

# Proletarian Era

Volume 41 No. 1  
August 15, 2007

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

Price : Rs. 2.00

## With due solemnity and reverence country observes Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day

Fifth of August is the day, the working class lost two great leaders of the proletariat. While Comrade Frederick Engels had passed away in 1895, it was on this date thirty one years back that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of Socialist Unity Centre of India, the revolutionary party of the country, breathed his last. As the day returns, it urges us for an introspection as to how far could we carry forward the tasks Comrade Ghosh bequeathed on us. And taking a stock of it, we further renew our pledge to carry out more vigorously the behest of the great departed leader, teacher and guide and one of the foremost Marxist-Leninist thinkers and philosophers of this epoch, so as to be able to rise up in a revitalization and consolidation struggle, now we are headlong involved heeding the call of the Central Committee of the party with all seriousness and dedication.

Like each of the past thirty one years, this year too the party observed the Memorial Day across the country with profound reverence and emotion. On the Fifth August morning, at the Salt Lake Central Commune of the party in Calcutta, the brief proceedings of the Day, were initiated with the rendition of the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Following it, our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee offered floral tribute to Comrade Ghosh's portrait. He was followed by Comrades Sukomal Dasgupta and Sitesh Dasgupta, both members of the Central Committee and all other comrades present on the occasion. The occasion was further graced by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's inspiring speech.

The same morning at the Central Party Office at 48 Lenin Sarani, Calcutta, Comrade Yakub Pailan, Member of the West Bengal State Secretariat, hoisted the Red Flag and garlanded the

portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Central Staff hoisted the Red Flag and garlanded the statue of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatshila, Jharkhand. Comrades at all the party offices and centres throughout the country, joined by masses of toiling people, observed the Day, wearing Comrade Shibdas Ghosh badge, garlanding the portrait of the great leader, rending the song on him and the Internationale.

Earlier on July 29, in observance of the thirty-first Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day, Calcutta District Committee of the party played to a house of the party cadres, supporters and sympathizers, the recorded speeches of Comrade Ghosh made to the open and delegate sessions of the AIDYO State Conference held at Suri of Birbhum district of West Bengal on 20 and 21 June, 1975. The clarion call of the great leader to the party workers for building up themselves as communist revolutionaries and strengthening SUCI on one hand and for waging intense mass movements under the revolutionary leadership on the other hand refurbished the zeal and determination of the leaders and cadres, old and new alike, once more. Central Committee members Comrades Provas Ghosh and Asit Bhattacharyya and West Bengal State Secretariat members Comrades Manik Mukherji, Prativa Mukherji and Chhaya Mukherji were present on the occasion.

On August 3, at the Metro Channel in Calcutta, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, veteran Central Committee member, inaugurated the Exhibition of Quotations from the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh with a view to

*Contd. on page 6*



*A part of the mammoth gathering at Rani Rashmoni Road, Calcutta on 5th August, 2007*

## Relation between leaders and cadres should be dialectical, not mechanical

— Nihar Mukherjee



*Comrade Nihar Mukherjee addressing at Salt Lake Commune, Calcutta on 5th August*

Comrades,

We have assembled here in the Salt Lake Party Commune, Calcutta, today to observe with due solemnity the 31st Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party. Following a course of an intricate and painstaking struggle, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had founded the SUCI, our beloved party, as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party on this soil. There is a great and long history of this historic arduous multi-faced struggle which cannot be dealt with in one meeting. I would, therefore, like to highlight only a few aspects of this relentless inconceivably strenuous struggle of party building which bear extreme importance in our life today.

In the process of developing a genuine Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat on this soil and giving a concrete shape to the same in the SUCI, Comrade Ghosh enriched and elaborated the Leninist concept of revolutionary party building and brought its understanding to a new height. The kernel of this improved understanding has been the emphasis he laid on establishing and keeping alive the dialectical relationship between the leaders and the cadres inside the party in tune with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Ghosh initiated this dialectical

*Contd. on page 2*

## Ceaselessly cultivate teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

*Contd. from page 1*

process from the very inception of the days of party formation. He used to encourage the comrades to enter into contradiction with him, debate various issues with him following dialectical methodology and used to tell them "Don't accept, what I say, do not assume what I say as infallible until and unless you after due examination on the anvil of logic and reason find the same to be correct." Pursuing this course of struggle, he developed a batch of comrades and the number gradually increased. It is not that everyone could come up so equipped as to correctly follow this dialectical process. But some of the comrades could attain that level. Right from the very beginning, he initiated this dialectical process within the party and created a healthy environment of open interaction of ideas and opinions, discussion in dialogue, debate and argument between the leaders and the cadres. With that objective, he from the very outset stressed upon organizing the study circles. He himself conducted these study circles. Through lively discussions and debates in these study circles, he took every pain to see that the comrades acquire a correct outlook, a correct and clear vision to approach any ideological or epistemological issues starting from philosophy, science, art-literature to the various postulates of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism as well as the process of attaining true communist character. This is how he engaged himself in developing in the comrades unity of thinking, one process of thinking and oneness in approach based on Marxian science. He always emphasized that unless this ideological centralism evolved and took a firm root in the party, organizational centralism could not be established. Bereft of this ideological centralism, the party organization would assume a mechanical, not dialectical character. After all, the party is not a machine but a living vibrant entity. As vanguard of social progress, it concerns the common people as well as the revolutionaries. So this dialectical process has to be incarnate in the party. You ought to keep this in mind. All of you might not be able to fully comprehend this aspect today. But there should not be any let up on your part to realize the immense significance of this imperativeness. And for that, you

have to ceaselessly cultivate the teachings of Comrade Ghosh, carefully and meticulously read his published works both individually and collectively. You will be dawned upon many illuminating thoughts in the process of getting acquainted with the vast storehouse of his invaluable contributions. There was no branch of epistemology which was not illumined by his profound wisdom, no discipline of knowledge not within his easy reach. In course of handling the newer problems of life and newer questions arising in the various all fields of epistemology, he enriched the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. Try to acquaint yourselves with these developed and enriched understandings, cultivate them in your life. Let all of us build ourselves the way he wanted of us.

I would like to stress that self-development is a continuous process which has no finality in excellence. Take my case. Though I have come to this position today, it does not mean that I have learnt everything. There is no end to learning. I have also to progress through learning more and more. Moreover, there is no guarantee that having learnt something once, I would not commit any mistake, not do any such thing that runs counter to the learning. Knowingly or unknowingly I can also commit mistake. But if the comrades are alert, if the cult of ideology is living in the party, if there does prevail a congenial environment for free and fair interaction in the party, they would instantly point out the mistake directly to me fearlessly and without any hesitation. This is what Comrade Ghosh taught us while providing concrete guidelines as to what should be communist code of conduct.

Apart from the extremely important question of maintaining a healthy dialectical relation between the leaders and the cadres that I have just discussed before you, there are many other invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. For example, take the issue of framing the Constitution of a proletarian party. Different communist parties of the world have their own Constitutions. We too have. But it was not thrust upon but evolved through a process. At the founding convention of our party, Comrade Ghosh devoted two hours and a half to discuss what should be the Constitution of a true Marxist-

Leninist organization. He said that we would not adopt a written Constitution at the very foundation stage of our party because we would not like to impose it on the party from above. If the party comrades do not attain the ideological consciousness to imbibe the true spirit contained in the provisions of the Constitution on the issues like sense of organizational discipline, nature of the mutual relationship among various party bodies starting from the cell to the local, district, state and central committees, and instead blindly follow those rules and provisions only because those form part of the Constitution, then such following is bound to be mechanical. Here also a correct dialectical process should be operative. That is why, he opted for evolving the Constitution, in the dialectical process of acquiring correct understanding of these various provisions by the party comrades through conventional practice and giving formal constitutional shape to the organizational rules, norms, principles and procedures only when they attained an adequate standard through this struggle. This is called the principle of adopting the Constitution as the objective reflection of the inner-party life. I do not know if you are able to grasp the significance of this objective process. If the matter is not clear, please obtain necessary clarification from the leaders. The essence of the point I made to you is that while taking part in our day to day activities, we must engage ourselves in unflinching pursuit of correct code and mode of revolutionary life, the correct methodology to develop ourselves as communists. This is never possible by cramming a few words or parroting a few lines from Marxist literature. This learning has to be through conduction of an all-embracing life struggle based on correct realization of revolutionary ideology. For example, when one for the first time signs the pledge form for primary membership of the party, he merely expresses, as Lenin said, his desire to be a communist. Elaborating further, Comrade Ghosh said that this is the point from where begins his struggle for becoming a communist. He initiates himself into this struggle avowing the pledge of having faith in Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thoughts and stating intention to be a communist. When one joins the party in this manner, it

devolves on the party leadership to nurture him with care, to inculcate in him the very ingredients of this noble ideology. The very party body, under which he is placed, owns this responsibility. Only this way, the struggle becomes living, education of the cadres becomes purposive, dynamic. We do not always act that way. Once one applies for membership, the leaders no doubt assign some work to him. But often they do not keep track of what he is doing. So it is pointless to blame any such comrade if he fails to discharge his responsibility because the leaders evidently did not take any care to groom him properly. If the leaders default in shouldering their responsibilities, why should we only blame cadres for failure?

The task is not that easy. To attain a communist character, it is not enough to accept the communist ideology in words. One must subject himself to the tortuous struggle for reflecting in his life the ideology, politics and culture of communism. When in course of this struggle, one can place his self-interest subordinate to the interest of the class, revolution and party, he becomes eligible for becoming a member. After that he can through intensification of this life struggle proceed to attain yet higher standards.

You must be knowing that in our party, we have three categories of membership: applicant members, members and staff members. When a member, by continually uplifting the communist standard of his character through conduction of higher and more arduous struggle not only makes his individual interest subordinate to the interests of the class, revolution and party, but becomes able to engage himself happily and voluntarily in the struggle to completely identify with the class, revolution and party through still higher and more difficult struggles, he places himself to be considered for staff membership. They are the cream, the most precious asset of the party. The Central Committee is constituted with them. Most of the members of the state committees must also be from them. In this manner, Comrade Ghosh has elaborated upon the different aspects of building up higher revolutionary character of leaders, organizers and cadres of a genuine

*Contd. on page 7*

# CPI(M)'s political bankruptcy in pitching Khammam against Nandigram

On July 28 last Rajsekhar Reddy Government of the Congress of Andhra Pradesh in keeping with the tradition of bourgeois rulers, irrespective of hue to brutally suppress any people's movement arraying all their arsenal, shot down 8 peasants and grievously injured many at Mudogonda village in Khammam district. The peasants mostly landless were agitating for allotment of vested land for constructing dwelling hutments under the leadership of CPI-CPI(M)-TDP of Chandrababu Naidu. The whole country including the AP State Committee of our party SUCI has univocally condemned this barbaric killing of unarmed peasants fighting for a legitimate democratic demand.

## Backdrop of Khammam peasants' agitation

In Andhra Pradesh, a sizeable portion of the land (estimated to be around 40 lakhs acres) which was assigned to landless peasants at various points of time is found to have been appropriated by interested quarters notwithstanding the fact that the state was under rule of different governments including those of Chandrababu's TDP as well as TDP under late N.T. Rama Rao, a close ally of CPI(M), CPI. According to Act 9/77 passed in 1977, land so appropriated could not be sold to any third party and in case of any instance of violation of this provision is noticed, it was mandatory on the state government to recover the land and restore to original assignee i.e. the landless peasants or reassume the same for distribution to landless poor. However, the Congress government who has been trumpeting with all sound and fury its "iconoclastic achievement in providing housing to each and every poor in the state" instead of acting as per law has been selling such land on commercial basis to big wallets depriving the poor peasants. In order to regularize such illegal allotments of land earmarked for the poor to big moneybags and ruling party's who's who, the state government is also amending some of the provisions of the act. It is alleged that in Hyderabad city alone, 8716.39 acres of assigned lands were in illegal possession of 3830 individuals. With the prevalent market rate of land estimated at around Rs 10 crore an acre, the approximate value of the property comes to about Rs 1 lakh crore. It is also reported that the state Congress chief minister himself had to return assigned lands illegally held by his family. All this irked the poor peasants of Khammam who drawing inspiration from the heroic struggles of Singur-Nandigram took recourse to the path of movement to protect their

legitimate claim over the land. And the CPI(M) alongwith the CPI, its associate, sneaked into the forefront of the people's stir against the defaulting government. And at a particular stage of the movement when the peasants were peacefully conducting rasta roko (road blockade) in Mudigonda on July 28, the police opened fire on them killing 6 on the spot while two more succumbed to their injury on way to the hospital.

