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Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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LONG LIVE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION



“The bourgeoisie *needs* hirelings who enjoy the trust of a section of the working class, whitewash and prettify the bourgeoisie with talk about the reformist path being possible, throw dust in the eyes of the people by such talk, and *divert* the people from revolution by giving glowing descriptions of the charms and possibilities of the reformist path. (CW, Vol. 29, p 508)

Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working-class movement is bourgeois socialism, not proletarian socialism. It has been shown in practice that working-class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power. (CW, Vol. 31, p 231)

— V. I. Lenin



“... whatever the military might that the capitalists-imperialists use against the revolutionary struggle of the working class, Marxism-Leninism is the target on which they constantly concentrate their real attack. The tactical line of the bourgeois attack is to distort Marxism-Leninism, to misdirect it, to pass off such things in the name of Marxism-Leninism as would bury the true Marxian science and its concepts, by giving a burial to its quintessence. It is because they find that the influence of Marxism-Leninism is ever on the rise. This is inevitable, for, the irrepressible inclination and desire of people for emancipation draw them towards Marxism-Leninism. (SW. Vol. IV, p 394)

— Shibdas Ghosh

Allahabad High Court verdict on Ayodhya A COMMUNAL AWARD

The judgment of the Lucknow bench of Allahabad High Court on the ownership of the 2.77 acres of disputed land of Ayodhya has stunned the secular-minded, saner section of the people. The ruling of the 3-member Division Bench after nearly 60 years of tortuous litigation has been that the land be divided equally into three parts among the Sunni Waqf Board, Nirmohi Akhara and the parties representing ‘Ram Lalla Virajman’. The verdict has been held “judicially untenable” and likened to a “panchayat’s award by eminent historians, jurists and constitutional experts. According to them, the matter before the court had snowballed beyond title suits and historical facts to issues of sentiment, blind religious faith, lending historicity to an epic figure

like Rama without bothering for any authentic evidence and most regretfully narrow partisan politics and thus the whole Indian legal and judicial system has been brought into contempt, ridicule and disrepute. Moreover, this most contentious verdict has virtually put a seal of approval to the most barbaric demolition of a historic monument like Babri Masjid located on the disputed site on 6 December, 1992 in broad daylight by a group of frenzied armed *karsevaks* belonging to arch Hindu communal Sangh Parivar under direct supervision of top RSS-BJP leaders like Advani and indulgent silence of the then Congress-led Central Government. It has also legalized the makeshift temple at the Babri situate. Again, the prevailing

practice is that if there are both criminal and civil suits centring round a particular matter, the criminal case needs to be settled first. But, Allahabad High Court has given their ruling on the civil suit and thereby considerably diluted the pending criminal case against the persons including Advani and others prosecuted for the ghastly offence of pulling down historic Babri Masjid and practically paved the way for an acquittal of the guilty. Thus, this ruling has given a fillip to the rabidly communal Saffron Brigade by validating its noxious Ram Temple campaign that triggered a series of worst fratricidal bloodbaths round the country and devilish anti-Muslim pogrom in Gujarat sully the very secular fabric of the land. One of the eminent jurists has not

minced matters in calling the verdict a ‘crime piece’.

How the controversy started

Before going into detailed analysis of the judgment and see if this has come following due judicial process or manufactured to suit a definite need of the parties of the ruling class, let us trace very briefly the origin of the controversy which was referred to the judiciary for settlement. The suit filed in the court was to determine who has the rightful ownership of the plot. As is known to all, Babri Masjid was built on a part of this land in the 16th century. Since then, it was almost lying as an abandoned place though some people belonging to the Muslim community were offering

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Allahabad High Court Verdict on Ayodhya

Mandir-Masjid controversy was raked up by Congress, BJP from lust for power

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prayer there. A group of Hindus were also performing *puja* (religious worship) in the adjoining place. Complete amity prevailed among both the sections of people. But after independence, in 1949, idols of *Rama* were surreptitiously placed inside the central dome of the Babri Masjid with the connivance of the Deputy Commissioner of Faizabad, K.K.K. Nayar, who is said to have been a member of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS), the core organization of the Sangh Parivar or Saffron Brigade. Following that planted incident by the Hindu fundamentalists, there was communal tension centering the incident, and the government confiscated the site and locked it. Thereafter, the Hindu Mahasabha and Nirmohi Akhara, two other Hindutva organizations belonging to Sangh Parivar filed separate suits wanting to take control of the property. In reaction, the Sunni Central Wakf Board went to the court seeking declaration of the structure as a mosque and removal of idols and other articles. The Mandir-Masjid controversy was practically raked up when the then Congress Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi opened the lock at the confiscated site on 2 February, 1986 and allowed laying of the foundation stone of the proposed *Rama* temple by the Hindutva Brigade there seemingly for gaining Hindu votes by fomenting Hindu sentiment. A series of communal clashes followed in the trail and the atmosphere was made surcharged with communal tension. And finally the historic Babri Masjid was razed to the ground by the frenzied Hindutva Brigade sinking the whole country into fratricidal bloodbath and riding on the same, BJP captured power at the Centre. The Sangh Parivar arrogated to itself the position of self-styled champions of Hinduism and made Muslim-bashing a tool to gain mileage in vote politics. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that after construction of the Babri Masjid, there came many a preacher of Hindu religion whom the Hindus hold in high esteem. Swami Vivekananda was the last of them. None of them ever raised any Mandir-Masjid dispute over the land

in question, did not even think of it. Rather, Vivekananda severely deplored construction of temple and decorating idol with ornaments when millions were dying out of hunger and starvation. Strongly denouncing any act of 'destruction', he held that "destructive reformers are of no use to the world." Will the Sangh Parivar and BJP claim that they are bigger exponents of Hinduism than Vivekananda?

Coming back to the court suit, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Ramjanambhoomi Nyas, both Sangh Parivar constituents and the Babri Masjid Action Committee, who have been agitating over the raked up *Rama* temple versus Babri Masjid dispute, were never direct parties in the case though the latter became a litigant by proxy. All the cases were then transferred from a Faizabad court in 1989 to a special bench of the Allahabad High Court. (Source: *The Statesman*, 21-09-10, *Sifynews* 22-09-10 and *D. N. Jha in Frontline*, Oct. 09-22, 2010). Thus the Court was to give ruling whether the 2.7 acres of disputed land on which the Babri Masjid stood before it was demolished on December 6, 1992, belonged to the Central Sunni Wakf Board or to the combined Hindutva Brigade outfits.

The verdict x-rayed

An impression is doing the round that the verdict has been fair to both the Hindus and Muslims and hence merits appreciation. But, is it a question as to which section or contesting group has got what or how much or it is a question of justice based on facts, evidence and in pursuance of due juridical process? Moreover, has the judgment upheld the true secular principles that emerged as against old feudal thoughts of religious blindness, bigotry and obscurantism in the wake of modern democracy during the days of rising capitalism? It needs to be understood that secularism does not mean equal patronage to all religions. Secularism presupposes 'independent of religion'. In those days, the exponents of bourgeois democracy held that religion is a matter of personal belief and hence should have no place in political, social or judicial spheres. True secularists must be free from any

kind of religious or other sectarian bias and must decide issues based on reason and rationality. During the advent of jurisprudence and the judiciary as part of bourgeois democracy, certain definite norms, codes, procedures and process were laid down to ensure that in the bourgeois sense, everybody is held equal before law and receives due justice as per prevailing law. Judiciary was given the power to adjudicate based on correct interpretation of prevailing law. And according to the exponents of bourgeois democracy, "Decision must relate to either a matter of fact or a point of law. In matter of fact, the question is, whether the judge shall hold the facts stated to him to be true or not...decision can have no other foundation than evidence....In all these questions, the duty of the judge is to collect all the proofs on both the sides, in the best form possible; to compare them; and to decide according to their proving power. Thus, the art of procedure is in reality nothing but the art of administering the evidence.... Question of fact depends on evidence. All depends on facts." (Jeremy Bentham, Treatise on Judicial Evidence Chapter I and V)

How far has this basic principle been abided by the Court in the instant ruling? Has the verdict been pronounced following due juridical process or did it go beyond the brief to pass rulings on certain extraneous and hence irrelevant issues that have wider ramifications if not deleterious consequences as being alleged by the eminent jurists, historians and other democratic-minded people? Have the judges been free from communal overtone? That this apprehension is not unfounded is also obvious from the text of the ruling. The three judges of the Division Bench gave separate orders and the case was broadly decided based on majority 2-1 verdict of the special Bench with the consensus that the site be divided among three contending parties. But what are the things the judges have premised their ruling on? Concrete evidences or matter of faith? In his judgment, Justice Sudhir Agarwal said "it is declared that the area covered by the central dome of the three-domed structure, i.e., the disputed structure being the deity of Bhagwan Ram Janamsthan (place of

birth of Lord *Rama*) as per faith and belief of Hindus belong to plaintiffs (party on behalf of *Lord Rama*) and shall not be obstructed or interfered in any manner by the defendants." He also said in his findings the parties of the Muslim side have failed to prove that the property in dispute was constructed by Babar in 1528 AD. The contradiction in the two versions is glaring. While the Hindutva Brigade's claim was upheld on the ground of "faith", the claim of the other side was quashed because of lack of evidence. Justice S. U. Khan who tried to examine the controversy more from the evidence side, too had to succumb to a kind of compromise by saying that since "both the parties have failed to prove commencement of their title hence by virtue of Section 110 Evidence Act both are held to be joint title holders on the basis of joint possession."

On the other hand, Justice D V Sharma in course of his ruling observed that the disputed site is the birth place of Lord *Rama*. "Place of birth is a juristic person and is a deity. It is personified as a spirit of divine worshipped as *Lord Rama* as a child." "Spirit of divine ever remains present everywhere at all times for anyone to invoke at any shape or form in accordance with his own aspirations and it can be shapeless and formless also," he said. The disputed structure, according to him, "was constructed by Babar, the year is not certain but it was against the tenets of Islam. Thus, it cannot have the character of a mosque." He not only gave primacy to religious belief and faith in corroborating the views of the Saffron brigade but even held that one particular community's concept of God must get precedence in a civil suit meant to decide ownership of a land. On the other hand, he acted on the evidence that Bari Masjid was not built according to the tenets of Islam. Even after admitting that "the deities were installed inside the disputed structure on 22/23.12.1949", he opined that since "Hindus have been worshipping the place in dispute as *Janamsthan*,... visiting it as a sacred place of pilgrimage as of right since time immemorial... and the disputed structure... came into existence against the tenets of Islam... the

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Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta was revered by one and all in the Party

Comrade Provash Ghosh in the memorial meeting

In a solemn atmosphere of bereavement, the memorial meeting of Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, a lifelong revolutionary, former member of the Central Committee and a veteran central leader of the Party was held on October 21, at Mahajati Sadan auditorium in Calcutta. Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI (C) presided over. Long before the scheduled time, party workers, supporters and sympathisers as well as innumerable admirers of Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta thronged together to fill up the entire hall with hundreds still waiting outside. A portrait of the departed leader was placed, for garlanding and paying tribute, beside the entrance to the hall and another was placed on the dais. Along with Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, other members of the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee, including, those who offered tribute to the departed leader with garlands were Comrades Anil Sen, veteran central leader and former member of the Central Committee, Hem Chakraborty, Secretary, Jharkhand State Committee, SUCI(C), Binapani Das, Secretariat member, Orissa State Committee, Swapan Chatterjee, member, UP State Organising Committee. Floral tribute was also paid on behalf of the WBCUTA, as also by Comrade Khsiti Goswami, RSP leader and college colleagues of Comrade Dasgupta.

At the outset, Comrade Ranjit Dhar read out the homage of the Central Committee after the song on our beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was rendered. It was followed by observance of one minute silence. Thereafter the main speaker of the meeting, Comrade Provash Ghosh delivered his address touching upon various sides of the revolutionary life and struggle of Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta.

Speech of Comrade Provash Ghosh

The demise of any beloved comrade, of a beloved leader is always painful for us, since, as we all know, our Party is like a large family. Yet, considering the terrible physical suffering Comrade

Sukomalda was going through for the last few years, this death lends some sort of a consolation that he has been relieved of it. In our party, deep shock and profound grief was experienced by us for the first time when Comrade Subodh Banerjee, Member of the first Central Committee and a widely respected mass leader, passed away in 1974. At that time our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was still among us. In his historical speech in memory of Comrade Subodh Banerjee, he left for us the invaluable teaching as to how the revolutionaries should confront grief, the significance of true realization of grief. He, too, departed after a couple of years. We withstood our immense grief on the strength of his teaching. Thereafter

we lost several of our workers and leaders, many courted a martyr's death. Last February we even lost Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our respected General Secretary and a life-long revolutionary compatriot of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. In the midst of such grief and bereavements, we, wherever placed in our work, have been pursuing our revolutionary works.

There is no question of getting back the departed leader or comrade. While paying our heartfelt respect at the memorial meetings, we recollect his struggle and certain memorable traits of his character, so that those living on may secure some invaluable assets for themselves. We are all students of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist thinker, our leader, teacher and guide. Starting with Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, everyone has persevered to attain a revolutionary character in accordance with his teachings. We, as well as all the workers of our Party are in the midst of that struggle. On the one hand we learn from our great leader and teacher. At the same time, whatever high standard of character his compatriots and followers have attained based on the struggle for correctly grasping the teachings of the great leader, and reflected at various levels of their struggle, is also worthy to be learnt and followed by us. In other words, whatever standard one achieves in course of applying his invaluable

teachings in one's life, is worth educating for all of us. This is our outlook.

You all know, how our Party was formed. You are aware how Comrade Shibdas Ghosh alongwith just seven of his revolutionary compatriots built up the Party through an arduous, difficult and historical struggle, with exemplary firmness of resolve. When he had set out on his journey, he was just a totally unknown volunteer of the freedom movement. So were his comrades. At that time he did not even have a shelter to live in. He had to spend many days and nights in open parks, on railway platforms or even on the roof of the Kolay Market in Calcutta. Days together he had to go without food or half-starved. I joined the party in 1951. I could witness to some extent the later phase of this hard struggle of his. All these memories are in our hearts. I had mentioned in the memorial meeting of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee that in those days, to recognize, understand and accept Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and respond to his call to plunge into revolutionary movement forsaking everything, itself was mark of a heightened character. Among those who joined Comrade Ghosh after the seven revolutionary compatriots of the beginning was Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta. He came from a well-to-do family and was a meritorious student, not today but in

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Gathering at the memorial meeting of Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta at Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta, on 21 October, 2010

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta was an ideal teacher

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those days, of Presidency College and Science College. In conventional terms, he had the prospect of a brilliant career. The way Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta ignoring the lure of career responded to the call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in his student days and wholeheartedly engaged himself in the revolutionary struggle, is itself mark of a heightened character. Those of us who are in the Polit Bureau today belong to the third batch, having joined the Party more or less at the same time.

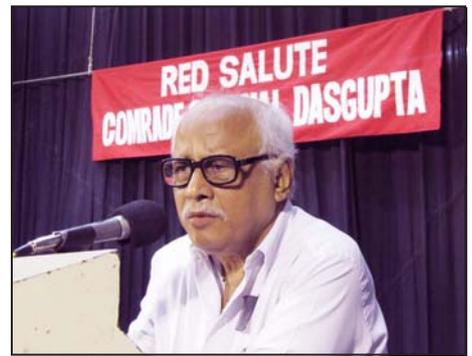
The struggle waged by Sukumolda and others had immensely inspired us. The emotional fountainhead which stirred them into this struggle had its nectar drawn up from the Indian Renaissance movement centring round Rammohan, Vidyasagar and other stalwarts as also the freedom movement in the later period. We also felt the warmth and fervour of that in our teens. It had been the most glorious period in the history of the country. Pursuit of politics, culture, knowledge and science based on patriotism, stirred the entire country. The school and college students, their guardians, the young and the old, in a word the entire social mind was roused by patriotic fervour, humanist and democratic values. Students of that period aspired to become men of values, no matter whether they could achieve that height or not. This was the prime base of the struggle. But, in spite of that, many of them could not save themselves from deviation and degeneration in the later period. Even many of those who were initiated into the struggle being attracted by Marxism-Leninism could not protect themselves from the slide because they lacked correct realization of Marxism indispensable for advancing as true Marxists. Trotsky, Kamenev, Bukharin, Liu-Shaochi, Deng Ziaoping, all had started their journey with Marxism. All of them were well-read. But could they prevent themselves from degeneration? Could a few others do so either? This is why, correct explanation and grasp of Marxism is so immensely important. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee and Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta had before them this correct interpretation and realization of

