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“People may ask, since Marxism is accepted as the guiding ideology by the majority of the people in our country, can it be criticized? Certainly it can. Marxism is scientific truth and fears no criticism. If it did, and if it could be overthrown by criticism, it would be worthless. In fact, aren't the idealists criticizing Marxism everyday and in every way? And those who harbour bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and do not wish to change — aren't they also criticizing Marxism in every way? Marxists should not be afraid of criticism from any quarter. Quite the contrary, they need to temper and develop themselves and win new positions in the teeth of criticism and in the storm and stress of struggle. Fighting against wrong ideas is like being vaccinated — a man develops greater immunity from disease as a result of vaccination. Plants raised in hothouses are unlikely to be hardy. Carrying out the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend will not weaken, but strengthen, the leading position of Marxism in the ideological field.”

— Mao Zedong, (“On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People” SW : Vol. V, p 411)



26.9.1893 – 9.9.1976

Glimpses from Mao Zedong Thought

[Of late, there is a persistent attempt on the part of the quarters of vested interest subservient to and abettor of the ruthlessly oppressive capitalist rule to denigrate the great Marxist authorities and distort their thoughts and teachings as part of a sinister move to keep the oppressed and exploited poor away from the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally, the tirade is directed against great Mao Zedong as well. While paying homage to this great leader of the proletariat on the occasion of his 33rd death anniversary, we are presenting below a few of his invaluable teachings on some questions having bearing on the present-day revolutionary struggle both in our country as well as in the world.]

On freedom in bourgeois democracy

“Certain people ... think that there is too little freedom under our people's democracy and that there is more freedom under Western parliamentary democracy. They ask for a two-party system as in the West,

with one party in office and the other in opposition. But this so-called two party system is nothing but a device for maintaining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; it can never guarantee freedoms to the working people. As a matter of fact, freedom and democracy exist not in the

abstract, but only in the concrete. In a society where class struggle exists, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited. If there is democracy for the bourgeoisie there is no democracy

for the proletariat and other working people. The legal existence of the Communist Party is tolerated in some capitalist countries, but only to the extent that it does not endanger the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie; it is not tolerated beyond that.” (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People; SW : Vol. V p. 388)

On the imperativeness of determining correct political line

... “History tells us that correct political and military lines do not

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Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day observed throughout the country

[Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Meetings were held in different states with great solemnity on and from 5 to 11 August last. We could cover only two observance meetings, in West Bengal and Kerala, in the last issue of our Proletarian Era. In this issue we cover the rest.]

New Delhi

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day was observed in Delhi on 6 August at Gandhi Peace Foundation Hall. The meeting presided over by Comrade Pran Sharma, was addressed by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C) as the main speaker. Comrade Pratap Samal, Secretary, Delhi State Organizing Committee also addressed the meeting.

Speech of

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

pointed out that the all-out crisis existing since long, has aggravated today to such an extent that people are bursting out in discontent all over the country. It is not just an economic crisis, it is all-pervasive engulfing political, social and particularly the cultural and ethical aspects of life where people suffer the most. But what is the reason of such a crisis? As far back as in 1946-47, when nobody else could even think of it and when he had only started to go ahead with the founding of our party in 1948,

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had provided the answer by pointing out that with independence imminent, however, capitalist rule was going to be established in the country, but nobody was raising this question while guiding the freedom struggle. There was just the call to drive the British away as if all problems would end with that. Comrade Ghosh had warned that this was not to be so. He questioned: would all the exploiters be gone with the British? What about the exploiters of our own country? But with the British gone, such an atmosphere was created as if all our problems were ended. The fight for freedom had been the only struggle and since

independence had been achieved, may be through compromise, what was the need to fight any more: such was the mood being created. But with each day passing by, people started to realize that the matter was not that simple. The British were gone, but the Indian capitalists have come to power. And the capitalist rule they have set is no less exploitative than the foreign rule, rather it is more treacherous and fierce. In course of time they have even established fascism. The Indian monopolists have acquired a special position in the world. And within the country capitalist exploitation is mounting higher and higher. But

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Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolution

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despite the present tremendous recession, there is no monopolist, no corporate, who is not making profit. On top of that, the government is declaring "stimulus package" of millions, even billions of rupees, for them to be paid from the public exchequer. The so-called communist parties like the CPI, the CPI(M) are not launching any movement against this. And the CPI(ML) are struggling with loud slogans of revolution, but where it is leading to? Rather using their stray killing of policemen as the plea even fiercer onslaughts are being brought down on poor people

Comrade Chakraborty added that massive discontent of people is reflected in several movements. But they do not find the correct path. To find out the correct way of solving problems is the main task, since without it a revolution cannot occur. This is what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh emphasized most. He had stressed that ours is a capitalist state and only by uprooting capitalism we may be free from exploitation. However it is not that once the correct path is found, revolution will automatically occur. As with England or America, where evidently overthrow of capitalism should be the main object of revolution, why then there is no revolution even in those countries? If commensurate with the line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution, a life-style, a culture and ethics is not developed, revolution cannot occur. With anti-capitalist revolution achieved socialism is established. Socialism means ownership of the entire society on the means of production. How can social ownership be brought about if socialist thinking does not become dominant in society, if people do not accept and acquire socialist culture?

Nothing can happen merely shouting slogans of anti-capitalist revolution. For revolution, there must be revolutionary outlook of life based upon which the new civilization will be created. Even if the entire society may not want it, for people of at least a large part of it character, culture and approach to life should be changed by what is called proletarian culture. Marx had shown that before proletariats emerged, there were the slaves who could be bought and sold. Even the master could kill the slave. Slaves, despite fighting for their freedom, could not free the society from

exploitation. This was the historical limitation. In feudal period, feudal lords and serfs appeared. The latter were tied to and worked on their own land. Production system was like this. So was the mode of production. Serfs did not get the share of the produce. The landlord used to hand over what little portion he liked. Still then, in it lay the ingredient of individual welfare and interest. So social ownership could not be established. Marx then showed that the working class was born under capitalism and production became social. Be it small or large, in factories work cannot be done alone, it has to be collective. But the workers received only wage and no part of the produce. Thus the workers were detached from produce, from private property. Their lifestyle, mode of production were collective, purpose of production social. So it was working class alone which can bring about social ownership on production provided they can acquire the proletarian culture. The worker is born in a bourgeois society with bourgeois thoughts. He is to be freed from these thoughts and who is going to free him? Party is needed for this. And the working class party is the advanced section of the working class who accepted proletarian culture in all aspects of their life and based on this have moulded their outlook of life and are trying to wage a struggle against individualist thoughts. Only they can be party members. Primarily to be a communist, party interest has to come first and individual interest would be secondary. A communist must be a revolutionary, but a good communist is a professional revolutionary, whose life is identified with party life. Party life is one and only life for him. It is not possible to be identified with the party, class and revolution in a day. We must develop ourselves through struggles as such professional revolutionaries. But for this, one has to be a communist first and to be so, we must give priority to party interest. Between two tasks to be performed, the mental make up and culture should be to voluntarily and happily take up the party programme – this is communist character. Character is determined by what is the dominant trait in it. If the main feature is collective then the character is communist. Thereafter starts one's struggle to identify his own interests with that

of the party, revolution and the working class, this struggle being one to become a good communist. Earlier, this was not the concept, nor was there any need for it. What was it like in China? There it was an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggle. It was still in the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution, with the communist party and the working class in leadership. People's Democratic Revolution took place, there being no need for transition into capitalism. There was, therefore, some progressive role left for individualism and so such crisis did not arise there, then. It appeared there only after revolution, when individualism had turned utterly rotten. Though during Lenin's time, capitalism had become reactionary, it was during Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's time, that capitalism became so reactionary and decadent that individualism turned terribly degenerated. It is now taking on such a terrible form that even in case of a very good person, it appears in such a subtle way that he himself is not aware. If this happens in case of a communist, then communist movement will go astray. And this is exactly what happened in Russia and China. How the party founded by Lenin and Stalin got destroyed because of individualism! The great party of glorious China that had brought revolution in such a backward country and developed it vastly, later strayed away from Mao Zedong's thoughts. With individualism being so formidable a danger, can our party be free from its influence just because Comrade Ghosh had struggled so much to develop it and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee had advanced it still further? Can it be guaranteed that we shall not degrade? Comrade Ghosh repeatedly showed that the problem is not like this. Even if one has cleansed one's mind through struggle, mud and dirt will go on settling in it, since capitalist individualist thoughts are prevailing all around. The struggle against it has to be a continuous one.

