam most of whom were already nurturing deep-rooted Assamese-chauvinism in them, unleashed a vicious campaign that the so-called ‘outsiders’ and ‘illegal settlers’ were responsible for the growing plight of the Assamese-speaking masses. This Assamese-chauvinism was gradually stepped up to a kind of jingoism first against the Hindu Bengali-speaking people and then against the immigrant Bengali-speaking Muslim community who constitutes a sizeable fraction of the population of Assam and whose ancestors being very skilled agriculturists came from the then East Bengal (today’s Bangladesh) about 130 years ago with support of and encouragement from the then government and the Assamese-speaking people and settled in some districts of Assam. Instigated by the chauvinist forces, several ethnic-communal riots were orchestrated in post-independence period with direct connivance with the opportunist Congress leaders who copiously confused different sections of people of Assam with

chauvinist-communal slogans and created fanaticism to that end. Assam was thus on the boil. By this, the Congress leaders sought to not only mislead the common Assamese people but also shield their own misrule that caused devastation in the lives of both Assamese-speaking and non-Assamese speaking communities including the tribals. The capitalist class and its governments had not only fiercely exploited the Assamese-speaking people but also the non-Assamese speaking people including the tribals who were extremely backward and downtrodden. So, as Assam-chauvinism was being increasingly fomented by the vested interest within the same community, a similar kind of separatist-parochial thought was being fanned up by ambitious opportunist sections within the tribals as well.

Dispossessed of the necessary political consciousness to understand this crafty design of the ruling class and its servitors, poverty-stricken gasping people often fall victim to the same and exhaust their fighting potential by being embroiled in internecine fights and suicidal bloodbaths. Sometimes, they are to believe by the vested interest that separatism would bring them moon. As we know, following the cry for separatism, various North-eastern states were carved out of undivided Assam. But that did not mitigate any problem. The seed of divide and fertile ground for germination of divisive thoughts and fissiparous tendencies persisted with all menacing potential. It is pertinent to mention that way back in 1967, the then Congress government at the centre proposed bifurcation of Assam in two parts — the hills and the plain. Our Party at that time vehemently opposed it and said that this proposed fragmentation would neither solve the basic problems of the common people nor would there be any eradication of the divisive and warped mindset since all these menaces were bred by the capitalist system which would remain intact. On the contrary, feelings of harmony and cooperation among various communities, instead of receiving due encouragement, would be seriously jeopardized and seeds of permanent disunity and conflict would be sown. History has corroborated our stand. The newly-constituted North-eastern states, instead of providing any relief to the respective resident groups have only exacerbated the problems of insurgency-separatism-ethnic sectarianism. The only way this sprouting of various divisive trends

could stemmed in post-independence period was by way of developing sustained left-democratic movement uniting all sections of the toiling multitudes on the burning demands of life. Surge of this legitimate people’s movement would have not only strengthened the solidarity of the oppressed people irrespective of caste, creed, ethnicity, religion or language but also created a congenial cultural milieu in which all kinds of divisive preachings by the interested circles could be given a crushing ideological-political defeat. But, the so-called Marxists-leftists like the CPI (M) and CPI showed no genuine intention towards that end and instead struck worst form of compromise with the divisive forces for pelf and power and thus virtually helped the arch communal forces represented by the RSS-BJP combine and the separatist-chauvinist groups to rear their ugly heads and orchestrate series of Hindu-Muslim riots, communal-ethnic killings and other kinds of fratricidal bloodbath.

Bodo-chauvinism and demand for Bodoland

In this backdrop arose the demand for separate Bodoland. It goes without saying that alongwith all other sections of toiling masses, the ordinary Bodos have also been worst victims of capitalist oppression and discrimination. And as uneven economic development is a common feature in any capitalist set up, many areas particularly where the downtrodden tribal populaces like the Bodos reside generally remained utterly neglected. Taking advantage of the swelling discontent among the Bodo population against their severely wretched economic condition, discrimination and oppression-repression perpetrated on them by the bourgeois ruling parties as well as utter negligence of the question of development of their own language and culture, an extremely separatist outfit known as the Plains Tribal Council of Assam had in the early 1970s raised the demand for formation of an Udayachal state with the areas inhabited by the Bodo people. But the demand failed to elicit any response from the larger section of the Bodo population who till that time were hoping of their development by remaining within the state of Assam and nurtured the belief that their intended voluntary economic and political assimilation with the Assamese-speaking people would fructify. Later, following the trail of intensified propagation of Assam-chauvinism initiated by the

Congress leaders and propelled by their desperation to regain governmental power in 1978 by capitalizing on it, the ultra-chauvinist Assam movement with provocative slogans like ‘Assam is for the Assamese’ and ‘Flush out the foreign nationals’ swept across the state targeting the Bengali-speaking minorities for attack and triggering suspicion, mistrust and disunity among different sections of people in Assam. Many of the workers and leaders of the AASU (All Assam Students’ Union) leadership which spearheaded the Assam movement were in fact originally Congress (I) men. All the rightist forces, the national bourgeoisie, the regional bourgeoisie, the police, the bureaucracy and the entire arch communal *Sangh Parivar* backed the chauvinist AASU and its political outfit, the Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) in pursuit of this incendiary agenda. Later, when riding the crest of the divisive Assam movement, the chauvinist AGP government was saddled in the government, it did not acknowledge the legitimate economic, lingual and cultural aspirations of the Bodo people and instead forcibly attempted to convert everyone including the Bodos into ‘Assamese’ without caring for the desired scientific method of unity through prolonged continual exchange and association among the peoples of different communities. Immediately after coming to power in 1985 the AGP government declared Assamese as a compulsory subject in the school syllabi. This stoked tremendous discontent among the Bodos who speak a different language and gave a handle to the interested groups to confuse and mislead the Bodo people. Already, as a reaction to the chauvinist AASU movement, the question of separate ethnic identity of the tribal people including the Bodos had surfaced with all virulence. In fact, Bodo-chauvinism had sprung from Assam chauvinism and has now become a boomerang. Treading along the line of ultra-chauvinist AASU, the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) was founded by the Bodo-parochial groups which incited the common Bodo people to launch an intensive movement on the demand for a separate Bodoland in 1987. Later when the Congress came back to power and continued the same policy to repress the common Bodos, the Bodoland movement gained momentum compelling the Congress government to reach a compromise, concede to the demand of Bodoland

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and pass an Act under the provision of the 7th Schedule giving birth to Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) in 1993. Our Party at that time had categorically pointed out that seeking redressal to all the problems by establishing an autonomous region or a separatist state within the capitalist system is an abortive exercise since all problems are stemming from existing exploitative capitalist system and to mitigate such problems, the need of the hour was to build up people's movement combining all sections of the exploited masses on legitimate economic and other demands. Had formation of separate state or grant of so-called autonomy to specific regions been the answer, how is that Nagaland and Mizoram which were once two districts of Assam having autonomous district councils and later conferred separate statehood or the Karbi-Anglang and North Cachar districts which still enjoy autonomous status could not solve a single basic problem of the common masses belonging to either the majority or the minority communities or the tribals in any of these states or territories? Similarly, the ABSU movement and BAC, too, failed to fulfil the aspirations of the ordinary Bodo people. In their bid to suppress this failure and enmesh the Bodo people in deeper fanatic thoughts, the Bodo Liberation Tiger Force (BLTF), the armed outfit of the ABSU, surfaced demanding separate statehood. Simultaneously, there appeared another armed organization, namely, the NDFB with the same demand of a sovereign independent Bodoland. All these noxious outfits indulged in individual killing of common people, spread terror and plunged the whole area into seething tension.

Creation of BTAD

Once again the central and state governments bent before these separatist-chauvinist groups and based on a tripartite agreement with BLT known as the controversial Bodo Accord in 2003, Bodoland Territorial Area District (BTAD) was created under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution on the pretext of "fulfilling the aspirations of the Bodo people". The Sixth Schedule, it may be mentioned, was originally meant for homogeneous hill tribals. But it was amended to be also made applicable to the plain tribals which, in other words, meant its extended applicability in places where heterogeneous groups live together. Autonomous BTAD

consisted of four contiguous districts Kokrajhar, Baska, Udalguri and Chirang carved out of eight existing districts Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup, Darrang and Sonitpur and comprised 35 per cent of Assam's geographical territory. The 27,100 sq km of BTAD included many villages with nominal presence of Bodo population. Following creation of BTAD, BLTF led by Hagrama Mohilary surrendered and took over the reins of the same.

Apart from being another bout of deception, this creation of BTAD has been one of the most inequitable arrangements one can think of. The Bodos, as per available data, did not constitute more than 25% of the population in BTAD area though the template allowed the self-styled aspirant Bodo leaders to arrogate all powers to themselves even while the majority of non-Bodos comprising Assamese-speaking people, Bengali-speaking Hindus and Muslims, Nepalese, Rajbanshis and Santhals living in what is romantically termed "Bodoland" have no stake in the governance. Of the 40 elected seats in the governing council of BTAD, only 5 seats are exclusively reserved for the representatives from the non-Bodo communities. Such a measure was not only insidious in principle but egregiously iniquitous as nominees of the ethnic community constituting minority population in the area acquired a disproportionate majority share in the political power. Discrimination against almost 75 to 80% non-Bodo people has been to the extent of virtual negation of their various fundamental rights like right to job, right to land and right to other legitimate means to eke out a living and consequently force them to leave. Clearly, BTAD upended the principle of equality and introduced a sinister provision of discrimination among the denizens. The accord gave a toxic twist to the politics of ethno-exclusivism with far reaching sinister implications for the stability and integrity of Assam. And so it was no wonder that the relation between the common Bodos and non-Bodo people was put under further strain.

Deception of BTAD

Inevitably, the much-clamoured BTAD, except paving way for a few privileged groups and individuals to prosper, could not solve any problem of the ordinary common Bodo people since all these problems — economic, political, linguistic or cultural, of all the nationalities, majority or minority, are, as stated above, bred by the exploitative capitalist system. To avert any

disillusionment among the suffering Bodo people about the futility of BTAD in fulfilling their aspirations, it was incumbent on the opportunist communal-chauvinist groups having link with RSS-BJP to revive the demand for a full-fledged Bodo state to once again hoodwink the aggrieved Bodo masses by bringing a new slogan of 'ethnic cleansing' and fan up ethno-exclusivist frenzy in them. As a result, ordinary people became innocent victims of planted ethno-exclusivism. The Bodo chauvinist groups backed by the RSS-BJP have also been for long stirring raw nerves of the common Bodo people by falsely propagating that the minority Muslim people are illegal occupants of their land and hence responsible for their plight and misery. So, the Muslims who constitute the majority of the non-Bodo populace have to be driven away by force. Thus began weaving of a new plot to precipitate mutual distrust and disaffection among the Bodos and the non-Bodos particularly Muslims so that at an opportune moment, with the silent backing of the government, another savage attack could be perpetrated on the Muslim minorities who have been bearing the brunt of several communal riots in the state. Since the Bodo chauvinists right at this point are not keen to go against non-Bodo Assamese-speaking people, may be for the tacit support extended to them by the ULFA and other chauvinist-parochial groups, the question of a precipitated religious divide and whipped up communal passion working behind the current spate of violence cannot be glossed over. It is worth noting that the chauvinist governments of different hues who hitherto dominated and repressed the common tribal people, crushed their legitimate movements and gave birth to avidly chauvinist groups among the latter, changed gear and began open appeasement of and collaboration with the said chauvinists in descending murderous attacks on the minorities.

Falsehood of communal-chauvinist propaganda

It is worth recalling that after chauvinist-parochial Assam movement, the entire state since 1985 is highly surcharged with communal tension in which the worst victims are the immigrant Muslim minorities who, despite being very much Indian citizens and therefore fully entitled to all kinds of protection to their life and livelihood, are illegally and motivatedly branded as "Bangladeshis" or 'infiltrators' or

'illegal encroachers' and targeted for being persecuted, harassed, forcibly evicted and even killed in the name of 'ethnic cleansing'. The RSS-BJP have been systematically spewing venom against the Muslim minorities as a part of their arch Hindu-fundamentalist agenda and instigating parochial-chauvinist forces in their bashing of and violence against the Muslim minorities branding them as illegal migrants from Bangladesh and hence not Indians. This is totally false and fraught with ill-motive.

As mentioned above, in pre-independence India, Assam and East Bengal (now Bangladesh) for a considerable period were virtually viewed as one province. The poor Muslim people then resident of Mayamansingh and Pabna districts of East Bengal were mostly landless peasants but considered as expert tillers and even capable of turning the river islands (*char* areas) into extremely fertile soil. The then government who at that time gave a slogan of 'grow more food' had brought these skilled tillers to the adjacent catchment areas of the river Brahmaputra in erstwhile undivided Goalpara district for boosting agricultural production. These people then cleared vast jungle areas for settlement and converted hitherto considered non-cultivable lands into fertile agricultural soil. So, they were heartily welcomed at that time by the common Assamese-speaking people with a spirit of amity and togetherness. The Assamese-speaking people who were averse to cultivation in those *char* areas also offered these immigrants their land for growing agricultural crops on contract basis. Since then, these immigrant people have been permanently domiciled there. Later, these immigrants also purchased lands there. In fact, they significantly contributed in spread of agriculture in the entire *char* areas and thereby helped development of local economy. Later when there was severe erosion of the Brahmaputra banks, they shifted from the catchment and border areas to undivided Goalpara district. What is known as Bodoland today was subsequently carved out of the former Goalpara district which was thus turned fertile and cultivable in pre-independence days by the immigrants. Those residing in these areas now are descendants of the then immigrants of pre-independence period and hence *bona fide* Indian citizens by birth. In fact, these religious minorities as an

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ethnic group constitute majority in these areas because of historical reason. This is the factual position. But completely disowning this history, the chauvinist-parochial forces backed by the government embarked on their nefarious game of persecuting the Muslim minorities to divide people, vitiate the democratic atmosphere and shield the despotic face of oppressive capitalism.

In that circumstances, based on the demands of the oppressed minorities and the democratic forces of the state, and as a safeguard to the genuine Indian citizens against undue harassment, the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunal) (IMDT) Act was adopted in the year 1983 to give protection to the minority Indians from the continuous attack of chauvinist-RSS combine. Moreover, in order to stop infiltration of illegal migrants from Bangladesh, it was agreed as per Assam accord signed between the Congress-led central government and the leaders of parochial-chauvinist Assam agitation in 1985 that the cut-off date of deportation of foreign nationals would be 25th March, 1971. This was accepted by all contending parties. However, after failing in their sinister attempt to implicate the genuine Indian citizens belonging to the minority community as foreign nationals through the accepted justifiable process, the chauvinists, parochial and communal forces tried to make a plea that the IMDT Act stood in the way of detection of foreign nationals. Obliging them and their plea, the Supreme Court repealed the Act. These chauvinist-communalists also refused to accept the *bona fide* credential of Indian citizenship of the Muslim minority people and started harassing them afresh in many ways like disenfranchisement, stripping of citizenship, forced eviction under threat of killing and even by orchestrating planned murderous attacks on them from time to time to buttress their nefarious communal-parochial agenda.

Heinous conspiracy of pitting people against people

This orchestrated anti-Muslim hate campaign has also been used by the communalists-chauvinists in precipitating the latest bedlam and butchery. Ordinary Bodos who do not have the wherewithal to understand such kinds of ulterior divisive politics were led to believe that that they would soon be

outnumbered in "their homeland". Most of them have been carried away by the raucous propaganda that despite being the first settlers of Assam and the largest ethnic and linguistic group of the Brahmaputra Valley, they would soon be ousted by those mischievously projected as "interlopers into their homeland". Pandering cynically to the politics of ethno-exclusivism, the arch communalist-parochial forces frightened the Bodo people by saying that soon they would lose their distinct identity, be dispossessed of the political power and become insignificant at every respect. Unless the "others" or "illegal migrants" are chased away and the land occupied by them are captured by the native Bodos at gunpoint, deprivation and destitution would continue to overwhelm the latter. Once such a latent fear could be deeply entrenched among a particular confused segment of the people, it becomes very easy for the vested interest in absence of necessary political consciousness among the masses of the people to whip up emotions and engage miscreants in running amuck, unleash mindless violence on innocent people and drive away *bona fide* Indian citizens from their resides under threat of killing. This is what has happened in the current conflagration raging through lower Assam. The mischief-mongers and rioters have succeeded in their odious gameplan of creating a warped mindset among the Bodo populace and then indulging in the ghastly act of brutal ethnic cleansing with the clandestine backing of the capitalist state administration. One would recall that earlier also such organized killing and violence were engineered in Kokrajhar district first against the religious minorities in 1993 and then against the Santhaladivasis in 1996 in which scores of them were killed and over 200,000 rendered homeless refugees. These riot-afflicted refugees are still living in a wretched condition in various camps in different places of Dhubri and Bongaigaon districts and are not allowed to return to their homes.

The government is doing nothing to resettle these hapless Indian citizens forced to be huddled like animals in makeshift arrangement. The current spate of violence in Kokrajhar and its adjoining areas also owes its root in this enterprise in 'ethnic cleansing'. And in all these horrendous acts of carnage which are no less brutal than the gas chamber killing of innocent Jews by

Hitler, both the central and the state governments looked the other way and connivance of the state administration as well as the judiciary and media is remaining no secret.

Without being aware of this objective truth, one cannot understand why the state of Assam is now caught in the crosshairs of bloodshed, violence and destruction arising out of ethnic clashes between the Bodos and non-Bodos particularly the religious minorities. Not only the territory of BTAD, the entire state of Assam is surcharged with a tension of ethnic conflicts and divides. Flames of Kokrajhar are leaping in other areas. A small spark anywhere is enough to trigger an explosion. Demand to the government for ensuring security of life and property of the people are falling in deaf years because the crisis-ridden ruling bourgeoisie and its subservient governments are deliberately acquiescing in fomenting of all kinds of divisive mentalities and preservation of communal-chauvinist-parochial tension with a view to keeping the toiling masses disunited and remain pitted against one another. The various communal-parochial-chauvinist-separatist forces are acting as surrogate to this sinister bourgeois conspiracy. Even taking advantage of the helplessness and lurking fear of the minority Muslim people, a small vested group within them is provoking counter-communalism to distract them from the correct remedial course. It is to be understood that reprisal on communal line is no answer to communal aggression. On the other hand, in that event, majority communalism-fundamentalism with state backing would be more ferocious and shred the minorities into pieces. The vested interest within the minorities is trying to push the repressed commoners to that ruinous end. Thus, Assam is now virtually divided into various ethnic-religious-linguistic groups with wrangling of separatism-exclusivism threatening its very integrity.

People's united democratic movement—only deterrent

Time has come to realize that these internecine conflicts will not benefit any nationality or community. Rather, it will provide fodder to the cannon of ruthless capitalist oppression wreaking havoc in the lives of all sections of the toiling masses and slated to escalate with every passing hour. The need of the hour is to build up

rock-solid unity of all segments of the toiling masses irrespective of caste, creed, language, religion and ethnicity and launch powerful democratic mass movement based on common burning demands of life. The main concern of the people should be how fast this desired unity could be forged, broadened and sharpened. At this critical juncture when the separatist forces are making all efforts to precipitate mutual distrust and disaffection among various sections of the common people, neither the Bodo people nor the non-Bodo communities or for that matter any segment of the population should raise any demand that would disrupt their unity and engage one against the other. The oppressed minority people also need to understand that they can ensure self-defence against this communal-chauvinist savagery only by building up united democratic movement associating saner sections of the people belonging to other communities against the bourgeois government on demands for full-fledged security of life and property, democratic rights and even basic right to eke out a living. Our Party, SUCI (C) has been consistently urging upon the people to imbibe this necessity and act accordingly. Alone we are struggling upholding this line. There is growing appreciation of this stand of ours among the right-thinking people of the state. But, unfortunately, SUCI(C) has not been able to spread its organizational wing to every nook and corner of the state of Assam and hence lacks necessary strength to develop the desired people's movement singularly. The pseudo-Marxists like the CPI (M) and CPI, as stated earlier, have long abandoned the path of democratic movement and are virtually playing second fiddle to this bourgeois intrigue and giving indulgence to communal-chauvinist-parochial fanatics for pelf and power. We call upon all right thinking people from both Bodo and non-Bodo communities to come forward in developing the desired democratic movement as anti-dote to vile bourgeois conspiracy to divide the masses, stand by the persecuted riot-afflicted people irrespective of caste, creed, ethnicity or religion and put an end to this horrific carnage and bloodbath. We also appeal to all conscientious people of the country to raise their united voice in protest against this brutal attack on and unjust curtailment of the democratic rights including the right to live in peace of the religious and other minorities in Assam.

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech

Strengthening SUCI (C) imperative for revolution in the country and for fighting revisionism

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cannot be achieved taking part in elections and creating some illusions. It requires mass upheaval, meaning awakening of people in their consciousness. Such a condition must be created. For that, Comrade Ghosh emphasized, it was required to realize Lenin's teachings that without a revolutionary party there can be no revolution, without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary party. These are the indisputable requirements of revolution. The theory means correctly determining, with whom lies the state power; who have usurped the state power. And the party must not stop at not only evolving that correct theory; it will require producing every day genuine communist characters amidst hundreds of thousands people with concrete expression of Marxist outlook covering all aspects of life, even including love, sex, and family relations. The best detachment among these communist characters will take up the leadership of the party.

So because he fulfilled this historic necessity, Shibdas Ghosh became the great towering character— not only the apple of the eye of all sections of toiling people barring the capitalists. To the latter his name had become a dreaded icon, he a dreaded enemy. How frightful they were with the name of SUCI(C) the party established by Shibdas Ghosh and took every measure to crush it. But SUCI(C) which is growing on the strength of Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts could not be halted.

Through his life-long path-breaking valiant struggle Comrade Shibdas Ghosh left no stone unturned to advance and strengthen the revolutionary movement in the country. In course of that unique struggle, he provided all exploited people the powerful instrument to sustain upon, to breathe with. It was this Socialist Unity Centre (Communist) the greatest creation, the invincible instrument of struggle for their emancipation. At the same time he went on making outstanding contribution towards the advancement of international communist movement.

At that time a mechanical process of thinking instead of dialectical process, was making inroads in the world communist movements; blind allegiance to leadership was developing.

Revolutionary allegiance could never be blind; conscious dialectical interactions must work between leaders and cadres so that thinking would emerge from these slow and continuous interactions from top to bottom and from bottom to top. In course of his struggle as far back as in 1948 Comrade Ghosh observed that eradication of this dangerous phenomenon which was an anti-Marxist trend had become very urgent. Otherwise, he had then warned, that it may so happen that a socialist state may get engaged into war with another socialist country. See, how prophetic Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was!

When modern revisionism made its appearance Comrade Ghosh was the first man, who warned that the 20th Congress of the CPSU was sure to open the floodgate of modern revisionism. It is to be noted that none else than Comrade Shibdas Ghosh could come out with this forewarning at that time. Whatever might have been the reasons, the Communist Party of China, who later strongly denounced the emergence of modern revisionism in the erstwhile Soviet Union, preferred not to criticize the deliberations of the 20th Congress at that time; rather they praised it.

Making historic contribution to the storehouse of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Ghosh pointed out that if the level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism is not developed continuously on the basis of newer and newer developments of science and other developments, severe crisis is sure to engulf the communist movement. In the then Soviet society material development, that is economic and other developments, became sky-high under the leadership of Stalin. It created wonder in the entire world; in one country after another working class were drawn towards socialism by the astonishing progress of workers in socialism in Russia. But in case of spiritual development, philosophical development? Stalin was flawless; his unique contribution will act as a guide to us for a long time to come through his last book *Economic Problems of Socialism in USSR*. But among the masses at large there was lowering of standard in relative terms and this created the ground for the birth of Khrushchev and his associates, the modern revisionists.

When revisionism took its root in Soviet society, Comrade Ghosh said : it appears that a kind of socialist individualism, that is bourgeois individualism in socialist society has developed there refusing to submerge itself in the current of social interest with individual privilege being ingrained in it. This was exactly opposite to what Marx envisaged when he again and again stated the emergence of MAN, a new man having no concern about his individual interest. To attain that standard, it was imperative that the level of standard of understanding be continuously raised, higher and higher realization of ideology continuously developed. Along with this Comrade Ghosh observed that a new kind of economism was also raising its ugly head in Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh firmly stated that emergence of revisionism was a direct outcome of these dangerous phenomena. Hailing the Cultural Revolution as *magnificent*, Comrade Ghosh emphatically held that being led by Mao Zedong, it had gone a long way in fighting this virulent trend of modern revisionism that had crept into the very vitals of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time he also observed that it had certain weaknesses within it. Elaborating he said, crux of the issue was resolving antagonistic contradiction between self interest and social interest and in providing a theoretical formulation of it. On the question of providing a theoretical formulation of it, although the Communist Party of China went very near to evolving it, could not do it precisely in the long run.

Comrade Ghosh also said that the idea of communism Marx gave when he wrote man as MAN, was that a new man is born in socialism in whom higher consciousness is given off like sun rays from every pore on the skin, as symbols of hopes and aspirations of the entire mankind. Under Stalin's leadership, while defining a good communist Kalinin wrote one who placed social interest above individual interest is a good communist. In China, Liu Saochi who was once second to Mao, also defined it in the same way. Comrade Ghosh said that this was primary consciousness. If we keep ourselves confined to this point we can not step forward towards communism. For

communism gives birth to idea that what is social interest is also individual's interest and what is individual interest is social interest too. This, he exhorted, must be assiduously cultivated not only in all the socialist countries but everywhere; not only among the leaders and cadres. People at large must be imbued with the idea that socialism must not become the instrument for individual gain; it must be exactly opposite. Individual and social interest must be totally merged. If this is not done, the calamitous surge of revisionism can not be thwarted. Comrade Ghosh said: May be that with Mao still alive China will be saved from this disaster this time. But I fear and this is my strong apprehension, that in China modern revisionism will reappear. Comrade Ghosh did not live to see the counter-revolution, but that did not prevent him from warning that unless modern revisionism was thwarted successfully, counter revolution could not be avoided too. See how unerringly his analysis came true.

Right now the task is: modern revisionism is still active; there is no scope to assume that modern revisionism has been wiped out after bringing about counter-revolution. It is reigning very strongly in different communist parties and communist forces of different countries; it is also existing strongly as reformism, constitutionalism in trade union movements. So world communist movement must be freed from the curse of modern revisionism. With this, we would like to add with firmness that in the realization of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts there lies the way. And for that it must be seen that SUCI(C) grows rapidly to accomplish anti-capitalist revolution imbued with the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It is also to be remembered that with SUCI(C) thus strengthened not only revolution in India will be hastened; it will also be possible for SUCI(C) to make greater outstanding strides towards fighting menace of modern revisionism in the world as a whole, in which would lie the key to rejuvenation of the world communist movement. On this occasion of 36th death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh while paying our deepest respect to his memory, I call upon you all to rededicate yourself to this cause.

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