## Ruthless suppression of democratic movements – common feature

Such brutal killing and inhuman torture of peasants, workers and toiling people at large by different governments has become a regular feature in the country. Not only violent oppression even massacres are being perpetrated by almost all the governments run by the parties or combinations subserving bourgeois class interest irrespective of hues to muzzle voice of protest. With accentuation of savage attack on every walk of life by the exploitative capitalist rule, the toiling people from all sections of the society are often bursting into protests and developing democratic mass movements on burning problems tormenting them day in and day out. But the ruling bourgeoisie and its trusted political outfits no matter whether they wave tri-colour or saffron, pretend to be messiahs of the dalits and the backward communities, incite regional or chauvinist passion, harp on religious sentiments, flaunt communal overtones or masquerade as leftists-Marxists, are bent upon suppressing any legitimate people's struggle by either coming down heavily baring all tooth and claw to teach the stirring masses a stringent lesson or throwing a spanner in the people's unity through fomenting various religious communal linguistic parochial, casteist or such other divisive mentalities. Be it

Congress ruled Maharashtra, Assam, Andhra Pradesh or Haryana, BJP ruled Gujarat or Rajasthan, SP or BSP ruled UP, BJD-BJP ruled Orissa or CPI(M) ruled West Bengal or Kerala, the spectacle of spectre is the same. Whenever and wherever oppressed people are coming out in protest or building up resistance against assaults and onslaughts on their life and livelihood, the power that be is pouncing upon them with all barbarity. Kalinganagar, Khammam, Jhajar, Gurgaon, Singur or Nandigram bear eloquent testimony to this cruelty of the ruling dispensations. But people are also rising in protest. If Singur wrote the first chapter of this new episode of glorious peasants' struggle, Nandigram added in letters of blood an epoch-making chapter of resistance and resolve. Drawing inspiration from Singur-Nandigram, the peasants throughout the country are coming forward to resist illegal land grab in form or the other by the various state governments and a fresh wave of democratic mass movement is surging forth. Khammam peasants have also been spurred by that.

## Double standard of CPI(M)

The CPI(M) leaders have hauled the Congress-led Andhra Pradesh government on its coals over the Mudogonda (Khammam) incident. They have charged that the police instead of aiming below the waist, opened fire right into the unarmed peaceful demonstrators without any provocation. Bullet marks on the surrounding walls bear testimony of that. But to justify the police action, the Andhra government is spreading malicious disinformation that the CPI(M) cadre's vandalism and attack on the police led to the police firing. They have also alleged that since participation of women in the entire course of the struggle was overwhelming, the police manhandled them, chased them, dragged them by hair, kicked and beat them mercilessly. The CPI(M) leaders claim that video recording of this atrocity is available as proof and also there is a growing groundswell of public sentiment demanding the chief minister's resignation. No doubt, these allegations are all correct. But what is incredibly paradoxical is that it is the CPI(M) put on the dock by the countrymen for suppressing the

peasants' struggle first at Singur and then at Nandigram in most fascistic manner which is heaping these allegations on the Congress, its bosom pal at the centre.

To ascertain if the peasants' struggles in Nandigram and Khammam in the main bear any difference in character as, incidentally, is sought to be projected by the CPI(M) top brass, let us briefly recollect the facts and context of Nandigram carnage. The CPI(M) government of West Bengal rolling out a road map for implementing the precepts of capitalist globalization, issued a notice on January 3 last to acquire 10,000 acres of land at Nandigram consisting of huge stretches of fertile multi-crop agricultural land, habitats of local people, ponds, gardens, schools, places of religious worship etc. for setting up an SEZ with the Salims, the infamous Indonesian monopoly house, as the promoter to house a chemical hub that many including experts fear would cause serious environmental pollution to destroy the very ecological balance of this greenbelt. When the people fearing commencement of the land grab any time began to agitate under the banner of 'Bhumi Uchhed Protirodh Committee' (Committee for resisting eviction from land), a joint platform built up by them for conducting organized struggle to resist such a hostile takeover of land that would evict them from their means of livelihood, hearth and home, the police alongwith armed anti-socials of the ruling CPI(M) perpetrated a cowardly cloak-and-dagger attack first on the early morning of 7th January. That this dastardly attack was deliberate and pre-planned is evident from the fact that just the previous day Benoy Konar, the CPI(M) central committee member, openly threatened in front of the media to "surround Nandigram from three sides and knock the hell out of the people's lives." Then on the black morning of 14th March with few thousands of armed police and paramilitary forces and shielded behind them, the CPI(M) goons, brandishing arms and arsenals used by the police and clad in police uniform transgressing all norms of civility and humanity to engineer one of the worst carnages the

*Contd. on page 4*

## Imperativeness of correct leadership on the people's movement

*Contd. from page 3*

country has ever witnessed. It was for the first time that ruling party-controlled mafias under police protection were deployed to carry out such bestial assault on the struggling masses. Several were killed, hundreds inflicted grievous injuries and maimed, small children were butchered, torn apart in front of their mothers. In addition and over and above the dastardly killings, numberless women were mercilessly gang-raped, subjected to bestial sexual assault. Live footages of this unprovoked savagery on unarmed peaceful protesters beamed across all households to send chill down their spines. But Nandigram people remained unbending. Sacrificing life, shedding blood, braving all odds, disdaining all attacks, economic blockade and other odds stacked against them the Nandigram people firmly held ground setting up a new example in the annals of democratic mass movement and organized people's power. In the face of this stiff mass resistance, the CPI(M) government had to retreat and abandon plan to establish SEZ at Nandigram. But there is no let up on the part of the CPI(M) and its government in their arm-twisting operation to break the movement. There is continuous bombing and firing by the armed CPI(M) criminals under police protection from the criminals' camps erected in and around Nandigram to sustain a reign of terror and intimidation and in the name of rehabilitating the 'displaced', push inside the notorious criminals and anti-socials in greater numbers to stoke fresh violence. As per latest reports, the CPI(M) leaders are assembling large number of criminals from various parts of the state and equipping them with sophisticated weaponry to mount a fresh yet more ferocious attack on Nandigram any day, any time. So the resistance struggle is on. Every conscientious person in the country including those till the other day were with the CPI(M) have come out heavily on the party and its government for this heinous crime and expressed full solidarity with the valiant Nandigram peasants. The countrymen have bowed their heads in respect for the brave women of Singur-Nandigram, placed them in the altar of high esteem for setting up a high standard of fighting morality and dignity and exhorted upon all to

project these heroic characters as embodiment of true human essence.

After Nandigram carnage, the CPI(M) leadership and its government in West Bengal were charged by the countrymen of deliberately letting loose police-armed party hooligans combine on the peaceful unarmed villagers without any provocation whatsoever and directing the attackers to open fire aiming at the upper segment of the body seemingly with the intention of killing. The people also seethed in rage to witness for the first time that ruling party-controlled mafias under police protection were deployed to carry out such bestial assault on the struggling masses and enact one of the most horrific carnages. The CPI(M) leadership also received severe indignation and condemnation for having perpetrated one of the most heinous crimes on the struggling women first at Singur and the on a much wider scale and dastard at Nandigram, subjecting them to gang-rape, bestial sexual assault so as to force them bend down disgraced, their morale is lost and they dare not come forward in any mass movement anywhere in future. But what is to be noted is, even today, the CPI(M) leaders are openly saying in the electronic and print media that they are "not even a bit ashamed for what happened in Nandigram."

It ought not to escape one's notice that the CPI(M) leaders while taking a pot-shot at the Congress for the Khammam brutality practically mimicked all the charges levelled against them by the people of the land for masterminding and executing the Nandigram carnage. To defend itself against the criticism of effecting a studiously calculated somersault at Khammam, the CPI(M) leadership is out to prove that while land struggle in Andhra Pradesh is democratic that of Nandigram is undemocratic. Hence they contend that though police action at Khammam is illegal and atrocious, all cruelty, inhumanity and barbarity perpetrated on the Nandigram peasants are justified.

People of the country have been witness to the fact that the CPI(M) leadership true to its social-democratic character has for long shunned the path of movement. Rather, in order to curry favour with the ruling bourgeoisie for pelf

and power, its endeavour has been to break people's struggles, dub such struggles as 'undemocratic', 'anti-development', 'anarchic' and even 'a rebellion against the state', dissuade the workers from launching any effective movement against the monopolist owners under the garb of 'maintaining industrial peace, increasing productivity and co-operating with the management for accelerating development' and thus strongly pitch for class harmony against class struggle. Not only that. Like any other bourgeois party such as the Congress, BJP or their allies, the CPI(M) too carrying a signboard of Marxism-Leftism is sparing no brutal means or savage machinations to ruthlessly suppress legitimate democratic mass movements in the states it is in power and is in turn showered with an avalanche of praise and encomiums from the spokesperson of domestic as well as foreign monopolists.

In view of this the obvious question that is arising in the mind of the right-thinking people is what prompted the CPI(M) leadership to suddenly rush to Khammam to pose itself as self-styled commander of the struggling peasants and beat battle-drum?

### Using Khammam to distract attention, reap electoral advantage

The reason is not very far to seek. Nandigram people did not relent. Sacrificing life, shedding blood, braving all odds, disdaining all attacks, economic blockade and other odds stacked against them the Nandigram people firmly held ground setting up a new example in the annals of democratic mass movement and organized people's power. In the face of this stiff mass resistance, the despotic CPI(M) rulers had to retreat and abandon plan to establish SEZ at Nandigram. Hence this movement has become a thorn in their neck and so are they haunted by a pressing need to distract people's attention from Nandigram even if that warrants stooping to heightened ludicrousness. So, as a means for remission of sin and salvaging the totally sullied image, they rushed to Khammam to pose before the people how concerned they are for the oppressed peasants and in the process get an escape route by passing on the diabolism at Nandigram on to Khammam relegating Nandigram to the backseat.

At the same time, it has also been the compulsion of narrow election politics which make the CPI(M) leaders to indulge in a convoluted if not circuitous exercise to set upon Khammam against Nandigram. In order to stay afloat in the people's imagination as a leftist party for reaping electoral benefits, it poses itself in the states it is not in power as self-styled leader of political agitations pointing at certain misdeeds of the incumbent governments albeit ensuring that such movements remain arrested within the precincts of parliamentary politics. Knowing fully well that creating some pressure on the Congress would enhance their bargaining capacity with it in the coming assembly and parliamentary elections as well as other local polls in the state, the CPI(M) and its associate CPI have jumped in front of the struggling Khammam peasants. This is more evident on the fact that the CPI(M) and CPI have not hesitated to align with the TDP of Chandrababu Naidu which till the other day was a partner of NDA led by a communal party like BJP so that if the electoral prospect of TDP brightens because of anti-incumbency factor, they would have channel open for forging an overt or covert tie-up with it in the name of third front alliance. But at the same time they do not intend to embarrass the Congress much over the issue either. This becomes evident when the CPI(M) state secretary makes it clear that his party only wants the issue to be discussed on the assembly floor and is keen to see the Congress government secures 'people's appreciation' for its action. (People's Democracy, 22-07-07) This is the intent and object of the CPI(M) in being in the forefront of the Khammam movement.

The question that follows next and is agitating the minds of the well-meaning people is of paramount importance and significance. What then, are they in an awe to make out, will be the future of the peasants' struggle at Khammam as well as such other movements in the states CPI(M) is not in power if the rein is in the CPI(M)'s hands?

### All important question of revolutionary leadership

It is for this reason that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our

*Contd. on page 6*

## Thirty years of CPI(M)-rule in West Bengal — Claims and Realities

[ Continued from last issue ]

Under the Left Front government, tea industry has nearly arrived at the precipice, with owners shutting down gardens one after the other. Considering 277 registered tea gardens in the state and not less than 9 lakhs (i.e. 900,000) of workers (3 lakhs regular, 6 lakh casual) meaning nearly 45 lakhs of people of their families involved, the picture is least to say devastating. The Jalpaiguri District Health Department itself has acknowledged that in the closed tea-gardens of the Dooars, between January 2006 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2007, 571 labourers died in 455 days (more than one person a day) out of starvation and malnutrition.

West Bengal reportedly ranks first again in the whole country, in misappropriation of Provident Fund (PF) money of workers. Not only that, there is also the precedence of killing a labour in protest in Murshidabad. Just as private owners are perpetrators so is the government itself. Reportedly (vide Ananda Bazar Patrika, May 6, 2007) the RSP, itself a front partner, has alleged that in about 700 government companies, the PF and gratuity of workers amounting to nearly 400 crores have been misappropriated.

While crores of rupees of workers' PF account in jute and tea industries have been

misappropriated and the government turns a deaf ear to the appeal of the workers, is it believable at all that the government stands for workers' welfare?

According to the Finance Department report the government has already ordered its various departments not to appoint any casual employees. As reported by the media (Ananda Bazar Patrika, May 23, 2005) the government has plans to allocate resources in development sector by reducing staff strength and salary bills. A committee appointed by the state government for the reform of State Electricity Board declared 10,000 employees as surplus and advised the government to axe them through 'early separation scheme' or 'voluntary retirement scheme' by starting the process with 30% reduction of them as early as possible (A.B.P., March 4, 2004). Yet, the survey conducted in the various departments by the government itself revealed that in 2003-04 in 29 out of 54 departments, 45,000 out of a total of 1,74,000 (nearly 25%) posts lay vacant.

Again, according to West Bengal Headmasters' Association Report : "72,000 posts of teachers lie vacant in primary, secondary and higher secondary schools in the state."

The IT-savvy CM takes pride in providing 500,000 professionals with job in 250 IT organisations.

Keeping aside the figurative exactitude, we may point out that the reality shows, that these IT units, mostly call-centres dependent upon jobs of foreign offices and directed at outsourcing of labour, are turning out to be seats of the height of exploitation of their employees. These MNCs make their employees toil like virtual slaves, depriving them of their basic trade union rights including those to form union etc. The government claiming to be the guarantor of workers' rights in reality assures the industrialists, both national and foreign, that W.B offers an ambience of zero labour problem, permitting "hire and fire policy", and "7-day working week" etc.

Is West Bengal a place where woman are assured of their safety and security? Cases of harassment and assault on women ranging from eve-teasing to dowry deaths, social ostracisation, rape and murder threaten the life and security of women be they urban or rural inhabitants. This is confirmed by National Crime Record Bureau report which reveals that under 30 year-old LF regime West Bengal has ranked 1<sup>st</sup> in trafficking of underage girls (in 2005, 88% under-age girls trafficked for brothels were from West Bengal: Dainik Statesman, June 16, 2007). This report has also revealed that in 2005, officially recorded number of trafficked women was 5908. Police report shows at least 6 times more women were trafficked than those recorded (Dainik Statesman, June 16, 2007). In reality therefore, the number of women trafficked in 2005 reaches the staggering figure of 35,448. Crime in India Statistics revealed yet another tale of shame and

disgrace for West Bengal. It has come up 2nd in respect of rapes perpetrated, next only to Madhya Pradesh! Nor are children safer in the LF-run West Bengal. Calcutta Police has quoted information provided by National Crime Record Bureau to show that the number of children kidnapped in each year between 2000 and 2005, were 74, 86, 94, 32, 49 and 102, respectively. Cases of children kidnapped have been on the rise. It would be relevant to repeat here, that West Bengal occupies the 8<sup>th</sup> position in respect of infant death ratio, which was 51.4% in 2003 in villages. According to statistics provided by the Central Statistical Organisation, in 2000, the percentage of people living under poverty level is 27.02%, while in India as a whole it is 26.10%. In this count, West Bengal occupies the 10<sup>th</sup> position behind Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu. Significant it is to note that for states like Haryana and Punjab which cannot boast of any 'progressive left rule' like West Bengal, the percentages are 8.74 and 6.16 respectively.

With people thus robbed of food, education, health and employment facilities and life of men and women endangered even ever-increasing socio-economic and political oppression, law and order situation can hardly be expected to ensure security and safety desired. To say the least, authorities to enforce law and order, i.e. the police and administration are more often than not instruments of oppression themselves used to serve the interest of the rulers.

*To be concluded*



More than 30,000 Anganwadi workers and helpers from all over the country participated in the massive 'March to Parliament' held on July 25, 2007 in Delhi under the auspices of Joint Platform of Action (JPA) to press its six point charter of demands including 'Recognition of Anganwadi workers and helpers government employees' 'Provision of Social Security', etc. Above a portion of the huge gathering All India Conference of Anganwadi workers and helpers was held on July 26.



Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Central Staff, SUCI (second from left) along with leaders from other countries on the dais of the international conference against imperialist globalization and aggression held in Beirut, Lebanon on July 12 to 14.

## Country observes Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day

*Contd. from page 1*

presenting to the common people, at least a fraction of the vast treasure of knowledge and guidelines covering different aspects of life and revolutionary struggle. The exhibition arranged in a temporary pandel in the heart of the city drew streams of common people, venting out their eagerness to know the

thoughts of Comrade Ghosh and the politics of SUCI, the party founded by him. It remained open till the Fifth August. In his inaugural speech, Comrade Dasgupta summarized the nature and importance of the lifelong struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in founding the genuine Communist party on Indian soil, in the face of

existence of various parties and forces going by the banner and signboard of Marxism- Leninism. He also indicated that the continuing struggle of SUCI with thoughts of Shibdas Ghosh as the beacon and weapon is fast creating deep inroads into the mass mind throughout the country; thoughts of Comrade Ghosh are also being received with great enthusiasm and seriousness by communists of different countries of the world, who are rendering his works into their own vernaculars.

Here, for shortage of space, we give reports of only the memorial meetings held in Bhubaneswar and Calcutta.

### Bhubaneswar, Orissa

Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day was observed by the Orissa State Committee of the party, with

Comrade Tapas Dutta, Central Committee Member and Secretary of Orissa State Committee, SUCI, addressing it as the main speaker. The meeting was held at Jaydev Bhawan, Bhubaneswar on August 5, 2007 and was presided over by Comrade Binapani Das, Member Orissa State Committee. In his address, Comrade Dutta elaborately outlined how Comrade Ghosh overcame many hurdles to establish a genuine communist party in India. Again he added that in the post-Lenin era Comrade Ghosh enriched and analyzed Marxism from various angles with a view to broadening and illumining the road to the world proletarian revolution in the Complex situation prevailing today. Practicing a real commune life and identifying himself with the party and revolution Comrade Ghosh

*Contd. on page 7*



*Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta inaugurating the Exhibition of Quotations from the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in Calcutta of August 3*

## Pitching Khammam against Nandigram

*Contd. from page 5*

leader, teacher and guide and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era has repeatedly stressed on the imperativeness of establishing correct leadership on the movements to take them to their logical culmination. He pointed out that both under foreign domination as well as the rule of the national bourgeoisie after transfer of power through compromise, the people faced with mounting onslaught on their life and livelihood had burst forth in the field of movement. They joined the struggles en masse, fought for realizing genuine demands, faced bullet-baton of the rulers, did not hesitate to make heroic sacrifices including supreme sacrifices. But in absence of correct leadership, all these suffered setbacks, ended halfway, abruptly generating more frustration and despair than anything else. Elaborating on this issue, he said that the people had fought earlier and would continue to do so in future as well. Sometimes the people's movements might gather momentum sometimes it might remain relatively subdued, slow-paced. But if these movements just remained agitational in character, purported to hot up the election market and end up at ballot box, could that bring any tangible outcome in either developing political consciousness of the people or even bringing some relief to the accentuated privation and misery of the people? On the

contrary, the political tricksters usurped all the sacrifices of the people to make parliamentary careers, assume ministerial chairs and become political big shots. When the common notion in the sixties and seventies was that the CPI(M) as the largest left party was poised to provide leadership to the people's struggles, Com. Ghosh gave pointer that though the CPI(M) had remained intermingled with the peasants' and workers' movements, with the passage of time, it, despite loud drumbeating about movement, was actually averse to movement. Its compromising character and treachery to the cause of the movement were fast getting exposed. Particularly after having tasted power in late sixties, the aim of the CPI(M) had been to anyhow emerge endearing to the ruling class and run after its share in the booty. The vote-seeking CPI(M) leaders were only on the look out as how best they could appropriate the fruits of people's stir and agitations in terms of ballot. Having already sunk in corruption, the CPI(M), if assumed power, would not only backstab movement but would bring about further ruin and disaster. Waving red flag, it would join the bourgeois bandwagon to take the country to doom. That is why Com. Ghosh wanted everyone not to be swayed by catchy slogans or deceptively rally behind the forces of compromise looking at their apparent strength but to be ever agile while in the vortex of

movement, keep a close watch on the course and direction of the movement and try to figure out who was gaining out of these movements—the struggling masses or some career-seeking political touts. Was it that the in the process of growth and development of the movements, there was consolidation of people's real political power or the compromising forces including the pseudo-Marxists like the CPI(M) were keeping the agitations arrested within four walls of parliamentary politics and thereby treacherously squeezing the people into trepid submission to the class interest of the ruling bourgeoisie? So Com. Ghosh exhorted that unless the movements are led by correct revolutionary leadership, mount on the edifice of higher proletarian ethics and culture, they can not grow and develop morally and culturally in such a manner that they could have the requisite grit to fight, foster firmness of character, courage of the cadres and offer resistance in the event of armed onslaught, give birth to political power of the people right from the grass root to the highest level and in the process become conducive to the ultimate struggle of overthrowing capitalism, the root of all evils. But if the aspect of steering and gearing the movements under correct leadership remains unresolved, it would only generate more frustration, strengthen reaction. Deprived, destitute, starving masses being unable to bear the gruelling

oppression would again and again come in movement. There will be more lathicharges, bursting of teargas shells or indiscriminate firing. More lives might be snuffed out, more people will be maimed, rendered cripple. Bestly savagery will rave wild on many more mothers and sisters. But the aspired outcome would remain ever eluding.

The current scenario only vindicates the correctness of his brilliant analysis and apprehension. In order to develop these movements coherently and with necessary compactness along the correct track, elevate the political consciousness of the people, educate them about the methodology required to organize a protracted united disciplined determined struggle to face the police-military and other coercive machinations of the ruling class, insulate the struggles from all divisive, destabilizing and enfeebling mentalities and tendencies that might creep from within, it is imperative to conduct these struggles under correct revolutionary leadership with a base political line of anti-capitalist revolution. We call upon the Khammam peasants as well as the toiling people of the country countrymen to draw lessons from history, imbibe the essence of the imperativeness of correct leadership, search out the genuine revolutionary force, be organized under its stewardship and build up their legitimate struggles accordingly by identifying the genuine revolutionary force.

# Keep alive the struggle for attaining communist character

*Contd. from page 2*

Marxist-Leninist party. Through the process of conducting continuous dialectical discussions and debates, he developed the correct understanding of all these aspects and thus provided inspiration for embracing the struggle. You should keep in mind that nobody can be as disciplined as the cadres of a revolutionary party are. They are well-disciplined, perseverant and industrious. They can lay down their life for the cause of revolution. There are people who can give their life for many different reasons. But overnight does not emerge that valiant a character who being fully aware of the revolutionary purpose comes forward to lay down his life, voluntarily and smilingly. Only through the process of a relentless conscious struggle are born such gallant soldiers of revolution.

As you find, today the party has grown big. It has spread its wings to the different states. Not just party organizations, even different class and mass organizations of the peasants-sharecroppers- agricultural labourers, workers, students, youth or women as well as cultural and other organizations have come up along with that. Apart from English, Hindi and Bengali, party organs are being published in almost all regional languages. All through this vast and wide spread of the party, the sense of discipline spurring the party workers to initiate party work is founded on a conscious realization of the revolutionary purpose. It is not that they are functioning mechanically, like machines. Sense of strict discipline and stringent regulatory compliance also work within the mercenary armies. But do those stem from any ideological conviction? No, never. From the very beginning they are so mechanically trained up that they do not hesitate to become cruel or perpetrate any kind of torture. They feel no qualms in undertaking any kind of hated activities. Theirs is a typically mechanical character. As opposed to that, the revolutionary characters are highly sensitive, tender but steadfast in sense of discipline and duty.

In this era of decadent moribund imperialism-capitalism, people are dying of hunger, starvation, lack of medical care. A fair dose of relief work or some reformist activities will not solve their basic problems. So long as the capitalist system will prevail, there will be no respite from

this stifling condition. No doubt we too develop movements for bringing about some relief from this suffocation but our main struggle is aimed at overthrowing the capitalist system. Our goal is to establish dictatorship of the proletariat by smashing the prevailing capitalist state structure through revolution. With a clear understanding of all these essential aspects of revolution, each and every leader, organizer and cadre of the party must build his self with necessary grit and determination to prove equal to the task. This can never be possible unless there is a conscious struggle, relentless cultivation of ideology and attainment of a higher proletarian character.

Comrade Ghosh repeatedly warned that it would be highly incorrect to assume that if one attains through struggle a particular standard of character, he would never slide down from that height. Because, while we have been striving for freeing ourselves from all sorts of filths and aberrations and are able to gain some success as well in this respect, certain weaknesses are creeping into us through conscious or unconscious routes. Knowingly or unknowingly, we suffer from so many a weakness centering on our own self, spouse or children. These weaknesses bring rot to our character. It is, therefore, a great offense to neglect even trifles of our individual character and take them casually. Even mere alertness is not sufficient to arrest the fall. It necessitates conduction of ceaseless conscious struggle at every moment of life. In our individual life, there will be various family relations, relations with spouse or children. Should we ignore or renounce the soft delicate feelings and mental faculties like love, care or compassion? No, not that. Only we should remain ever agile so that nurturing these tender feelings does not enfeeble us and we are in a position to cherish them impersonally.

Comrade Ghosh thus made all efforts throughout his life to build up every leader and cadre of the party as revolutionary and in course of that spent himself up bit by bit to the last. We must recollect that with due reverence. Many of us have been fortunate enough to come in contact with him; enjoy his living association. Of course, everybody did not have that opportunity. There are many comrades present here

who did not see Shibdas Ghosh, did not come in his contact. It is incumbent on them to learn about him, his life struggle from us, from the leaders of the party. One can not separate Comrade Ghosh's thoughts from his life struggle. They are one and the same. It was in the process of a firm, arduous and unwavering struggle covering all aspects of life, by way of conducting relentless class struggle that he emerged as a giant communist authority. His thoughts have grown in course of conducting these struggles – not clutched out of any imaginative flight. He has left before us such an example of historic struggle. Our task is to acquaint ourselves with this struggle in its every bit and to cultivate the learnings in our own life.

I will end my address with those words of Shibdas Ghosh I referred to at the outset. He used to tell the party workers not to accept anything as gospel truth just because he had said it. He always wanted them to judge his analyses on the yardstick of reason and accept only when they found it be true after such close

examination and scrutiny. I will also ask you, in fact I will repeat the words of Shibdas Ghosh that do not accept my words as well without any rational judgment. Accept them only after convincing yourselves of the impeccable logic and reason contained in them. Only then will you be able to stand on your feet; will be able to build up the very framework of your character; create an appropriate base for the positive traits of your character to flourish, identify a source of deriving requisite strength and bent of mind to wade through the hazards. Thus you build the structure of your character in such a way that you reach a stage from where you can direct your actions, release your initiatives based on your own realizations bereft of any borrowed; fake or false notion. I do not know if I could make myself clear to you. Judge my words and accept them only if you find them to be true. With these words, I end my discourse today.

**Red Salute  
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!  
Long Live SUCI!**

## Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day

*Contd. from page 6*



**Comrade Tapas Dutta**

created a bright example and suggested the scientific way to become a true communist. Comrade Dutta called upon the common

people, workers and supporters of the party to take pledge from the instance of Comrade Ghosh to build themselves up as true communists and to carry on relentless struggle to overthrow the capitalist economic system and pave the way to establish socialism.

The meeting was also addressed by Comrade Raghunath Das, member, Orissa State Committee of the party. Comrade Ajaya Kuanr moved a resolution against spurious drugs and female foeticide-murder issue that created a great concern among the people of Orissa and Comrade Uddhab Jena, State Committee member of SUCI supported it, demanding exemplary punishment of the persons

responsible. The resolution was adopted by the house. Leaders of the party and comrades of different local committees and mass organizations of SUCI garlanded the portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

### Calcutta, West Bengal

In the afternoon, under a heavily overcast sky with monsoon showers poring down once and often, a mammoth gathering of over a lakh of people assembled at Rani Rasmani Avenue, the venue at the heart of Calcutta which finally wore the look of a sea of humanity, solemn and determined, yet ebullient with emotion. Leaders of the Central Committee and the West Bengal State Committee present on the occasion, as also leaders and representative comrades of different district and local committees, mass organizations, central Party organs, Ganadabi and Proletarian Era as also other publications and organs paid their floral tributes to the great leader of the proletariat. A well decorated and disciplined guard of honour parade was held by the members of the KOMSOMOL, the young

*Contd. on page 8*

# Country observes Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day

*Contd. from page 7*

communist wing of the party.

Comrade Manik Mukherji, Central Staff and member, West Bengal State Secretariat, presided over the meeting. In his short speech, Comrade Mukherji showed that the dream of Indian people for emancipation from exploitation was shattered with the Indian capitalists-monopolists leading the independence struggle and then assuming power with independence. Emergence of a genuine communist party was absolutely necessary for emancipation of the Indian people—this was the realization with which Comrade Ghosh initiated his life-struggle. SUCI was the living outcome and expression of that struggle. After independence, left and democratic movement rose high in West Bengal with people's zeal and craving for a society free of exploitation acting as a driving force. Yet there were always two kinds of movements, one longing merely for the parliamentary power and the other for building up people's movement to end finally in revolutionary struggles. SUCI, on the strength of Comrade Ghosh's thoughts and leadership, was the only party that fought for the second objective. Presently too, SUCI has taken every pain to organize peasants' movement at Singur and particularly at Nandigram, with this objective and by helping people form their own struggle committees imbued with high morale and values to carry forward their struggles.

In presence of a host of Central Committee and West Bengal State Committee leaders, Comrade Provas Ghosh, member, Central Committee and Secretary, West Bengal State Committee rose as the scheduled main speaker of the meeting. He recounted the arduous lifelong struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh for founding the Socialist Unity Centre of India as the revolutionary party of the Indian proletariat following the Marxist-Leninist teachings and principles laid down by the great leaders of proletariat. He pointed out that the relentless endeavour of SUCI on the strength of Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts, have instilled the peasants' movements, such as at Nandigram in particular, with the high morale and determination that can only be expected when they have a genuine

revolutionary leadership behind them. Even after the heinous attack-killing-rape they had faced from the CPI(M) led government, its police and goons, people of Nandigram have not lost their courage and determination. Comrade Provas Ghosh pointed out that SUCI did not join the all-party meeting convened by CPI(M) to bring back peace at Nandigram. 'It was a ploy of CPI(M), which will talk of peace on one side and prepare to attack and take hold of Nandigram forcibly on the other': this was the warning, SUCI gave at that time. Recent developments towards CPI(M) preparing for fresh attacks on Nandigram prove the veracity of what SUCI envisaged on the strength of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thoughts. Naked duplicity of CPI(M) has become further evident



*Comrade Provas Ghosh*

when they speak for the peasants movements at Khammam in Andhra Pradesh being in opposition there, while try to crush them in West Bengal, where they are in power, with a view to making room for SEZ for monopolists on fertile farm lands. It exposes the typical social democratic character of the party, an identity Comrade Shibdas Ghosh analyzed long back, which now drives them to work solely for parliamentary power, by serving nakedly the monopolists of the land and abroad and by crushing people's democratic movements ruthlessly. They even refuse to properly investigate Nandigram massacre, punish those responsible for murder and rape, or those who have tried all means to wipe off evidences even by tampering hospital records. On the contrary even a government run by Congress in AP have announced compensation for the families of firing victims, which CPI(M) flatly refuses for the Nandigram or Singur victims.

While hailing the struggles of peasants of both Singur and Nandigram, Comrade Provas Ghosh showed that the movement at Singur

was frustrated as it had the rightist force like Trinamul Congress at the helm with a strength greater than ours there. This is because they view the movements only as stepstones to their parliamentary ends. On the contrary, Nandigram is still beaming with militant fervour with SUCI playing a vital role there. Comrade Ghosh

made it clear that a revolutionary build up mass movements with two objectives. The immediate aim may be realization of certain demands, while the ultimate aim is fixed at organizing masses on the correct base political line of revolution, imbued with lofty cultural standards that go beyond petty immediate gains only. The aim also includes developing people's own instruments of struggle in the form of struggle committees. All these are cumulatively directed towards preparing the masses for the ultimate revolutionary struggle for emancipation from exploitation. Nandigram serves as an example how such attempts take shape at its initial phases.

In this connection, Comrade Provas Ghosh further elaborated that CPI(M) is fast being isolated from the common people of the state at large, urban or rural. Sensing this, the ruling capitalists, aided by a major section of the media, are cunningly raising the slogan of fighting 'one to one' in forthcoming elections, by forging a unity of all forces against CPI(M) and with a view to bringing a crushing defeat to CPI(M). But this is a very reactionary effort, which means the betrayal of people's cause, particularly for the people of Nandigram or Singur who have suffered immensely in the movement. Their whole sacrifice, their courage and determination will be dragged into the dead end of parliamentarianism, with rightist forces like Trinamul Congress and others reaping their harvest in enjoying power and pelf. Inspired by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts and struggle, SUCI stands against such attempts; we have a different culture, different goal. We



*Comrade Ranjit Dhar placing wreath at the Statue of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatsila.*

are not driven by pragmatism, by consideration of prospects of some immediate gains, by thoughts of losing one parliamentary seat or other; we place more emphasis on revolutionary necessity that entails emancipation of people from all kinds of exploitation through revolutionary transformation of the society. We have as our beacon the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which state among others, that the carnal of any noble ideology lies in its culture, in the cultural-ethical standard reflected by its leaders, cadres and even by the masses fighting under its leadership. Thus even after so much of sufferings, Nandigram people lead perfectly normal life with no untoward incident taking place within that ravaged locality, still recuperating from the grievous wounds inflicted by the hounds like the police and the goons under the patronage of the ruling party.

Comrade Provas Ghosh also dealt at length with how, in course of its development and consolidation since independence, Indian capitalism has assumed the character of imperialism and how in this age of acute economic crisis of world capitalism-imperialism it has plunged into unassailable crisis bringing about intense unemployment, poverty, total cultural degradation for the masses, while the Indian monopolists now compete with monopolists of other countries, buy corporates abroad at huge costs and thereby earn places among the richest of the world. Hence, the common toiling people can not think of their emancipation without overthrowing this capitalism from the state power of India through anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

*EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE*