

# Proletarian Era

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## SUCI(C) condemns divisive move of Congress government on Telangana issue

Strongly condemning the decision of the high command of the Congress for starting the process of formation of Telangana State separating it from Andhra Pradesh, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist) in a press statement on December 13, 2009 said :

“The most divisive move of the Central Congress leadership to initiate the process for a separate Telangana has not only created a political crisis and eruption of violence in Andhra Pradesh but has also triggered of a fresh round of similar demands for different regions of the country like Bidarbha of Maharashtra, Gorkhaland of West Bengal, Boroland of Assam or Purvanchal

in UP etc, dividing the people on narrow parochial lines. That formation of smaller states does not help developments of those regions and their toiling people but instead develops a top-heavy administration benefitting a handful of opportunists and greedy politicians and bureaucrats, the financial burden of which is borne by the people, is proved by the facts of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttaranchal. But the harm it does to the unity of the people and their united movement is immense. And this explains why the Congress high command refused to grant a separate Telangana when formation of separate Telangana demanded its support and it had electoral alliance with TRS; but now has granted this when support

for separate Telangana has drastically fallen. Actually the Congress has taken this most divisive move when the grievances of all sections of the toiling people are trying to burst forth against the continuous loss of jobs in factories, industries and offices etc, ever increasing tuition fees in schools and colleges, rise in bus fares and charges in other transport services and more particularly against the unprecedented rise in prices of all essential commodities making the life of the common people unbearable. As a party of the bourgeoisie BJP is vociferous about the formation of smaller states and CPI(M) to its narrow electoral gain, clubs itself with casteist, communalist and separatist forces fomenting ethnic and linguistic

sentiments and by this abet them to pursue their divisive politics.

People have to understand that the sole aim of this divisive move of the central government is surely not to develop those areas but to save the ruling class, its masters, by dividing the people and diverting their attention from their real problem to a fake and harmful one.

We strongly urge the Central government to immediately withdraw this most divisive anti-people decision and appeal to the people not to fall prey to this sinister design of the bourgeois parties and their governments but to remain firmly united and defeat this sinister design of the central government by organising mighty united movement against the burning problems of their lives.”

### Liberhan Commission Findings

## A mockery of justice to suppress a palpable crime

Within 10 days of the most reprehensible act of demolition of Babri Masjid, a historic 16th century monument, by incensed Hindu communal fanatics on December 6, 1992, a one-man Commission headed by Justice M.S. Liberhan, former Chief Justice of Madras and Andhra High Courts and then a judge of Punjab and Haryana High Court, was set up to enquire into the whole episode, the sequence of events leading, and all facts and circumstances relating, to the occurrences at Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid complex in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, and submit the findings to the government by March 16, 1993. The terms of reference for the Liberhan Commission of Inquiry were to find out “the circumstances leading to the Babri Masjid demolition in Ayodhya on

December 6, 1992”. After seventeen years, 399 sittings, 100 witnesses, 48 extensions and spending of Rs 9 crore, the Commission submitted its 1000 page-odd report to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in June last. But it was not made public by the Congress-led UPA government. However, after the contents of this longest-serving Commission of inquiry of the country were selectively leaked in one of the leading English dailies, the government was forced to table it in Parliament after two days, i.e. on 25 November 2009. Though there is some furore over it with the ruling Congress and opposition BJP having a spat with each other and the other parliamentary parties including pseudo-Marxists joining in the row, the fact is that the report has not unearthed a single fact which was not known earlier nor

has it come out with anything material to ponder over afresh. Before we enter into an analysis as to why has been this inordinate delay in submitting the report and what purpose would it serve now, let us see what the report has said in the main.

#### Findings of the report

The Commission has held that top BJP leaders like Atal Behari Vajpayee, Lal Krishna Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi were party to the decisions of the Sangh Parivar, the conglomerate of arch Hindu communal outfits like RSS-BJP-VHP-Shiv Sena and others, to raze to the ground the 16th century structure in Ayodhya. The Commission said these leaders cannot be given the benefit of doubt and exonerated of culpability. Other prominent political leaders indicted

by the Commission include Shiv Sena chief Bal Thackeray, former RSS leader K Govindacharya, late BJP leader Pramod Mahajan, former BJP leader Uma Bharti and BJP leader Vijayraje Scindia. The report also claimed that the entire build-up to the demolition was meticulously planned and there was nothing to show that these leaders were either unaware of what was going on or innocent of any wrongdoing. The report blamed Kalyan Singh, the then BJP Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh for embarking on a programme “leading up to the events of December 6th 1992” as soon he entered office. The Kalyan Singh government maintained a “studied silence” even at the height of the crisis in December 1992 and “refused to allow even a single measure which might impede the

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## Liberhan Commission Findings

# Delatory tactics to shield real culprits

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Ayodhya campaign or prevent the assault on the disputed structures, the journalists or the innocent people". Kalyan Singh and his Cabinet members "consciously" allowed the writ of the extra constitutional authority, i.e. the RSS, to run the state, the report observed. Significantly however, Commission has not recommended filing of fresh cases on the basis of new evidence. Instead, the Commission has recommended that a special separate law providing for exemplary punishment for misuse of religion, caste etc. for political gains or illicit acquisition of political or other power ought to be enacted.

As for Congress, the criticism in the report is limited to the "inaction" of late P V Narasimha Rao, the then Congress Prime Minister. Narasimha Rao, who according to the Commission, slept through the demolition, and winked at the demolition conspiracy and hence was the insinuation that he was soft on Hindutva. Yet he and for that matter Congress as a party has escaped unhurt. A careful reading of the report's chapter on 'President's Rule' suggests that the Commission accepted Narasimha Rao's defence rather uncritically. In his depositions, Narasimha Rao explained that Article 356, enabling the imposition of President's Rule in a State by the Centre, could not be used for preventive purposes and that its object was to enable the Union of India to take remedial action consequent upon a breakdown of the constitutional machinery. The Commission Report held that the onus must rest solely with the then BJP-led State government who deliberately and consciously understated the risk centered around the disputed structure and general law and order. This obfuscation of the ground reality, observed the Commission, deprived the Central government of the basic prerequisites for imposing President's Rule. The Commission thus only reiterated what was already known to the people of the country except for the clean chit it has given to the then Congress-led Central government whose connivance in the form of silent acquiescing in the move of the Sangh Parivar ruffians engaged by the top-notch RSS-BJP-VHP -Shiv Sena leaders was glaring to the

people.

Even a child knew that the Sangh Parivar was systematically fomenting communal tensions, mobilized armed criminals masquerading as kar sevaks who carried equipment and tools to break down the structure. Presence of top Sangh Parivar leaders including BJP stalwarts like Advani, Joshi, Uma Bharti and others at the demolition site was in full media glare. All of them were seen giving inflammatory speeches to stir up the incensed armed kar sevaks. The largest contingent karsevaks was led by the then BJP MP from Gonda, Brij Bhushan Saran Singh, now a Samajwadi Party MP who during hearing of a TADA case had admitted in court that he had acquaintance with Dubai based notorious don, Dawood Ibrahim. After razing the Masjid into rubble, a section of the kar sevaks spread across Ayodhya town committing murder and arson in which 20 innocent persons belonging to minority community were killed. The whole country thereafter witnessed outbreak of widespread communal violence leading to a heavy loss of lives. While there has been loud rhetoric about the demolition and the conspiracy behind it, why have these killings been quietly buried? Naturally, the obvious question is whether it requires 17 long years to reiterate at great length the acknowledged truths. Moreover, though there are ample proofs, enough number of eyewitnesses and sizeable footage of TV coverage that can be produced as evidences against the perpetrators of this ghastly crime, the report is full of opinions, assumptions and recommendations without any clear evidence based on which the culprits could be prosecuted. The Congress leaders are already indicating that existing court cases pending against the persons named as accused in the report need to be over before they could be tried again on similar charges based on the Commission report. The people of the country know that this means shelving the whole matter for good. There is a host of serious charges of corruption, malfeasance, embezzlement of public fund, nepotism, misuse of public office and even murder, rape, abduction and so forth against so many

bourgeois leaders and ministers. But none of them has received any punishment so far. The cases against them are dragged over years on this or that plea and ultimately quietly buried. Such has been with the other much trumpeted Commissions as well. Nanavati Commission on 1984 anti-Sikh riots or Srikrishna Commission on 1992 Mumbai riots bear testimony to this. The fate of Liberhan Commission report will be no exception. On the contrary, as has been seen in the past, all these corrupt politicians and their associates with criminal record will continue to rule the roost become legislators and ministers or saddled in high power offices.

Curiously enough, the Government's Action Taken Report (ATR) while stating to have accepted the recommendation of the Commission, showed no intention or urgency to act on the Commission's findings. All that it has said is that the existing cases must be expedited. It talks of contemplating a Communal Violence (prevention, control and rehabilitation of victims) Bill that proposes special courts. However, the bill has been put on the backburner for more than three years now. Congress sources say that the setting up of the mechanism, possibly a task force, is under the consideration of the leadership. It has been reported in the media that the mechanism will examine the feasibility of filing supplementary chargesheets as suggested by Congress leaders. Obviously the indications are that in keeping with the inordinate delay in submission of the Commission findings, the government too is mulling moves to justify deferment of any action. In view of this, why is this farce after 17 long years when the very purpose of the setting up the Commission has practically lost its relevance? According to us, the answer to the question lies here only. To have a correct understanding of the issue, one needs to take into cognizance the obtaining political-economic scenario and see the whole episode in the backdrop of that.

### **Political scenario during Babri Masjid demolition**

We glance back to 1992 when the Babri Masjid incident happened. Following murder of Indira Gandhi

the Congress was in total disarray, rudderless. It was fast losing confidence of the people. At that time, the ruling Indian bourgeoisie from its class instinct could sense that in view of mounting discontent of the people against the misrule of the Congress, it would no more be possible to keep the Congress in power. So the ruling class needed to have an alternative. At that point, it found that the BJP flaunting its arch Hindu communal mooring was gradually making some dent among the masses riding on the communal polarization. Hence, it thought that given proper backing, there was a chance that the BJP could be projected as an alternative to the Congress in the bourgeois parliamentary politics and thus enable it satisfy its class necessity at that point of time. And driven by that class necessity, it then began to explore if the BJP could be brought to the centrestage of the body polity. So the bourgeois media and other propaganda machine were made to rally behind the BJP and create an impression as if it were a 'party with a difference'. Assured of the backing of the ruling class and powered by avalanche of money and media support, the aspirant BJP leaders and their mentor RSS with their communal agenda got into full swing. Advani began a countrywide Ram rathajatra to incite communal passion. Hate campaign against the minority Muslims was taken to a high pitch. As a part of that, the Sangh Parivar set out to make the demand for establishing Ram Jannabhoomi at the site of Babri Masjid a major issue and all the BJP leaders stood by that to reap electoral gains. Knowing fully well the incendiary potential of such a communally explosive slogan, the bourgeois media gave wide publicity to that as if it were the only issue the people groaning under the yoke of ruthless capitalist exploitation should focus on. After the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, the Congress plunged into further trouble. On the other hand, RSS-BJP was upbeat seeing the exacerbated communal tension running high in the country, courtesy bourgeois propaganda machine.

It is at this point that the Sangh Parivar decided to rouse a communal frenzy by demolishing the Babri

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# Speech of Comrade Provas Ghosh at the Delegate Session of the 2nd Party Congress

Comrades, we are now going to conclude our historic Second Party Congress. First of all I wish to extend my revolutionary greetings to the leaders of fraternal parties from abroad who have come by taking the trouble to attend this Congress to express their solidarity. Secondly, our revolutionary greetings to the comrades of Delhi State Organising Committee, volunteers of neighbouring states and other volunteers who have been mobilized here and who laboured day and night for the success of this Congress. Thirdly, I congratulate all the delegates, observers, other members and workers of the party, who worked hard to prepare for this Congress. It is known to you, with what objective our respected beloved General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, called upon us to organize this Second Party Congress, neither for changing the political line on international or national questions, nor for any change of leadership. That is not the necessity at all. Only certain improvements have to be made in our Theses owing to certain new, although not basic, developments. The purpose of this Party Congress was already stated earlier by Comrade General Secretary in his celebrated speech 'On Revitalization and Consolidation Movement.' In fact, after completing two phases of inner-party struggle, first 'Elevation and Rectification Struggle' and this latest 'Revitalization and Consolidation Movement', this Congress is being held as a continuation and culmination of those struggles. From his appeal we know that the present-day situation, both national and international, requires that in order to uphold the banner of world revolution, we the comrades, all the leaders, workers, cadres, activists of a revolutionary party must uplift our standard to yet higher level – ideologically, politically, organizationally, and more particularly, culturally. That is the need of the hour.

Comrades, when our generation started political life, it was the last phase of Indian freedom struggle. Internationally there was a glorious onward march of world communist movement under the leadership of great Stalin and great Mao Zedong. Particularly after the victory of



Comrade Provas Ghosh addressing

Second World War, it was accepted the world over, even by the opponents of communism, by the western imperialist rulers, that had there been no existence of Stalin and Soviet Union, it would have been impossible to defeat fascist Germany, Italy and imperialist Japan. At that time Comrade Stalin was accepted almost as a god (don't take it literally) internationally. We have seen the onward march of the Chinese Revolution. We have seen the onward march of the Vietnam Liberation Struggle. We have seen surging waves of anti-imperialist struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. That was the situation then. But we know that the situation has altogether changed after the dismantling of the socialist camp. Though, belonging to a revolutionary party we have felt pain at the developments, but we are not frustrated. It is because, our great departed leader, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh prepared our mind for these eventualities, particularly after observing the proceedings of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. He was the first communist leader at the international level, who just by going through the proceedings of the 20th Congress, said that '20th Congress has opened the flood-gate of revisionism.' He fought brilliantly against modern revisionism. After some time, when the Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, had started battle against revisionism, our party led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, fully supported that struggle. So, our party was prepared accordingly. We saw that world imperialism-capitalism, the defenders of

imperialism-capitalism became jubilant at the dismantling of the socialist system and felt that they were out of danger. But their hope is shattered; now the situation is changing. That is also known to you. World imperialism-capitalism is now faced with unprecedented crises. They themselves are admitting it. Practically, the world imperialist-capitalist economy is now in the intensive care unit and placed on ventilator. Ventilator means, economic package as a stimulus from the exchequer, that is, public money – a stimulus which they cannot withdraw. They claim there is sign of recovery, but at the same time IMF is warning that it is a fragile recovery and economic stimulus package cannot be withdrawn. World imperialism-capitalism is gasping. Millions and millions of workers are being retrenched. Already even in USA, which is called the engine of world capitalist economy, 7.5 million workers lost jobs in the last two years. They themselves admit it. This is the world situation.

We are observing unprecedented mounting waves of mass movement coming up in all capitalist-imperialist countries. They are crying for leadership. In our country, too, there are outbursts of movements, one after another. At many places we are organizing these; even where we do not exist, spontaneous outbursts are there too. So, leadership is necessary. That is why our party said, nationally and internationally objective condition is prepared for revolution, but there is necessity of subjective condition to mature. There is the need of revolutionary leadership. In our country, regarding subjective condition, we are having all the weapons of struggle, i.e., Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thought, we are having correct revolutionary line, we are having concept of highest proletarian revolutionary morality and the real proletarian party. These we have. The question is that, we have the weapon, but we must master it, we must acquire it so that we can wield it properly. That is the necessity. Not only are we to

increase our strength quantitatively, we have to develop qualitatively too. This 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress is a decisive step towards that.

Another serious point is to be noted, our beloved, respected General Secretary felt greatly concerned on observing the happenings in the international communist movement, so he has felt the necessity to initiate the revitalization movement on the revolutionary teachings of Com. Shibdas Ghosh to save the party from danger. We know, even after victorious revolution and development of powerful socialist system, and at a stage when they declared that they are passing over to the first phase of communism, the CPSU founded by great leaders Lenin and Stalin degenerated and became instrument for dismantling of socialism. The base was socialist, there was no private ownership, but attack came from the superstructure, from the field of ideology, particularly from the field of culture. Just before his death, Comrade Stalin realized it with much agony. He expressed his concern at the 19th Party Congress, where he said that although capitalist ownership was there no more, but private property in ethics and morality was still working. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh raised this point long back in 1948, at the time of formation of our party. In the present thesis we have discussed it, i.e., the danger of bourgeois individualism. In the Soviet Union too, individualism existed which was pointed out and termed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as 'socialist individualism'. In China also, that socialist individualism created danger. So, in socialist countries attack came from the superstructure. But in our country our party is surrounded by capitalism politically, economically, culturally, and we cannot forget that it is a moribund capitalism. Its culture is degraded individualism. At every moment it is penetrating into us, pervading us, it is trying to corrupt and degrade us. It causes constant relapse of the comrades into individualism, selfishness, spinelessness, anarchy, opportunism, indiscipline, adventurism, alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. We are

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# Mounting waves of mass movement are crying for proper leadership

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facing these problems. It is true, we are having a very powerful ideology and culture to fight with and defeat these attacks, i.e., Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. But that is not enough. If we do not acquire it and struggle relentlessly to apply it in all aspects of life, this developed concept of ideology and culture itself cannot save us. Amongst many of our members, leaving aside the question of applicant members, there are a good number who are still having personal property in the form of plot of land, or building, or personal income from service, or from other means. But if we do not conduct struggle so that we can make ourselves free from these, how can we advance as a communist; at least a struggle is necessary to recognize this as a hindrance to our advancement. Secondly, those who have already abandoned personal property, amongst many of them there is still prevalence of private property mental complex. Inferiority complex, superiority complex, ego, self-laudation, likings-dislikings, hostility towards the critic, weakness, particularly in the field of love and affection, and so on. It is a good sign, many comrades are there in the party with their family members. But at the same time – can all of us assure that within party-life we are free from family-relationship approach? Is it not working in a subtle form? Are our emotional relations guided fully by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings? Repeatedly Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us that love is a higher human element in life. For some it elevates the standard, for some it degrades. It depends upon content and form of love. If emotion is not based on higher ideology and morality, love turns into weakness which degrades a man. Sometimes tears, a deep sigh, emotional expression, or the sentiment of beloved persons become more powerful in destroying our revolutionary character than other external bourgeois attacks. This is a point to ponder over. Even, weakness can develop on the basis of personal attachment not based on family relations. So, in various ways these problems penetrate and pervade us. Every moment we are taking oxygen, releasing carbon-

dioxide to save our life. We wash our face because dust gathers every moment. Similarly, we will have to keep our character clean and fresh by cleansing it every moment applying the teachings of Comrade Ghosh. We come from common families, middle-class families with the influence of petty bourgeois culture. Our environment is bourgeois-petty bourgeois. People among whom we are working, they are also carrying these viruses. Every moment we must be cautious and we can be cautious only by applying the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. We will have to understand why Comrade Shibdas Ghosh asked us: always search your defects, don't bother about your qualities. If you are having any qualities, it will be there. But you will have to develop, you are to go forward. So, you are to detect your defects, shortcomings. How will I detect these? It is on the anvil of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, that I can find out what is right, what is wrong, what is bad and what is good. Why did he teach us to take all our critics as teacher? It is because criticism helps us. Even wrong criticism helps us. If criticism is wrong, if it is coming with a bad motive, but I do not become angry, I do not become hostile, I can listen very calmly then I can learn even from my enemy if there is anything to learn, and it tempers us too. That is why he told us to accept our critics as teacher, and it is a test for me, whether I can behave accordingly. Even, he told us – when you are having some grievances about a comrade, when you are feeling angry with any comrade, don't judge the comrade at that moment. First make yourself free from anger, dissatisfaction or grievance. Be calm, be dispassionate and then judge. Moreover, we should not indulge individual reading. Some impression may come to mind, but that is to be exchanged in a body or with leadership and final reading is to be taken there. He said, when you are being criticized, don't make counter-criticism, even if your criticisms are right. If you want to tell something, tell it afterwards, not at that moment. He told us, you have no right to criticize a comrade unless you can appreciate his qualities, unless you can love that

comrade. The object of criticism should be to uplift a standard, not to undermine one. He taught us, learn from all. He told that he has learnt from all – from the great men to the common people. He considered all of them as his teacher. We should remember, qualities exist alive in living human beings, not in dry words of books.

Comrades, now we are having many 'centres'. In the centres also there are husbands-wives, children. Comrades are very honest, dedicated, but they also must be careful, if in subtle form any family approach is still there. If it does not come in a naked form, it may come in a subtle form, sometimes may be even imperceptibly. We must be cautious. In respect of those also always search your defects, not your qualities. Qualities are to be judged by others.

Next point, we must encourage criticism. Junior comrades, ordinary comrades must feel ease of mind to criticize the leaders in their presence. It is a sign of respect, not disrespect when a junior comrade does not hesitate to criticize his leader, when he can express his normal sentiment or feeling. It is because he knows that his leader will not be angry, he will not retaliate, rather will receive his criticism happily. If there is anything wrong, he will point it out. Generally ordinary comrades confuse loyalty with blindness. Comrades should be loyal to the leaders, but there must be dialectical relationship, they must be critical. And this is to be encouraged throughout the party. Most of us are coming from middle-class families. We are to be declassified. Ideologically we are declassified. In our mode of life, in our habits, in our culture we can get declassified only by engaging ourselves continuously in building up class struggles and mass struggles on revolutionary lines. It is by putting ourselves in the furnace of those struggles that we will feel from where obstructions are coming, how they are coming. And accordingly we will have to fight out those evil forces. Habits, culture, custom, tradition – these are very powerful forces and they are very tenacious forces too. In this hall, we are very disciplined, but at a tea-stall, while we are talking, chatting, it may

become different. When we are expressing wit and humour, some of us may not maintain that standard, and may behave loosely. So at every moment, in every aspect of life, cultural struggle is necessary.

The second point is that, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has emphasized that the leaders and the workers must acquire Marxian science, Marxian methodology or Marxian way of analysing things. He told us that he learned from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong not only their analysis but particularly the outlook, the dialectical method, the very science. He reminded us that the Marxian science is to be continuously advanced to keep pace with newer developments in life. Another thing he pointed out is that by applying this science communists are to decide a political line in a concrete given situation. The situation also changes. If the change is not qualitative, it may be quantitative. If there is quantitative change, the existing line generally will remain valid but there will be some change owing to contradictions between general and particular. If there is a qualitative change, that is also to be noted. Great leaders Marx and Engels conducted their struggle in the era of pre-imperialist period of capitalism. Accordingly they deduced revolutionary strategy and tactics, which Lenin by applying Marxian method, found to be no more valid in the era of imperialism, and therefore formulated new strategy and tactics. Again Lenin said, the international line is general, it is to be applied particularly in a concrete situation of a particular country. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh concretized and developed Marxism responding to the needs of the post-Lenin period of the present era. He also told that a good number of leaders and organizers must know how they can creatively apply Marxism. First, they must understand Marxist philosophy. Comrades, we know it is not very difficult to read some philosophical books of Marxism and quote from here and there, to discuss on external and internal contradiction, on antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradiction or on three principles of dialectics, but it is far more difficult to observe those

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# Leaders and the workers must acquire Marxian methodology of analysing things

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laws in operation concretely in every phenomenon at every moment with all particularities and peculiarities. But without that we cannot handle contradiction, tackle the situation in the interest of revolution. Everywhere, at every moment laws are governing changes independent of our thinking. Even our thought processes also are governed by those laws, but we will have to note it, grasp it so that we can act consciously. Comrade Ghosh taught us: we cannot understand Marxist theory only by reading books. We cannot understand Marxism only by facing bullets and imprisonment. Theory and practice must be dialectically correlated. And we will be able to co-ordinate and correlate it when we have acquired proletarian culture. He taught us that to begin with, as beginners we start with higher humanist values. That is why he told repeatedly, first we must learn from the great pioneers of Western Renaissance, of Indian Renaissance; we must learn from the freedom fighters and particularly from the revolutionaries of those days, from their life and struggles. In one of his books Comrade Nihar Mukherjee wrote that in early life Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to study the lives of these great men. Further he told, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to study writings of Saratchandra and study what kind of higher humanist values were reflected in those writings. He struggled to acquire those in his life before he joined the Marxist movement. And Comrade Ghosh told us that we must also struggle that way. That is why we are observing death anniversaries of great men and great revolutionaries only to learn from them. Otherwise we will be rootless. We begin with humanist morality, strive to grasp Marxism, join class struggle, and gradually we change ourselves ideologically and culturally, exhaust humanism, then advance further to a new stage, that is, proletarian culture and can grasp Marxism properly. So, we will have to conduct our struggle in that way.

Comrades probably you have seen, a speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has been included in the latest publication, that is, the 4th volume of Selected Works. There in 1974, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave

a clarion call. He said the situation was excellent for the development of the party and called upon the comrades to elevate their standard politically, culturally, organizationally. He told the comrades to initiate the work and not to wait for the instruction from the leadership. If you get any instruction, apply it creatively, not mechanically. Say, you have been asked to do some wall-writing – but the wall to select, colour and letters to select – that depends on your creativity, just as it depends on an artist. In every work, we can move in this way – in an artistic way. Another point he said that if there is no instruction, don't wait for it. There must be self-initiative. Even he asked the leaders: don't raise questions, don't rebuke the comrades saying who asked you to do the work, who gave you the instruction. Leaders must not do that. At the same time, he said, don't move individually, anarchically – move in a coordinated way under the guidance of the leadership. But self-initiative must be there. He told the comrades: every comrade must acquire the ability so that he can answer any question raised by the people. That preparedness must be there. How can we prepare ourselves? He pointed out, constantly engage yourself in political discussion – in centres, in the office, in public places – everywhere, linking any issue, even a minor issue, even wit and humour – linking it with our main political line, that is, anti-capitalist socialist revolution, not mechanically but in a living way. He told comrades that every one must have a mass life to win over people by emotion, love, affection, higher culture; every one must become a leader of a section of people. Comrades, in that speech he said, the situation is well prepared, it is a challenge before us. Shall we accept this challenge? Or shall we act like a coward? – that is the question before us. The speech was delivered in 1974. Now it is 2009, when the situation is far more favourable for us and that appeal is now again brought to us by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, a life-long compatriot of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. So, we must struggle hard to prepare ourselves.

Any incident that takes place, any oppression, any attack upon the

people, there must be spontaneous reaction to it on our part, in any form. But reaction must be a proletarian revolutionary reaction. We cannot sit idle. We must study all events. In those events, applying Marxian science we must study the role of all other classes there; political, cultural, ethical. We must know, what are the economic, political, cultural features of our enemy. How are they deceiving people? And how should we organize battle against those? Without knowing the strategy and tactics of enemies, without knowing their plan, even any hidden agenda, we cannot draw our lines of battle too. We must know the sentiment of the people, their questions and confusions. We must study their faces, their mood – sometimes expressed, sometimes unexpressed, sometimes people speaking loudly, at others in whisper. Always we must be attentive. That is why Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said: engage yourself round-the-clock, twenty four hours in revolutionary activities. And then he said that it does not mean we do not take food, do not take rest, do not exchange our emotional sentiments, but those must not seize our mind completely. What does it require, if I am to be fully engaged for the party, for the revolution? Firstly, it needs boundless feeling for the oppressed people. Secondly, indomitable determination to find out truth. Thirdly, an urge to lead an ethical life. Comrades, our ideology is correct, our line is correct, but it is not enough. People themselves must be convinced that our ideology and line is correct. When we organize any movement or struggle – what is the main objective? Not merely to achieve some economic demands. When there is no movement, no struggle, people are generally frustrated, dejected, slumbering – that is the general mood. If they are involved in any struggle, at that time there is a flash of political consciousness gleaming in the minds of common people. And that is the moment when we can make them politically conscious. We must know that struggle heightens their spirit, widens their outlook, and ignites them morally. But these do not happen automatically and spontaneously. Concrete leadership is necessary; and that we will have

to provide. Otherwise movements will be reduced to sheer economism. Always there must be preparedness. Generally it is difficult to foresee which spark of many discontents will kindle a big conflagration. Sometimes we cannot anticipate when surging waves of movements will develop, or when suddenly the enemy will attack us. So, we must be prepared for any eventuality and our forms of struggle and organization also should be flexible, so that we can adapt accordingly. So in our struggle, firm conviction is necessary, determination is necessary. It is a struggle of life and death, a life-long struggle, a stubborn struggle, a struggle which demands undaunted spirit, courage, valour, higher sense of discipline and morality. Before this Congress, most of us were engaged in different movements. In this Congress we have exchanged views, placed many rich suggestions; enriched our documents. And after the end of this Congress, we will be going to develop more powerful movements in our country with more enrichment of knowledge, conviction and vigour. That is our objective.

Lastly, I want to discuss here regarding collective body functioning. Generally there is a tendency that sometimes comes among some comrades. They tend to think, what I am suggesting is correct and must be accepted. No, that cannot be an attitude of a communist. I am merely placing my views only for examination. We cannot forget Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's formulation that individual thinking is the personification of social thinking. In society there is bourgeois thinking and proletarian thinking. Unknowingly I may reflect bourgeois thinking or my thinking may be partly proletarian, partly bourgeois. Whether my thinking is solely proletarian or not, that will be decided by the collective leadership. And if my suggestion is not accepted after full exchange of views, majority will take decision. I must submit to majority decision happily. Why happily? Because, according to the bourgeoisie, the individual is the authority to decide. In our approach, the collective is the authority to decide. I submit to collective

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## Liberhan Commission Findings

# Judiciary proving itself an appendage of the ruling class

*Contd. from page 2*

Masjid so that the BJP, its political face, could capitalize on it to come to power. The Congress leaders could make out that this was ordained by the ruling bourgeoisie. So they would need to have a correct appraisal of the situation and adjust accordingly. Wedded to the task of serving bourgeois class interest and driven by the political compulsion to stay afloat in the bourgeois vote politics as one of the principal contender for power, the Congress found that in the face of aggressive communal advance of the BJP, it had to arrest to whatever extent possible its fast eroding Hindu vote bank. In fact, the Congress initially tried to be instrumental in articulating the sinister bourgeois design of fanning up communal sentiments to disunite toiling masses. Hence, in order to counter the BJP's rabid communal agenda, Rajiv Gandhi, Congress Prime Minister after Indira Gandhi, had earlier virtually initiated opening of the lock of Babri Masjid violating the hitherto existing court directive. But it did not work out for the Congress, and the BJP with a Hindu communal face seized the opportunity and raised communal frenzy to such a pitch so as to fully capitalize on the unfolding situation and become the ultimate beneficiary. Finding no other alternative and pressed under the necessity to hold

onto some part of its vote bank among the communally charged section of the Hindus, the Congress opted to quietly allow the stream of grisly events to take place. So, Narasimha Rao government at the Centre remained an indulgent onlooker to the Babri Masjid demolition citing a plethora of untenable logics. The Congress then tried to reconcile to the situation and wherever possible sought to peddle what is known as soft-Hindutva to ensure that it could pinch out a part of the Hindu vote bank in its favour notwithstanding its apparent secular posture and pretended befriending of the Muslim minorities for becoming the latter's obvious choice in the hustings. In other words, both the BJP and the Congress, as two most trusted parties of the oppressive ruling bourgeoisie, in effect worked in tandem to implement the class conspiracy of the rulers to divide people on communal line and embroil them in internecine clashes

### Commission findings and aftermath

It could not be that Justice Liberhan was not aware of this vile bourgeois machination operative underneath. He knew that the implied term of reference of his Commission was to shield the BJP leaders then on the threshold of riding to power as per wishes of the

ruling capitalist class. So he embraced the dilatory tactics. And as an alibi to justify the delay, he alleged that he had to deal with the intransigent bureaucratic mindset and style of functioning first and even obtaining basic facilities that any commission would require took a huge amount of effort. He also reported to have been handicapped by shortage of staff, space, adequate co-operation from all, inappropriate selection of aides and so forth and pointed to the stalling and obstructionist manoeuvres used to derail the probe by a certain group of people. So was the necessity of a string of extensions and he had been consistently maintaining that he would take longer.

But whatever might be the argument he put forth to justify the abnormal delay, it ought not to be difficult for any rational mind that such prolongation could not have happened unless consented to or precipitated by the power that be. Not that the BJP government pulled the strings from behind, even the Congress governments before and after the BJP rule in between also went on granting extensions intending to make it a dead issue. Why Congress or BJP, even the pseudo-Marxists like the CPI (M) and CPI who are now calling this delay "scandalous" did not insist on expediting the Commission's findings, neither when they were in opposition nor when they were supporting the Congress-led government. They even did not question as to what caused this inexplicable delay and why was the government planning to hush up the report. Because, like other bourgeois parties, they from their penchant for pelf and power, are also carefully keeping themselves distanced from any move that might embarrass the ruling class. Similarly, the bourgeois media too maintained studied silence over the Commission and felt no obligation to demand for exemplary punishment of those culpable for such a heinous crime that sought to tear apart the very fabric of the Indian society. It is in the light of all these that the inherent reason behind the glaring farce over the Commission is to be understood.

This incident also shatters once more the myth about so called impartial judiciary. During the advent of bourgeois democracy as

political superstructure of emerging capitalism as against obsolete feudal order, the exponents of the new order viewed judiciary as an inalienable organ of the bourgeois state vested with the responsibility of ensuring the rule of law, monitoring governance according to legislations enacted by the legislature, guaranteeing proper compliance with the directives in the constitution, protecting individual rights from being trampled down by the executive, meting out justice to all by providing correct interpretations of the law in case of a dispute and staving off injustice. But its envisaged role and relative neutrality began to erode with the growth of monopoly, with capitalism turning decadent. The ruling bourgeoisie in order to protect its class interest that warranted flagrant violation and revision at will of the existing laws, started to use the judiciary for the purpose. So, in our country today, the judicial directives and pronouncements are often found to be articulation of what the ruling class desires or mandates. Instances of violating existing juridical procedures, skirting norms or bypassing necessary steps are also not in short supply. It is thus increasingly becoming clear that notwithstanding pretensions of neutrality, judiciary is practically turning into an appendage of the ruling class, subverting people's cause, denying them justice and covertly robbing them of many of their basic democratic rights. The saga of Liberhan Commission proved that once again in no uncertain manner.

Look at the timing of tabling the Commission report in Parliament. As we have said earlier, the report was quietly handed over to the government almost at the penultimate hour. Perhaps it would have found a safe space in the cold storage had not there been a selective leaking of its content in the media.

As we have already shown above, the Commission by dragging on its enquiry period has already diluted the importance of the issue and allowed the persons liable for being prosecuted to carry out all their nefarious activities and even occupy highest chairs of governance with the blessings of the class. Because, that was what the ruling class wanted. Today also, after its

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## Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Delegate Session

*Contd. from page 5*

decision means, submission of individual to collective. If I cannot submit happily, that means individualism is obstructing me. Yes, it may happen that collective decision was wrong. That also will be rectified collectively. We must know from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teaching that without adequate revolutionary political consciousness and higher proletarian culture, either bureaucratic centralism or ultra democracy will prevail in the name of democratic centralism.

I am to conclude now. We should take pledge that we will continue our struggle upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. We will continue our battle to elevate our ideological, political, cultural, organizational standard higher and

higher. We will continue our battle to uphold the banner of Proletarian Internationalism. And this pledge we will convey to our ailing General Secretary. Definitely you will agree with me. (All emotionally consented). With this I conclude here.

**Inkilab Zindabad!**

**Socialist Unity Centre of India**

**(C) Zindabad!**

**Long Live Proletarian**

**Internationalism!**

**Red Salute to the Great Leaders**

**Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao**

**Zedong, Comrade Shibdas**

**Ghosh!**

**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-**

**Shibdas Ghosh Thought!**

**Down with Imperialism-**

**Capitalism! Down! Down!**

**Long Live our beloved**

**General Secretary**

**Comrade Nihar Mukherjee!**

## Liberhan Commission Findings

*Contd. from page 6*

findings are out, no specific punitive action has been specified therein. The ATR of the government does not provide any teeth either. Everyone understands that the cases now running against the BJP-VHP-Shiv Sena leaders will continue for ever as they all are faithful servants of the ruling bourgeoisie. So long they will continue to serve the class, the latter will protect them and ensure that all their crimes and wrongdoings either do not surface or are suppressed or if exposed, do not attract any punitive measure. Hence, although the Commission has apparently indicted the RSS, VHP, Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal and BJP for bringing the temple construction movement to the front burner and caused it to boil over, precipitating communal disharmony, entailing fratricidal bloodbath, and leading the country to the "brink of communal discord", one knows for sure that nothing will happen to them and "law while taking its own course" will be extremely generous to them even to the point of exoneration for "lack of evidence." Only for public consumption, there will be some uproar, some pointless verbal duals on the floor of Parliament with Congress and BJP trading charges and countercharges and their respective associates playing second fiddle. Ultimately all harangue and tumult will subside to restore status quo ante. So while people wanted stringent punishment of the culprits who committed the ghastly crime, the ruling class and its bootlickers are out to see that the just the reverse happens.

### People must exert pressure

Let us enumerate the principal findings of ours in regard to this delayed submission of the Commission. First of all, the Commission Report has been handed over the government just for the sake of it at a time when the issue has practically become irrelevant. Yet the government did not feel even an iota of obligation to place it in Parliament. Because of leakage in the press, it had no alternative but to table it on the floor of the Parliament. Otherwise, this Commission would also have been consigned to the fate of all other earlier Commissions, some names of which we mentioned earlier. But once the findings have come to the fore, there is renewed public pressure for taking appropriate action based on the

same. So is there a mock fight inside the Parliament between the treasury bench and the opposition simply for playing to the gallery and till the time any other issue surfaces to push it to the backseat for ever. And what is more disturbing is that the BJP leaders who have been pointedly held culpable for masterminding such a heinous crime are now blustering inside the Parliament unabashedly and even demanding the Commission Report to be thrown away. It is like the convict directing the Judge to be hanged.

It is thus clear that if things are allowed to continue unabated, one after another such instances of flagrant violation of people's interest and trampling of people's cause will surface making perpetrators of all sorts of crimes go scot free and unbridled in undertaking stream of heinous operations. It is only by building up strong public opinion through unleashing powerful democratic movement throughout the country against all these acts of subversion of democracy that such menacing moves on the part of the ruling capitalist class and its servitors could be thwarted. No doubt people through their experience have realized that the venom of communalism is only crippling them from within, engaging them in fratricidal bloodbath and in the process allowing the instigators to make fortunes at their cost. So they are gradually turning away from the BJP-RSS. Yet there is necessity for basing that realization on more conscious political understanding that would make the people identify the class design and class machination operative against their interest. And that consciousness can come about only if people are organized more and more on the platform of united movement. That is why genuine revolutionaries who know that ruling capitalism is the root of all evils and emancipation of the people lies in overthrow of capitalism assign so much importance on developing people's movement and exhort the toiling masses to embrace the course of class and mass struggles to assert their rights and wrest their legitimate demands. So we sincerely feel that public voice must soar high against this orchestrated farce so much so that the ruling class and its servitors dare not indulge in such hypocrisy and caricature of judicial process.

## Firing on peoples' protest against land grab in Jharkhand kills 1, injures 7

### People wrest ultimate victory

On 10 December last at Telgharia in Bokaro District of Jharkhand, the security guard of Electro-Steel Company at the instance of the Manager of the said company indiscriminately fired upon common village people, who were protesting against forcible land grab by the company. It killed Comrade Shatrughna Roy, a SUCI activist and seriously injured 7 of whom a few were critical and two were women.

The said company had been trying recently to reap a harvest of profit by lifting coal from open cast quarries developed on a huge tract of land partly purchased and partly forcibly grabbed from the villagers.

On 10 December, when Gangapada Rajwar of Noadih village of Telgharia, did not agree to give his land, the company people blasted dynamite and ran bulldozer on his land. Enraged at this, villagers protested, upon whom the guards at the order of a manager fired about 100 rounds.

As the news of the incident went around, SUCI workers and leaders from Chandankayeri, Dhanbad, Bokaro Steel City rushed to the spot and along with village people started squatting in front of the company gate with village people for proper medical treatment

of the injured and other demands. Leaders of other political parties also came to the spot. The squatting continued for the whole night during which thousands of villagers started pouring in to join it. Seeing that the situation was getting out of hand, the company authority sought for dialogue with the squatters, which was finally held at noon the next day. An eleven-member delegation including SUCI leaders took part in the hours-long dialogue. The authority had to come down to accept the following demands, such as immediate arrest of the persons responsible for firing, release of a compensation of 10 lakh rupees to and a permanent job for one member of the family of the villager killed, adequate and proper treatment of all the injured in addition to a compensation of rupees five lakh for each of them, and payment of proper price of land destroyed by the company.

SUCI observed a protest day on 11 December at different places of Jharkhand, with the demand of stopping transfer of water-forest-land-mineral wealth of Jharkhand to the Indian and foreign capitalists to carry on unhindered plunder, along with the demands raised by the Telgharia people.

## 6 December observed as 'Anti-Communal Day' by SUCI(C)

At the call of the Central Committee of SUCI (C), the black December 6th was observed as Anti-Communal Day in different states of India. the State. Extensive posterings were done and dharna, demonstrations and public meetings were organized demanding exemplary punishment to all those in the top leadership of BJP-Sangh Parivar, found guilty by the Liberhan Commission in perpetrating the heinous crime of demolishing the historical monument Babri Masjid and pushing the whole country into communal strife and blood bath.

In Kerala anti-communal dharna, demonstrations and public meetings were held in different parts of Kerala, including dharna in Trivandrum in front of RMS, dharna and demonstration in Quilon, demonstration and public meeting in Calicut, dharna in Palghat in front of Stadium Bus Stand, public

meeting in Malappuram of the State. State and district leaders of SUCI addressed these demonstrations and meetings.

Besides, the day was observed as Anti-Communal day by the Janakeeya Prathirodha Samiti in Ernakulam, Alleppey and other places, in which eminent professors, teachers, advocates, social activists along with SUCI state and district leaders and workers took part.

In Bangalore, AIDS, AIDYO, AIMSS jointly organised a demonstration at Mysore Bank Circle in the morning of 6 December, to observe the Anti Communal Day. Hundreds of activists, supporters of AIDS, AIDYO and AIMSS as well as common people public participated in the programme.

In observance of the Anti-Communal Day human-chain was organized in Orissa.

## Red Salute Comrade Dipankar Roy

Comrade Dipankar Roy, a worthy disciple of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era and Founder General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), and an extremely promising revolutionary character breathed his last on 6 December, 2009 early morning. A character of rare quality and mettle, he was a member of the West Bengal State Committee, SUCI (C) and besides shouldering all responsibilities assigned to him in the state, he overcome his physical handicap of being sightless and discharged with all sincerity the role of an effective organizer of the party in different states over a vast stretch of the country of India. The fifty nine KOMSOMOL volunteers, who each held a flag dipped in honour on the last journey of Comrade Roy along the streets Calcutta, signified that life of this most endearing comrade came to an abrupt end just at 59 years of age.

Comrade Roy suffered from a massive heart-attack at midnight on 1 December last. He was rushed to the Calcutta Heart Clinic and Hospital in a most critical condition and immediately put on the life support in a ventilator. Comrades Provash Ghosh and Ranjit Dhar, Members, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C) and other state leaders of the Party immediately reached the Clinic. There, despite untiring efforts of a team of doctors led by eminent heart specialist Dr. K B Bakshi and comprising among others Dr. Saibal Ghosh, Dr. Debashis Ghosh, Dr. Sushrut Banerjee and Dr. Subhankar Chatterjee, Comrade Roy's condition continued to deteriorate. He was advised angioplasty and, for the purpose, was shifted to the Apollo Hospital. Angioplasty was successful and everybody hoped the crisis had been tide over and he would be back on the recovery trail. But, that was not to be. Suddenly on 5 December night his heart started failing again and ultimately stopped for ever precisely at 06.20 hours on 6th morning.

Still a school student in the late 1960s, Comrade Dipankar Roy was introduced to Comrade Shibdas

Ghosh by one of his teachers, Comrade Shibabrata Sengupta, who had been a SUCI (C) organizer and a man of deep values and a friend of students himself. That completely changed the life of Comrade Dipankar Roy, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the outstanding Marxist thinker unfolded to the budding character, how, accepting Marxism-Leninism as philosophy of life, even sightless persons can play an important role in the revolutionary transformation of the society. From then on, Comrade Dipankar did not waver to engage himself in the struggle for building himself up into a courageous, sincere fighter for revolutionary movements based on the illuminating thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Till his last days, he remained unfailingly true to his realization and commitment.

A young cadre to start with in the All India DSO, the students' organization guided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, Comrade Roy in course of his relentless life-struggle rose to the stature of the West Bengal State President of that organization in 1978. He also became the Chairman of the "Chhatra Sangram Committee" (Students' Struggle Committee) during the historic sustained language movement in West Bengal in the eighties of the last century waged under the leadership of the fore-ranking intellectuals of the state in demand of reintroducing English at the primary stage and the system of pass-fail in examinations in the school education. He also contributed significantly in building up countrywide education movement under the banner of the All India Save Education Committee. He was the General Secretary of this Committee. As a leading organizer of SUCI(C), Comrade Roy did not falter to take up any responsibility bestowed on him by the party, nor did he hesitate to move to any corner of the country, from the remote villages in the Sundarban and other areas of West Bengal to different states, cities and towns of India. His brilliant organizing capacity and sense of purposiveness is eloquently

testified in the way he tirelessly moved around the country and collected funds from the common people convincing them about the necessity to set up a Braille Academia with a view to helping sightless students have access to the treasures of knowledge, classical and modern. His pivotal role in setting up a party-centre for the sightless comrades at Mallikpur near Calcutta, where he was the living inspiration behind the many-sided activities and deep commitment to revolution of these physically challenged or otherwise comrades also bears the hallmark of his organizational acumen.

Guided by the thoughts and life struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Dipankar Roy engaged himself with devotion and sincerity in the struggle to acquire the essence of higher culture ingrained in the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism, thereby attaining a cultural standard and tuning of remarkable height. In course of all his activities and unrelenting life-struggle, and by virtue of his dedication for the revolutionary cause and ideology, his deep sense of morality and ethics, simplicity yet firmness of character and quest for knowledge, he left indelible impressions upon and established deep emotional attachments with everybody he came in contact with, from the common people to eminent personalities of the country, including luminaries like Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukhopadhyay, renowned scientist and educationist and erstwhile Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Justice VR Krishna Iyer, the renowned educationist and jurist and former Justice of the Supreme Court. As soon as the heart-wrenching news of his untimely demise spread, thousands of party activists and his admirers thronged the party's central office at 48, Lenin Sarani to pay their last respect to such an outstanding leader ever exuberant who with boundless affection could easily make friends with one and all and draw them towards revolution, whose dauntless commitment to revolution had led him to rise above the physical handicap of blindness.



They laid floral wreaths on the mortal remains of Comrade Roy, amidst all-pervading ambience of grief. The first to pay tribute was Comrade Sudha Roy, the mother of an extraordinary son, who held that Comrade Dipankar was her life and asset who bequeathed to her an unfailing love and dream for the party, that she pledged to uphold herself lifelong. After her, wreaths were laid and tributes paid by leaders and comrades of state, district and local units of SUCI and different mass organizations, including Blind Persons' Association and Lalbehari Shah Braille Academia. Members of West Bengal State Secretariat and State Committee of SUCI (C) and leaders of CPI (M), CPI, Forward Bloc, Socialist Party and CPI ML (Liberation) also paid their tributes. On behalf of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, Comrade Ranjit Dhar, SUCI Polit Bureau member placed wreath. He also paid tribute on his own behalf. Wreaths were also placed by Comrades Provash Ghosh and Comrade Manik Mukherjee, both members of the Polit Bureau. At the end, the last journey of a leader dedicated to the cause of revolution started at around 3 pm from the Central Office destined to the cremation ground at Keoratala in South Calcutta. It left back unforgettable memories of a revolutionary life that provided a living, inspiring example for all, but was suddenly terminated creating not only a painful sense of loss among countless comrades and common people, but a great loss to the cause of mass movement and revolutionary struggles in this country.

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