Marxism. Same was true for us as well, whether we could embrace it or not.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta used to attend the political study circle which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh alongwith a handful of revolutionary compatriots and students had started on those days at the "Culture Club", unknown and unheard of, in South Calcutta. It was here that he was imbued with and initiated towards Marxism. The humanist values and democratic concepts which grew in him at the early life in the backdrop of freedom movement provided the base for germination of Marxist consciousness and proletarian revolutionary consciousness in him. At the call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh he embraced Marxism as the guiding philosophy of life. That is why, after passing out of the University, he did not waste a minute to take decide on the future course of life. He took up the teaching profession to meet the financial need of the Party and not for himself, or for the family which he had already come out of by that time. He handed over his entire earning to the Party. Whatever paltry a sum the Party had given him for conveyance etc. was considered enough by him. Over and above, there was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teaching to become an ideal teacher. Whatever you have just learnt from the homage of the Central Committee about his being a teacher worth the name in Shreerampur college, had its root in the teachings of Comrade Ghosh. Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar had set up an instance, a model of an ideal teacher in this country. Those were the days when the slogan was: 'education is the backbone of the nation', 'kindle the light of knowledge in every home'. So many people came out to make the mission a success. But equipped with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and spurred on by proletarian revolutionary consciousness, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta scaled a new height of ideal teacher. During his long teaching career, he had many students. Many of them are now well-established in different states of India and also abroad. As a teacher, he continues to occupy a place of great honour and high esteem in the minds of those countless students. Like the teachers

of the yester years, Comrade Dasgupta ignoring inclement weather and overcoming such other difficulties rushed to the college to discharge his obligation to the students as a teacher. At the same time, he was equally responsible in carrying out Party work. He was a professor of chemistry. Students felt a magnetic attraction towards his teaching. They looked forward to his class. They used to say that after attending his class, they seldom needed to consult the text books since his lectures were so lucid and comprehensive getting so firmly entrenched in their minds. Comrade Pranab Dasgupta, himself a professor, related an incident to me. He was once accompanying Comrade Sukomalda to Kerala. On the way, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta alighted at Chennai station to attend a meeting. On learning about his arrival at Chennai, one of his students came along to meet him with her husband. Both were doctors, the husband being a renowned one. Comrade Pranab Dasgupta said that the reverent behaviour of the student was just like that of a disciple towards her mentor. Her husband was not acquainted with Sukomalda, yet his demeanour too was equally respectful. Comrade Pranab said that he could witness how profound respect for somebody in one's heart gets transmitted in another. Comrade Pranab admitted that even if he was a teacher himself, he could not come anywhere in earning such deep respect. Such students of Sukomalda are spread all over India.

You have heard that at one time our students' organization developed in the very same Shreerampur College. I myself used to look after that. But I deserve no credit at all. The kind of struggle we had to undertake at Ashutosh College or other institutions to bring students within the fold of our



Comrade Provas Ghosh

organization was not at all necessary at Shreerampur College. There the Party was known as the party of SDG meaning Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta. The very name SDG worked wonders and involved the students. In his classes he never discussed politics as teachers nowadays often do. He simply



Comrade Ranjit Dhar

taught his subject. The respect he commanded as a teacher triggered attraction towards the Party he belonged to. Two students of Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta are now members of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party. One of them is a member of the State secretariat and another is the State Secretary of our Trade Union Front. One of his students is at present a district secretary. You have heard that the period was then under Congress regime and Comrade Dasgupta was physically assaulted in the college premise itself. How the students of the entire college, the teachers, the employees, the guardians of the local students all together burst forth in vehement protest. Days together a strike was on. I have been eye witness to this. What a deep respect and emotion Comrade Dasgupta commanded among all, cutting across party lines, irrespective of hues and views. Even

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Penury or hardship left no mark on his resolve

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students belonging to opponent parties admitted that they never experienced any discriminatory treatment from him. He was equally duty-bound and responsible to them. He conducted the election to the students' union at Shreerampur College. There also, the opponents admitted, his was an impartial role so much so that even with our students' organisation contesting, there was no way to make out his connection with the Party. He was equally respected among the employees. Comrade Prasanta Ghatak has told me that once a staff of the college library had indulged in some wrongdoing. Sukomalda was given the responsibility to investigate. That staff was found guilty by the investigating commission and Comrade Dasgupta punished him. The person whom he so punished could also realize simply from being in touch with him that he was liable to be punished for his committing irregularities. Instead of being cross, he accepted Comrade Dasgupta's decision with due respect and later became a supporter of our Party. What lofty a culture and deep compassion ought to be ingrained even in such a punitive act to make such things happen! This is extremely educative an instance.

Even after taking up a professor's job, he would still go out for postering on the streets, for selling Ganadabi and collecting funds, in the way he did earlier; we were eyewitness to all these. Within a short time from then started the second commune of our Party in Calcutta district where Comrade Dasgupta alongwith a few other comrades began staying together. Initially, the commune was housed in a room at Ballygunge area and then in a roof-top L-shaped room. I recall I was yet to leave home; I was at a threshold stage whether to come out of home or not. I used to visit the commune with romantic emotions and found that a single potato was being divided into three or four parts for each to consume apiece. He would go to the college having eaten this much. This is known to all who saw him on those days. But Comrade Dasgupta was happy and contented even amidst such poverty. An old lady used to come for cooking; everyone called her Buroma (old mother). Often, she used to bring some eatables from the

market at her own expense. She was like a mother bonded with love. It was the same even afterwards when Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta shifted to the second commune at Akhil Mistry Lane. There was no change to this simple frugal struggling life of Sukomalda. At that time Comrade Ranjit Dhar and I were also staying there. Later, Comrade Asit Bhattacharya also lived there for some time before leaving for Assam. So many of them used to live there, huddled together at night, like the homeless sleep on the railway platforms. There was hardly any space to even move. If anyone else came for spending the night, they had to place their heads on opposite sides while sleeping to accommodate him. During monsoon, rainwater used to seep in forcing the inmates to spend the whole night sitting. Students and teachers of Shreerampur College did not know what a tough life Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta had led imbued by the thoughts and struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Commune is an important organization of our party. All movements need ideology and ideology-based characters. Ideology ought not to be something to be just talked about. It must be realized in life. In the distant past when religious movements were harbingers of social progress, history had seen emergence of great characters who had religious values ingrained in life. Characters of great height also emerged during advent of Renaissance, bourgeois democratic revolution, the *Swadeshi* movement for our country's independence and the national liberation struggles against imperialism and feudalism. These characters were the living embodiment of those ideologies. So, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to say that Marxism and communism are not just to be chanted; they are to be applied in life. Marxism is a philosophy of life. It has to be applied correctly in all aspects of life. He used to say that those of us involved in the revolutionary movement are all born in a capitalist society. We have started this journey carrying bourgeois culture alongwith the remnants of feudal culture of the soil in our character. But if that influence continues to remain, we will not advance any far. It is because the bourgeois society stands upon the right to personal

property, upon private ownership. Communism is a social set up where there will be no private ownership. It will be a society based on social ownership. Production will be collective to fulfill the necessities of life collectively. Those who will lead the revolution to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism—communism, should have this ideology living in their character. So, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said, to be a part of the leadership of this Party, giving up material private property like land, house, money, etc., is not enough. That is the minimum. What is more important is to renounce private property in the mental sphere, being free from individualism, individualistic attitude and approach and self-interest. One must free oneself from the personal weakness centring around the relationship of love and affection for the parents, spouses, children and the nearest kith and kin. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that weakness and love are not the same. Feeling based on ideology and ethics is real love. Just because they are my parents, spouse, or children, so I love them—this love of mine is based on blood relation and hence nothing but denotes a conventional approach. It has no ideological base, does not conform to any lofty ideal demanded of the time. Revolutionary ideology calls for a new love relation premised on higher ethics, culture and sense of morality. We must remember that individualism breeds vices like craving for fame, self flattery and greed for post or position. Thoughts of boasting like 'let everybody know that I have made a great deal of sacrifice', or subtle envious feelings like 'why he is given more responsibility, and not me' – all stem from vile individualism. These are rotten bourgeois culture. Thoroughly studying the *Swadeshi* movement, the left movement of our country as well as the world communist movement, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh further developed and enriched the teachings of Marx-Lenin,-Stalin-Mao Zedong and built up our party thereupon. The concept of struggle one has to wage during commune life emanated from this higher enriched understanding of Marxism-Leninism. In a commune, the inmates must impress and influence each other with their developed ideological

understanding and elevated character, correct themselves and overcome their shortcomings through the process of criticism and self criticism. Commune life means all are living like a family under one and the same roof. In course of this life, every bit of daily scores, eating, working, sleeping together, subtly brings out how far and to what extent individualism is there in each of them. Not just that. Suppose for instance, one stays in a commune as a comrade, so does one's wife because the standard of revolutionary character she has achieved as also their children. In that event, one has to be ever vigilant if any personal weakness is developing between one and one's wife and children, whether one's attitude towards and relations with one's own children is the same as that towards others' children and other young comrades in the commune? Or, is there some personal weakness working in one's love for one's own children? These aspects too come out to the surface. The commune life is meant to bring to surface these individualistic weaknesses that work stealthily in one's love centring round such different relations and to help one and other inmate comrades to free themselves from such weaknesses through struggle at one's personal as well as collective levels.

Great Lenin had said that democratic centralization in the Communist Party organization must be a real synthesis, a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy which can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity and common constant struggle. Enriching that concept further, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that constant common activity must be spurred on by constant common association and constant common discussion. We apply Marxist methodology in our thinking, i.e. one process of thinking, which leads to uniformity of thinking and further oneness of approach, to achieve singleness of purpose. That is why, commune life does not mean just staying together. It is not a party mess. Commune life signifies a living struggle to free oneself from the vice of individualism. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta and the others with him realized the need of this struggle of commune life. We all are also

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Tirelessly Comrade Dasgupta treaded all fields of Party work

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amidst this struggle. So, though this life apparently looks like of penury and hardship, there is a happiness of a noble life. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta advanced based on this realization.

Once Comrade Sukomalda was a member of the Calcutta District Committee. As you know, later, he became a State secretariat member and then West Bengal State Secretary. He played an important role in developing Party organization while shouldering the responsibilities incumbent on such positions. Simultaneously, in those days of Congress rule, for a long time he was in the leadership of the professors' movement on leftist thoughts under the aegis of our Party and other left forces. There, too, he carried the views of our Party on education and professors' movement based on the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He also played an important role when a new teachers' organization was developed following disruption of unity in the secondary teachers' movement due to petty party sectarianism. Similarly, when unity in primary teachers' organization was disrupted and a new organization built up, he took significant role. On the one hand he had been discharging each and every responsibility from inside the party organization, while on the other hand he provided leadership in each and every stage as well as level of teachers' movement. Alongside shouldering the responsibility of teaching in the college as also of other assignments, he built up Party organization in the Purulia district. So far as I know, Comrade Pritish Chanda initiated Party activities in Purulia. Afterwards, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta was entrusted with that responsibility. He stayed in the district for a very long time and built up the Party there. He worked among the *bidi* workers and agricultural labourers to build up Party organization. He recruited many party workers, developed a number of leaders and led many mass movements. He was assigned the responsibility of Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Coochbehar districts of North Bengal and still teaching as a professor he would go to those districts regularly on holidays. In Malda district also he played important role in Party building the

later part of his life.

Alongside handling so many important Party works, he also shouldered the responsibility of publication of two major Party organs, namely, *Ganadabi* (in Bengali) and *Proletarian Era* (in English). Later he became the Chief Editor of *Ganadabi* and editor of *Proletarian Era*. He developed himself as a writer since long. Under the guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, he discharged a very important responsibility of developing a batch as writers as the writing staff of *Proletarian Era*. He took a leading role in the historic education movement round the country that we developed under the leadership of Justice V R Krishna Iyer. His role was equally significant in the language-cum-education movement in this state of West Bengal. In both the cases, he was significantly instrumental in involving eminent personalities in the movement and in working with them. You have also heard of his role in developing anti-imperialist movement on the international plane. There was no field of Party activities where he did not leave his mark playing very important leading role. One found him spending sleepless nights to complete his article for *Ganadabi* or *Proletarian Era*. The very next morning he rushed to his college to take classes. Normally before taking a science class, one has to go through the books to the subject. As we stayed together for long, we had seen how only in one room, he was quietly writing or studying amidst discussions-exchanges among other comrades. He was extremely responsible, duty bound and that too till his last breath. All these are valuable lessons for all of us.

I want to mention another aspect. Many people are now coming in our Party. Among them there are many youths. They have not seen many leaders of our Party. Sukomalda too remained bed-ridden for a long time. Precisely for that reason, this aspect should be discussed. It is rather easy to do Party work today. One would not find a single man on the streets who had heard of the SUCI(C) in the late 1940s or early '50s. Our opponents ridiculed us by saying that ours was not a party but a club. "If bat is to be conferred the status of a bird, then only you can call SUCI(C) as

a party,"—such was the kind of bantering we faced at that time. Even if 150 odd people gathered to listen to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in a meeting at Hazra park in South Calcutta, we considered it a grand success. We have passed through such days. How very difficult it was to sell even one copy of *Ganadabi*! Who among the masses was aware of the Party that he should be interested in buying its organ! Who knew Shibdas Ghosh then! Nowadays, it is so easy to do Party work. People respect SUCI (C), they have affinity for it. This year during the Durga Puja, even amidst storm and rain we have sold Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's books and Party literature based on his thoughts in large numbers throughout the state from hundreds of Party stalls. The prices of our books generally range between Rs 2 to Rs 10. From whatever report I have got so far, sale proceeds have crossed Rs. 8,50,000. This would go up once the full report is available. What a great demand for our literature! But if we do not keep in our heart, what painstaking struggle was carried on by our leaders and workers to reach this stage, we will not be able to make progress; we will fail to save ourselves. We have seen those struggles, we have those struggles entrenched in the innermost recess of our heart; that is why we can at least try to save ourselves. Today wherever I go, I am welcomed with tender care, with good food. How can I forget that one day Comrade Nihar Mukherjee somehow managed to procure a handful of *chira* (dry puffed rice) for Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to have it as a drink mixed in water. There was nothing else for him to eat. We continue to save ourselves keeping these memories alive in our heart. I am narrating all these incidents to make you understand how difficult those days of struggle were!

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta could attain through struggle a high theoretical standard. He studied a lot and deeply. But in this regard too, he proceeded on the basis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings; no to scholasticism, no to showing off by quoting references from this or that book. What then is the purpose of acquiring knowledge? Read and know only what is necessary to grasp the questions and problems that confront revolutionary movements,

class struggles and democratic movements and to solve them. This knowledge can never be a superficial knowledge. This knowledge will be my flesh and blood. This is the reason that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said: only reading books will not do; neither will mere participation in a few movements or going to jail serve the purpose. The two must be dialectically integrated. When will this integration occur? It will take shape only when you have been able to acquire higher revolutionary culture. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said this in course of explaining a teaching of Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong had said: Many people read many books but they cannot make even a cane-chair. They are not capable to do that even. What is the use of this scholasticism? Theory and knowledge Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta cultivated, was from the necessity of building up revolutionary movement under the guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Let me mention another quality of Comrade Dasgupta's character. As professor he was successful, countless teachers and students respected him, comrades too deeply revered him. But nobody has ever heard Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta claiming that 'I did a lot, I did this, I did that.' He was very modest, with a very simple life style. He remained satisfied with whatever dress or food he got. His only dissatisfaction was—"Why am I not in a position to do more work'. Another important thing is worth mentioning. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta was not only leader of the comrades, he was their friend too. Nobody had any hesitation at all to widely open up his mind before him; even his students could do it. Very easily he could make friends. He seldom indulged in long theoretical discussions. He talked brief, but effective. Comrades sometimes hesitate to open up their mind to the leaders. Sometimes they suffer from a sort of fear. Certainly it's a lapse on our part. But there was no difficulty to talk freely before Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta. Even one could tell him directly anything that concerned none else but him only, could criticize him. Surely he would listen to it. Several comrades told me, some of his students too, that had Sukomalda

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Tender hearted leader leaves indelible imprint

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found that the views expressed by them contained truth, he accepted them without question. You know, when leaders go to a district, they put up at Party centres where district leaders also stay. Their children also stay there and the leaders caress them. Sukomalda used to go to Purulia. Comrade Swapan Ghosh, a State Committee member one day told him, 'Sukomalda, you are caressing only the children living in the centre; what about other comrades' children? They should also be caressed.' Sukomalda stared at him for a while. Then he took Swapan Ghosh in his arms and said, 'Yes, you are right.' After hearing it from Swapan, I wondered: why, I too make the same mistake.

The other day Comrade Prasanta Ghatak told me that once there had been a difference of opinion with him on certain matter, and Sukomalda severely scolded him. Prasanta was leaving after some time. Sukomalda called him back. He said, 'Prasanta you are right; you have a right point.' Can Sukomalda's name ever be erased from the minds of Prasanta or Swapan Ghosh? It will continue to prevail as they would think: We have seen such a leader, such a straight forward tender-minded sympathetic man. Real seat of respect lies deep in the heart. It cannot be won by argument, or on demand. Nor can that be gauged from what was said in how long a resolution adopted in how big a meeting! This respect flows spontaneously from one's heart, if I could have made an imprint there through my respectable conduct and activities.

Comrade Dilip Bhattacharya, a trade union leader and State Committee member told me: For mistakes committed Sukomalda used to rebuke us. But what kind of rebuke was that? It was like what we receive from the parents, tinged with same affection and well wishing. We may be temporarily sad from such a rebuke, but we knew it was soaked in his affection. Here, to Dilip's observation, I would like to add another aspect. May be we were having a heated debate with him; may be I was myself involved and angrily have made some comment which I ought not to. It was a temporary excitement and just that only. It left

no trace in Sukomalda. This was very significant.

When he went to the district he used to enquire about old comrades. Having known who of them were presently inactive, he would go straight to their home, be it a locality of the *bauris* (a particular community), or the *bagdis* or this or that. After finding Sukomalda himself in his house, could the concerned comrade stay back any further; he would come out to resume Party work. Many comrades have wept in his arms, have consoled themselves, just as a child would find a solace after weeping in his or her mother's arms. Such were the ways and methods of his work.

At a time I worked for AIDS at the Shreerampore College. He was senior and I, junior and very young. I was working in the caring shade of the deep respect that students had for him. But he never questioned me why I took this or that step. He never interfered. He had great faith in me. Sometimes I would ask him to hold meetings with students outside college. He would keep himself informed of everything but never did he interfere in any way. I deeply felt it. Some stray words of his, what significant meaning they could carry! Comrade Pranati Bhattacharya told me, when she gave birth to her child she was bedridden for a few months. Sukomalda went to see them. Being shown the infant, he said; he looks so small but his strength is enormous. He can keep you captive within the home, beware! He did not embark on a long theoretical discussion. He only made clear on the basis of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh with what outlook a mother should rear her child. Pranati said: Sukomalda's words helped me immensely. And Pranati, too, upheld this outlook, adhered to the ethics. Such kind of conduct and utterances from Sukomalda, are strewn around, like pearls, in many places.

He had great wit and humour of high tuning. What is the significance of humour? Humour has also a purpose. We might have felt very morose over some matter, but with his humour he would free us from it within moment. One night, in our Party centre at Akhil Mistry Lane, when rain was coming in through the damaged roof and we

had nothing to cover it up, he passed the whole night in witty and humorous talks. His discussions of philosophical and scientific theories would also be interspersed with wit and humour. Sukomalda's sense of humour created an impact on many comrades.

I want to tell another thing. Still many speeches of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh are only recorded on cassettes, an invaluable wealth belonging to the civilization. You know, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's works are now being translated abroad. These recorded speeches need to be published. The Party entrusted this important responsibility to some comrades. The main responsibility rested with Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta.

You all know that he was relieved and I was given the responsibility as State Secretary. He had looked after Purulia district organization on behalf of the Party. Comrade Bhaskar Bhadra, a the then district secretariat member of Purulia, in a letter informed me that at that time Purulia district leaders went to Sukomalda to discuss some organizational issues of those days. After the discussion Sukomalda told them: "From now on you must go to Provas to discuss district organizational matters. He has now been given higher responsibility. You must give him that respect of authority." How aware and conscious he was about organizational norms! How can we forget this Sukomalda! He accepted unwaveringly whatever instruction the higher leadership gave him, whatever judgment and decision had been reached about him.

Even after getting seriously ill he used to attend every Party meeting as long as he could. He would come to the meeting assisted by some comrade. If he found a point correct, he would give warm appreciation, whoever might have raised it. Again, if he thought that a point had been placed wrongly or inadequately, some more points should be added, he would never fail to say so. When he could not attend meetings any more he would want to hear about it from comrades who had attended those meetings. When comrades went to meet him he used to enquire about the latest developments in their respective districts or states. He eagerly wanted to know about the anti-imperialist conference held in

Lebanon. And the last duty entrusted to him by the Party, discharging which he had fallen ill, was constantly on his mind — writing, writing and writing! Even at the fag end of life when he was incapable of talking, had completely lost his eye sight and hearing ability, the only words that could pass his lips, indistinctly in a whisper to Comrade Asit Bhattacharya, were about party writings. Editing and writing was the responsibility that the party entrusted to Sukomalda towards the end — the task that solely and completely engaged his thinking.

These were some of the traits and invaluable qualities that bloomed in Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta's character. What I intended in this discussion, was to highlight the high standard Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, the life-long revolutionary, reflected by applying the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in his life, so that we can take lessons from it.

The situation of our country is turning very complex. Every aspect of it, its economy, society, culture, everything is crumbling down. Through length and breadth of the country, there prevails a politics in which votes are the only matter of concern. Even amidst so much complexities of the country, we are holding aloft and carrying forward the flag of revolution on the strength of the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Those comrades who, during the initial stages of the Party developed themselves on the basis of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and those who laid the path I am now treading upon, developed the ground which we now work upon, we must recall their struggles, their character, their nobility time and again so that our young workers can take lessons from that. Herein lies the significance of the memorial meeting. I conclude with these words.

Red Salute to
life-long revolutionary
Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta

Red Salute to
the great leader of the proletariat
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Long live SUCI (Communist)

(This is a free translation of the speech in Bengali. Responsibility for error in translation or inadequacy of expression, if any, solely lies with the Editorial Board, P. Era)

Allahabad High Court Verdict on Ayodhya

Verdict places faith and belief above law and principles of jurisprudence

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property in suit is the site of *Janambhoomi* of Ram Chandrajai and Hindus in general had the right to worship 'charan', 'Sita Rasoi', other idols and other object of worship existed upon the property in suit." This, to any rational mind as well as those having respect for the judicial system of the country, cannot but appear preposterous as the contentions are clearly tinged with communal overtones and hence subversive of secular principles.

Law points are also ignored

Even the verdict is stated to have ignored certain obvious law points. Eminent jurists like Justice Rajindar Sachar have held that the ground on which the organized Hindutva plaintiffs demanded ownership of the land, should have been thrown out on the grounds of remediation. The Limitation Act dictates that a suit could be filed within a period of 12 years from the date of dispute. While the Babri Masjid was in existence for 500 years, dispute was raised only recently. According to them, the Sangh Parivar does not have a right even if a temple had been demolished to build the Babri Masjid, as the Masjid existed before the period of limitation. In the feudal-monarchical period when sword was the might, so many religious places were ruined by the warring kings and invaders to extend their empires. Many Buddhist temples were destroyed to build Hindu temples and mosques. Some mosques were also demolished by some Hindu kings; even Hindu temples were destroyed by Hindu kings not because of any religious considerations but because of political compulsions of that time and from the object of loot and plunder of treasures being stored in the temples. One can find affirmation of these in the writings of Swami Vivekananda as well. Does this mean that in modern India one is now licensed to reclaim ownership of any piece of land or destroy historical monuments, artifacts or even religious shrines citing instances of demolition or occupation during feudal period or even before? Has not the verdict, as apprehended by Romila Thapar, eminent historian, "created a

precedent in the court of law" to justify such undemocratic barbaric acts? "There will now be many such *janmasthans* wherever appropriate property can be found or a required dispute manufactured. Since the deliberate destruction of historical monuments has not been condemned what is to stop people from continuing to destroy others," she has rightly asked. What would happen if someone tomorrow claims that Tajmahal was built demolishing a religious shrine? Should Tajmahal be axed to the ground to "honour" the "claim" giving primacy to someone's or some group's mere "faith"? Would that be called a secular and democratic act? If not, how could one find the Allahabad High Court verdict which has practically undone the crime of Babri demolition tenable in the eyes of law?

Next point is that according to the law of the land, if any section of the populace takes up law in its own hand and change the existing reality (as was alleged by the Hindu fundamentalists while validating their act of destroying Babri Masjid stated to have been constructed by breaking a Hindu temple, then the Court, first of all, would order restoration of *status quo ante*. If that is not possible like bringing back the demolished Babri Masjid, then the Court will never allow the benefits of that unlawful act to be reaped by those having indulged in the same. When the Indian Army undertook "Operation Bluestar" in Punjab in the early eighties, a substantial part of the Akal Takht, religious shrine of the Sikh people, was damaged. After the operation, the people took initiative to rebuild the damaged part. After frenzied destruction of a historic monument like Babri Masjid, the natural expectation was that like Akal Takht, the structure would be rebuilt by the saner democratic-minded people irrespective of religious faith and the Government would facilitate the process of rebuilding. Instead, those who indulged in such a crime have been declared legal owner of the land thereby granting sanctity and sanction to such a barbaric act. This shows how low the country's legal system has stooped to.

Imposed historicity to Rama—a mythological character

It is also disturbing to note that going beyond the brief, the verdict in its overzealousness to anoint faith in place of evidence has accorded historicity to *Rama*. Some of the most brilliant intellects in our country and abroad have explored, studied and carried out scientific research on the characters of the *Ramayana* and the origin of this great work. Though opinions of such a host of great scholars is bound to vary in some points, a broad consensus has been reached that the *Ramayana* may not be true in history, but...the first great epic—verse romance or novel with a full element of the marvelous and the magical, the bizarre and the improbable, side by side with the human and the realistic which we all understand and love,—and thus its appeal was irresistible to all sorts and conditions of men. Even in earlier Brahmanical literature, there is no reference to any of the *Ramayana* personalities and incidents. The few names mentioned do not tally with the characters of *Ramayana*. Thus, there is no mention of a hero Rama. Only in *Pali Jataka*, the Buddhist literature developed during the 4th century B.C., there is a Rama story in one of the sections but that too does not conform to the storyline of the *Ramayana* in many respects and does not provide the social background either. Perhaps, that provided the nucleus of *Ramayana* story which Valmiki developed with all the finer situations and touches and intensely human atmosphere, bringing in an exaltation of family relations and definite interpolations (like *Rama* being the incarnation of *God Vishnu*). Far from being a glorified or idealized divine being, *Rama*, in Valmiki's *Ramayana* has been portrayed as a human being, endowed with great and noble qualities, side by side with human weakness. There are countless versions and regional variations of the *Ramayana* with countless incongruities. *Rama* was presented as a divine character in the *Ramcharitmanas* composed by poet Tulsidas in the Early Avadh period while in some *Jaina* versions it is *Lakshmana* who is considered as the

main hero. On the other hand, in *Ramayana* written by Paumacaria, Ravana, far from being a villain, is a devoted *Jaina*, while *Rama* and *Sita* are *Jaina* ascetics. According to certain commentators and organizations in South India, the *Ramayana* is denounced as 'a shameless glorification' of Aryan invaders at the expense of Dravidian sons of the soil. (*Reference—works by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Dr. Sukumar Sen, Romila Thapar and others.*) Rabindranath Tagore, while paying tribute in a poem to unknown poet Valmiki for his literary creation said that "Oh Poet, the land of your mind is the birthplace of Rama—and know that to be truer than Ayodhya." (*Bhasha O Chhanda*) In view of this, where is the justification of *Rama* being called "the unequalled symbol of our oneness, of our integration" as L. K. Advani, the BJP leader and a spokesman of the Sangh Parivar once claimed? And how could by any stretch of imagination the question of deciding birthplace of such an epic character become such important an issue that even time-tested principles, norms and even procedures of judiciary needed to be so flagrantly violated? Even Tulsidas' *Ramcharitmanas* does not have any mention of the site being the birthplace of *Rama*.

Ambiguities in ASI report

There is another extremely vexed aspect of the verdict. Those eulogizing the ruling as 'unprecedented' might well argue that the report of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) which the court has relied upon, has proved the disputed structure (Babri Masjid) was constructed on the site of old structure after demolishing a Hindu temple. In fact, this is one of the main planks of the judgment. It is worth recalling that archeologists have tried for years not only to locate the legendary Ayodhya of the *Ramayana* but to find corroborative evidence of historicity of Rama from excavations, inscriptions, sculptural pieces and other sources. But, in vain. Countless excavations by ASI and archeological Department of Banaras Hindu University among others, in present day Ayodhya and different places

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Allahabad High Court Verdict on Ayodhya

Pseudo-Marxists shamelessly attribute “secular” credential to Indian Constitution

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have yielded absolutely nothing. Not a single object, no ruins that could even be faintly associated with the urban setting mentioned in the *Ramayana*, not to speak of such antiquity, not even a coin or seal that could point to the possible historicity of *Rama* or the legendary Ayodhya could be found.

However, once the Ram Janmabhomi-Babri Masjid issue was ratcheted up by the Hindu communalists, ASI was pressed upon for another round of excavation the findings of which have been strongly disputed by the renowned historians and archeologists like Prof. Suraj Bhan, Prof. D. N. Jha, Irfan Habib and others. According to them, there is nothing wrong in looking for a kernel of truth in the literary tradition of the *Ramayana*. But what is necessary for a scientific methodology is to build a reasonable hypothesis about the structured entity which must have been objectively in existence in the past. The metaphor of kernel would not encourage the scientist to critically examine either the evidence buried in the texts or the material evidence collected through excavations in order to identify the structure of relationship embodied in the evidence. Merely locating the names of personages and places in the time frame does not suffice for this purpose. It will only confirm the vague understanding of history we have unconsciously imbibed through what is called common sense. For example, in the excavation report (2003) of ASI, it was claimed that a massive structure was found under the mosque and this was held up by pillars. It further said that brickbats were found at the pillar bases. This, the report claimed, vouched for the existence of a temple at the disputed site. But after examining many records of historians including those of art historians whose views and interpretations are extremely important in arriving at authenticity of the analysis of excavated material and relics, nothing concrete was found to show that “the pillar bases were remains of a local temple of which they formed an integral part in the beginning and the mosque was erected over them”. Several archaeologists who were watching

the digging complained to the court that the scattered brickbats were assembled together to look like pillar bases. The stone pillars are, in fact, embedded at the arched entrances in the massive walls of the mosque and stand at the floor level on the foundation walls constructed for the big building. Only those who have failed to understand the architectural plan of the building and willfully ignore the indisputable factual position will insist on seeing these stone pillars as in their original position. Since black stone pillars are relatively short and slender, they cannot be load bearing. In fact, their placement at the arched entrances and the colour contrast they offer as also the carvings on them suggest that they have been used only as decorative pieces and are not architecturally functional beyond this decorative purpose. Furthermore, the placement of the pillars fits in the plan of the mosque and not that of a Hindu temple. It has also been found that the while chapters of the main text of the report (2003) have the names of the authors, no one is mentioned as the author of the conclusion called “Summary of Results”. Moreover, in the main text of the report, there is no mention of any temple, but it suddenly pops up in the “Summary of Results”. This shows that the report was obviously a doctored document. The Court judgment has not taken into account the views and reports presented by leading historians but simply relied on the controversial ASI findings which, most importantly, have not yet been published. Eminent historians have once again demanded that the ASI report be made available to all to see if the same does contain any material evidence worth the name or is fraught with inconsistencies, erroneous interpretations and factual distortions tailored to justify a pre-meditated conclusion. But, the government is maintaining the code of silence in this respect. It may be added that while the All India Babri Masjid Action Committee (AIBMAC) agreed to abide by the findings of an independent group of historians, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) who contends that as per Indian tradition and faith cannot be contested with evidence, refused to do so.

Verdict summarized

In fine, the court makes faith and belief of a particular religious community override fundamental tenets of jurisprudence ignoring all tenable facts and evidence, assigns supreme importance to a most controversial report of ASI that is not even made public, confers historicity to an epic figure, gives a stamp of approval to the claim of birthplace of such a mythological character and based on that decides the question of ownership of a piece of land. The way ‘religious belief’ has been given primacy over facts, evidence and law is not only fraught with immense danger for the present but for the future as well. Along similar lines, Hitler and Mussolini once plunged Germany and Italy in fascist culture by fomenting and imposing obscurantist ideas or beliefs. What else could malign the country’s judicial system more than this. It cannot be ruled out that the entire episode is a craftily hatched conspiracy at the highest to buttress an ulterior motive.

Pre-verdict panic — a deliberate precipitation

Discerning people have also observed that before the verdict, the government administration was hyperactive in propping up security arrangements and alongwith the bourgeois media sought to create an impression as if the whole country would be in the grip of another round of communal clashes if the judicial pronouncement was not accepted by all contestants as true vindication of juridical wisdom. Even a petition for deferment of the verdict was filed before the Supreme Court apprehending serious law and order problem following delivery of the judgment. The petition, however, was dismissed by the Apex Court. Strangely enough, before pronouncement of the judgment, the Union Home minister Chidambaram had remarked: “...it is possible that there will be one or more judgments delivered by the three-judge special Bench. The judgments would have to be read carefully, and the findings of the Hon’ble judges on each of the issues in the four suits would have to be analyzed meticulously, before any conclusions may be drawn.” (Hindustan Times, 23-09-10) How

could he know beforehand all these details? He also said that in a legal battle, there cannot be any winners or losers and hence there should be no celebrations or hurting emotions of others. The Prime Minister, too, sang the same tune. Even the Sangh Parivar and BJP also made appeals to maintain calm. This concerted precipitation of panic generated an apprehension that something grossly incorrect is lurking behind.

Though under public pressure, the Congress is now saying that the verdict does not condone the demolition of Babri mosque, let it be very clear that these are all eyewashes as it too is glaringly suppressing the legitimacy of reconstruction of the Babri Masjid and lending credence to the flawed as well as motivated arguments of the RSS-BJP.

Pseudo-Marxists accord indirect approval

The position of the pseudo-Marxists has been no different. Refusing to give an instant reaction, the CPI (M) leadership after 6 days issued a benign communiqué on 5 October which states: “The response of the people to the verdict of the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court has shown that the people find a settlement of the dispute by the judicial process acceptable”. It, thus, accorded approval to the verdict in a roundabout way. Though, seemingly for public consumption, it hastens to add that the judgment is “disturbing as it accords primacy to religious belief and faith”, it reiterates in no uncertain a term in conclusion “that in the secular democratic set-up ordained in the Constitution, the way to resolve the matter is through the judicial process.” Thus, when it is necessary to show how the judiciary is deviating from the laid down norms and procedures to deliver verdicts having wider harmful ramifications, the CPI (M) leadership wants the countrymen to repose unquestionable faith on it. Notably, it is characterizing the Constitution of India as ‘secular democratic’ which is a travesty of truth.

Indian freedom movement led by the Indian national bourgeoisie was not secular like what was in the
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Allahabad High Court verdict on Ayodhya

Rise up against and annul the dangerous ruling

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period of Renaissance and bourgeois revolution in the Western countries. It was conducted at a time when capitalism as a world force had entered into its decadent moribund stage, lost its revolutionary character and haunted by the fear-complex of anti-capitalist revolution had turned out and out reactionary. On the other hand, victory of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in Russia marked augury of a new era. So, the Indian national bourgeoisie as inseparable part of moribund world capitalism out of its mortal fear of working class revolution had on the one hand opposed political revolution and on the other hand as against upholding scientific and true secular democratic outlook, compromised with spiritualism and religious thoughts, mainly Hindu religious thoughts. The tragic partition of the country could take place because of that and the bourgeois class and its political representatives could use the religious sentiments periodically to stoke the fire of communal riots and perpetuate communal hatred. In our country, most of the statesmen, political leaders, bureaucracy and judiciary are mired in religious thoughts and hence bereft of true secular outlook. All religions and in the main Hindu religion are given encouragement in the name of secularism. Surely, promoting all religions is no secularism. But the CPI(M) leaders who call themselves Marxists are now calling the Constitution of this India as secular. What else can be more perfidious than this!

It may be added that immediately after pronouncement of the verdict, SUCI (C) in a statement issued on 30 September last categorically said that the Allahabad High Court, instead of deciding the main contentious issue of ownership of the disputed land, has passed a judgment which has sought to paint a mythological figure as a historical one – a verdict unprecedented in the history of modern jurisprudence which has also legalized and legitimized demolition of the historic monument Babri Masjid – an act comparable only with the barbaric demolition of the statue of Buddha in Afghanistan by the Taliban.

Socio-political context of the ruling

What is stirring the minds of the democratic-minded people is that

how could such a judgment which is definitely far removed from desired impartiality, be delivered in India after decades of glorious freedom struggle against British rule. To get an answer, one needs to take into account the specific socio-political context briefly discussed in the preceding paragraph. In course of political movement against foreign imperialist power, Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically but the task of democratization of the society against feudal disunity, religious bondage, obscurantism and such other backward thoughts remained unfulfilled. After political independence or to be exact, transfer of power from the British imperialists to the Indian national bourgeoisie, the rulers being part and parcel of decadent moribund reactionary world capitalism in place of carrying out the unfulfilled tasks of social and cultural transformations, began fomenting and pandering to all kinds of divisive sentiments like communalism, racialism, parochialism-chauvinism with the clear objective of perpetuating a permanent divide among the various sections of the toiling masses so that they could not stand united against the fierce capitalist onslaught making life yet more nightmarish with every passing hour. All secular principles have been abandoned; all democratic norms, values and ethics are being trampled underfoot with impunity. Once the British imperialists adopted a 'divide and rule policy' by incessantly fomenting Hindu-Muslim schism and perpetrating all sorts of worst

divisiveness. From the same objective, the Indian bourgeois rulers have been carefully nurturing and at opportune moments fanning up all such casteist-communal-separatist-chauvinist thoughts to generate bad blood among various communities, entrap them in fratricidal feuds and internecine conflicts. All political parties serving capitalist class interest are part of this heinous bourgeois conspiracy to disrupt people's unity against oppressive capitalist rule, the root of all evils, simply for harvesting electoral gains by fomenting various sectarian feelings. The entire state machinery including the judiciary hitherto projected as a neutral institution wherefrom people could expect equity and fairness is now partner of this foul game. The Ayodhya verdict brings it to the fore very sharply and nakedly.

People alone can foil this heinous conspiracy

It goes without saying that no secular-minded saner person wants that such treachery against people's interest be allowed to continue unabated. But, the question is how to contain it. Mere lamenting, expressing frustration or sporadic fuming at some individuals or groups will not stem the rot nor will any futile expectation of justice from any quarter including the Apex Court. Backed by the ruling capitalist class, venomous communalism is raising its ugly head and all the bourgeois parties are, in one form or the other, pandering to this. Even the pseudo-Marxists by abandoning the path of democratic movement solely from

narrow electoral interest are allowing such sinister machination to succeed. While absence of people's movement is allowing these anti-people thoughts to thrive and harm, the growth and spread of these very pernicious thoughts are also obstructing development of desired people's unity against oppressive capitalist rule. Had the country been in ferment like it was during the golden days of freedom movement, the rulers despite their best efforts could not succeed in getting away by committing such a horrendous crime. This is the backdrop in which such a mockery of justice could take place.

The minority section of the people who are gravely hurt by the verdict and rightly feeling as if they have been relegated to 'second class citizens' must understand that in order to uproot communalism from the soil, they must join other sections of toiling masses in building up powerful democratic movements on the burning problems of life. It is only the cultural milieu of powerful people's movement that can successfully thwart the menaces of communalism-fundamentalism, religious fanaticism, ethnic conflicts, narrow sectarian-regional sentiments and separatist mentalities. People at large also should realize that this verdict is not merely a dangerous blow to the sentiment-emotion of the minority people, it is an attack on the secular values and principles and democratic movement. So, the task imperative today is to rise up in protest against this dangerous court ruling and force annulment of the same under pressure of people's united organized struggle.

Record Sale of Party Literature



Party book stalls in Calcutta and 18 districts of West Bengal booked a record sale of around Rs. 10 lakhs. One stall of Calcutta, another of Burdwan figure above.

SUCI(C) marches ahead in different states

In a meeting of West Bengal party comrades and leaders, held in Calcutta on 29 August 2010, and in presence of the General Secretary, Comrade Provas Ghosh, Members of the Polit Bureau Comrades Manik Mukherjee, Krishna Chakraborty, Ranjit Dhar, Asit Bhattacharyya and other members of the Central Committee and members of the West Bengal State Secretariat, Comrades C. K. Lukose, Satyawan and K Radhakrishna, all CC members and the State secretaries respectively of Kerala, Haryana and Karnataka narrated briefly the history of development of SUCI(C) in their respective states and the movements they have been carrying out. Here we publish summary of the speech of Comrade C. K. Lukose. Summaries of the speeches of Comrade Satyawan and Radhakrishna will be published later.

Comrade C K Lukose

In Kerala our party activities started in 1969 when we first came in touch with the thoughts of the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh through a professor of electronics named Nachiket Mukherjee, who hailed from Birbhum of West Bengal. Subsequently Comrade Krishna Chakraborty came to this state. In 1970 the first school of politics was held in Kerala and a State Organizing Committee was formed. At that time we were all college students and our political activities started centring round student movements by DSO. Comrades Provash Ghosh and Chhaya Mukherjee also came here to guide us at that time. Within 3-4 months of forming our State Organizing Committee, State Assembly elections took place. Our mass connections were still very limited. But even at that stage, at the most wise decision of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we took part in that election. In the election campaign our views on the party ideology, party programme, views about administration and such other things made deep impression on people's mind and the political circles. Thereafter in the parliamentary election we fought in a seat where our candidate was a very young engineering student. But with this contest we utilized a very good opportunity to push our party through further into the common masses.

In 1974 we had a very sad experience in our party life. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was scheduled to conduct the second school of politics in the state but could not reach in time as his railway reservation was cancelled at the last moment by the railway employees under the control of CPI(M). Thus Kerala could not avail of the much cherished presence of the great leader of the proletariat as immediately afterwards emergency was declared and in 1976 he expired. But his great thoughts and dreams are

constantly inspiring us till today and we are steadily advancing in Kerala.

In 1977 we suffered another big loss at the demise of Comrade Natarajan, one of the most important and promising leaders and a member of the State Organizing Committee. In the mean time our organization had spread among the students. A state conference of the AIDS0 was held attended by Comrades Provas Ghosh and Chhaya Mukherjee. CPI(M) goons attacked the meeting and continuously assaulted us at different places, but in reality lost their own ground.

In 1982 All India Conference of the AIDS0 was held at Trivandrum and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee came to Kerala for the first time to attend it. A huge rally was held evoking remarkable sensation among people and in media. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's great personality and his dealings with the students created most inspiring impression on them. Many of the participants later played important leading role in party organization. On the eve of the First Party Congress, the party was further organized and spread out. There were six elected district committees, while the rest of the 14 districts had organizing committees.

The Congress rule in 1992 was marked with corruption in administration and public life, bringing tremendous suffering to people. In such a situation we formed *Janakiya Protirodh Samity* (People's Resistance Committee) and built up resistance and protest movements against price rise, corruption etc. At our request, Justice Krishna Iyer became the president of the committee. Besides, there were eminent personalities like erstwhile Union Education Minister, Lakshmi N. Menon, distinguished educationist N.A. Karim and others taking part in the movement.

In 1998 the movement against DPEP launched at our initiative turned into a people's movement. DPEP introduced during the

Congress rule was implemented vigorously during CPI (M) rule under Nyanar. The movement with Justice Iyer playing an important role became an important cause leading to the defeat of the CPI (M) in the next election. The Congress government to follow formed an expert committee for a review. As a member of that committee, they included Comrade V. Venugopal, a State Secretariat member of the party. DPEP, though not totally annulled, was largely amended thus marking a victory of the movement.

Then came the movement in Alleppy district where there is a one-kilometer long stretch of land along the sea which is bound by waterbody on the other side. Most of the people there are fishermen and the stretch of land in question is rich in valuable minerals of even rare earth varieties. The government was about to sell out this land to private mining companies. Alleppy and another district are encircled by sea and that part of the state lies below the sea level protected by sandy embankments. Any excavation is sure to erode these embankments causing inundation of the whole area. The area was a stronghold of CPI(M) and just a year back when we tried to campaign for an election, CPI(M) goons had driven us out. But this time when we built up a movement against mining there and Medha Patekar attended a meeting in which Comrade Venugopal was a speaker as the General Secretary of *Janakiya Protirodh Samity*, CPI(M) Central Committee member and Kerala Education Minister M.A. Baby came to the meeting. People, including CPI(M) supporters, demanded for his opinion whereupon he told that they would not permit private mining, but there may be mining by the government. The gathering simply made it clear that people did not want any kind of mining and asked the minister not to dare to step on to the dais.

Land grabbing in the name of development has also been there in Kerala. Nearly 360 families faced eviction without compensation in Ernakulam district for a proposed container terminal. Our state-wide movement compelled the government to pay compensation. In a second case the government tried to evict 2000 families for a second port at Trivandrum to grab nearly 10,000 acres of their land. BJP tried to develop movement but failed to



Comrade C K Lukose

unite all sections of people. Under the banner of *Janakiya Protirodh Samity* we started our movement, and led it to success as government abandoned the project. All these movements came up at the inspiration of the Singur-Nandigram movement. During both the Congress and CPI(M) rules the Tata and the Goenka houses grabbed vast stretches of land for tea garden and the government tried to acquire more land for highways. The tribals and dalits came out in resistance and as the movement was spreading over the state the government retreated. Not only the mainstream political parties, 66 different organizations took part in the movement with full confidence that only the *Janakiya Protirodh Samity* with SUCI(C) behind could unite all sections of people.

Our party whole heartedly supported movements of school teachers and government employees as the government was actually aiming at downsizing in this sector and privatization of education at the instance of the World Bank. Since long these employees and teachers were under the control of CPI (M) led unions but we made a deep penetration, so much so that CPI (M) leadership had to recognize our strength and unite with us.

Next came the movement of nearly 1 lakh small traders and shopkeepers on face of attack of the MNCs of the country and abroad on the retail trading. In a 20,000 strong rally in Trivandrum we were asked to address. We exposed the encroachment of big capital in retail trade as a sinister design of globalization. The traders and shopkeepers earlier opposed any kind of movement but are now coming out with generous support to our call for movement.

Against a later move by the government, aided by the road

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SUCI (C) strongly protests President Obama's proposed India visit

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (Communist) in course of a statement issued on 24 October, 2010 strongly protested the ensuing India visit of US President Obama and said that the proposed visit is taking place at a time when the US imperialists have released a heinous war of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan killing thousands and thousands of innocent people including women and children, aiding and abetting Zionist rulers of Israel in brutally suppressing the most legitimate struggle of the Palestine people in demand for an independent homeland, posing serious threat of attack against Cuba, North Korea and also Iran and are extending their military as well as espionage network throughout the world. At the same time, the US imperialist rulers are developing a military nexus with the ruling Indian capitalist class with a view to making India a pliant partner in establishing their hegemonism round the globe.

Comrade Ghosh, therefore, called upon the countrymen to rise up against this evil intentioned visit of the US President designed to chain India with world imperialism it being wholly detrimental to the interest of the Indian people so as to force the Government of India to cancel it.

Comrade Manik Mukherjee meets Comrade Prachanda



Comrade Manik Mukherjee met Comrade Prachanda at Kathmandu on 20 October, wherein they decided to hold the third International Anti-imperialist Conference at Kathmandu on 7-9 November 2011 under the joint auspices of International Anti-Imperialist and People's Solidarity Coordinating Committee and the United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

People acclaim SUCI(C) as the force of mass movement

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mafias, towards eviction of nearly 30,000 families and 20,000 shops in the name of widening two national highways we have formed people's committees at different places and are building up movement. Justice Iyer himself attended a convention called by the *Janakiya Protirodh Samity*, gave a call to continue fight and declared: Comrade Venugopal will be my successor; he will lead you after me. This way we are engaged in mass movement.

During the preparation of the Second Party Congress the party has literally spread out over the state and is now working in 14 districts, with 9 elected district committees and 5 organizing committees. We have a lot of dedicated whole-timers. We run 23 party centres in which 80 adult and 23 young comrades live. Earlier we used to perform mass collection in the name of MSS and DSO. Now people ask which is the party behind them. They seem to be more eager to donate for the Party itself. The party has earned a seat of respect among people.

We have founded a 'Netaji Centre for Socio-Cultural Studies' on the land and house donated by a former DSO comrade in Alappuja

district. It was inaugurated by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, and many eminent personalities were invited in that function. Among them was the Vice-Chancellor of Mahatma Gandhi University who was also a famous historian. Earlier a supporter of CPI(M), he had supported us in the movement against DPEP. He said: After becoming the Vice-Chancellor, this is the first public programme I am coming to. I know there will be many questions, but I have decided very convincingly to come. When we were students we

viewed SUCI with some contempt. They do some collection, some wall writing and then in the evening go to some hotel and have chicken with that money. Now, I deeply regret that I could not understand that party. I now understand the party. A leader of Dalit movement said: Without SUCI I cannot move an inch forward. Another man said: I take part in peoples' movements for doing some good for people, with an expectation that in the life in the other world I will be rewarded. But I wonder why SUC people do that. I know they do

not believe in god and in life of the other world. Then why they are taking part in movement with such dedication and facing all hardship and sacrifice. What prompts them to do all these things, I just can't understand. They are not losing any land, any property. But they are with the people, facing lathi-charge or police atrocities.

Comrades, we know the source of our inspiration is thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and revolutionary culture and morality bequeathed by him.

Huge mass meeting in Haryana



Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C) addressing the mass meeting at Rohtak, Haryana on 24 October, 2010.

Organize protest rally across the country on 8 November against visit of US President Barack Obama

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH

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