Comrade Chakraborty went on to say, a terrible situation has come up today. Be it in Jharkhand or Bengal, in Chhattisgarh or in Kashmir, in Assam or in Manipur – everywhere and every now and then people are erupting in anger – but they find no proper way out. Till now, we have not been able to uphold our party line before a larger section of people despite it being the

urgent need. This is the main point today. There is the party, there is strength behind it and a party line. The three things essential for revolution are at our disposal – Comrade Ghosh has left them behind for us. He left the revolutionary concept that without revolutionary theory, there cannot be revolution. This is not simply the line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution; on top of that there is a comprehensive approach to life covering all aspects of life itself based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian culture. What should be its concrete form in India? It cannot be developed by imitating the Soviet Union. The new culture has to be created in tune with the long standing cultural heritage of India. If imposed, people will reject it on the ground that it is foreign – neither have they accepted it thus. This is why CPI could not do much as they could not create new culture despite developing some political movements. True, what they did, they did it sincerely. But they could not provide the new outlook of life. Earlier, people were attracted by them, but now they are moving away from them. Their movements did not progress much.

Comrade Chakraborty showed how Comrade Ghosh had explained that bourgeois democratic revolution in our country took the form of freedom movement. He evaluated and re-evaluated so thoroughly the petty-bourgeois revolutionary characters of that period – Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Subhas Chandra Bose, Khudiram and others. For what reason? Because unless we maintain a continuity with them, we shall not be able to develop a culture higher than theirs. It is only by acquiring the high standard they reflected and effecting a break with it, at the same time, that we will have to reach at the higher realization of Marxism and acquire communist character and communist culture. We should probe and understand deeply the freedom struggle, we will have to know and equip ourselves with the essence of that struggle and attain communist character only by exhausting those values. Comrade Ghosh himself pointed out those attracted by our party are persons who have to some extent, acquired that culture and that too, from this society itself. Otherwise, how could they be

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To change the world, one has to change oneself first

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drawn by an even higher culture? When they come to the party, they already have that minimum standard. When they found the new culture and perceived the newer life approach, they were attracted. This is why they came. This is the reason why, Comrade Chakraborty said, that all those who have joined our party, get respect and honour. They have come with some noble quality – true, it has to be developed further. Party is striving for developing them further and the struggle is on. Without a higher taste a high culture cannot be acquired. Without higher ethics, higher objective – higher ideology cannot be acquired and without the higher culture new civilization can neither be created nor developed – such were the observations of Comrade Ghosh.

What is the fundamental question before us today? Comrade Ghosh had precisely put forward his teaching on this before us. If we can apply his teachings and turn them into action his thoughts then the basis for revolution will be ready for us. Comrade Chakraborty pointed to the void all around. People have no faith in those bourgeois parties like the Congress, BJP, etc. So corrupt they have become. Even the CPI(M) is not free of this corruption. CPI(M) Kerala state secretary PN RI Vijayan is steeped in corruption. If you go to Bengal, there too, you will witness corruption galore. They were fortunate enough that there was no investigation so far in Bengal – it would have revealed that government there is more corrupt. It is because the system itself is corrupt. Not only in our country, all over the world, capitalism has turned corrupt today. History of all countries is replete with instances of corruption. In Japan so many prime ministers had to resign on charges of corruption; it is there in USA, in England. Everywhere, of course including ours. Anyone serving a corrupt system cannot but be corrupt. It is inevitable. So struggle against this system can be carried out only on the basis of a higher noble culture. One who serves the system will gain something out of it and it is this greed which corrupts a person. This system that weighs down upon us will have to be abolished, even at the cost of life. Great price has to be paid, everything will have to be given up without any hesitation. When the mind is imbued with an urge to

give, the character is raised higher. Anti-capitalist thoughts can lead us ahead if we can acquire the culture, the thoughts and the approach of life which Comrade Ghosh has laid down before us. No doubt, comrades are trying to acquire them, but the struggle should be intensified because it is character that attracts people. If our character is not thus advanced then however strong political discussion we hold, it will be ineffective. Books are available aplenty – books by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Shibdas Ghosh. Just by reading them, can anyone become a communist? No you will have to show that it is possible in reality. People would like to see that in reality it is possible to lead this sort of life, acquire such a character. Many people say the culture you reflect is very nice. The thoughts of Comrade Ghosh are wonderful but in our country it is not practicable. We have to show that it is possible. We are not great communists, still whatever we have been, is attained by treading this path and we would not have reached thus far if we had not struggled along this way. Comrade Ghosh has applied it in his life to show that it is possible and so did Comrade Nihar Mukherjee and those of their compatriots who have founded our party. And now we also are trying to prove this. If people finds that it is real and possible, though certainly difficult, they will accept it since they have a yearning for it. This is another main point.

Comrade Chakraborty appealed to comrades to understand this and turn it into action. This is the teaching of Comrade Ghosh. He reiterated Marx that to change the world one has to change oneself. Marx brought about this communist culture. He was asked by many why he was calling it communism, since it was a higher form of humanism. Marx said that it was humanism minus private property. Humanism freed from individual property turns itself into proletarian culture. It is a much higher value than humanism and we have seen it in reality. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is a unique embodiment of it and his has been a fine explanation that one does not become a good communist only by sacrificing private property. Today the struggle to be a good communist is identified with the struggle to be totally free from the private property mental complex. Following him, his compatriots Comrades Nihar

Mukherjee, Sachin Banerjee, Subodh Banerjee, Hiren Sarkar, Prithish Chanda – all of them showed that it is possible. They have shown if one person can acquire the standard, others can too. History will show whether we can do it or not. But this is the only path to be followed and the struggle to be waged.

Today the society is yearning for revolution and this is not just in words, but a fact. You find in the newspapers everyday political unrest has reached a peak. On the one hand, there is the urge for revolution, for social change, for bringing about a new civilization; the older civilization is no longer capable of advancing life. This is the need, but there is no way – the contradiction lies here. Who is to show the way? If we cannot show the way, it will be a terrible failure. We can do that only if we can take the pledge to acquire the desired standard – revolution will then not be far away. Through his own struggle, Comrade Chakraborty said, as the days passed by, he himself became more hopeful. Many people questioned him. One day on the TV an interviewer asked him since he had been there for a long time in the struggle, if he was not discouraged with anti-communist thoughts coming up. His reply was that it was just the reverse; as days go on, his hopes soared higher. Not only in our country, but throughout the world, attraction towards this ideology is being created anew. When capitalism was restored in Russia, how severe was the attack on Marxism by the capitalist-imperialists! How intense was the campaign! Comrade Chakraborty said our comrades out on street collection drive would face the question: how is it that, still then they were following Marxism. But two years back, worldwide recession shook the basis of capitalism. Even the common man, common workers have understood that the days of capitalism are over historically. It was our duty to convince them so that it becomes a firm belief in them. However, they knew it suddenly from the experience of their life; it was correct no doubt. But capitalism will not be abolished without consciousness, without ideologically armed organization and struggle. This is most urgent today. Of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas

Ghosh the most important one is that we should change ourselves. All sorts of problems and difficulties will crop up for the individual in personal life – the more social problems will intensify the greater will be the burden for the individual. If we are entangled in them, when will we fight for emancipation; they would simply weigh down upon us. But, revolution will come if we take the correct path.

Comrade Chakraborty pointed out that the situation is very complex and difficult, yet favourable too. Our leader Comrade Nihar Mukherjee himself pointed this out repeatedly from his realization and we find it too. All the bourgeois parties have lost the faith and confidence of the people; it is the same with the CPI-CPI(M) and Naxalites too; yet we are gaining in confidence of the people. Throughout the country people are getting attracted towards the SUCI(C), even in thousands in some states. ASHA workers in thousands are joining in different districts of Karnataka, there being not sufficient number of cadres to look after them. Party has instructed to develop cadres right from them only. So is the situation in Kerala, and elsewhere, not to speak West Bengal. There, if the CPI-CPI(M) and their other partners RSP-Forward Block are defeated, which they will be, who will take their place? If we cannot, the reactionary forces will come up. So we will have to develop mighty movements. Even if CPI(M), from electoral motive, may try to launch movement there in West Bengal, the cadres have remained idle for long, do not think of movement too, nothing much will come out of it. But we can accomplish that task. Delhi comrades have a specific responsibility of developing themselves because if party develops in Delhi, our organizations in other states will be benefitted as well. When people are looking ahead for movement, they will find that yes, there is one party which stages movement for people's benefit, in their interest. They will see that in order to protect the interest of people, leaders and cadres of this party are ready to even sacrifice their life. We have to organize people. We have to launch powerful movements on burning problems of people's life, their various urgent demands. The need

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Historical necessity worked for emergence of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as a giant communist leader

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of the hour is to move ahead. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty ended his speech with the hope that on the occasion of Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day, while paying homage to the great leader, all the comrades present in the rally will take this pledge to accomplish this task.

Ghatshila (Jharkhand)

The 34th memorial day of the great proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was observed at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatshila on 5th August in a meeting organised by the State Organizing Committee of Jharkhand.

After the Red Flag was hoisted in the morning by Comrade Hem Chakraborty, the SOC secretary at the Study Centre, the Polit Bureau member of our party, SUCI(C), Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Comrade Hem Chakraborty and In-Charge of the Study Centre Comrade Moloy Basu, including leaders of the mass organizations of the state placed wreaths at the statue of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The KOMSOMOL comrades of the party offered their Guard of Honour to the great leader of the proletariat.

The memorial meeting, presided over by Comrade Hem Chakraborty, was held in the afternoon.

Speech of Comrade Ranjit Dhar

Comrade Ranjit Dhar in his long address as the main speaker said, it is capitalism that is the root cause of the all-out crisis pervading social-economic-political spheres of the country. The only solution of these crises lies in the overthrow of the capitalist system and establishment of socialism through revolution led by the working class. This is the only genuine path destined by history. For this revolution, a revolutionary party of the proletariat is indispensable, Comrade Dhar emphasized. Finally, Comrade Dhar discussed how the SUCI(C) developed with all the characteristics of a genuine communist party on Indian soil through strenuous and painstaking struggle led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Dhar appealed to all present to strengthen this party

for this revolution in the country.

Assam

State level memorial meeting of Assam was held on 9 August at Laxmiram Barua Sadan, Guwahati. In that meeting presided over by Comrade Bhupendra Nath Kakati, member, Assam State Committee of the SUCI (Communist), the main speaker was Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI (Communist). In his brief speech, Comrade Kalyan Chowdhury, Member, Central Committee and Secretary, Assam State Committee, said that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in delineating the task of successfully accomplishing socialist revolution, the only way to bring about emancipation of the toiling people referred to four essential conditions—emergence of correct revolutionary working class party, establishing leadership of the party, both ideological and organizational over the democratic movements to be developed on the burning issues of life, building up united front of struggle leading to formation of class front for revolution and setting up people's struggle committees on the lines of the soviets for conducting the movements and for gradually giving rise to people's alternative political power. He called upon the people of Assam to come forward and fulfill the unaccomplished tasks of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Speech of Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

In his exhaustive addresses at Bangalore, Jaipur and Guwahati, Comrade Bhattacharyya spoke about various aspects of the life and struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and discussed how his teachings help us analyzing the issues and questions having bearing in the present day national and international situations and guide us in conducting struggles for bringing about anti-capitalist revolution.

Recalling the life's struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, various aspects of his thoughts and teachings, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya presented elaborate discussion regarding the duties and responsibilities of the party workers in the present situation. He said that a feeling of grief and great loss pervaded the entire party when this

great leader of ours breathed his last on 5 August in the year 1976 in a sudden heart attack. 5 August every year comes as a day of great sorrow in our life but at the same time it steels the leaders, cadres, supporters and all people connected to the party anew in the resolve anew to fully dedicate themselves in the revolutionary struggle. He said, emergence of wise leaders like Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong-Shibdas Ghosh is not an every day affair. The historical need of a particular time gives rise to great leaders like them. History will record how the Indian proletariat in its struggle for emancipation gave birth to such a rare genius.

Like the other great leaders it is such a historical necessity that worked for the emergence of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as a communist leader and philosopher in the Indian soil. In the context of explaining this necessity for the emergence of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Bhattacharyya told in brief that since the beginning of the freedom movement against British imperialism there were two distinct trends, compromising reformist and the uncompromising. The Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and backed by the power of money and propaganda of the national bourgeoisie represented the compromising trend and as its counter-current developed the courageous armed uncompromising struggle of the petty bourgeois revolutionaries. The revolutionaries' outlook was to declare war against British imperialists for the freedom of the mother land and to resist arms by arms. This very current reflected the legitimate aspiration of 90-95 per cent of the country for freedom from exploitation. Anushilan Samity was one of the foremost revolutionary organizations of the uncompromising current, which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh joined in his school days. While carrying out the revolutionary activities under the instruction of the leadership in Calcutta in the early 40s, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was arrested on the ground of sedition. But the police failed to prove the charge and he was saved from impending capital punishment. He was sent to prison for several years. While in prison, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and other

revolutionaries, observing the currents and cross-currents of the freedom movement, could feel that it had assumed a mass character with the involvement of all sections of the toiling masses. So, the necessity of hitherto accepted plans and programmes of theirs were exhausted in the natural course. Secondly, it also became clear to them that through compromise with the British imperialism, the Indian national bourgeoisie comprising Tatas, Birlas, Dalmias and having the Indian National Congress as its political representative was going to usurp the power, as a consequence of which the people would be chained into a new system of exploitation—capitalist exploitation. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh along with his handful comrades-in arms was also able to understand that the party which was formed in the 20s with the name Communist Party of India (CPI) was not a genuine Marxist party. The imminent tragedy could have been averted had there been a genuine Marxist party. Lenin's guideline and teachings have been that in the present decadent stage of capitalism, the national liberation movements cannot be led to victory under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie as the latter has turned out and out reactionary. If the hegemony of the bourgeoisie is established, then it will mean treachery to the movement. Hence it is incumbent on the genuine Marxist party to participate in the national liberation struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies in such a way as to keep the bourgeoisie away from establishing its hegemony over these struggles and instead strive for establishing genuine working class leadership on these freedom movements to lead those to their successful culmination and ensured genuine emancipation of the toiling masses. Lenin categorically stated that in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the bourgeois democratic revolutions in different countries have also become part of the world proletarian revolution. But the so-called Communist Party of India instead of discharging that role, kept itself, in the beginning, aloof from the Congress that initially grew as a broad platform of all forces of the

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Merger of individual interest with social interest marks true communist character today

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freedom movement, and thus allowed the compromising bourgeois leadership to tighten its hold on it. Afterwards, when Congress went completely in the grip of the bourgeoisie, the then undivided CPI joined the Congress as an associate. Till then the Congress had not developed as a well-knit class party of the capitalists and the situation was favourable for establishing the working class leadership over the national liberation struggle following Lenin's teaching. But CPI did not traverse that way. After Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President of the Congress for the second time, when the infamous Panth proposal was brought as a conspiracy to deprive him of power, CPI, virtually opposed Netaji instead of standing by him. The so-called Communist Party not only strongly opposed the historic Quit India movement of 1942 in the name of opposing Hitler's fascism, it joined hands with the British imperialism to suppress it. Not only that, CPI even supported the sinister two-nation theory based on religion and acquiesced in the heinous imperialist conspiracy to vivisect India on the basis of religion.

At that time, the revolutionaries of the Anushilan Samity who were getting attracted towards Marxism developed serious questions about the CPI and reached the conclusion that the CPI was not a genuine Marxist party. Owing to the attempt to build up a genuine Marxist party on this soil following this understanding the Anushilan Samity leadership formed the RSP and declared it to be the genuine Marxist party. But although Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was also convinced about the non-Marxist character of the CPI, he also concluded that the formation of RSP was also not in accordance with the Leninist method of party formation. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh again and again tried to bring home the truth to the leaders of Anushilan Samity and the first ranking leaders of the RSP that those who would initiate the struggle to build up a genuine Marxist party would have to start a socialist movement of a new kind covering all aspects of their life. They had to acquire proletarian

culture in the process of the struggle to become declassed. On the basis of this very painstaking struggle of grasping Marxism and building up mass movement and class struggles and on the basis of its correct application, it would be clearly revealed how much one had been freed from private property and private property mental complex. At least the leaders must attain this standard before the party is formed pending which, democratic centralism based on ideological centralism and organizational centralism, the kernel of a true Marxist party, cannot be made operative. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh again and again tried to bring home to the RSP leaders that they were committing the same blunder as did the CPI leaders and hence the consequence would be no different. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya in this connection also mentioned that whereas Comrade Shibdas Ghosh could pinpoint the preconditions for building up a genuine Communist party and in the process advance a comprehensive theory of party building, M. N. Roy, in spite of his great erudition and organizational ability and being a leader of the international communist movement, failed to do so.

The discerning people in the freedom movement were fully aware that the exploited people of the country by freedom did not mean only liberation from the exploitation of British imperialists, they wanted freedom from want and poverty, not only freedom from imperialist exploitation, but from capitalist exploitation, exploitation of feudal landlords and money-lending sharks, in short, emancipation from all sorts of exploitation of man by man. They could feel that in the obtaining situation marked by the absence of a genuine communist party, this legitimate aspiration of the exploited millions would remain unfulfilled. Recognizing this historic necessity, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh engaged himself in a rare struggle to build up a genuine communist party on the soil. Comrade Ghosh was alone, unknown to the people, having no formal academic qualification, no fame, no money, not even a place to sleep. Departed freedom fighter Comrade Rathin Sen, a foremost leader during the crucial days of

party formation, in course of his reminiscence of this very painstaking struggle to build up a revolutionary party of a completely different mettle once said to us that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh arrived in Calcutta city when he was only 16-17, unshaven, mostly bare in the upper half, wearing a dhoti up to his knees, but firm with revolutionary audacity. Rathin Sen was senior to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in age. In the Anushilan Samity Rathin Sen was the leader of Shibdas Ghosh. But when the two met after being freed from jail, Rathin Sen addressed him as *apni* (an honorific form in Bengali expressing respect) and said, 'I can't address you any more the way I did earlier'. A few days before he passed away, Comrade Rathin Sen while emotionally recollecting in deep respect the unfading memory of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh told us, 'After coming out of jail I found Shibdas Ghosh a completely different person. In knowledge, thought, wisdom, even in his outward appearance Shibdas Ghosh was totally different from his earlier self.' Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya said, this marked change was the outcome of the arduous all-embracing socialist struggle that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh conducted while inside the jail to achieve the requisite proletarian revolutionary character needed to lead the process of party formation.

Comrade Bhattacharyya said, while concretizing Marxism-Leninism in the soil the realization of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was further developed and enriched. In determining the class character of the state he showed that the national bourgeoisie came to occupy the state power on 15 August 1947. As a result the liberation struggle of the Indian people reached a new stage—the stage of accomplishing anti-capitalist socialist revolution. While formulating the strategy of anti-capitalist revolution alongside developing the SUCI (C) as the genuine communist party for carrying out this revolution, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also upheld the true essence of the revolutionary politics. Comrade Ghosh said, politics calls for nobler feelings of heart; nobler still is the feeling that spurs us on to revolutionary politics. With firm

determination he said that a band of professional revolutionaries for whom revolution is life would have to be reared within the revolutionary movement. Secondly, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said, that Lenin's explanation of correct revolutionary theory was not only confined to determination of the stage of revolution, it was a theory that called for conduction of a socialist movement covering all aspects of life, including sex, to achieve revolutionary class outlook and character. Thirdly, the working class is homogeneous and its class interest is to free the suffering humanity from the fetters of exploitation. So in a communist party which is the only revolutionary working class, the concept of democratic centralism has to be developed based on uniformity of thinking, one process of thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh further showed that though capitalism had already entered into its decadent phase during Russian revolution and Chinese revolution, still the appeal of humanism was not completely exhausted then. But today with capitalism in its death throes, humanism as superstructure of capitalism has become totally reactionary. During Lenin's time a true communist had been defined as one who would place social interest above individual interest in case of contradiction between the two. But this standard has become inadequate today and hence cannot show us the correct path today. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that in this moribund phase of capitalism when individualism has assumed a menacing face, to be a true communist one will have to completely identify individual interest with the social interest. This great contribution of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Bhattacharyya said, will enlighten the path of resurgence of world communist movement with a new strength. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh lucidly explained that without the birth of the realization that individual interest and social interest are one and the same we cannot get rid of individualism. If individualism continues with its impact on the communist

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'Maoists' spurning Mao's teachings, pursuing Debray theory

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movement, it will not be possible to even inflict a scratch on the enemy, and as has happened in Russia and China, communist movement will be victim of modern revisionism. So today, if we want to build up genuine communist movement it has to be done on the basis of the most advanced understanding of Marxism-Leninism which is embodied in the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Dwelling on the present political situation of the country, Comrade Bhattacharyya said that polarization among the political parties today is vivid. The sharp polarization between the handful of exploiters and millions of exploited is glaring both in economic as well as political spheres. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who showed that although outwardly there appear to be many opposing forces in politics, viewing the situation from the context of ultimate struggle, there are only two contending forces—one for revolution and other opposing revolution. There are many political parties in the country, the position of all the parties other than us is one and the same. None of them are taking any effective step against capitalism, against capitalist rule and exploitation. All these parties serve capitalism, they are in the payroll of oppressive capitalism. The capitalist class with its money and media power creates them and keeps them alive. It may look surprising, but the CPI (M) and CPI, despite everything they talk about Marxism, also fall in the same category of subservience to ruling capitalism. What is their latest stand about the oppressive capitalist class? Instead of going against capitalism the CPI (M) and the CPI have become friends of the capitalists. Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee and other CPI (M) leaders are now resenting that it had not been a right step on their part to break friendly relations with Congress on the issue of nuclear agreement. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya said, we have shown long back that opposing the nuclear agreement was just a tactics of Prakash Karat and others. In the last parliament elections the Congress was their opponent in West Bengal and Kerala. So to reap electoral gains, it was necessary for them to stage some mock fight with the Congress. But, this could not be done if they continued to maintain alliance and overt friendly relation with the Congress at the Centre. So, Prakash Karat and others had to work out a tactics of feigning opposition to the Congress albeit temporarily centring the issue of nuclear treaty with the US. Now, again there is a move within the CPI(M) to strengthen ties with the Congress, the most trusted party of the ruling capitalists. The CPI(M) leaders have forsaken revolution and their only aim now is to win elections and be in the corridor of power by appeasing the capitalist class. Serving the interest of the bourgeois class wearing a cloak of Marxism is nothing new for them. As a result of their anti-left policies and activities during the last 34 years of their uninterrupted rule in the state of West Bengal, the citadel of left movement, the rightist Congress is again raising its ugly head.

On the other side, Comrade Bhattacharyya

said, those who claim themselves to be Maoists and are talking of armed revolution right now, in fact are indulging in some stray violence and individual assassination. It is not clear at all whether all these adventurist actions of theirs are for seizure of power or part of mass movements. If it is for seizure of power, against whom is this fight? What is their characterization of the main enemy? Lenin taught us that the fundamental question of revolution is the question of state power. The same thing Mao Zedong expressed in his own style: main question of revolution is the determination of correct base political line. Only the other day a leader of those who claim themselves as Maoist held that the Indian government is a puppet of the foreign imperialists. It shows that they consider imperialism as the main enemy. Today everybody knows that as a military power India occupies the sixth place in the world. Its economic might is also formidable. It is already well-established that India is a modern capitalist state and the national bourgeoisie holds the state power here. But Maoists do not accept it. Before starting the real struggle for the seizure of power by identifying the main enemy without giving any thought towards the imperative necessity to rouse the entire people of the country strongly in favour of revolution by conducting painstaking political and ideological struggle inside the country, they are thinking of accomplishing revolution by pursuing the policy of individual assassination, killing police and CRP personnel and some other persons they brand as enemy's spy here and there and thus creating an environment of terror. This theory of the Maoists is but similar to the theory of Regis Debray. This goes against Marxism-Leninism, against the thoughts of Mao Zedong. It was Mao Zedong's teaching that unless the overwhelming section of the people could be roused in favour of revolution, mass uprising cannot begin. Fight for the seizure of power cannot start. That is, before the fight for seizure of power it is necessary to establish the leadership of revolutionary party on the people. Exactly, this had happened in the case of the Russian revolution and Chinese revolution.

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya also said, Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong as well as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh repeatedly taught us that revolution cannot come about without freeing the people from the illusion of parliamentary politics wherever it has taken a firm root. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also showed that it could be possible by developing well organized democratic movements on the legitimate demands conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution and thus gradually elevate the political consciousness of the people and expose hollowness of parliamentary politics. How much of these imperative tasks the Maoists had accomplished, asked Comrade Bhattacharyya. Comrade Bhattacharyya observed that despite being disgusted with various vote-seeking political parties, 80-85 per cent of the people take part in the elections. This is the reality. So, the activities of the 'Maoists' are actually harming the cause of revolution. By shielding capitalism,

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Comrade Krisigna Chakraborty addressing in Delhi



Comrade Ranjit Dhar addressing at Ghatshila



Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya addressing in Bangalore



Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya addressing in Jaipur



Comrade Satyawan addressing at Rohtak

Capitalism fomenting divisive thoughts to disunite toiling people



Comrade Satyawar addressing at Patna



Comrade Gopal Kundu addressing at Gangtok, Sikkim



Comrade Gopal Kundu addressing at Agartala



Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee addressing at Vadodhara



Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee addressing at Nagpur



Comrade Pratap Samal addressing at Guna

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the main enemy, and drawing some young men and women into the fold of the politics of individual assassination in the fight against an formidable section of the struggling force. Since their action is not having public support, the ruthlessly coercive capitalist state armed to the teeth and having most modern military might at its command will crush it in no time. Some blooming youth will end their life prematurely and those who will remain alive will become extremely frustrated and will either move away from politics or lean towards parliamentary politics as had happened in the past Naxalite movement. After end of the Naxalite movement, many of those who survived retreated to parliamentary politics joining the CPI (M). The same will happen with the 'Maoists'. And the capitalists from behind would smile, remaining unscathed. Thus, the 'Maoists' are only harming the real revolutionary struggle. We are trying to impress these points on them again and again.

Referring to another aspect of concern, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya said that in the country people are ready to die and are actually dying in pursuit of a change of the suffocating situation. But all these struggles and sacrifices being guided by wrong politics and under wrong leadership are leading to failures. One section of the oppressed people is pitted against another, indulging in fratricidal bloodbath, engaged in internecine clashes. But, it is clear that people are craving for a change. So the need of the hour is the emergence of a powerful genuine revolutionary leadership over the people's struggles and save them from going astray by falling in the grip of wrong leadership.

Discussing the Assam situation very briefly Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya said that the so-called Assam movement which erupted in 1979 had, besides other things, severely damaged whatever little current of leftism could be created before that. Since then fanatic provincialism has been devastating the state for the last thirty years. It is capitalism that gives rise to fanatic provincialism; because they want to keep people divided. Capitalism cannot exist without dividing the people, disrupting the unity and fraternity of the toiling masses. What did the so-called Assam movement bring to the poor people of Assam, asked Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya? This movement, developed in the name of protecting identity, in reality has endangered the very geographical existence of Assam. Wrong concept and wrong leadership can never bring positive results. Communalism, regionalism, caste discrimination do not emanate from the proletarian class thoughts. They are precipitated by the decadent moribund capitalism in its frantic bid to keep the people disunited. So these are nothing but vile bourgeois class thoughts. Fanatic chauvinism is the reflection of bourgeois class thoughts that finally take the shape of divisism and separatism. Due to pernicious impact of these reactionary divisive bourgeois thoughts, the desired process of building up legitimate democratic movements on the various

demands of the people like rapid industrialization, gainful employment, education and healthcare for all, etc., is being seriously hampered. Like in the entire country, in Assam also no other party barring the SUCI(C) is upholding before the people the line of struggle identifying the capitalist as the main enemy. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya ended his speech by calling upon the people to strengthen the SUCI(C), the weapon of the emancipation of the working people in order to develop true communist movement on the basis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought throughout the country including Assam.

Karnataka

On 5 of August, memorial Day meeting was organized at Gandhi Sahitya Sangha, Malleswaram, Bangalore.

Comrade K. Radhakrishna, State Secretary and Member of the Central Committee of the party addressed the gathering first. He explained how the party had emerged as the real leader of the people's movements in Karnataka while all other parties had become bankrupt by following corrupt and opportunistic politics. He pointed out that the party had acquired this prominent position by following the thoughts of Comrade Ghosh diligently. The meeting was presided over by Comrade B.R. Manjunath, Staff Member and District Secretary of the Party

Rajasthan

A state level memorial meeting of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist thinker of this era and the founder General Secretary of the party, SUCI was held at Gokulbhaibhatt Bhavan, Jaipur, on 7 August. Comrade Girijeswar Singh, Secretary, Rajasthan State Organizing Committee of our party presided over the meeting. Comrade Asit Bhattacharya, Member, Polit Bureau, was the main speaker.

Tamilnadu

34th memorial day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was observed by Tamilnadu State Organising Committee of SUCI(Communist) at MM Hall, Chennai, Tamilnadu on 8th August, 2010.

The meeting was presided over by Comrade A. Rengasamy, Secretary, Tamilnadu State Organising Committee and was addressed by Comrade C. K. Lukose, Central Committee member, SUCI (Communist) as the main speaker.

Comrade A. Rengasamy in his brief presidential speech stressed on the need for building up of people's movement on various burning issues.

Comrade C K Lukose said, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh upon realising the absence of a genuine working class party in Indian soil founded SUCI(C) in 1948 through an arduous life struggle covering all aspects of life based on Leninist principles and in the process he enriched the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Ghosh showed since the outlook of the undivided

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Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought acting like a beacon

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CPI and later CPI(M) and CPI(ML) was non-Marxist they all ended up as petty-bourgeois parties. Today the conduct of these parties only vindicates the penetrating analysis of Comrade Ghosh. Comrade Ghosh gave timely warning about the emergence of modern revisionism in the international arena from the pernicious effects of individualism.

Comrade Lukose concluded saying that : It is the SUCI (Communist), the party reared and nurtured by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, that has emerged as the only fighting instrument in the hands of working class and all the toiling masses throughout the country. On this day let us pledge to identify our interest with the interest of the collective, with the interest of the revolution, with the interest of the party.

Hyderabad (AP)

The 34th memorial day meeting in Andhra Pradesh held on 8 August 2010 at the Press Club, in Hyderabad where Comrade K. Radhakrishna, C.C. member, SUCI(C), was present as the main speaker.

While paying homage to the Great leader of the proletariat Comrade K. Radhakrishna exposed the double-faced character of CPI(M). It was one of the invaluable teachings of Comrade Ghosh that revolution cannot be accomplish in our country without putting an end to social democracy masquerading as communism. The true nature of CPI, CPI(M) and countless splinter groups of the M.L parties is easier to understand now as there is no dearth of dishonesty and political opportunism on their part. But in those days when the CPI basked in the glory of a worldwide recognition and was acclaimed as a communist party inside and outside the country, whose leaders and cadres displayed an exemplary sense of dedication and sacrifice forsaking everything in their possession for the sake of revolution it was near impossible to expose its actual character which was anything but communist. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh successfully unmasked the real face of the CPI long time back in the forties itself. The CPI was subjected to an intense Marxist analysis ever and it was shown that the very birth of CPI was ill-conceived and was hence outside the premises of Marxism-Leninism. The history of undivided CPI and later the CPI(M) and subsequent M.L groups has been a history of compromises with principles. The latest in line was the CPI(M)'s national meet at Vijayawada. The meeting was being held, going by the history of that party and its conduct, to find a scapegoat for the continuous erosion of their popularity, stunningly reflected in West Bengal elections in the recent past. The next Assembly elections in West Bengal are not far away and unless a scapegoat is searched out for public consumption they cannot salvage the party's image in the run up to Assembly elections. In the history of communist movement, no genuine communist party in the world has vertically split. A few individuals' walking out of the party is not akin to a vertical split. There had always been dissenters even in the communist

parties and even men like Marx, Lenin and Stalin had to deal with them. But it was not a case of party splitting. If the CPI or the CPI(M) split to give birth to other parties it was because they were never genuine parties. Split means presence of groups and groups are incompatible to a genuine communist party as the party symbolizes collectivism and collective will of the working class and working class cannot have two diametrically opposite interests. Elaborating further, Comrade Radhakrishna showed how Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thought is sine qua non for achieving anti-capitalist revolution in our country and how it acts like a beacon in the international communist movement as well. The growing interest globally for Comrade Ghosh's works and thoughts is a clear indication in this regard. When Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was confronted with the question of how to build up a genuine communist party in India in the then seemingly insurmountable difficult conditions without any resources he replied that even if he could not be successful in doing so he could at least lay the first brick of foundation for a genuine party upon which an edifice could be built by his successors. He considered it to be an act of slavery to give up the struggle as he realized that the Indian working class could not be emancipated without a genuine communist party. Comrade K. Sridhar, secretary, A.P. State Organizing Committee of our party while addressing the gathering said that the whole social atmosphere in every sphere — social, political, cultural, ethical and moral — is vitiated polluting and degrading the people's life. Corruption has become the order of the day and it so naked that everybody accepts it as a natural phenomenon. All the political parties including the so-called left parties are serving openly the exploitative capitalist class to the complete detriment of the people's interest. The only way out from such a deplorable situation is to develop mighty democratic people's movement conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution under the leadership of a only genuine communist party SUCI(C).

The memorial meeting was presided over by Comrade Murahari, member, AP State Organizing Committee, SUCI (C).

Agartala (Tripura)

Tripura State Organising Committee of SUCI(C) organized the Memorial Meeting at Dasharath Deb Hall in Agartala on 5 August. After a short speech of the president of the meeting Comrade Arun Bhowmik, Secretary, State Organising Committee of Tripura, the main speaker Comrade Gopal Kundu, a member of the Central Committee of our party delivered speech on the contribution of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in building up a genuine communist party, the SUCI(C). Comrade Kundu reminded us about the hard struggle against all odds and adverse situation Comrade Ghosh had to wage, being an unknown youngster, coming from a lower middle class family with a view to building up a communist party in spite of the presence of a

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Leaders on the dais and a part of gathering at Bhubaneswar, Orissa on 7 August



Comrade Arun Singh addressing at Bhopal



Comrade Dwarika Rath addressing in Mumbai



Comrade Asoke Samanta addressing at Andamans



Guard-of-honour by KOMSOMOL at Ghatshila

There is no single problem in post-Lenin Period that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh did not cast light on

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large party CPI, recognized by Stalin and Mao, and other big parties like RSP, FB, RCPI, Bolshevik party and M N Roy-led Democratic Vanguard etc. Comrade Ghosh came to realize with a heavy heart, deep pain and sorrow that the immense sacrifice giving away of lives of thousands of youths, imprisonment of lakhs of people in the anti-imperialist freedom struggles of our country were going in vain as Indian capitalists were coming to power in absence of a genuine communist party. In this backdrop he built up the SUCI(C). After that Comrade Kundu spoke about the struggles the party had to wage by mobilizing the masses against the capitalist onslaught which are increasingly coming down daily due to the global economic meltdown of capitalism and in the course of these struggles, the party had spread out in 19 states. He also stressed that people everywhere are coming forward, marching on the street, with any leadership or not, and the bourgeois, petty bourgeois parties in the process of providing service to the ruling class are getting isolated gradually. So the future lies with the revolutionary party and he appealed to all to come forward to strengthen the SUCI(C) in every possible way.

Sikkim

On the occasion of the Memorial Day, a group discussion was held at Upper Siaheri in Gangtok in Sikkim. Comrades Gopal Kundu, member, of Central Committee of SUCI(C), Sourav Mukherjee, General Secretary, AIDS, Ramesh Sharma, incharge, Sikkim State Unit of SUCI(C) and Sukman Subba on behalf of AIDS Sikkim State Organizing Committee paid floral tribute to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. After that Comrade Gopal Kundu discussed on different aspects of life struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Gopal Kundu also analyzed the present political and economic situation, the crises of capitalism and discussed on how and why movements against the attacks of globalization are to be developed.

Rohtak

Memorial Day meeting was held at the Haryana State Committee on 5 August, at Chhotu

Ram Park Hall at Rohtak, Haryana. Comrade Satyawan, Member of the Central Committee of the party and Secretary Haryana State Committee addressed it as the main speaker dwelling upon the life struggles of the departed great leader. Anoop Singh Matenhil presided over the meeting while Comrade Rajender Singh, Rampal, Roshan Lal also addressed.

Comrade Satyawan pointed out that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh joined the freedom struggle at the tender age of 13. In the long run, he was attracted towards socialism, communism and Marxism while remaining in Anushilan Samity, a revolutionary organization. He emphasized that the struggle of the communists is the struggle to acquire truth. "Had I not found the communist ideology higher and nobler in ethics, culture and values I would never have been a communist", he held categorically. He had a deep love for people. He further maintained that communists are not rootless. They have emerged in continuity with the social progresses of the great men of the past. On the edifice of these and other realizations, he built up SUCI(C) as a genuine Communist Party in continuity of this struggle.

Comrade Satyawan, called upon the workers, peasants and other section of exploited masses to rise up in a wave of mass democratic movements on burning problems of people's life.

Patna

Comrade Satyawan also addressed the Memorial meeting as the main speaker, held on 7 August, 2010 at the Hindi Saritya Samolwalen Hall at Patna, Bihar. There he brought out how Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had enriched and elaborated Marxism-Leninism on the basis of his knowledge and realization acquired through his life-long struggle covering all aspects of life. There is no single problem or issue in the post-Lenin period on which Comrade Ghosh did not cast light. He guided revolutionary party workers to free themselves from the crass individualism by the struggle for identification with the working class, revolution and revolutionary party. Guided by his teachings the SUCI(Communist) is continuing class and mass struggles of the oppressed and exploited masses of

the people.

Comrade Shivshankar, Secretary, Bihar State Committee said in his presidential address that the terrible plight of people due to constant price-rise, acute unemployment, retrenchment, lockout in industries, irreconcilable debt trap and poverty of peasants, rampant cultural, moral, ethical degeneration — all these are the evils of the existing capitalist system. Hence it requires for the masses to carry on sustained mass and class struggles under the revolutionary leadership and on the basis of higher ethics-morality that will culminate to the overthrow of capitalism.

Gujarat

A state level memorial meeting was organised in Vadodara on 5 August. It was presided over by Comrade Bharat Mehta, member, Gujarat State Organising Committee, SUCI(C). Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Central Staff member of SUCI(C) was the main speaker. Cadres, supporters, sympathisers from eight districts of the state attended the meeting despite rain.

The main speaker Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee in both meetings narrated the historic struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and his compatriots during the party formation period. She also showed how the analysis of national and international situation by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on the basis of Marxist-Leninist science has been proved correct even in the present situation. She further showed how the so-called communist parties have turned into the agents of capitalists. She also showed how in the present situation SUCI(C) as the only revolutionary party is engaged in leading people's movement on day to day burning issues of the people in the entire country, and even in the international arena building up a broadest possible left democratic peace forum against U.S. Imperialism and the entire imperialist camp. Lastly she appealed all the participants to support and strengthen SUCI(C).

In the concluding speech Comrade Dwarikanath Rath, Secretary, Gujarat State Organising Committee said, the Party under the guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has never treated Marxism as

a mere political or economic dogma but a way of life. He gave stress on the higher cultural ethical standard of rank and file of the party.

Comrades Tapan Dasgupta, member, Gujarat State Organizing Committee and secretary, Vadodara district Organizing Committee and Comrade Meenakshi Joshi, member, Gujarat State Organising Committee and Secretary, Ahmedabad District Organizing Committee also addressed the meeting.

Mumbai

The Mumbai-Thane Organising Committee of SUCI(C) observed Shibdas Ghosh and Frederick Engel's Memorial Day through public meeting in Chhavidas High School, Dadar (W), Mumbai, on 7 August, 2010. The meeting was presided over by Comrade A. K. Tyagi, Secretary, Mumbai-Thane Organizing Committee, SUCI(C). The main speaker was Comrade Dwarikanath Rath, Staff Member, SUCI(C). Comrade Rath spoke in his speech about the life struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh from his teenage age when he joined 'Anushilan Samity' upto the days the SUCI(C) party was formed. He said Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought and revolutionary struggle on its basis was in the continuation of martyr Shaheed Bhagat Singh — the leader of uncompromising trend in the freedom struggle of India. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh developed the cultural aspect to a new height and he properly combined the social and cultural movement with political movement in India on a higher level. So-called Maoism is an infantile disorder of left movement in the light of Lenin's teaching. The solution of Kashmir problem is political not military. After Bharat Bandh we should further develop mass movement against price-rise and other problems facing our country, he said. Earlier, Comrade Jairam Vishwakarma and Comrade Kumar Kulshreshtha both Mumbai SUCI(C) Organizing Committee members also addressed.

Punjab

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day was solemnly observed in Punjab in a state level meeting held on 8th August at Budhlada. Comrades Aminderpal Singh, Pratap Samal, Inder Singh, Sikander Singh, Jagtar Singh,

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Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day Observed in States

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Inderjit Jodha and Harjinder Kaur paid floral tribute to the portrait of the great leader of the proletariat. Comrade Aminderpal Singh, in-charge, Punjab state presided over the meeting. Comrade Pratap Samal, Delhi State Secretary, was the main speaker. Comrade Partap Samal highlighted the glimpses of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts and teachings, the exemplary arduous revolutionary life struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and he stressed the comrades to imbibe the essence of the invaluable teachings. Comrade Inder Singh also spoke on the occasion.

Durg (Chattisgarh)

Memorial meeting was held at Durg (Chattisgarh) on 9 August with Comrade Viknigat Harode as the president and Comrade Rabin Samajpati, member, Jharkhand State Committee of the party as the main speaker. In his speech Comrade Samajpati detailed the life struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in building up SUCI (C) as the genuine communist party of India. He urged upon all to come forward to build up people's movement along the correct scientific path to make those conducive to the struggle for achieving socialist revolution to fulfill the dream of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrades Atmaran Sahen and Mahendra Kr. Sawn also addressed the meeting.

UP

The memorial meetings were held in different districts of the state Uttar Pradesh.

On 5 August evening the memorial meeting was held in Lucknow Party office. The main speaker was Comrade Swapan Charatterjee, member, State Organizing Committee, U.P. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Jayprakesh Mourya, in-charge of Lucknow party unit.

In Pratapgarh District the memorial meeting attended by local people, party workers and supporters was held at the Patti party office. Comrade V. N. Singh, Secretary, UP State Organising Committee was the main speaker. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Bechan Ali, member, State Organizing Committee and district secretary of the party. Comrade Puspendra, member, state organising committee was another speaker. Comrade Ram Samaujh

Mourya conducted the meeting.

In Sultanpur, the meeting was held at Bointce on 6 August. Comrade Jagannath Verma, district secretary of the party was the President and Comrade V. N. Singh the main speaker. Comrade Jayprakash Mourya was the conductor. Comrade Bechan Ali also addressed.

In Allahabad City the memorial meeting was held at Bigyan Parishad Hall on 8 August. Good number of students and workers had attended the meeting. The meeting was presided over by Comrade S. K. Malaviya, district secretary of the party. Comrade Bechan Ali was the main speaker. Comrade Mohit Mishra district secretary of AIDSO also spoke. Comrade Jharna Malaviya state secretary of AIDSO conducted the meeting.

On 8 August the memorial meeting was also held at Saltanat Bahadur Inter College Hall at Badlapur, Jaunpur district. The main speaker was Comrade V. N. Singh state secretary. Comrade Jagadish Ch. Asthana, district secretary of Jaunpur district was the president of the meeting. The conductor of the meeting was Comrade Surendranath Mourya.

At Kanpur City, the meeting was held at the party office. The main speaker was Comrade Swapan Charatterjee, State Organising Committee member. The president was Comrade Dharmdeo, district

secretary of Kanpur party unit.

In Balia district the meeting was organised on 8 August at Paqua Inner. The President was Comrade Raghavendard State Organizing Committee member. Comrade Pushpendra also a State Organizing Committee member was the main speaker.

Gwalior (MP)

In Madhya Pradesh the memorial day was observed on 10 August at Thorat Palace, Gwalior with party workers, supporters and sympathizers of the party from Guna, Indore and adjoining districts of MP joining the memorial meeting to pay homage to the great leader of the proletariat.

Comrade Pratap Samal, Secretary, Delhi State Organizing Committee of SUCI(C) was present as the main speaker and Comrade Sunil Gopal, in-charge of the Gwalior District Organizing Committee presided over the meeting.

Comrade Samal dealt on the arduous life-struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in building up SUCI(C) on the basis of the correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism. He also called for developing sustained peoples' movement.

Comrade Prodeep R. B., in-charge, Guna District Organizing Committee and Loksan Sharma also addressed the gathering. Comrade Arshi Khan, in-charge of Indore and

Rupesh Jain, Senior member of Gwalior District Organizing Committee were also present.

Bhopal (MP)

Memorial meeting was also held at Bhopal on 9 August with of Comrade Ramavatar Sharma, member, MP State Organizing Committee as the president and Comrade Arun Singh, member, Bihar State Committee as the main speaker. In his speech, Comrade Singh opined that, we can genuinely pay our homage to the great departed leader only if we can devote ourselves completely to the arduous struggle for continuously developing people movement and strengthening SUCI(C) built up by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as the only genuine Communist Party in Indian soil, to accomplish his dream of socialist revolution. Comrade Umapasrad, secretary, M P State Organizing Committee also spoke in the meeting. Comrade J. C. Baroi another member of the state Organizing Committee conducted the meeting.

Andaman and Nicobar Islands

Memorial meetings were held at Rabindranagar and Ramkrishnapur in Little Andaman and Zero Point of Campbell Bay of Great Nicobar Islands. Comrade Asoke Samanta, member, West Bengal State Committee addressed the meetings as the main speaker.

Significant victory of people's movement in Bangalore

A new spirit of struggle is sweeping through the city of Bangalore! A couple of months back, Bruhat Bangalore Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) — the city corporation responsible for the upkeep of the Bangalore city - undertook widening of 216 roads across the city threatening partial or complete destruction of nearly 40,000 properties on either side of these roads. This unprecedented urban displacement threatened the lives and future of 2-3 lakh people in the city. But majority of the citizens thought 'road widening is bound to happen; no one can stop the acquisition of houses and shops; the nexus of the law makers, bureaucrats and builders is too powerful'. But such was not the case to be. A Save Bangalore Committee (SBC) with Comrade B. R. Manjunath, Bangalore district

secretary of our Party as convener was formed to build up resistance against this completely unscientific and irrational road widening scheme of the BJP-led state government and BBMP. The SBC spearheaded various forms of movement including bandhs at various localities of Bangalore. On 4 July, 2010, SBC had organized a citizens' convention at NGO Bhavan, Cubbon Park. It was a resounding success with over 600 citizens from more than 30 localities taking an active part in the meet. The BBMP had tried to justify this scheme by saying it is being done in the 'larger public interest'. This argument was defeated — comprehensively and conclusively — by an ensemble of distinguished speakers with impeccable credentials and social consciousness. The message was simple and straight — 'organize,

fight and stop not until victory!' Citizens' Committees were shaped up in various localities. To weaken the movement and to confuse the people, the ruling party leaders indulged in doublespeak and all other hoodwinking games. But all went abortive. Finally, bowing to the pressure created by this movement, Mayor K.S.Nataraj announced the suspension of the works in 'residential localities for the time being'. He also agreed to review the works on a scientific basis, take the opinion of the citizens and citizen groups into account and review TDRs as they had elicited poor response. This was indeed a transitory victory for people's struggle!

At the same time, SBC also clearly sensed that it was a political move, though a hasty one, only to

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Glimpses from Mao Zedong Thought

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emerge and develop spontaneously ... but only in the course of struggle. These lines must combat "Left" opportunism on the one hand and "Right" opportunism on the other. Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war." (Strategy in China's Revolutionary War)

"...the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." (SW, Vol. V p. 441)

"If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct and even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx.... The crux of the matter is this. This is an irrefutable truth." (Report of the Tenth Congress of the CPC)

On blind copying of a model of revolution

"...Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and it is really well-founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness." (Selected Reading : p. 227)

"The experience of the Chinese revolution, that is, building rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities, may not be wholly applicable to many of your countries, though it can serve for your reference. I beg to advise you not to transplant Chinese experience mechanically. The experience of any foreign country can serve only for reference and must not be regarded as dogma. The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete conditions of your own countries – the two must be integrated." (During a discussion with the representatives of the Communist Parties of Latin America in 1956; SW, Vol. V, p.326).

On conducting 'legal' movement in a capitalist country

"...it is the task of the party of

the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggles and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism. In these countries, the question is one of long legal struggle of utilizing parliament as a platform, of economic and political strikes, of organizing trade unions and educating the workers ... insurrection and war should not be launched until the bourgeoisie become really helpless, ... and until the rural masses are giving willing help to the proletariat.

... the characteristics of China are that she is not independent and democratic but semi-colonial and semi-feudal, that internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and in her external relations she has no national independence, but is oppressed by imperialists. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Basically the task of the communist party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggles before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse ... All this shows the difference between China and the capitalist countries." (Problems of War and Strategy, SW, Vol. II, p. 219)

On the question of growth of political power

"...because of the feudal division of the country, those which have more guns, have more power. Placed in such an environment the party of the proletariat should clearly see to the heart of the matter." Hence, "... without armed struggle the proletariat and the communist party would have no standing at all in China, and it would be impossible to accomplish any revolutionary task" (*ibid.* p. 222)

"...the so-called theory that 'weapons decide everything'... constitutes a mechanical approach... weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor, it is the people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only of a military and economic power, but also of a contest of human power and moral." (On Protracted War, SW, Vol. II, p.143).

On organizing people before starting revolutionary battle

"The fundamental condition...

the indispensable condition for establishing base areas is... to arouse the masses for struggle... We must organize the workers, peasants, youth, women, children, merchants and professional people according to the degree of their political consciousness and fighting enthusiasm into the various mass organizations necessary for the struggle." (*Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla Warfare*; SW, Vol. II, p.98)

"...Some comrades disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity; they will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses, but, riddled with illusions, want only to do big things. This is a remnant of putschism (...relying only on a small number of party members and a small section of the masses and attempting to a series of local uprisings) (On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, SW, Vol. I, p. 107)

"Communists must never separate themselves from the majority of the people or neglect them by leading only a few progressive contingents in an isolated and rash advance, but must forge close link between the progressive elements and the broad masses." (Role of CPC)

"...Some people want to increase our political influence only by means of roving guerrilla actions, but are unwilling to increase it by undertaking the arduous task of building up base areas and establishing the people's political power." (*On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, SW, Vol. I, p.114)

"In the present age of advanced communications and technology, it will be all the more groundless to imagine that one can win victory by fighting in the manner of roving rebels. However the roving-rebel ideas still exist Therefore, ridding the minds of guerrilla commanders of this idea is a prerequisite for deciding on a policy of establishing base-areas." (*Introducing 'The Communist'*, SW, Vol. II, p.94)

On revisionism and left-adventurism

"... 'people ...often neglect to criticize revisionism...It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of Marxism ...revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism...What they advocate is

in fact not socialist line but the capitalist line" (SW, Vol. V, pp.377, 434, 435)

"Two kinds of people hold views differing from ours. Those with a Right deviation in their thinking make no distinction between ourselves and the enemy and take the enemy for our own people. They regard as friends the very persons whom the masses regard as enemies. Those with a "Left" deviation in their thinking magnify contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to such an extent that they take certain contradictions among the people for contradictions with the enemy and regard as counter-revolutionaries persons who are actually not. Both these views are wrong. Neither makes possible the correct handling of the problem of eliminating counter-revolutionaries or a correct assessment of this work." (SW, Vol. V, p. 397)

"...as we criticize dogmatism, we must direct our attention to criticizing revisionism. Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism. The revisionists, the Right opportunists, pay lip-service to Marxism; they too attack "dogmatism". But what they are really attacking is the quintessence of Marxism. (*On Correct Handling of Contradictions* SW, Vol. V p. 412)

"...we must keep in mind the uprooting of revisionism and strengthen our capability to resist revisionism at any time." (*People's China* p. 262)

On method to win conscious support of masses in favour of revolution

"In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution ... Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy. ...

"The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing the minority holding different views to submit is impermissible..."

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(Central Committee directive under instructions of Mao Zedong, People's China, pp. 273-274)

On the danger of counter-revolution

“Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and monsters of all

kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and were corrupted, divided and demoralized by him, if our cadres were thus pulled out or the enemy were able to sneak in, and if many of our workers, peasants and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour.” (We Must Prevent China From Changing Colour — July 14, 1964)

Significant victory of people's movement in Bangalore

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scuttle the growing protests! A Citizens' Protest dharna was organized on 10 August. It was an unprecedented event in the city both in form and size. It began with a Protest March from Mysore Bank Circle and culminated in a Dharna at Banappa Park. Many distinguished people including Justice M.F. Saldana, ex-Judge of Karnataka High Court, Sri. H.S. Doreswamy, veteran freedom fighter, Sri. H.G. Somashekara Rao, Veteran film & theatre artist and Dr. H.G. Jayalakshmi, General secretary, AIMSS, participated in this dharna

apart from nearly 1500 citizens from more than 65 localities of the city. Observing overwhelming mass support, Mr. Aravinda Limbavali, state higher education minister came to the spot of and accepted the memorandum. He has assured the citizens that the matter will be discussed with the Chief Minister once he returns from Delhi. Over the last few days, the government appears to be hardening its stand to go ahead with road widening and hence, SBC has already begun preparing citizens' mind for a long drawn and tough but certainly winnable battle!



Comrade K Radhakrishna All India Vice President of the AIUTUC addressing a 10000 strong rally of ASHA workers at Bangalore on 4 August organized by Karanataka Sanjukta ASHA workers Union during a deputation to the Chief Minister and the Governor of the state

SUCI(C) denounces hefty hike in MPs' Salary

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (Communist) said in a press statement on 20th August, 2010 :

“The amount of money the MPs get at present as salaries and allowances is enough. So there is no justification in further hiking their salaries so fabulously. While the workers-peasants and common people of the country are reeling under the burden of price rise, joblessness-retrenchment and wage squeeze have made the lives of a vast section of the toiling people miserable and while in the name of controlling deficits the government has been slashing allocation to welfare schemes, it is unethical on the part of those political parties and their MPs who call themselves ‘people's representative’ to demand further hike in MPs' salaries. We cannot but also note that the actual intention behind hiking the salaries of the MPs in a regular manner, is to turn them to lackeys of the government and the ruling class.”

AIAIF Kerala State Organizers' Meet

AIAIF Kerala Chapter convened a meeting of organizers and activists on 5th of August 2010 at SATGAMAYA, the residence of Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer in Kochi, which was attended by the office bearers of all Districts of Kerala. The meeting was organized to discuss the future course of activities in the light of intensified attacks of Imperialist

imperialist forces. In his discourse, Comrade Manik Mukherjee analyzed the world situation where the forces of peoples movement are getting strengthened. The efforts to co-ordinate the anti imperialist movements of different countries under the leadership of IAPSCC are advancing to newer heights particularly in Middle East, he said.



Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer addressing Organizers meet of AIAIF in Kochi on 5 August 2010. Dr. D. Surendranath, Comrade Manik Mukharjee and Dr. V. Venugopal seen along with him.

forces, particularly heinous attack of Israel on Palestine and the sanctions on Korea and Iran. Manik Mukherjee, General Secretary of International Anti-Imperialist And People's Solidarity Coordination Committee (IAPSCC) attended the meeting. Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, the President of All India Committee of AIAIF was in the chair. He made a short but spirited speech in which he called upon every citizen of free India to fight with self respect against the new forms of attacks of

Considering these points, AIAIF is thinking to hold 3rd National Convention in 2011 to bring all the forces of movement together to chalk out a plan of more intensified struggle. So he appealed to everybody to stand up to fulfill the new tasks. Summing up the discussions, Dr. D. Surendranath, General Secretary of Kerala Chapter placed an approach paper for future activities. Dr. Venugopal, General Secretary of Janakeeya Prathirodha Samithy also spoke.

At the call of eight central trade unions including All India UTUC

Observe All India General Strike of the Workers on 7 September, 2010

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