

Proletarian Era

Volume 43 No. 18
May 15, 2010

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

Price : Rs. 2.00

Materialization of the dream of emancipation lies in this Party

— Comrade Provash Ghosh

(Appended is an abridged version of the valuable speech that Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) delivered at the 62nd Party Foundation Day meeting in Calcutta on 24 April, 2010. The responsibility of translation error as well as inadequate representation, if any, solely lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era.)

At the outset, Comrade Provash Ghosh paid glowing tribute to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved former General Secretary who breathed his last on 18 February last after prolonged illness. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, said Comrade Provash Ghosh, was the closest comrade-in-arms and best follower of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Last year also Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, although ailing, delivered a brief but invaluable speech on this day at Salt Lake commune providing guideline to us. On his demise, we have lost all the six revolutionary compatriots who joined Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in his historic struggle to build up SUCI(C) as the genuine communist party on the soil.

Role of undivided CPI during freedom movement

Referring to the crossroads of history in which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh along with his handful of revolutionary compatriots took upon himself the arduous task of building the SUCI(Communist) as the

genuine communist party on the Indian soil based on Leninist principle to respond to the necessity of bringing about real emancipation of the Indian proletariat from all exploitations of man by man, Comrade Provash Ghosh said that in



Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) addressing Party Foundation Day meeting in Calcutta on 24 April

our country, in both renaissance and freedom movements based on bourgeois humanist thoughts and values, there were two distinct trends — compromising and uncompromising. In the cultural field, the compromising trend was represented by Vivekananda-Rabindranath while the uncompromising trend that

Vidyasagar-Saratchandra stood for was of uncompromising secular humanism. Similarly, in the political field, the compromising trend was led by Gandhiji while Netaji Subhas Chandra, Chapekar brothers, Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Asfakullah were embodiments of the uncompromising petty bourgeois revolutionism. At that time, great Stalin had categorically shown that the Indian big bourgeoisie was anti-

broader platform much like Kuo Mintang of China. A golden opportunity unfolded when Netaji Subhas became Congress President by defeating the candidate fielded by the Gandhites. When the Gandhites conspired to remove him from presidentship, Netaji expected the Communist Party of India (undivided CPI) to stand by him. But the CPI did just the opposite. It rallied behind the Gandhites.

revolution. It was striking compromise with the imperial rulers for profit. So the task of the true communists in India was to forge unity with the petty bourgeois revolutionists and provide leadership to the freedom movement. Congress then was not under total control of the Indian bourgeoisie like today. It was a

Afterwards, when Netaji was forced to quit Congress presidentship under pressure of the rightists and called for a left consolidation which, according to him, might have helped growth of a communist party, even then the CPI did not respond. Netaji was not a Marxist but like any other honest patriotic nationalist, he

Contd. on page 2



Huge Rally of workers in Calcutta on May Day

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C) and All India President of the AIUTUC addressing as the main speaker in Calcutta on May Day and a part of the huge gathering.

[Because of paucity of space, details of May day celebration round the country could not be covered in this issue.]

A party must be judged based on base political line, not on number of MLAs or MPs or extent of bourgeois media backing

Contd. from page 1

sincerely considered Soviet Union as a real friend of national liberation struggles and held Marxism in high esteem. Grieved at this conduct of the CPI, he said with regret that the communists of our country did not seem to be in any mood to achieve freedom. Further, he observed that as he understood by reading the works of Marx-Lenin as well as the international documents drafted under the guidance of Stalin, Marxism was in favour of national liberation struggles. Later also, the CPI opposed the Quit India Movement of 1942 and in the name of resisting fascism, helped the British imperialists in preparing for the war. Stalin had severely rebuked the CPI leaders for this. The CPI also called Netaji a quisling, agent of Japan and even consented to the partition of the country, advancing the queer two-nation theory based on religion. It took CPI several years even to understand if India had emerged as an independent state after 1947. Till the time the Soviet Union and China recognized India as an independent country, the CPI leaders could not make that out. In every question the CPI took anti-Marxist stand. With much pain Netaji during the period of freedom struggle remarked that those who talk of Leftism but act like the rightists in reality practise rank opportunism. He regretted that a noble, great ideology like communism could not make a niche in India because the strategy and tactics of those known as communists was such as to repel others instead of attracting them. It was not possible for Netaji to understand further as he did not cultivate Marxism, observed Comrade Provash Ghosh.

Continuing further Comrade Provash Ghosh said that ten years after this valuable remark of Netaji, SUCI (C) was founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in recognition of a historic necessity, which Comrade Manik Mukherjee in his presidential address had stated. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh noted with deep anguish, pointed out Comrade Provash Ghosh, that in the absence of a genuine revolutionary party, the fruits of the glorious freedom movement, abounding in priceless sacrifices and courageous struggle of innumerable martyrs and freedom fighters, were being usurped by the Indian bourgeois class to be saddled

in the state power. In course of his penetrating analysis, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had established that despite honesty, sincerity and pedantry of many of its leaders as well as backing of the international communist leadership, the CPI could not arrive at any correct formulation or take any correct decision because the party did not grow as a revolutionary party of the working class having failed to grasp correct Marxist outlook, methodology and approach. So he engaged himself in building a genuine communist party on the soil.

CPI(M) also did not grow as communist party

Comrade Provash Ghosh pointed out that when the CPI (M) was formed following a split in the undivided CPI in 1964, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that it also carried the same non-Marxist approach, tradition, methodology and line of the old party which its leaders branded as revisionist, be it in characterization of the Indian state or in deducing the stage of revolution or the class alignment of the revolutionary forces. So, he concluded that the CPI(M) would also, therefore, meet with the same fate. While the undivided party named Indian revolution as 'National Democratic Revolution' with the national bourgeoisie as an ally, the CPI(M) preferred to term it as 'People's Democratic Revolution' with national bourgeoisie and rich peasants i.e. rural kulaks, as partners of revolution. However, it characterized the Indian state as a "bourgeois landlord state headed by big bourgeoisie". Who is this big bourgeoisie other than the monopolists? As taught by Lenin, it is the national bourgeoisie who in course of development acquires the character of monopolists. So if the state is headed by these monopolists, then the task of proletarian revolution is to overthrow these monopoly capitalists from state power as Lenin explained in his celebrated *April Thesis* that the question of determining the stage of revolution depends on the correct characterization of the class which controls the state power. Who are the landlords in India today? Are they the old feudal lords or the rural bourgeoisie? CPI(M) has not furnished any explanation of that.

Yet, the CPI (M) held that the stage of revolution is People's Democratic and so the national bourgeoisie would be an ally of revolution as was the case with pre-revolution semi-feudal semi-colonial China. This has been a bizarre formulation completely divorced from reality. The Indian national bourgeoisie has already acquired imperialist character by giving birth to finance capital, exporting capital abroad, acquiring foreign firms, entering into joint ventures and is pursuing an expansionist policy that the neighbouring countries are so frightened of. Still the CPI(M) is persisting with the slogan of People's Democratic Revolution. Those who should be characterized as the principal enemy of the Indian people in revolution are being categorized as allies of revolution. The fallout is glaring. Earlier it was a theoretical flaw. Now it has become an enabler in securing gains in opportunist bourgeois power politics. Once, the CPI(M) leaders characterized Nehru as progressive and Sardar Patel as reactionary. Subsequently, they held Indira Gandhi as progressive and Morarji Desai as reactionary. They once formed alliance with the Congress in the name of fighting communalism and then in a volte-face hobbled with the BJP on the pretext of combating authoritarianism. The CPI(M) leaders justify this very politics of moving with some kind of understanding with this or that bourgeois outfit before their rank and file based on the so-called theory of People's Democratic Revolution that stipulates national bourgeoisie as an ally. It is now exposed that the very theory is nothing but a formulation of vote politics mounted on rank opportunism. In fact, the CPI(M) leaders now do not think of anything but election. To them, the people are nothing but voters. All their activities, policy of showering promises or appeasing the minorities on the eve of polls are aimed at brightening election prospects, just like the Congress or BJP. Of late, the CPI(M) leaders in West Bengal are talking of purification of their party. It is nothing but playing to the gallery before the elections. While the multi-point agenda of purification is released for public consumption, clandestinely they are advising their rank in closed door

meetings: Do not feel shaky or be perplexed but wait patiently for a while. Even if Trinamool Congress (TMC) comes to power, it would not last long because of its internal squabbles. The Congress would also bring down the TMC government. Both are engaged in the pulling down of each other. And though our understanding with the Congress at present is a bit enfeebled, it is again in the process of being strengthened. So, there is no guarantee if TMC would survive a full term in the government. Even if that be so, we shall return to power after five years. This, Comrade Provash Ghosh remarked, is the essence of their purification scheme. Everything is oriented towards election, electoral speculations and bourgeois power politics.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had understood long back that this would be the fate of the CPI(M). Time and again, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh urged the people to be duly aware of the danger of blind cult of any party or parties as blindness has caused enormous damage to the country right from the days of freedom movement as history will vouch for. It is a fact that persistent efforts of the SUCI(C) notwithstanding, people at large were found to have a blind faith in the CPI(M) as they could not be freed from the illusion they possessed about the CPI(M) presuming it to be a communist party. Further, this was also fuelled by another factor. In absence of a parallel propaganda mechanism of the real revolutionary forces, orchestrated publicity of the powerful bourgeois media does influence people's mind to a great extent and so parties serving bourgeois class interest including the pseudo-Marxists are pointedly projected as favourable alternatives. Moreover, the necessary political consciousness which confers the power of independent judgement of right or wrong, correct or incorrect has also not developed through the process of struggle. All these factors contributed towards the blind support the CPI(M) enjoyed till the other day, observed Comrade Provash Ghosh. Now the same people from their experience are not only enraged with but severely opposed to the CPI(M), particularly in West Bengal. Though this opposition to the CPI(M) is

Contd. on page 3

Both revisionism-reformism of the CPI(M), CPI and left adventurism of 'Maoists' harming growth of democratic movement

Contd. from page 2

absolutely justified, blindness in any form is fraught with danger which suffering people must be extremely cautious about. They must develop adequate political consciousness, urged Comrade Provash Ghosh.

Judged from class angle, there are only two camps

Comrade Provash Ghosh went on saying that there are many parties with different hues. But in this class divided society, only two camps exist in reality. One camp comprising all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties serves the class interest of the ruling bourgeoisie under the garb of 'national interest', 'people's welfare', 'schemes of development' etc. whereas the other camp represented by the SUCI(C) is upholding the cause of the oppressed people by holding aloft the banner of anti-capitalist socialist revolution pending which there can not be eradication of the fundamental problems of life. So while the various parties including the pseudo-Marxists, like the CPI(M), are vying with each other as to who could serve the ruling class best and thereby enjoy pelf and power, the SUCI(C) founded, reared and steered by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is a revolutionary party of struggle, unflinching in its resolve to accomplish the task of overthrowing the exploitative bourgeoisie from state power by revolution. These are the two opposite class politics that need to be clearly understood. Otherwise, if selection of the party is based on the number of MLAs or MPs it has or the extent of backing of the bourgeois media it enjoys, then the people will continue to be deceived. SUCI(C) is not opposed to the CPI(M) because the latter is in power and it is not. Had SUCI(C) hankered for ministership or enlarged representation in the legislature, it could have been with the CPI(M). The CPI(M) leaders had several times approached SUCI(C) for that. But SUCI(C) refused. Because, the CPI(M) has spurned the path of movement, even whatever little it had traversed in that direction upto mid-sixties and is fully devoted to serve the big monopolies and multinationals. Wherever in power, it is ruthlessly crushing the democratic mass movements, has its hands stained with the blood of the workers-

peasants. Can these acts be called Leftism by any stretch of imagination, asked Comrade Provash Ghosh?

'Maoists' are acting against Mao Zedong Thought

As a reaction to this revisionist-reformist politics of the CPI(M), observed Comrade Provash Ghosh, the Naxalbari movement had originated in the late 1960s and so has erupted the 'Maoist' movement today. In the language of Lenin, these are examples of leftwing adventure, an infantile disorder. According to his teachings, revisionism and ultra-leftism are like twin brothers—one entails the other. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that when the leadership of the party in pursuance of revisionist line gets entangled in parliamentary politics, a section of the rank and file which has an aspiration for revolution but on whom has not dawned the correct Marxist understanding of scientific process of development of revolutionary movement becomes impatient and embraces adventurist line causing immense harm to democratic movement and revolution. It is true that some belonging to this section are honest and have emotion for revolution. But it is also a fact that those who call themselves 'Maoist' today do not carry that fervour of the erstwhile Naxalites.

Making a fervent appeal to the 'Maoists' to seriously ponder over certain extremely important questions, Comrade Provash Ghosh asked if there is anything known as Maoism. It was renegade Lin Biao who after usurping power in his hand wrongfully coined the term 'Maoism' during the Ninth Congress of the CPC. Mao Zedong, a great revolutionary and outstanding Marxist thinker, did never consent to this wrong formulation. After ouster of Lin Biao, he himself corrected the position in the Tenth Congress of the CPC by declaring that "...the world situation has undergone great changes, but the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated, they remain the theoretical bases guiding our thinking today." It is known that great Marx applied dialectical materialism in the stage of free competition of capitalism, i.e. the pre-monopoly pre-imperialist stage. But great Lenin

applied Marxism in a new stage of capitalism i.e. the stage of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, developed the Marxist science in all aspects and brought its understanding to a new height. That is why, great Stalin defined Leninism as the Marxism of the era of imperialism, moribund capitalism and proletarian revolution, pointed out Comrade Provash Ghosh.

Continuing, Comrade Provash Ghosh said that within the overall ambit of Leninism, Stalin, Mao and Shibdas Ghosh had developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism. Emphasizing on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, Mao Zedong had said that before initiating the final battle for revolutionary upsurge, the oppressed people must be brought to the side of revolution by way of conducting painstaking ideological struggle. Revolution would not come by just inciting some youths and handing over arms to them. Mao also stated that revolution can not be brought about by blindly copying the examples of other countries. He himself did not blindly copy the Russian model. On the contrary, he concretely applied Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Stalin in the concrete situation of China and in the process enriched Marxism-Leninism further. This is what we call Mao Zedong Thought. Mao categorically showed that the whole of China was never brought under the military-administrative control of any one single imperialist power either and its different parts were under the control of different imperialist powers while the peasantry was groaning under severe feudal oppression and exploitation by the feudal landlords and warlords. It was a semi-feudal semi-colonial country with localized, self-sufficient agricultural economy instead of a unified national economy and had a decentralized administration. The warlords backed by various imperialist powers were engaged in wars and conflicts against each other. So he adopted a guerrilla strategy concretized in the form of encircling the cities from the villages by creating one after another liberated red political bases. Explaining why the 'red political' bases created in rural areas through guerilla tactics in semi-feudal, semi-colonial China, could succeed, Mao Zedong explained that it could exist

and develop only under the conditions of a localized agricultural economy (not a unified capitalist economy) and decentralized administration. He repeatedly stressed that Red bases could neither be developed nor sustained without mass support. The people, imbued with revolutionary ideal, stood by the communists. He never went for isolated individual assassinations. He also said that had there been scope for democratic movements and existence of a bourgeois parliament, then as per Lenin's teachings, he might have to take part in them. Contrasted to such peculiarity obtaining in pre-revolution China, the Indian bourgeois state has a well-knit centralized administration, advanced communication system, a well-equipped modern army with sophisticated weaponry and a centralized national market. It is obvious that it is not possible to combat this army and state machine following the Chinese strategy of creating red bases.

So the task here, according to Leninist teachings, is to exhaust all fora and forms of parliamentary democracy and free people from parliamentary illusions, build up on the edifice of higher culture and ethics waves of democratic movement conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution, on legitimate demands of the people, and in the process evolve the instruments of people's alternative political power like the Soviets in Russian revolution, isolate from the people all variants of social democratic forces working as a compromise between labour and capital to thwart growth of revolutionary struggle and thereby firmly establish the ideological-organizational leadership of the real revolutionary party of the proletariat over the masses. It is in this sense that the present Indian context is the phase of intense democratic mass movement which in its cumulative effect creates the necessary ground and conditions favourable for final overthrow of capitalism. Like Russian revolution, Indian revolution will be based on the cities and industrial belts while the villages will form the rear end.

As against this, the 'Maoists' by resorting to sporadic violence and individual terrorism including

Contd. on page 6

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya addresses Party Foundation Day meeting in Assam

The Assam State Committee of SUCI(Communist) held the 62nd foundation anniversary of our party with a central meeting on 29 April at Laxmiram Barua Sadan Hall, Guwahati, chaired by Comrade Bhupendranath Kakati, Assam State Committee member. In his address as the main speaker of the meeting, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member, Politbureau said : We are observing the party foundation anniversary this time in absence of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the recently departed worthy comrade-in-arms of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party. For thirty three years as the General Secretary, the way Comrade Mukherjee preserving the kernel of the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist thinker, widened the party organisation throughout the country and spread out his great thoughts over the international arena — at his death we vowed to continue this revolutionary current without relent. Today, in this meeting of party foundation, we will take the same pledge anew.

On international situation he said : The world capitalism-imperialism, headed by the US imperialism, are bogged down into an ever unforeseen great recession, even fiercer than the great depression of the 1930s, which is creating obstacles to all avenues of livelihood of common people. At the outset of this relentless recession they brought in the theory of globalization. With the sugar-coated slogan of this globalization, the capitalists- imperialists are not only bringing down monstrous economic exploitation on millions upon millions of common people, they are also trampling all hard-earned democratic rights of people and trade union rights of workers. The US imperialism arrogantly claimed that socialism-communism had come to an end. They invaded Iraq and Afghanistan to send the message to the entire world to surrender to them or perish. But now the same US imperialism is forced to retreat in the face of worldwide workers' movement; people of the USA itself are coming out in movements. Under this pressure and facing the liberation struggle of the people of Iraq and Afghanistan, they are compelled to think of withdrawing their army from these two countries.

In spite of raising war cry against Iran and socialist North Korea on the allegation of their making nuclear weapons, the US imperialists are not daring to attack them. Not only in Cuba, in all countries of Latin America people are raising their thunderous voice against the US imperialism. Following Venezuela, the puppet regimes of imperialists in different countries are being rejected by their people. Opposition in Arab countries against the US support to Israel, is becoming more acute. On the other hand, contradictions within the world capitalism- imperialism are sharpening, with the US imperialism and the European Union having been engaged in bitter struggle of capturing market. So the reality while people in all capitalist-imperialist countries are dying like cats and dogs because of the intense economic crisis of world capitalism-imperialism, on one hand, it is also a fact that the resistance movement against oppressors is sharpening all over the world.

Regarding national situation, Comrade Bhattacharyya elaborated saying : Our country has no dearth of capital which is lying idle or seeking ways to be invested in other countries. It also has huge natural mineral wealth, overwhelming workers' strength, intellect with expert technological knowledge; yet there is no industrialization, existing factories are closing down in hundreds and thousands, countless unemployed are overflowing villages, towns and cities. Under pressure of poverty and debt, poor peasants are thronging towns for livelihood, selling out their land and dwellings, but to no avail. This crisis has brought more than seventy per cent people below poverty line. But unimaginable crisis is not only there in the economy, it has engulfed cultural life of people. Unbearable poverty is driving parents to kill their children only to commit suicide, fathers are pushing their daughters into flesh trade for livelihood; crimes of all sorts are continuously increasing; at the cost of love, affection, sympathy, the beautiful human relations are turning into money-based give-and-take relations . The capitalist system of the country is perpetrating this all-out crisis.

In such a situation, not only the branded bourgeois parties, even the

parties like the CPI(M), CPI who claim to be communists, let alone organising movements against capitalist exploitation, are not uttering a word against it. In their frenzy of parliamentary politics, they are building up alliances sometimes with Congress, at others with regional, casteist hated bourgeois parties like Telugu Desham Party of Chandra Babu Naidu, Joylaltha of Tamil Nadu, Lalu Jadav of Bihar or Mayawati of UP and the likes. In spite of their uttering of words against price rise in the interest of vote-catching,



Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

hoarding, black-marketing and profiteering are going on unabated in the states ruled by them. They are carrying on their politics and trying to rise to power with the patronage of these evil forces. Long back, our beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that just as in economy, wealth is getting concentrated in the hands of a handful of capitalists, and millions of exploited, oppressed people are sliding towards death, in the political arena too, existence of these two camps or sides are becoming clear with each passing day. Whatever be the signboard, all these political parties serving capitalism make one side; on the other there is the SUCI (Communist), the ever-alert sentinel of people's emancipation, determined to overthrow capitalism and establish a society without exploitation. In fact, SUCI (C) is the only party which is engaged in building up revolutionary mass upsurge uniting exploited oppressed people against the capitalist class, against the capitalist state. Quite opposed to this, all other political parties are practising the nasty politics of concealing the truth that the capitalist class is the main enemy.

During the days preceding the

foundation of our party, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the founder General Secretary of the party showed in his analysis of the anti-British imperialist freedom movement of the country that there were two mutually opposite class urges that had been working in the freedom movement. The Indian national bourgeoisie wanted to establish their absolute domination on the economic market of India by removing the British imperialists from power. The entire toiling people of the country, on the other hand, wanted emancipation from all kinds of exploitation. Taking advantage of the lack of political consciousness of people, the Indian national bourgeoisie usurped the credit of people's sacrifice in the movement to get to the power. He therefore strongly asserted that so long as this capitalist class will remain in power, the plight of people will go on increasing. It could not be otherwise. The present reality confirms this. The Leninist teaching was that the revolutionary leadership of the proletarian class must be established in the struggle for emancipation of a country against colonial or imperialist exploitation there. At that time there was one single party bearing the name of Communist Party of India (CPI), out of which later came out CPM, and the different Naxalite groups of today. They claimed themselves as Marxists, but failed completely to carry out this historic role on the basis of Leninist teaching. During those days of freedom struggle, it dawned upon many that the way political power is being transferred through compromise would not bring relief to poorer people. Unable to get at the root of this, the then undivided CPI totally failed and all their breakaway parties still fail, to realize that the power was vested with a handful of national bourgeoisie, the Indian capitalists. Had they correctly conducted the struggle, following the Leninist teaching, to establish revolutionary working class leadership over the anti-British imperialist freedom struggle equipping people with class-consciousness, we would not have to face the situation, we are now in. Had they followed the Leninist guideline, here in India, as it were in China, we would have

Contd. on page 5

Divisive forces dissuading people from path of movement

Contd. from page 4

been able to free ourselves from the exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie of the country all at the same time. The main reason of this failure was that the CPI, though communist by name, could never grow into a genuine communist party.

Comrade Bhattacharyya said that subsequently the CPI was divided into CPM and the Naxalites. The latter again were divided into so many groups. One of these groups is now known as the 'Maoists'. Though they claim themselves as the 'Maoists', we do not find at all any kind of compatibility in their thinking or activities with Mao Zedong's thoughts and teachings; rather there is contradiction between the two. But it is also a reality that at places in the forest areas of the country they are building up armed struggle on the tremendous resentment among the tribals, who at the end of these 63 years of capitalist rule and exploitation definitely remain oppressed among the oppressed. In our judgement their movements should have been directed towards the goal of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. But as our party is yet to develop organisational strength in those areas and there has not developed any powerful mass movement to this end in those areas, the 'Maoists' have waged their armed struggle organizing the oppressed resentful tribals. They term their movement now as mass movements and then as fight to seizure of power. We are not sure how far these ideas are clear to the tribals; we do not think they are.

Lenin often pointed out that the main question of revolution is to capture the state power. Explaining it further Stalin, one of the fore-ranking followers of Lenin and a great communist teacher, said key to the success of revolution lies in correctly determining which class is in state power, which class is to be overthrown and which class, making alliance with which other classes, will organize revolutionary movements to capture state power. Judging the Indian situation in line with this fundamental lesson we find that the capitalist class is in state power, that capitalist exploitation is dragging people in abject poverty. But the so-called communist parties like the CPI(M), CPI, in spite of their clamouring against capitalism in

speeches, are propounding a theory on the class character of the state in which capitalists are designated as allies, not to speak of holding them as the enemy. And what is the stand of the 'Maoists' on this crucial point? While opposing the nasty politics of CPI(M) devoid of any ideology and claiming themselves as correct, they too, like the CPI(M), CPI are dishing out the theory of People's Democratic Revolution, copying the theory on stage of Chinese revolution. By their theory feudalism and imperialism are the main enemies and accepting that, the Indian state is to be taken as semi-feudal, semi-colonial. Where is imperialism ruling in India? Whatever imperialist exploitation is there in the economy, it is perpetrated indirectly by finance capital, which acts in different countries of the world. Is there any feudal exploitation to be found anywhere in the country? In the rural economy, rich peasants are exploiting poor peasants; they are giving the minimal wages to agricultural labours, and are turning the agricultural produce into commodities of international market, transgressing the limits of the national market. All these are symptoms of capitalism. So it is clear as daylight that the struggle by those claiming as Maoists are really a fight against imaginary enemy, shielding the capitalist class in power. The capitalists from their seat of power are happily smiling over this theory that shields them. They want that youth with revolutionary fervour are spent up in this fight against an imaginary enemy. So, the entire print and propaganda media run on the patronage of the class, are not hesitating to give excessive propaganda of the activities of these Maoists. Great Mao Zedong, following Lenin's teachings wished to highlight exactly this point, when he said that if you want to make revolution a success, you must have a correct base political line. He also added that in this regard, the fundamental point is to correctly determine which class is in power. Unless this is correct, you cannot achieve victory, whatever sacrifice you may have made in the process. Because, by your act instead of organizing people against the main enemy, you will exhaust people's power using it incorrectly against an imaginary enemy. See, claiming themselves as Maoists, how they are going against these teachings of Mao

Zedong. Without marking capitalism as the enemy, which is grinding people, they are pitting people against the imaginary enemy of feudalism and imperialism and that way they are really exhausting the fighting power of people. We hold that revolution moves towards victorious end through mass upsurges of oppressed people. The state power may crush at any moment any adventurist attempt that avoids this correct path. The adventurist politics of the Maoists is drawing this devastating inevitability nearer. They are misguided and our main concern lies in that their activities will unnecessarily destroy people's fighting power. We do not have enmity with them. Their activists are laying their lives from their patriotism; that patriotism of theirs, their urge for revolution are recognized by everybody. Regarding this question let me mention an incident from history. Alexander, brother of great Lenin, sacrificed his life in a similar movement — Narodnik movement which was basically a movement hinging on individual assassination. Deeply shocked at the death of his revolutionary brother Lenin said, Narodnik movement was wrong. It was a politics of individual assassination. Howsoever shocking may be the deaths, they would not advance revolution. Not only Lenin, Mao Zedong too never supported politics of individual assassination. Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized on giving birth to correct ideology among the masses on the basis of correct political line and said that on the people's power thus developing depended the success of revolution. Taking up arms without this, did not and does not ensure revolution. Around 12,000 Ulfa activists laid down lives in Assam fighting with military; that did not bring about even any minimum changes in people's life in the state. Rather frustration has pervaded people. Like the earlier Naxalite movement, Maoist movement, too, will give birth to frustration. It will make it more difficult to build up anti-capitalist socialist revolution. From this angle, the 'Maoist' movement ultimately will strengthen capitalism. We appeal to people to be free from the influence of this movement.

Comrade Bhattacharyya further mentioned that while explaining the outcome of the independence struggle of India, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that today the

capitalist class must be overthrown from the state power at the stroke of revolution, organizing people on the strength of new ideology and making them class conscious. And to do that, they must be freed from the illusion of election of the bourgeoisie. In the last 62 years there have been so many elections, governments have changed at the Centre and in the states; also have changed the members of the Parliament and the state Assemblies. But the intensity of capitalist exploitation has not been minimized even by a bit. The more there are elections, the more there are exploitation and oppression. In reality, all the elections have strengthened the hands of capitalists. These have become a farce today. Capitalists are manoeuvring election results at will by means of money power, mafia engaged by them and media controlled by them. They have reduced elections into a heinous exercise through disuniting people by spreading casteist, communalist and separatist mentality among them and thereby, by diverting their attention from the main problem. So this kind of election can not bring any change in people's life. So at the time of founding the party in 1948, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh drew attention to the fact that for revolution people must be freed from the illusion of election. He provided the guideline that by organizing one movement after another on the burning problems of people's life, this idea must be generated in people that not through elections, but at the stroke of revolution the exploitative system of capitalism must be uprooted.

Another serious obstacle that stands in the way of revolution is the increasing influence of divisive mentality among people. To frustrate the freedom movement the British imperialists planned to divide people on race-religion-language and caste. Particularly, they pushed the two main communities of people, the Hindus and the Muslims into communal clashes. Today, like the British rulers, the ruling Indian capitalist class is following the divide and rule policy. They are aware that if people could identify capitalism as their main enemy and build up united struggle against it, the rulers cannot persist in power. In its wake, it will bring revolution in a short time. So

Contd. on page 8

SUCI(C) will continue organizing people's movements no matter who is in the government

Contd. from page 3

individual assassination, are pursuing not Mao Zedong Thought but the Debray theory which, in essence, virtually negates the indispensable necessity of conducting painstaking ideological-political struggles and development of people's revolutionary political power, as if a sporadic spark would automatically turn into a fire. The ruling class is euphoric at this distortion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought which is enabling it to undermine revolution, malign great revolutionary authorities like Lenin and Mao Zedong and distort their thoughts and thus push away the people from revolutionary ideology. On the other hand, some emotional youths nurturing revolutionary fervour who could otherwise be turned into formidable revolutionary force under correct revolutionary leadership and guidance would get carried by the bourgeois publicity and align themselves with the wrong line. While some of them would lose their life prematurely in this adventurism or what Mao Zedong called "putschism", those surviving would suffer from frustration. Many of them in pursuit of security would either land in the lap of the reactionaries or embrace bourgeois careerism. Exactly this was the case with the Naxalite movement earlier. So the bourgeois class is giving them wide media publicity. Did anybody see the bourgeois media giving any publicity to the revolutionary struggles of Russia, China or Vietnam?

The activities of the 'Maoists' are providing a handle to the bourgeois administration to array, in the name of containing terrorism and insurgency, its entire arsenal to muffle the voice of protest, harassing and torturing people, enforcing stringent measures to suppress any sprouting of people's movement and bringing out draconian laws to further curb political and fundamental rights of the people and thereby wipe out even the last and least vestiges of democracy paving the way for clamping autocratic fascist rule. Lalgarh is a glaring example. Drawing inspiration from the Singur-Nandigram movements, the oppressed tribals here launched a democratic movement on certain specific demands and against police

atrocities by forming people's committee. We were also a party to this legitimate struggle. Despite resorting to all repressive measures, the CPI(M) government could not suppress the movement which was going from strength to strength. Suddenly, amidst the ongoing talks between the people's committee leaders and the state government which, according to the government itself was progressing satisfactorily, an understanding was arrived at by both the central and the state government and this people's movement was branded as "Maoist". Prior to that, there was not even an inkling of 'Maoist' link with this movement. Overnight, some of the 'Maoists' who by their own admission had carried out action on behalf of the CPI(M) against the Trinamool Congress in Keshpur in West Midnapur district against hefty payment, were encouraged to embark on some stray actions. Some CPI(M) activists also masqueraded as 'Maoists' and took the field. Since then, the beastly savagery of the joint forces of the Centre and the state began to rave wild on the hapless tribals. The ruling class understood that if Lalgarh movement met with success like Singur-Nandigram, it would have wider ramifications. The tribals throughout India would not allow the capitalists, both native and foreign, to plunder the natural wealth of the forest areas. So has been necessitated this brutal 'Green Hunt' and other lethal operations in Lalgarh and adjacent forest lands. The fact is that instead of creation of liberated zones of the Maoists, liberated zones of the CPI(M) armed forces are coming into being.

Our request to the 'Maoists' is to take into reckoning what immense harm they are causing to people's cause. The Naxalite movement in the past caused similar harm to the peasants' democratic movement. Could the Naxalite create a single liberated zone? Is it possible to do so? Is it possible to create this after organizing some land mine explosions, scattered firing or sporadic killings and then run away from the scenes? But it entails severe oppression and repression on the unconscious unorganized poor people who are in the process scared away from real democratic movement let alone revolution. SUCI(C) is, however,

confident that notwithstanding this temporary harm, people of Lalgarh will rise again on the path of genuine movement, Comrade Provash Ghosh asserted.

SUCI(C)-TMC unity was to save democratic movement

Referring to the question of forging unity with the Trinamool Congress, Comrade Provash Ghosh said that since 1977, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Leftism, we have been launching one after another movement in West Bengal against the anti-people policies of both the central and the state government and succeeded in achieving some of the demands including reintroduction of English at primary school level, reduction of hospital charges and education fees, securing subsidy for electricity, etc. After Trinamool Congress (TMC) was formed in 1999 by way of a split in the Congress, we were advised by many to form an alliance with them so that we could increase the number of our MLAs and MPs and get media publicity. But to a revolutionary party number of MLAs or MPs is never any consideration. Question of unity arises only when there is a need from the perspective of development of joint movement on definite programme. So the unity question was not in our consideration at that time. We continued our movement on the Marxist line, while TMC as a Gandhite party conducted movements in its own way. Both went side by side. A unity of the TMC-SUCI(C) developed at the grassroots level first in Singur and then in Nandigram. In both the places, SUCI(C) initiated the movements. TMC having larger following in the said places wanted to join the movements which the SUCI(C) accepted with a view to unite all sections of the toiling masses on the platform of struggle. In the process, as per the suggestion of the SUCI(C), the Singur Krishi Jami Raksha Committee (Singur Committee to protect agricultural land) and the 'Bhumi Uchhed Protirodh Committee' (Committee for resisting eviction from land) in Nandigram were formed to spearhead the movements. This gave impetus to the movements. It is considered by all in West Bengal that the movements were well-organized and sustained because of

the crucial role played by the SUCI(C). But when the CPI(M) unleashed diabolic fascist attack in Nandigram in November 2007 by immobilizing administration and getting mercenary killers assembled from outside to undertake indiscriminate murder, mass rape, torture, loot and arson, including the torching of houses on an unprecedented scale, it posed a serious danger before the democratic movement. It became evident that the CPI(M) leadership in its bid to serve the national and foreign monopolists was out to brutally crush democratic movements by diabolic fascist means and SUCI(C) alone would not be able to resist it. Hence, there was a necessity to unite all left parties as well as the TMC against this fascist onslaught of the CPI(M). The RSP, Forward Bloc and Naxalites refused to join hands with the SUCI(C). But TMC responded favourably. Based on three conditions, viz. building struggles against anti-people policies of the central and state governments, no attack on Marxism-Leninism-Leftism and maintenance of equidistance from both the Congress and the BJP, SUCI(C)-TMC unity was extended at state level. In a joint press conference held in the SUCI(C) Party office, the two parties jointly declared this unity and adherence to the aforesaid three conditions. While the fighting people of the state wholeheartedly welcomed this SUCI(C)-TMC unity, it struck terror among the capitalist class as this was destined to add momentum to democratic mass movement. Hence there has been a persistent attempt on the part of the vested interest to break this unity.

SUCI(C) to continue movement against both Congress and CPI (M)

Later, due to exigency of parliamentary politics and under pressure of bourgeois media, TMC decided to enter into a seat adjustment with the Congress in the parliamentary elections. SUCI(C) opposed this decision and tried to convince the TMC leadership that people of West Bengal want neither CPI(M) nor Congress. Congress even supported the CPI(M) during Singur-Nandigram movement. But the TMC leadership could not keep

Contd. on page 7

Ensconced in SUCI(C) is the seed of revolution

Contd. from page 6

confidence in that advice. SUCI(C) fought both the CPI(M) and Congress in the hustings. After elections, SUCI(C) opposed TMC's decision to join UPA cabinet. The SUCI(C) MP has been sitting in the opposition in Parliament. Whatever little movement TMC was conducting earlier against the Centre is no more there after TMC joined the central government. But SUCI(C) is continuing to conduct movements against the Centre. SUCI(C) is not in agreement with TMC on many issues, for instance the Lalgarh movement. TMC did not support the general strikes and hartals that SUCI(C) had called on some burning problems of people's life. SUCI(C)-led movements on various people's issues are going on. SUCI(C) is fighting both the Congress and the CPI (M). TMC will decide what it would do. There is a suffocating situation in the state because of the oppressive rule of the CPI(M). Rampant corruption, threat, intimidation, nepotism, extortion, promotion of cultural degradation are galore. Democratic movements are being fascistically and ruthlessly crushed, opposition parties are being brutally attacked and repressed. So, there has to be an end to this oppressive regime of the CPI (M). In that sense, there is need for a change in the interest of democratic movement. It is clear that no fundamental change can be brought about by a change in the government. A fundamental change can be brought about only by changing this capitalist system through revolution. But the TMC, if it forms the government and so wants, can provide some relief to the people by curbing corruption, bring some relative neutrality in the approach of the police-administration, and so forth. There will be pressure on it from the ruling class in this capitalist system, pressure from the central government too. Because in a class-divided society, whoever ascends to governmental power has to decide whether it would serve the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. If it serves the proletariat, it will invariably come in conflict with the ruling bourgeoisie and the capitalist state, and the very existence of its government would be under threat. TMC, as a bourgeois parliamentary party can not go against the class interest of the ruling capitalist class. So, even if TMC is saddled in the

government, SUCI (C) will continue to carry out democratic movements on the burning issues of people's life, on the pressing problems of the workers and peasants. It may be recalled that even when SUCI (C) was a partner in the United Front governments of West Bengal in 1967 and 1969, it had continued organizing democratic movements, class and mass struggles. It is known that in the name of maintaining 'law and order', the police-administration will go on mounting attacks on movements. But the people expect that there would be no repetition of the fascist savagery that raved wild in Singur-Nandigram. SUCI(C)'s politics is absolutely open and transparent. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has not taught SUCI(C) leaders and cadres to indulge in falsehood or doublespeak or pander to incongruence between words and deed, observed Comrade Provash Ghosh.

Supremacy of Socialism

He continued to show that moribund decadent capitalism throughout the world is mired in acute insoluble market crisis endemic of the system. India is no exception to that. The entire burden of that crisis is being squarely passed on to the people making their life yet more nightmarish with every passing day. Apologists of the capitalist system including the leaders of vote-based political parties like the Congress, BJP, CPI (M) and others often talk of development. Whose development they mean? Whose prosperity they are boasting of? 80 crore people out of a total population of 110 crore are living below poverty line. Millions are a picture of misery and pain. There is massive exodus of the poor villagers to the cities, hundreds of thousands of peasants committing suicide, millions of workers are thrown out of job, unemployment is mounting, women are being forced into flesh trade, women and child trafficking is soaring, sky-rocketing of prices coupled with steady fall in the income is devastating the common man. Is this the spectacle of development, asked Comrade Provash Ghosh. Real prosperity, he added, is for the capitalists, black marketeers, hoarders, smugglers, price manipulators and unscrupulous businessmen sucking blood of the poor, trading in the hunger of the millions.

Contrasted to this horrific picture, socialism was free from

these crises. The Soviet Union had shown the supremacy of socialism. Prices were coming down. Unemployment, prostitution, beggary became things of the past. There was free and proper healthcare and education for all. Had not the socialism fallen because of revisionist clique aided and abetted by the world imperialism-capitalism, the world would have seen onward march of this new civilization. It was impossible to destroy socialism so long as Lenin and Stalin were alive. But there is nothing to be frustrated. It is the lesson of history that hundreds of years are taken for achieving final victory of any new ideology or social system over the outmoded, outdated prevailing social order and ideology. It had taken thousands of years to abolish the slave system, thousands of years for religious movements to score victory, over three hundred and fifty years for bourgeois democracy to defeat feudal monarchial society. Each one had to face defeats after defeats before achieving final victory. However, each of the social orders that came by this process merely replaced one form of exploitation by another. But socialism had to fight against thousands of years of class exploitation i.e. slave society, feudalism and capitalism. Compared to those orders, the history of socialism was merely of 80 years. Socialism might have suffered a setback but it will be back again following the inexorable course of social development. Already, there is revival of genuine communist movements in both Russia and China.

Citing the example of dismantling of the socialist camp as well as the flawed activities of the CPI (M), CPI and the Naxalites, the Maoists, a group of people calling themselves intellectuals, Comrade Provash Ghosh pointed out, is spreading canard against Marxism-Leninism. All great men of India like Netaji, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Premchand, Subramania Bharati, Kazi Nazrul or Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, Einstein from the Western world were great admirers of socialism, considered Marxism a great ideology although they had differences with Marxist philosophy. Rabindranath was deeply moved when he visited Russia. He said that the pilgrimage of his life would have remained incomplete had he not gone there. Octogenarian Bertrand Russell stood in support of the

Vietnam liberation struggle, hailed socialist China led by Mao Zedong as a most dependable power against imperialism and raised his voice of protest when USA besieged Cuba. Netaji said that the greatest contribution of the 19th century was Marxism and the greatest event of the 20th century was the Soviet revolution. Comrade Provash Ghosh asked whether the self-styled intellectuals some of whom have made it a fashion to attack Marxism, slander socialism, consider these historic personalities as intellectuals or not? Even Gandhiji and Nehru had some appreciation of Soviet socialism in spite of their differences with Marxism. So, to eradicate all the problems tormenting the oppressed people today, socialism is the only choice, asserted Comrade Provash Ghosh.

Fierce attack on ethics and culture

Continuing, he said that compared to the severe economic and political oppressions of the bourgeois rule, more fierce is the attack in the realm of ethics, morality, values and culture. Because, the ruling exploitative bourgeoisie knows that the revolutionary movement can not be suppressed merely by torture and arms if the moral backbone of the toiling masses remains intact, if courage, fervour, human values are existent in the society. So, there is every attempt to pollute people, particularly the youth, through incessant spread of obscene culture, sex-perversion, social alienation, greed, consumerism and indifference to all kinds of social obligation. In this era of decadent moribund capitalism, vile individualism, extreme self-serving thoughts are rampant destroying all finer senses, sensibilities and tender feelings like love, affection and seriously affecting family lives making old parents and children worst sufferers. In the countries of Shakespeare-Mill-Milton-Feuerbach, Tolstoy-Hugo or Abraham Lincoln, young people are submerged in all sorts of rotten thoughts and perverse proclivities. In the same way, the state of West Bengal which has been the abode of Vidyasagar-Vivekananda-Rabindranath-Saratchandra-Nazrul is now sinking into the morass of cultural and moral degeneration. This is the contribution of moribund capitalism.

Contd. on page 8

Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought illumine the path

Contd. from page 7

As against this, SUCI(C), guided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts, is trying to release and strengthen an alternative cultural current which is in continuity with the rich heritage of the period of freedom struggle but at the same time contains a break owing to the present phase being that of anti-capitalist revolution. That is why, SUCI(C) is making a serious cult of the life and struggle of all the humanist luminaries and the revolutionary martyrs of the country so that both Party workers as well as the people at large can learn from them, assimilate and exhaust the essence of their teachings and then strive for acquiring yet higher proletarian ethics and culture. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat has taught that the essence, the living soul, the kernel of any great and revolutionary ideology of every age is ingrained in its higher cultural and ethical standard. So, SUCI(C) lays so much emphasis on character building, on

building up of the movements on the edifice of higher ethics and culture. Because revolutionary politics is not just a profession or means of career building but calls for nobler feelings of heart. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had also exhorted the students and youths not to die begging, humiliating themselves but to live and die with honour, raising the head high and holding aloft the banner of revolution. Marxism-Leninism is a philosophy of life, a guide to action based on truth, a generalized concept of truth that has been derived by way of dialectically coordinating the specific scientific truths unravelled in the various disciplines of science. The bourgeoisie accepts science in so far as the practical application of it in the domains of industry, agriculture, medicine, communication, defence build up, mining or any other field is concerned so long and so far such application serves its class interest. But it is mortally afraid of any attempt towards scientific

coordination and generalization of the truths unravelled in the various disciplines of science to evolve a general concept of truth, of growth of a scientific outlook by way of studying the general laws governing the nature and society or in other words of a scientific bent of mind governing thought process, lest it should endanger the very existence of capitalism. So the bourgeoisie is opposed to Marxism-Leninism and being panicstricken attacks it. But this noble philosophy is based on science. So it is invincible. This bourgeois civilization is now rotten in every field, economic-political-social-cultural. Humanity is crying for emancipation from the fetters of decadent moribund capitalism. Only Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought can illumine the path of this aspired emancipation.

Strengthen SUCI(C) to expedite revolution

At the end, Comrade Provash Ghosh repeated his appeal to the

people of the country to understand politics and refrain from blindly following any party. Even the SUCI(C) should be judged on the anvil of logic, reason and adherence to the avowed ideology. If anyone finds that the Party is not following the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, not conducting itself in the way it used to under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, then let it be criticized and helped, because this is the only party of the toiling people, of the proletariat. This Party carries the dream of the freedom fighters, renaissance stalwarts and class conscious proletariat. Materialization of the dream of emancipation lies in this Party. This Party founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh carries the legacy of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong. To strengthen this Party of yours is the task and responsibility of the exploited people. With these words, Comrade Provash Ghosh ended conveying revolutionary greetings to all.

Build up united people's movement against capitalism

Contd. from page 5

the capitalists and the political parties serving them are instigating poorer people against each other into ferocious fratricidal feuds, not only the Hindus against the Muslims, even in the same Hindu community those belonging to higher castes against those of lower castes. They are giving birth to regionalism, separatism in different parts of the country. In result, the fact that capitalism is the main cause of exploitation-oppression of all sections of common people, that is being blotted out. Influence of this divisive politics is increasing all over the country, not excluding West Bengal ruled by the CPI(M). Burning problems of people's life, be it price rise, unemployment, closure of industries, retrenchment of workers, or corruption, none of these problems have any caste or racial character. People are suffering irrespective of such divisions among them. If we can make people realize this truth, only then they will be gradually freed from the divisive mentality and the revolutionary movement will advance. Remember

this is a great challenge to revolutionary movement.

Comrade Bhattacharyya finally appealed to strengthen SUCI(Communist) that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had built up as the only revolutionary party concretizing Marxism-Leninism on the Indian soil. To do this, he said, we have to develop true communist character, freeing us from private property mental complex covering all aspects of life, developing our life on the teachings that social and individual interests are one and the same. Comrade Bhattacharyya concluded calling upon everybody to take this pledge on the foundation day of the party.

In his brief address, Comrade Kalyan Chowdhury, member, Central Committee and Secretary, Assam State Committee of SUCI(Communist), explained the significance of the observance of the party foundation day and brought out the heinous conspiracy of the ruling capitalist class in dividing people of the state with fanatic regionalism, separatism and such others. He called for developing

massive united people's struggle under the leadership of the party to isolate these forces.

A few resolutions were unanimously adopted in the meeting. In one, discussing upon the latest condition arising from the ULFA movement it was demanded of the government to stop immediately all military actions and release the ULFA leaders to create an ambience for dialogue. Referring to the repeated appeals of the Assam State Committee of SUCI (C) to the ULFA leaders to properly realize the feelings and sentiment of people of the state towards their movement... at the same time their strong sense of reality and on that basis reassess their strategy of armed struggle and their charter of demand, the leaders of the ULFA movement were urged again to stop their military activities to hasten up resolution of the problem through dialogues and discussions, on the basis of correct appraisal of our appeals.

In another resolution, it was deeply apprehended that succumbing to the unjust demand of

fanatic provincialists, the way the Congress(I)-led Union and state governments are giving effect to the process of preparing National Register of Citizens (NRC) on the basis of two non-existent and to that extent false documents of the so-called NRC of 1951 and the voters' list of 1971 at the exclusion of any other documentary evidence about one's citizenship, keeping out 3 lakh 70 thousand definite Indian citizens from the ambit of the process, branding them as 'D' voters, will surely lead millions of definite Indian citizens of ethnic and religious minority communities to lose their citizenship, precious as life. With this apprehension the meeting firmly demanded that the process of preparing this NRC only in Assam be stalled till there is a decision on undertaking such an exercise throughout the country and till there is a legitimate solution of the problems of millions of 'D' voters and till an electoral list including those who would be able to establish themselves as inhabitants of Assam on or before 25 March 1971 has been prepared.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH