

Proletarian Era

Volume 38 No. 24
August 1, 2005

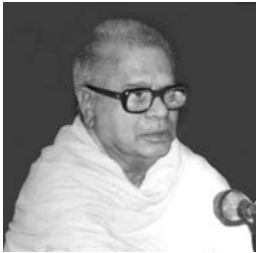
Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Price : Rs. 2.00

Pledge of Fifth August

NIHAR MUKHERJEE

The 29th death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party, the SUCI, our teacher and guide and one of the foremost Marxist philosophers and thinkers of the era is going to be observed on 5th August next. We all have to realize particularly today the deep significance of this day. We have not only to grasp, but thoroughly assimilate the invaluable teachings that he evolved, culled and left for us through his life-long hard and arduous struggle to build up a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in this country and in conducting revolutionary struggles so that we can develop ourselves in body, mind, ethics and culture, behaviour and conduct – in every respect, to become adequately equipped.



We all know that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, in course of concretizing Marxist-Leninist teachings on Indian soil in the post-Lenin period of the international communist movement, not only further developed and enriched them, but through incorporating some new aspects, raised the concepts and understanding of Marxism-Leninism to a new height. This is what we call Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought without which it is not possible today to correctly analyze, throw light upon and solve any national or international problem of the present times. There is no branch of science and

epistemology upon which he did not dwell with ease. With his deep wisdom and intellect, he illuminated all complex problems – political, social, educational, cultural, ethical, of art and literature and of modern sciences. He explained and highlighted even complex issues of Marxism-Leninism in such a way that these became crystal clear and easily intelligible to even peasants or workers with little or no education. He clearly understood that revolution could never be successful in a relatively backward country like India unless wide sections of workers

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I said for this, start with a handful. And this precisely was the guiding principle when I started this party with just a handful of compatriots. Everybody laughed at us then. The CPI, then an undivided party, ridiculed us. They taunted, we had sprouted like a mushroom. They derided : if the SUCI is a party, then a bat also is a bird; how is it that they, too, would sit with us! ... I endured all this silently. I ignored all their ridicules and just proceeded along with firm resolve to build up the party. With what result? ... Today, the CPI(M) considers the SUCI an even greater enemy than the Congress. Because, they apprehend it is the SUCI which would dig the grave of its politics of trickery. The SUCI would expose the design of not only the Congress but also of the pseudo-socialists in the cloak of leftism. Because it carries in it the seeds of revolution.

— SHIBDAS GHOSH
(On Problems of Mass Movements)

West Bengal State Committee on life term for Comrade Probodh Purkait

Why CPI(M) conspires to implicate SUCI MLA and others in a false case

Friends,

Stunned, worried and pained at the sudden flash of the news that Comrade Probodh Purkait, MLA from Kultali Constituency of West Bengal for over three decades and a veteran peasant leader of the SUCI alongwith four other SUCI workers have been sentenced to life, many of

you have enquired with our workers, telephoned our party office. We have stated in a press conference convened on the day the sentence was pronounced that a conspiracy of the CPI(M) has worked behind the incident. But our viewpoint has been either carried out partly or incompletely in most

of the news media or distorted and falsified in the newspapers and TV channels visibly influenced by the CPI(M). Hence, we consider it our duty to briefly apprise you of our comments in the matter.

Why are we alleging that there is a conspiracy hatched by the CPI(M)? Because, in an incident

twenty years back in 1985, a group of criminals, who belonged to the Congress at that time and had subsequently switched over to the CPI(M), opened fire on one of our party workers with a view to killing him. As a sequel to that, two of those criminals lost their lives at the

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Comrade Prabodh Purkait and others victim of CPI(M)-Government's dirty conspiracy

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hands of the infuriated mob. Though Prabodh Purkait and other convicted SUCI workers were in no way connected with the incident, the police-administration under instructions from the CPI(M) implicated them in a false case. The case continued in the Session's Court for years and thereafter, in 1997, Prabodh Purkait along with 33 others was acquitted by the said court. We filed an appeal in the High Court soliciting release of the six persons who were sentenced to life by the Session's Court in the same case. While hearing of our appeal was going on, suddenly it was found that not the real complainants but the public prosecutor himself became hyperactive with a separate appeal seeking punishment of Prabodh Purkait and others. Because of this hyperactivity on the part of the public prosecutor, the appeal of the state government was tagged with our appeal and the hearing began in the month of July. Noted and veteran lawyer Dilip Dutta appeared on behalf of Prabodh Purkait and others. But he got opportunity to argue the case in the court only on two days, the 7th & 8th of July. Thereafter hearing was declared over and on 20th July, life sentence of Prabodh Purkait and others were pronounced.

We would like to remind you that after the said incident in January, 1985, a delegation led by late Dwijendralal Sengupta, prominent lawyer, veteran freedom fighter and a former member of the Rajya Sabha went to the spot. After conducting an on the spot enquiry, the delegation in a written statement to the press informed that both the deaths were caused by mob fury and Prabodh Purkait and others were in no way connected with it. Even Sanat Mandal, the RSP leader and MP from Jaynagar for quite a long time said in his statement after inspection of the place of occurrence that Prabodh Purkait was not involved in the incident. Some newspapers also wrote at that time that Prabodh Purkait was not present at the spot at all.

Legally we cannot make any comment on the juridical process or verdict of a court of law. But the way the public prosecutor, after twenty long years bypassed the actual complainants, became overactive and displayed extreme

urgency in pursuing the appeal of the state can by no means be a normal state of affairs. Rather it further shows clearly that a political conspiracy of the CPI(M) has been operative behind the scene.

But why this conspiracy against the SUCI? First of all, a powerful mass movement at the initiative of our party and under the leadership of Prabodh Purkait has been going on in Kultali against two deadly anti-people schemes of the state government. One is that the state government is constructing a dam by destroying Hukharania, a flowing living river. Following an appeal made against this move, the Supreme Court has even issued a 'show cause' to the state government in the matter. The other is that the state government through sponsorship of the Sahara group is on a spree to set up floating hotels, swimming pools, bars, tourist lodges etc. on and along the rivers of Sundarbans in order to cater to the entertainment requisites and a host of vulgar amusement requisites of the capitalists, business tycoons, both domestic and foreign, and the children of the moneyed class. Thus plans are afoot to pollute the natural environment, disturb the ecological balance, vitiate the social climate and destroy the local culture of that area. Under the leadership of Prabodh Purkait, thousands of local people have organized themselves against these two nefarious schemes and the resistance movement is rapidly gaining momentum. Even a large section of the CPI(M)'s lower rank is participating in this movement. It is because of this reason that the terrified CPI(M) leadership has plotted this conspiracy against Prabodh Purkait and others to destroy the morale of the people's movement. Secondly, Comrade Prabodh Purkait has so far won the Kultali assembly seat nine times by fighting against the Congress earlier and thereafter the CPI(M) (erstwhile Congressites have all joined the CPI(M)). Despite creating a reign of terror, orchestrating murders, resorting to massive rigging and all such other dubious means, the CPI(M) could not knock us out the seat. Even in all the four elections that were held after 1985, the CPI(M) could not cut any ice by unleashing a malicious campaign that "Prabodh Purkait is a murderer". Everytime People's verdict went in his favour and he

won the seat by massive votes because the everyone knew that Prabodh Purkait and the other leaders and cadres of the SUCI were not guilty. In the past, there have been several attacks on Prabodh Purkait with murderous intention. Once he was so brutally assaulted that his life could be saved only after prolonged treatment in the hospital. Hence, after having exhausted all other means, the CPI(M) leaders ultimately had to mastermind a heinous conspiracy so that they could snatch the Kultali seat from the SUCI by preventing Prabodh Purkait from contesting elections, intensifying terror and rigging and in the process breaking the morale of the people.

You are well aware that though in West Bengal we are not the opponents of the CPI(M) in the race for grabbing seats. Yet the CPI(M) leadership is resorting to worst violence to wipe us out. So far, they have murdered 141 of our leader and workers. Nine of our workers courted martyr's death when police opened fire during movements. Many of our workers have been maimed by attacks from the police and the CPI(M) sponsored anti-socials. A sizeable number of these valiant fighters were workers, peasants, students and teachers who in the prime of their life dedicated themselves to the struggle for emancipating the oppressed people subordinating all their individual and family interests. The CPI(M) has killed so many brave soldiers of mass movement. Shaken even after all this, they have now devised a ploy unheard of even during the British regime and Congress rule. Wherever a murder is taking place, centering around family feuds, clashes with neighbours over disputes, internecine squabbles of the dacoits over share in the booty, internal conflicts of the CPI(M), mob fury etc., the CPI(M) leadership, on and often, with the help of the police-administration is implicating SUCI leaders and workers even from far away places in false murder cases and getting punishment inflicted on them. Thereafter they are warning the SUCI workers that anyone continuing association with the SUCI will be taught a lesson like this. Likewise, 27 of our leaders and workers including Prabodh Purkait have so far been given life imprisonment. Among them, there

are five district committee members of South 24 Parganas and two members of Burdhaman district committee. Apart from that false murder cases have been lodged against 53 leaders and workers from other districts.

The reason you know very well. In this state, the SUCI has been ceaselessly developing democratic mass movements on the various demands of the workers, peasants, middle class, teachers, students, and women and against all the anti-people policies and decisions of both the central and the state governments. People from all walks of life including many honest workers and supporters of the CPI(M) are joining these movements in large numbers, helping in many ways to develop these struggles. Under pressure of these powerful movements, the state government has been compelled to yield to many important demands including re-introduction of English at primary level. "SUCI is the only force of democratic mass movement", "the boys and girls of this party are honest, committed to ideology, possess exemplary character; fight courageously braving brutal police atrocities"-such perceptions are gaining wide acceptance among all sections of the people both inside and outside the state. There is an overflow of love and affection towards the party. Rally of public support is on a sustained spiral. More and more people are reposing abiding confidence in us. This has visibly unnerved the CPI(M) leaders. In order to cling to power for long with the blessings of the national and foreign capitalists and big business, they are now avowedly committed to scuttle the working class struggles and thwart democratic movements in utter disregard to the fighting tradition of the state built up over the years spanning from the time the time the country was in flames to achieve of national liberation to the post independence period of left democratic movement against misrule of the Congress. But the SUCI, the genuine Marxist party, is a stumbling block before that. That is why the CPI(M) leadership is so furious, so wild and so desperate to demolish the fighting strength of the SUCI.

Everyone knows how the CPI(M), by arrogating to itself the

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RUNNING GOVERNMENT IN A CAPITALIST SET UP

Correct revolutionary outlook and pseudo-Marxist deception

What ought to be the outlook of a genuine left party if it gets a chance to run a government in a capitalist set up? Will it follow the known bourgeois parties in the pattern and manner of governance, propitiate the ruling class to be sucked into the cesspool of bourgeois vote-politics, create illusion about bourgeois parliamentary democracy and thus subserve the decadent moribund capitalist system bestriding the country like a deadweight? In that event, will it be emblematic of a leftist mooring or tantamount to backstabbing the people's cause under canorous verbiages? This question is agitating every thinking mind after having experienced 28 years of uninterrupted rule of a CPI(M)-led government in West Bengal and of late, the rule of a Congress-led CPI(M)-backed coalition at the Centre for about 14 months. The people are further rankled by the way the CPI(M) which calls itself a left party, is justifying its support to the Congress-led Central government and openly pursuing capitalist friendly, pro-establishment policies. An impression is fast taking root as if there is no alternative, no respite from the suffocating situation, no glimmer of hope and worst of all, there is no difference between leftism and rightist politics other than the signboard, colour of the flag and verbal espousals. There is only one voice heard in the viceregal echelons – no matter, what robe they don – that is of paying obeisance to the class in power. Thus the whole process of reasoning is getting convoluted and an apolitical mental make up is fast engulfing the society. Danger inheres here and hence we thought that a brief discussion on this question will be befitting to the occasion of observing the memorial day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder General Secretary of the SUCI, our leader, teacher and guide, and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, who, on the anvil of Marxism-Leninism, had provided an invaluable analysis and guideline in this regard.

State and government are different entities

It may be recalled that way back in 1967, the people of West Bengal disgusted with the 20 years of

misrule by the Congress, a most trusted representative of the ruling exploitative Indian national bourgeoisie, voted in favour of the left and democratic forces who had been in the vortex of anti-Congress democratic mass movements sweeping across the state in the fifties and sixties. People's mandate was for an alternative left and democratic government that would articulate their urges and aspirations. Our party was also a constituent of the combination that was set to form the government. But the foremost question was what should be the outlook of a true leftist government in a bourgeois set up? Such a possibility had not arisen before in the arena of international communist movement and hence there was no guideline available in this regard. In this perspective, it was incumbent on our party under Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to formulate the guideline. It may be recalled that at that time it was a 14-party combination which was to take over and this dispensation included besides the parties calling themselves lefts, non-left parties like the Bangla Congress as well and hence there was a lot of confusion over this issue.

By removing all confusions, Comrade Ghosh presented correct Marxist outlook that ought to guide this government in order to honour the expectations of the people. He said, it would be incorrect to think that if some honest persons replaced the corrupt and power-greedy elements in the government, there would be immense good to the people. By merely undertaking some reform measures, these honest persons would not be able to eradicate the sufferings and privations bred by the crisis-ridden capitalist system. "I categorically tell the workers, peasants and general people", said Comrade Ghosh, "that they should not be deceived by all such talks. Because, only by a change of the government, there is and cannot be any solution to their fundamental problem." "The state and the government are two different entities... The state denotes a system, a concept of law and order, a concept of principles, a concept of some fundamental rights, and on this base a structure made of bureaucracy, administration, judiciary, and the military to protect all these. Whereas, the government

is, as I like to put it, a caretaker of the capitalist state. ... can a government at its pleasure set up socialism in the framework of capitalist economic system and state structure? Can it win people's liberation? Can it win them emancipation from capitalist exploitation? It cannot."

Historic declaration of 1967 West Bengal UF government's labour policy

Thus he showed that a change of government through elections does not change the class character of the state but only changes the caretaker of the state. Hence those who try to confuse this issue only help in spreading deception and creating further illusion about the bourgeois parliamentary system. So, the moot question was, would a genuine revolutionary party seize the opportunity to form government in a bourgeois system either alone or in association with other left and democratic forces or deny it? If it formed or joined the government, would it succumb to the bourgeois concept of legalism and constitution and behave like any other bourgeois party spurning the plea that it was restrained by the limits of the bourgeois system? In that event, what would be the purpose of its being in the government? Here was the brilliance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in providing the correct guideline. "In the parliamentary system what is expected of a progressive government? I am not meaning a Leftist government. I am meaning a government that is just a little progressive, one that is endowed with a little humane attitude, which is not altogether blind and at least does not capitulate to the capitalist class. The first and the foremost duty of such a government should be to protect movements, if they are legitimate and democratic, from police interference." Our party under the leadership of Comrade Ghosh demanded of the constituents of the first United Front (U.F.) government of 1967 that 'non-interference of police in legitimate democratic movement' must be declared as government's policy. Under pressure, they agreed to this and our party joined the government with late Comrade Subodh Banerjee as the labour minister. But no other party could grasp the inner

significance of this policy because of their non-revolutionary character and delusion about bourgeois legality and hence they hesitated to openly abide by this. It was entirely at our initiative and insistence that the U.F. government's historic declaration on its labour policy — 'police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements' — was made. This declaration epitomized the attitude a pro-people government should adopt to conduct itself within the framework of a capitalist order. Immediately, the ruling capitalist class raised a hue and cry, whereas the working class movement in West Bengal received a momentum unprecedented in kind and measure and the mass and class struggles in the country were poised to take a new turn. But ultimately as a fallout of the conspiracy and machination of the ruling class, the first U.F. government was brought down. In 1969, the U.F. was back in power with huge majority but the CPI(M) and its allies refused to adopt the significant policy declaration of the previous government that gave tremendous fillip to the working class struggles and democratic movements, enhanced the self-confidence of the toiling masses, lifted their sense of honour and dignity and fostered in them the struggling spirit to rise against all injustice with grit and determination. Explaining the revolutionary significance of the policy that the Second U.F. government declined to adopt, Comrade Ghosh said in 1969, "We were aware that the UF Government should have to move within the constitutional framework of the capitalist system. But then the question is: How should revolutionaries approach the question of constitutionality or legality. Of course, they can approach it only from the point of view of people's interest. ... every student of ethics and jurisprudence knew that in this exploitative social system what was legal might not always be legitimate and moral. Similarly, everything illegal in the eye of law need not necessarily be unjustified, illegitimate and immoral. On the basis of this outlook, we showed, the task of the UF Government would be to encourage all legitimate and

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CPI(M) trying to kill leftism from within and outside

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democratic movements of the people. With this aim in view, the UF government will, on the one hand, ensure that the police does not interfere in the legitimate and democratic movements of the people. This will give a breathing space to the legitimate struggles of the people which were always ruthlessly crushed by the erstwhile Congress regime. On the other hand, along with this struggle and with the backing of this struggle, we shall courageously try to bring in new legislations and amend old laws in conformity with the interest of the people. It will indeed be an achievement if the UF government can thus bring in reforms achievable within this constitutional framework, eradicate corruption, control bureaucracy and create a congenial atmosphere for the growth and development of legitimate democratic mass movements with courage, conviction and firmness."

Thus he showed that in the present day in capitalist society where order has become injustice, sole dependence on bourgeois law will not deliver any good to the people. The government cannot give any relief leave aside basic transformation of the society, by merely depending on bourgeois legality and holding brief for it. So a revolutionary party which during its tenure in a government in a bourgeois set up wants to discharge an effective role conducive to the anti-capitalist proletarian revolution it aspires for, must make very effort to see that the legitimate democratic mass movements of the toiling masses grow, develop and intensify in all possible ways and such movements are not crushed by the armed protectors of the bourgeois state, bourgeois legality empowered with all kinds of penal codes and repressive acts for this purpose. Its relief programmes must also be based on people's movement and not on police-bureaucracy. Thus there will be an integration of the extra parliamentary struggles with the moves inside the parliament, the real face of capitalism will stand exposed, the hoax of bourgeois democracy will be unmasked, political consciousness of the people will increase, the fighting spirit and combating skill of the masses will develop, contradiction between labour and capital will get accentuated and the process of

revolution will be accelerated. This is the significant contribution of Comrade Ghosh.

So those who have the correct realization that capitalism is the root of all evils, have no other alternative but to organize the people for revolution, imbue them with the correct revolutionary ideology and base political line. Every political step of theirs should be to lay bare the ugly face and exploitative character of moribund capitalism and hasten the process of revolution. Hence, if it succeeds in winning elections its elected representatives to the legislative bodies will reflect the voice of the people's movement, people's cause inside the legislatures and not usher in sickening advocacy of the 'rule of law'. Similarly, if it gets any opportunity to form or join a government in a capitalist system, it will make fullest use of that to encourage legitimate mass struggles by restraining the coercive state machinery. Though painstaking a job, it will leave no stone unturned to make people understand that not even any slightest amelioration to their plight in a capitalist set up is possible through parliamentary forum unless there is a pressure of democratic movement.

CPI(M)-led government- appendage to ruling class

But what is the role and position of those pseudo-Marxists who have ascended the throne prattling leftist vocabulary? A CPI(M)-led government has been running the West Bengal government for 28 long years. The CPI(M) and its allies are also obliged to carry the Congress-led Central government for full 5-year term. The bourgeois media has whole-heartedly engaged themselves to project and sustain the left credential of the CPI(M) and its associates. But what has been the attitude of the CPI(M) and its allies towards democratic mass movement, the question of legitimacy and legality and in running the government? Not only are they making every effort to contain, restrain and emasculate from within the democratic struggles of the people on the burning issues of life, they are ruthlessly crushing any such movement with the help of police-administration in the name of maintaining 'law and order'. Under the pretext of "functioning within the capitalist system with extremely

limited power", they are now with responsibility shielding the moribund decadent crisis-ridden capitalism. With alacrity, the CPI(M) leaders are propagating that remaining within historically outmoded path of capitalism, they would usher in an industrial boom in collaboration with the foreign and indigenous monopolists and multinational companies. To them the catch phrase is "development" to be reckoned to the exclusion of the welfare and upliftment of the vast toiling masses and in favour of the handful exploitative monopolists. That is why they are determined "not to tolerate any obstruction to industrialization" and want "a responsible trade unionism" which will arrest all struggles of the working class within the confines of bourgeois legalism and tamely submit to the wishes and dictates of the owners. For the same reason, they are ever vigilant against sprouting of any genuine people's movement and sparing no efforts to brutally crush any such movement.

Why was SUCI ousted from left democratic consolidation

It may be recalled that the CPI(M) in order to satiate its lust for pelf and power could realize long back that it must cater to the class need of the ruling bourgeoisie, overtly or covertly, with increasing loyalty. After the experience of the two U.F. governments of West Bengal, it could make out that what the ruling class required was a combination of forces with left cloak and progressive gestures which would be projected as a radical dispensation but in actuality would discharge a very effective role of striking a compromise between labour and capital. But such a combination under its leadership would never mature unless the SUCI could be driven out of the then existing combination. So a masterplan was chalked out and ultimately implemented with the blessings and patronage of the ruling class to oust the SUCI. Jyoti Basu, the CPI(M) leader, boastfully declared in 1977 prior to the installation of a CPI(M)-led Front government in West Bengal that since the SUCI was not with them, the capitalists had nothing to be apprehensive about. Immediately, the CPI(M)-led Front began to enjoy all confidence, support and backing of the bourgeoisie who

instinctively realized that such pseudo-Marxists were the best force to serve its class-interest in this grave hour of all-out crisis and decadence. The CPI(M) leadership responded in a very acceptable manner and soon could emerge as extremely endearing to the class which not only helped it to enjoy power uninterruptedly for about three decades in the state of West Bengal, but is also considering a national level role for it after it successfully turned the state away from its glorious tradition of spearheading class and mass struggles. The torrents of praise, encomiums and certifications showered on the CPI(M) by the captains of industry, spokespersons of foreign imperial capital and MNCs, bourgeois diplomats and bureaucracy and the CPI(M)'s avowed policy of maintaining 'law and order', 'bringing development in the capitalist path' are to be understood in this context.

CPI(M) helping to malign Marxism

Through the CPI(M) the ruling bourgeois class is also getting another interest of its being served and that is of maligning and distorting the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Over these years, the people find no difference between the CPI(M) and other known bourgeois parties in the matter of pursuance of politics. Rather, the kind of criminal acts, corruption, nepotism, overlordism, deception, despotism, doublespeak the CPI(M) is indulging in, the marked ethical and cultural degeneration during its prolonged rule are increasingly making the people feel disgusted. They are wondering if this be what a left government is, what was the need of having it as a replacement for the Congress? Sensing this frustration and disgust of the people the ruling class and its subservient media are provoking them to believe that this is what leftism and Marxism stand for. Thus the class is merrily killing two birds with one stone. But to the conscientious people particularly those nurturing a left mind, it should be clear that the politics pursued by the CPI(M) and its associates is totally estranged from genuine revolutionary outlook. In fact, it is these pseudo-Marxists who, true to their social democratic character of striking a compromise between

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Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

“Although outwardly there appear to be many opposing forces in politics, and the press projects so many contending forces, but viewing the situation from the context of ultimate struggle, I hold, only two contending forces are there in politics — one for revolution, the other opposing revolution — in whatever nomenclature might it be posed. One is the politics of countering revolution, whether by the Congress through its politics, whether by all the many juggleries of so-called leftism, or by proclaimed commitment to democratic socialism, or by raising various right reactionary slogans, and through politics of catchy stunts. And the other is the politics of organizing revolution”.

— *On Problems of Mass Movements*

“...the bourgeoisie gives full publicity to the fake revolutionaries whom they need to run their repressive machinery ... you should be aware of this particular aspect of the bourgeois class-conspiracy. It is not to say that the revolutionary party at not times gets publicity. But even when it gets, it does so by forcing the unwilling hands of the bourgeoisie through the impact of its revolutionary activity. The bourgeoisie cannot but give this little when the activity of the revolutionary party stands out as a glaring fact in the eye of the people. But even when the ruling class and its publicity media have no way to deny this glaring fact they employ every means to minimize its importance, to give it such a twist and distort it in such a way as to confuse the people”.

— *Some Aspects of United Front Politics and Party Organization*

“Revolution does not mean just military warfare, just winning an armed battle. Revolution means rapid radical change of the society and thus keeping unhindered the process of continual onward advancement of the society...”

— *Science of Marxism is the Scientific Dialectical Methodology*

“The proletariat cannot destroy the bourgeois society with anything inferior to that of the bourgeoisie. The working class movement can destroy the bourgeois social system only by means which are superior in all respects to what the bourgeoisie have been able to produce in the fields of ideology, politics and literature”.

— *An Evaluation of Saratchandra*

“No movement is a mere intellectual exercise, it demands both intellect and emotion. Revolution, too, is not an exception. Thoughts are advancing, if emotion, feelings lag behind, then surely a gap would appear between the two. In that case, the movement as well as the thought would eventually go astray, leading to a blind alley”.

— *An Evaluation of Saratchandra*

“Comrades should always try to understand by reasoning out things critically. That way they will be able to detect their own mistakes and also point out to leaders if leaders had made any mistakes, thereby helping leaders also to rectify mistakes. This dialectical relationship between leaders and cadres is one important condition for ensuing that granite-like unity, that cohesion which is the characteristic feature of a working class party”.

— *Some Aspects of United Front Politics and Party Organization*

“... whatever Lenin said is not Leninism. The science applied by Lenin, the way he enriched and developed that science and the method of analysis as well to the extent possible, through applying it concretely in a concrete condition and determined its principle are the fundamentals, and the methodology is Leninism. Unless one can master these, mere parroting of Lenin’s observations from memory is tantamount to blind copying.”

— *Science of Marxism is the Scientific Dialectical Methodology*

“Now the connotation of the term ‘struggle’ has become such that ... we do not ... consider political ideological campaign a form of struggle. Likewise, attending a political class is not considered a struggle. Bringing out the party organs and other party literature, conducting campaign, polemics and revolutionary ideological propaganda against alien ideologies — are not all these ideological activities a form of struggle? ... Without these, the party would be bereft of a most vital and powerful weapon, its vehicle of ideological campaign”.

— *Some Aspects of United Front Politics and Party Organization*

“... It is true that human mind has a freedom, but that freedom is not limitless, it is relative. Even the freedom of mind has limits. The limits are from two sides. One is the concrete surroundings. The other is the process of thinking, that is, the process through which his mode of thinking has developed within him,

in a manner known or unknown to him, the process that limits the freedom of his mind or thinking....”

— *Science of Marxism is the Scientific Dialectical Methodology*

“Was it because Buddha was much inferior in talent to Einstein that he failed to propound the Theory of Relativity, or the different theories pertaining to electro-magnetic fields? Again, was it because of their superior talent and wisdom compared to Buddha, Sankaracharya and Socrates that the European humanists could give birth to the democratic concepts and ideals, or was it because Karl Marx was a greater genius that he was able to propound the theory of scientific socialism — a still higher concept? ... I consider that the great thinkers of different ages, despite being the greatest geniuses of their time, could not overcome the historic limitations of the age, the limit of time, space and social environment. Even at the peak of highest talent and power, it was impossible for any man of an earlier age to have even an inkling of such modern thoughts that appeared at a later stage of social development”.

— *An Evaluation of Saratchandra*

Running government in capitalist set up

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labour and capital, pose the main hurdle before organizing people to embrace path of movement for realizing their genuine demands as well as obtaining the reliefs that the government fails to provide them. Notwithstanding left verbiages and occasional display of mock opposition to the Congress-led government running on its support, the CPI(M), by relinquishing the path of people’s movement, is unashamedly defending the existing bourgeois system and the prevailing concept of bourgeois law. Naturally, it is picked up by the ruling class to run the ‘rule of law’ like the grinding shell and steam rollers with all ruthlessness over the masses — be it the law of the despots or the most lawless law against people’s interest. Thus the CPI(M) in order to be in the corridor of power is practically presiding over the bourgeois design to intensify the pitch of exploitation and muzzle the voice of dissent to prolong the moribund bourgeois class rule. So it feels no obligation to the people’s cause in running the governments in West Bengal or Tripura or having

“...greed, meanness or the mentality to exploit did not grow in society because the inherent good in man had been eclipsed by satan.... it was only after the emergence of an exploitative social system, that is, only after the appearance of the material condition in society necessary for exploitation, that satan did appear in man’s mind. It was not greed that created the exploitative social system, rather, it was the exploitative social system which begot greed in man.”

— *Cultural Movement in India and our Tasks*

“To a revolutionary no work is insignificant. I say, do not take any work in a casual or unserious manner. Because, if you do not perform any work with all seriousness, considering it insignificant, then that not only spoils the work, but obstructs the very process of developing integration in the method of thinking. Such a casual attitude to work is detrimental to the development of integrity of character”.

— *Some Aspects of United Front Politics and Party Organization*

any qualms for extending support to an out and out anti-people Congress-led dispensation at the Centre.

Revolutionaries direct every act to accelerate revolution

Genuine Marxist revolutionaries, on the other hand, stand stoutly in defence of people’s legitimate movement even if oversteps prevailing concept of legality, dedicate themselves to fast prepare people for ultimate overthrow of the exploitative capitalist system through revolution by building up revolutionary organizations, revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary bent of mind to fight and struggle for the legitimate. Every activity of theirs is directed to this objective, the participation in a bourgeois government, if such opportunity is available, included. The policy of ‘non-interference of police in democratic mass movement’ as propounded by our party under the living guidance and leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh almost 40 years back assumes historic significance in this perspective.

PLEDGE OF FIFTH AUGUST

Mode of existence of our party is collective from top to bottom*Contd. from page 1*

and peasants, the common people at large, could grasp the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism. He used to stress again and again that the revolutionary movement in this country suffered a lot because the parties going by the name 'communist' had neglected this essential but arduous struggle. I am aware that to-day, numerous party workers who have come forward in different parts of the country, being imbued with the teachings of Comrade Ghosh and overcoming all difficulties, hindrances and adversities to discharge the various responsibilities entrusted to them by the party have longed all the time as to how best they could cultivate the teachings of Comrade Ghosh and how could they identify themselves with the interests of the proletariat, revolution and the party by casting aside their individual interests. They are conscious that unless they can attain the higher standard of proletarian culture and ethics in their lives, it will not be possible for them to merge their individual interest into the interest of the working class, revolution and the party.

At present, in this era of decadent and moribund world capitalism, and especially taking advantage of the absence of the socialist camp, the imperialist-capitalists are passing the total burden of their all-out crisis and globalization on to the poor people. In order to get out of this unbearable condition, the revolutionary movements in the country are to be stepped up and made powerful quickly. But we note with concern that the way in which the influence of utterly reactionary individualism is polluting the whole social life, is creating a major hindrance to developing revolutionary movement. The pernicious influence of consumerism is spreading in such a way even in a country like India that the lure of a luxurious life is pushing even the best sons and daughters of the country away from any noble ideology. It is from the necessity to protect oneself under this condition, that the struggle for merging individual interest into the social interest has become the urgent, essential task in the life of every revolutionary. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to say : No ideology can be translated into

reality just because it is noble and great unless those who strive to translate it into reality, elevate themselves to attain noble and advanced character to become fit for the task.

Comrade Ghosh used to say that in the communist movement in the past, those who considered the interest of the revolution and the party to be principal and precious and the individual interest secondary and subordinated to it, were deemed to be advanced communists. But he showed that in the present era of extreme and vile individualism, that concept is inadequate for the purpose of revolution. He inspired us to conduct our life struggle in such a way that we can unhesitatingly, gladly and unconditionally merge our individual interest into the interest of the proletarian working class, revolution and the party, so that nothing like our individual interest exists beyond the interest of revolution. He also taught us that the leadership of the party should be entrusted only with the leaders who have elevated themselves to this level.

On the other hand, Comrade Ghosh taught us to bring about an integration of ideological unity and organizational unity inside the party – what was termed by Lenin as the fusion between proletarian democracy and centralism. For this, it is necessary to develop a dialectical relationship between the leaders and workers through continuous interaction with exchange of opinions and discussions and talks. So the practice of constant common activity, constant common discussion and constant common association of the leaders and workers will have to be developed on the basis of Marxism, that is dialectical materialist outlook. This is the correct way of developing a dialectical relationship between the leaders and workers, as otherwise the relationship would become mechanical and not dialectical. The comrades have to always keep in mind that in order to develop this dialectical relationship and to make it a habitual practice, they would have to radically remould themselves to attain advanced communist character. For this, it is necessary to conduct cease-less, conscious and intense socialist

movement covering all aspects of daily life, including sex life, even in its minute details. This is a must in order not only to maintain but protect the democratic centralism I have already spoken about. It is my firm belief that realizing the importance of this, you would conduct this struggle ceaselessly.

The structure of a genuine communist party developed on the basis of democratic centralism should be very firm and steel-strong. Unquestionable allegiance to the leadership is needed to keep this unity firm and unimpaired. It may seem to some that unquestionable allegiance means blind allegiance. But Comrade Ghosh showed that such a concept is erroneous. Because, the main problem is how to combat blindness. Blind allegiance to the leadership as well as blind opposition to it are both blindness. One is the reverse outcome of the other. Our party has all along fought against such blindness in international communist movement even. The idea that a leader cannot commit mistakes because he is big and powerful, is wrong because nobody is above mistakes. We have to bear in mind these invaluable teachings.

As you know, our party has increased its strength several times. On the other hand, the election-oriented political parties are diverting and leading astray the mass movements. These include the rightist parties like the Congress and the BJP as well as parties with leftist label, parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI who call themselves communist. Their aim is, on the one hand, to cash in on the accumulated grievances in mass mind to win elections and form governments to gain access to pelf and power, and on the other, to slow down the increasing advance of the genuine communist party, SUCI, as far as they can. What I mean to say is that torments and anguishes of capitalist exploitation are devastating people's life in such a way that broad sections of masses are naturally supporting the mass movements conducted under the leadership of our party in some areas, are being attracted to these and participating in them at some others. Common people, being attracted by the dedication, dutifulness and higher

ethics and culture of our party leaders and workers, are coming closer to our party, despite the vile efforts of other parties to the contrary. Naturally, it has to be admitted that the duties and responsibilities of our leaders and workers have increased many times.

Besides, you all know also that not only in this country but internationally too, wherever it has been possible to reach the advanced thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, many have come to regard Comrade Ghosh to be a front-ranking international communist leader. Naturally, this inspires us in particular. It must be admitted that such opportunities and possibilities did not open up before us in Comrade Ghosh's lifetime. From this point of view, it is clear that we are placed in a favourable situation today. This 'favourable situation' does not mean that people, one and all, have started to come over to our side right now, freeing themselves from the influence of other parties. I do not mean this. What I intend to say is that the present situation is far more favourable to us than it was earlier. But it pains me to observe that we are not being able to properly utilize this favourable situation. A main reason for this is that the ideological movement that should be given the utmost importance in a revolutionary party, is being neglected most. The leaders are busy under the pressure of programmes one after another and are continuously entangled in technical work, involving the workers too in this. In absence of proper co-ordination of ideological movement and mass movement, the ideological struggle is being seriously hampered. This situation has to be changed quickly. Along with this, it should be remembered that our leaders should not only possess informative knowledge or be technically finished, they would have to acquire knowledge in the truest sense of the term. Utmost and all-out importance should be given to the struggle to continuously enrich this knowledge.

Therefore, the entire party should be actively engaged in implementing fully the struggle to revitalize and consolidate the party and its mass organizations with renewed vigour, the call for which

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PLEDGE OF FIFTH AUGUST

Steel yourself with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh thoughts

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has been given by the Central Committee. But in this struggle, the leadership should play the primary role. This programme has to be conducted inside the party as a living movement. For this, the members of the Central Committee and the State Secretaries who are still the victims of stereotyped style of work, would have to free themselves from it at one stroke. Remember, since inception of the party, Comrade Ghosh, with his whole life, built it up as a working class party on our soil on the Leninist model. He said, with particular emphasis that in building up and guiding the party, the leadership, in addition to their other work, must identify the instances of lowering down of adequate revolutionary standard among the leaders and organizers, starting from the highest level and take effective measures against these promptly. For example, the staff members, whether they live in communes, party centres or rented houses, once severed the links with their earlier family lives through a struggle. But it is now seen that some of them, after begetting children during their marriage life, are once more leading a conventional family life. This is happening because they have not been able to free themselves from private property mental complex. Unless they can free themselves from such mentality immediately, the Central Committee would be forced to withdraw their staff membership. Unless they can rectify themselves within a time limit, they cannot retain their staff membership.

The Central Committee has taken a programme for this struggle to remove various defects and shortcomings and has set some definite targets for this. It is to be ascertained how much of this can be fulfilled during the next six months and effective steps are to be taken to achieve the same in practice. After six months, there should be a review to see which among these could not be implemented and why, definitely identifying these through proper scrutiny and incorporating the same into the programmes for the next six months, taking appropriate steps to fulfil them all together. If it is seen that all that were needed could not be correctly fulfilled even within that period, it is to be reviewed

again to see why despite sincere efforts they could not be achieved. After assessing where the gaps and shortfalls are and why, the whole programme should be implemented in totality within the next six months without wasting any time. In this way, within one to one and a half year, the definite programmes set out before you by the Central Committee in the booklet "Carry Forward the Struggle for Revitalization and Consolidation of the Party and its Mass Organizations with Renewed Vigour" are to be effectively implemented in totality.

To maintain continuity with the way in which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh activated the whole party starting from the Central Committee up to the party bodies at the state, district, local and cell levels, we have to identify where the shortfalls are and why. Whether these are shortcomings or deviations, we have to take effective measures to rectify the same immediately. In order to succeed in this, we need to conduct the process of the collective struggle within the party to achieve what we call collective functioning or body functioning. Comrade Ghosh used to say that some leaders can do a lot of work alone, on their own, without lacking initiatives, planning or anything. But while working collectively, the very same leaders often fail to work in the same way. As a result, body functioning is hindered at different levels. So he cautioned them against their practice of thinking and working individually and said that the very mode of existence of our party is collective—collective leadership, collective life, collective work from top to bottom. These constitute the vital life force of our party, and we have to keep it active and living with all our strength.

You know that a fundamental teaching of Marxism is that although both external and internal contradictions are active in bringing about a change in anything, any entity, it is the internal contradiction that acts as the determinant in bringing about a qualitative change. Again, it is seen at times that the external contradiction — for example, the contradiction between the leaders and workers within the Party: in particular cases, the role of leaders brings about a significant change in a worker, even causing a

total turn-around. But remember, for this the leaders need to have sharp intellect, wisdom, calm composure and forbearance. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to say that this is a ceaseless struggle in course of conducting the life struggle of the leaders and workers — with the ideological struggle as its main basis. It is this ideological struggle that is the key to remoulding the ethics, culture, tastes, character — everything of the leaders and workers. This is a struggle without a

break. Drawing analogy, Comrade Ghosh used to say that just as dust collects on a mirror if it is not cleaned daily, and the reflection in the mirror is distorted thereby, similarly dust would collect on the mirrors of our mind whether we want it or not, unless we can conduct this ideological struggle in the correct process ceaselessly. So, this struggle should never be slackened.

Let this be our pledge on the Fifth August this year.



In tune with the globalization, and privatization of Health services Orissa government took decisions to introduce pay clinic system in 11 hospitals including 3 Medical colleges of the State, to collect users' fee for outdoor tickets and to introduce paying bed system. SUCI took out a massive rally to the SCB Medical College & Hospital on 11th July 2005 in protest of these decisions. A protest meeting was held there in the chairmanship of Comrade Binapani Das, member, SUCI, Orissa State Committee ; Comrades Surendra Mallick, Swayangprava Nayak, Biswabasu Das addressed the gathering. After a long discussion with the leaders the authority was compelled to postpone the introduction of pay clinic system



Raj Bhawan March of AIDSO in Patna, Bihar on 23 July, 2005 in support of various demands of teachers and non-teaching employees and in demand of resuming studies in colleges and universities.

CPI(M)-Government conspires against Comrade Prabodh Purkait and others

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total control of the police-administration is crushing democratic movement and wiping out the opposition in a fascist way. People are also aware that in the CPI(M) rule, the custodians of law and order have themselves become the lawbreakers. Under the protection of the CPI(M), so many murderers, dacoits, smugglers, rapists, extortionists, women-traffickers and even arch criminals as per police records are freely and securely moving about donning the robe of 'gentlemen', openly carrying out all sorts of anti-social activities and merrily hobnobbing with the police authorities. At the same time, under the instructions of the CPI(M) leaders, a large number of innocent people and soldiers of democratic movement are serving jail terms in false cases framed with fabricated evidences and fictitious witnesses. "Law will take its own course"— that much trumpeted clamour has often been hassled and compelled to deviate by the conspiracies and impediments set up by ruling class and parties.

It might also be recalled that when on 17th November last year, as a sequel to the overwhelming response to the bandh call given by our party (to protest against the price escalation of petrol-diesel-cooking gas effected by the central government, the raising of power tariff by the state government and other anti-people policies), the whole of West Bengal came to a standstill, the enraged CPI(M) state secretary while addressing a meeting at Baruipur gave a call to wipe out the SUCI from Jaynagar and Kultali in the next elections. Then only we had told that the CPI(M) leadership might forcibly snatch the two assembly seats by killing our leaders and workers, throwing them behind the bars, unleashing a reign of terror and resorting to massive rigging. But nothing will deter the SUCI in pursuing revolutionary politics, nor will all this weaken the democratic movement. The struggle against oppression-repression in all countries in all ages, the struggles for emancipation, the revolutions in Russia, China, Vietnam or Cuba, the revolutionism in our country during the blazing days of freedom struggle were not based on the strength of

MLAs or MPs. All these struggles were mount on the edifice of great revolutionary ideals, higher ethics and morality and organized strength of the masses. Our party is also making bold strides ahead being armed with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thoughts. As a revolutionary party we know that many more of our leaders and workers in the course of their uncompromising revolutionary struggle to uphold people's cause will have to give life, face imprisonment in framed-up cases. Some of them may even be hanged. Yet it will not be possible to dissuade the SUCI from the path of democratic movement and revolutionary struggle.

We have decided to file an appeal in the Supreme Court. Legal battles will also be conducted to release the other convicted and under trial leaders and workers of the party. And above all, we are seeking justice in the people's court, calling upon the toiling masses from all walks of life to raise their voice against this menacing fascist attack by the CPI(M) leadership. Besides, all of you know that we always collect funds from the people for conducting democratic movement, observing with due solemnity the memorial days of the great men of genius, providing relief to the victims of draught-flood-earthquakes and meeting all other necessary expenses to carry out the task of revolution vested with us. No other party goes to the people for funds. They are financed by the capitalists and big business. This time also we are soliciting your maximum patronage to save the life of such a large number of leaders and workers of revolutionary movement. We are confident that the people will extend their co-operation in our endeavour to release these revolutionary soldiers.

With greetings,
Provash Ghosh

Secretary,

West Bengal State Committee

22nd July 2005

SUCI

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Haryana police atrocities

SUCI demands exemplary punishment of the guilty

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, in a statement issued on 26 July last, severely condemned the brutal and indiscriminate lathicharge by the Haryana police on the workers of Honda Motorcycle and Scooters Ltd. who were fighting for realizing most legitimate democratic demands of reinstatement of their retrenched colleagues and higher wages in the light of improved company performance. This incident of bestial police atrocity, said Comrade Mukherjee, that took place at Gurgaon, Haryana on July 25, 2005, once again lays bare the brazen anti-people, anti-working class fascist character of both the Congress led Haryana state government and the UPA government at the Centre supported by the CPI(M).

Comrade Mukherjee demanded a judicial enquiry into the incident, exemplary punishment of the guilty police persons, bearing of all expenses of proper medical treatment of the injured workers by the government, adequate compensation to the injured workers and acceptance of all their legitimate democratic demands including immediate re-instatement of the retrenched workers.

Comrade Mukherjee also called upon to observe July 29 as All India Protest Day against this barbaric police attack on the workers.



Protest demonstration in Rohtak, Haryana (above) and in Calcutta on 26 July against barbaric police atrocities. Similar protests were held all over the country.

SUCCESSFUL HARYANA BANDH

In condemnation of barbaric police atrocities on Honda workers central trade unions observed a successful Gurgaon bandh on July 28, 2005. SUCI and UTUC-LS also observed Haryana bandh on the same issue and date. Police took 50 SUCI and UTUC-LS cadres in custody ; they also arrested a score of others and left them far away from cities. The whole set of events smacks of fascist trend of curbing genuine mass movement.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE