



Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

"...Better start with few:people. In fact, this was the guiding principle when we started building our party with a handful of comrades...With firm determination, and only with this, we went ahead to build up this party. And what has been the result?... The CPI(M) today considers the SUCI its main enemy—greater than the Congress even. For, it knows that it is the SUCI which will give burial to its politics of deception. The SUCI will unmask not only the Congress but also the design of all the pseudo-communists donning the cloak of Leftism. Because, it is the SUCI which carries the seeds of revolution. No other party can rip open the real character of those parties who are now making the most in the easy shelter of parliamentary politics masquerading as revolutionaries. The party which can do it is, SUCI. That is why all the pseudo-revolutionary parties have come to a tacit understanding among themselves and formed, so to say, a united front against the SUCI."

Founder Editor-in-Chief
COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH
ORGAN OF
SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (Fortnightly)

**Proletarian
Era**

WE VOW

On 5th of August, the historic day, we, countless workers, supporters and sympathisers armed with the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat, vow to devote all our strength and energy to bring to a successful culmination the concrete and comprehensive programme of the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution, following the unfailing guideline he has laid before us, for the emancipation of the exploited people of India and to that end shall engage ourselves to strengthen the SUCI, the party founded and reared by him, with every ounce of our energy and till the last drop of our blood.

In the face of the brutal police repression to suppress the movements of the oppressed people by the governments both at the centre and in the states, run not only by the known bourgeois parties like the Janata and the Congress but by the so-called Left parties even, when our beloved party, the SUCI, standing by the people, has taken up the political programme of organising them in resistance movements against all kinds of onslaughts, we vow to devote all our might to make these movements irresistible and to remain unflinching in carrying them forward to higher and still higher phases defying all odds and braving all obstacles.

When, alarmed at the growing mass movements, not only the ruling capitalist class and the political parties serving it but even the social democratic parties, the forces of compromise between labour and capital, are engaged in a conspiracy to divide the rank of the exploited masses, with the motive of sustaining moribund capitalism, by fostering and fanning up communalism, casteism, regionalism, parochialism, etc. we vow, that armed with the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and inspired by proletarian culture and ethics, we will defeat this conspiracy of the bourgeoisie and their hirelings by organising people's movements on the edifice of higher ethics and culture and thus further consolidating the unity of the toiling people.

The great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, has taught us that unless the mass movements are freed from the influence of the prevailing degraded culture and are placed, instead, on higher ethics and morals, they have no hope of getting rid of reformism-opportunism and reaching the destined goal. We vow, at this hour of grave crisis of capitalism when not only the ruling class but its defender the social democratic forces—the so-called Leftist parties—are carrying on with their heinous attempt to inject the people with reformist and opportunist ideas and thinking with a view to arresting their movements within the narrow confines of bourgeois parliamentarism we will strive our utmost following the

teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and imbuing the people with revolutionary ethics, morals and culture to free the mass movements from the influence of all forms of opportunism-reformism-revisionism and parliamentary illusion so as to make these movements conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has further taught us that the social democratic forces, when in the opposition try to confuse and misguide the movements of the workers and oppressed masses from within but when in the government, they make their endeavours under cover of so-called revolutionary verbiage so that democratic mass movements do not develop and they never hesitate for a moment to crush any movements with the help of state machinery just like a bourgeois government. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has taught us that once fascism came out of the womb of social democracy and now social democracy is the last prop of fascism. He has also shown that with the exposure of the real character of the known social democratic forces and their total isolation in the world communist movement, those parties within this movement who have turned into national communist parties and have virtually degenerated into social democratic forces are the potential forces of bringing fascism in different countries while waving the banner of Marxism. In India the two parties, the CPI and the CPI(M), by confusing and misdirecting the mass movements, while they were in the opposition, in the past and now by savagely suppressing the movements from their position in the government, have once more proved correct this historic analysis of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

We vow, following the correct guideline he has laid before us for carrying on an intense ideological struggle against social democratic forces in order to lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution to its successful culmination, we will be unrelenting in our struggle to defeat and isolate these forces completely, both ideologically and organisationally, from the masses.

Today, when, as a reflection of the grave crisis of capitalism, dissensions, mutual bickerings and scramble for power within the known parties of the bourgeoisie have become extremely acute and when, in the face of this severe crisis of the capitalist class, greater opportunity has opened up for adding momentum to the movements of the exploited people but the parties like the CPI and the CPI(M), without caring for people's interest, have come in rescue of the capitalist class, we vow that following the path laid down by **Comrade Ghosh**, we will make our most earnest endeavour to carry forward the task of building up the united struggle of workers, peasants and toiling people and holding aloft the banner of Leftism and revolution.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, through his

analysis reflecting great revolutionary wisdom, has shown that as the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party could not be established over the democratic mass movement both in pre-independence and post-independence periods, there had not been, before them a correct revolutionary objective and so, instead of building up the people's committees as their own instruments of struggle through movements as also giving birth to political power by placing these committees on the firm foundation of higher cultural-ethical-political standards, those movements were kept confined within agitational forms in the interest of parliamentary politics and for all this, despite great sufferings and sacrifices of the people, movements in the past met with failures, again and again. Today, when, under the leadership of the great revolutionary party, the SUCI, founded and developed by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and along the path charted out by him, countrywide movements of the oppressed people are growing up, the task of organising the people in these movements so as to turn them into torrential tides has appeared indispensable, we vow, by conducting relentless ideological struggle following the guideline of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, we will make the exploited people conscious of the revolutionary ideology of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and shall carry forward the struggle with all our might to establish the leadership of the revolutionary party, the SUCI, on the mass movements; organising the entire exploited masses from the village to the national level, we shall build up the people's own instruments of struggle in the shape of people's committees and, guided by the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, shall engage ourselves whole-heartedly in the relentless cultural movement to develop people's committees on the edifice of proletarian ethics, culture and morals so as to transform them into people's political power.

We vow following the great example of unparalleled revolutionary character of completely identifying self with the class and the revolution, as has been set by our beloved leader, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, we will engage ourselves with greater zeal and enthusiasm in the revolutionary struggle and the struggle to identify ourselves with the party built up by our great leader, teacher and guide, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

We vow, we, countless revolutionary workers educated and taught by him, shall, with every drop of our blood, hold aloft the banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism.

We vow, armed with his teachings we will turn our deepest grief into firm determination, courage and revolutionary purposiveness and, standing as 'one man', we will engage ourselves in the struggle for filling in the void created by his departure.

Remembering the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

On revolutionary approach to mass movement

In the perspective of the prevailing all-out crisis in our country, the biggest problem confronting the task of developing an effective mass movement of the people—the students, workers, peasants as also different strata of the oppressed people—against capitalist oppression and tyranny is not so much the utter destitution and poverty of the masses but the grave crisis in the moral and cultural life of the society, causing its degeneration. I do not mean by this that it is the sole problem in every sphere. But for developing mass movement, this is surely posing as the most serious one.

As, let alone for developing a movement on correct path, even for developing a movement of some effect, courage and steadfastness, some sort of planning and above all a sense of dedication on the part of the people joining it are required. And judged in this perspective, the moral-cultural standard of the people obtaining at a given moment in the society assumes so much importance. If the minimum moral standard in the society is missing then the idea that: "People will stand up if they suffer" is reduced to an empty verbiage. With the accentuation of crisis, movements will automatically crystalize—such a thinking has gained some hold in our country. You are always to bear in mind that such a thing does never occur. When faced with starvation or in dire distress, a man can take either of two courses. If he has the moral standard, he may choose the course of movement but without it he may become a beggar, a corrupt and demoralised man, a wagon-breaker but surely not a participant in the movement.

So, it is not true that a hungry man, a man haunted by poverty, a man getting the lashings of capitalist exploitation does automatically become a fighter. Neither do I believe nor our party does in the so-called theory that with the accentuation of crisis and further destitution of the masses, the students and youths, workers and peasants will automatically build up movements. Marxism-Leninism does not accept all this. Marxism-Leninism cannot give any credence to this theory of spontaneity of movement. That is why what I want to emphasise is that judged in the light of the task of developing a movement if the various problems are analysed then the moral degeneration in the society or the lowering of cultural standard becomes the most serious question. In fact this is eating into the very vitals of our morals, destroying the very morals and principles which constitute the vital core of politics and causing immense harm to all this from behind.

...By agitating the poverty-stricken people on some slogans, the revolutionary mental make-up and the revolutionary organisations cannot be built up nor can the revolution be achieved. If this could be possible then

there would have been no necessity of fulfilling the essential preconditions e.g. revolutionary mental make up and revolutionary organisations of the masses. I have tried to show you before, how the moral and ethical standard in the social life even to the extent it was during the national freedom movement of our country has been lost; thereafter in 1967 when the leftists came to the governmental power in the state of West Bengal, how CPI(M) which claims to be a revolutionary party, destroyed the courage, mental acquirements and strength, morals and principles even of its own rank and file as a result of which this party leadership is inventing queer logics one after another to hide its failure to be involved in mass movement.....

The leaders of this party are saying that this is not the time for movement. The workers and the youths associated with this party, who are supposed to be fighting for an ideology and if it is true that they have joined the party for this ideology then they are also expected to have-accepted the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism in their life to fight for and if necessary, to lay down their lives for building up organisation. But one who is their leader, who is expected to give morals to movement, on the one hand, is saying that they stand for revolution and that they are Marxist-Leninists—although whether they are aware of the real implications of all these claims is a different matter—but is saying on the other hand that movement cannot be launched now in West Bengal. For, in their opinion, if there is any movement now, there will be much bloodshed, many people will die. [This refers to the period of Sidhartha Roy Ministry in 1973-74 in West Bengal when CPI(M) leader Mr. Jyoti Basu was saying all this in justification of their inaction to develop movement in the state.—Ed. P. Era] It, therefore, flows from this line of argument that they will select such time for movement or shall organise such kind of movement which will not call for any casualty. And if at all there is any casualty, it will not be theirs but of their opponents. It is best known to these leaders as to whether there is any relation of this kind of thinking to the concept of revolution or Marxism-Leninism.....

I understand the simple truth that those who build up the revolutionary movement, initiate the struggle against injustice are to give more at the beginning, die more in number, sacrifice more. They cannot start their struggle if their attitude is—'we will fight only if we can beat others and if this is not possible we will desert fight'. They, rather come in struggle prepared to lay down their life. They have the attitude that they will rather die but not give up fight against injustice.

This mental make up has always created the fertile soil for struggle against injustice,

the soil of revolutionary movement in all countries. Thus, by this sense of dedication and fearless struggles, the revolutionaries have built up, brick by brick, the mighty edifice of revolutionary movement where-upon revolution has been victorious. Here, however, these leaders are talking about that kind of revolution, that kind of revolutionary struggle, the very foundation of which, the very source of courage of which is police protection. But those having rudimentary knowledge about revolution know well that let alone fight against police, the real fight in revolution is against the armed military, against the very state-power. Those who have not even this minimum sense that compared to the might of the state power, police is but a small thing, are, so to say, not competent to talk about revolution....

Further analysed, **it means let these leaders form their own government first and the movement will start thereafter. It means, by any means, either by coming to an understanding with the capitalist class or by striking a deal with those in the ruling party who, for some reasons, are aggrieved against the government, if they can come to government through election, stay in power, police is under their control, there is no fear of being sent to jail or harassed by police, then, if need be, they will have no difficulty to be 'revolutionary' again! It is however, a different matter whether in such a situation they will at all feel any such need!**

Let me now revert to the discussion on the failure of the parties like CPI(M) in integrating the moral cultural question with democratic mass movement. The principal reason for their failure lies in the fact, whether they admit it or not, that either they believe in the theory that if the people are somehow thrown in the movement with the slogan of fight then by the automatic process, revolutionary characters will grow up or they have missed completely to grasp the phenomenon that if cultural degeneration takes a very big dimension in the society then unless the ethical cultural standard can get a lift through the revolutionary movement and its revolutionary process, revolution cannot be achieved. Among all other processes of revolutionary preparations, this aspect of preparation of revolutionary mental make up of the people is of great significance and it is correlated with the question of ethical-moral standard, with the cultural standard in the society.

Lenin said—cultural revolution precedes technical revolution, that is to say, before the revolution can be organised, cultural-ethical standard and the mental make up conducive to revolution are to be built up. For this, a painstaking ideological struggle covering the cultural level is to be conducted which will provide the necessary cultural tone in the political movement. If it is not a cultural movement as such,—when, how and through what wings it is to be developed is a matter of detailed discussion, still this ideological struggle is a must. Anybody avoiding this struggle but simply relying on mere wish to organise revolution, if he attempts to do so, he is sure to be caught up in the basic fallacy and himself will fall a victim to this fallacy. As a result, even the acquirements in the character, the

(Contd. to page 4)

Among all other problems the moral-ethical degeneration has become the most menacing one

(Contd. from page 3)

fighting zeal, he once possessed will also be lost. **Among all other problems of India, this moral cultural problem, in my opinion, has appeared as one of the principal problems, now.**

You may judge this contention of mine from a different angle. This relates to the fact that in our country, there have been many struggles—sacrifices and dedications of the people too have been countless but by those, revolutionary struggle, the struggle for emancipation has not advanced a single step. Further, you remember that the situation is such that the hungry and the starved people may again burst in their rage like bombs tomorrow. They may create great turmoil for a few days—may uproot the rails, tear the telegraph wires, in the cities like Calcutta, many exciting things may happen for a few days, there may be showering of lathis and bullets but mind it, by all this, revolution will not be accomplished. The reason for this, as I have explained to you again and again, is that revolution and revolt are not one and the same thing.

By revolution is meant politically conscious organised armed uprising of the masses, built up on correct political line and on the edifice of higher culture and ethics, ready to conduct protracted battle against the enemy. This armed uprising therefore, when it develops on the basis of correct political line and is moulded in higher ethics and culture, with the revolutionary determination to conduct a protracted battle can alone achieve revolution. Before this, there may be playing with revolution inside the country but revolution will not come, rather by this, the revolutionary capability that lies hidden in man, his potentiality, fighting zeal and the manly qualities he still retains will go to waste.

Remember, if you want to lead the mass movements to correct revolutionary goal then you require, first of all a correct political line. Secondly, you require, consistent with this revolutionary political line that is to say, for giving concrete and effective shape of this revolutionary political line—a genuine revolutionary party. This genuine revolutionary political party must be present not only to provide ideological leadership but it must have adequate organisational strength. If it has not that adequate organisational strength with which it can effectively influence the objective situation then you are to give it that strength. Just as a mother nourishes her baby to strength, you are to do the same to your party. This is the responsibility of the people, it is the responsibility of all. Bear it in mind, always, that strength of those parties whose base political lines are wrong is a matter of great concern. For, they bring harm. So, if the political line of a party is correct and if it is the only dependable force for revolution but organisationally weak, it is your duty to give it the necessary strength.

Thirdly, you require for the conduction of mass movements an instrument of struggle which we call the united platform of the people. We require this because the bourgeois parliamentary system exists in our country still today. Whether we like it or not, even if we call it a bunkum, nevertheless it exists and has its impact. An atmosphere of democratic movement, within the country, however limited:and fake still remains and willy nilly people are coming in the movement and so the political parties are also joining in those, time and again.

This being the objective situation, we cannot avoid this process of democratic movement for a shortcut without the risk of being isolated from the bigger masses. At least I do not visualise another alternative. Under the circumstance, a political united front of left and democratic parties on the basis of maximum understanding on common agreed programme is a necessity. Here also, you are to properly grasp what should be the principle guiding the unity of the political parties and forces. You can very well notice that at present there is much confusion in this regard. Those who understand what is meant by the law of dialectics—it is not difficult for them to understand that when we mean unity we mean also struggle in it because we cannot conceive of unity according to this dialectical law of Marxism-Leninism where there is no struggle. To conceive a phenomenon is also to conceive of struggle of opposites in it. Then why inspite of these opposite forces and their struggles, unity is also there? Because in the midst of struggle of opposites there is the necessity of unity as also in unity there is the necessity of struggle. Similarly, mass struggle is a particular phenomenon. Within the sphere of its unity there is struggle, constant and relentless, centring round different political lines, angularities and approaches. Had there been no such differences there would have been no necessity of this united front because in that case there would have been only one party, instead of many parties.

Therefore, to lead these struggles of the masses against the main enemy to the revolutionary goal, struggle and conflict between the revolutionary political line and the social-democratic line of other political parties in the united front becomes inevitable and indispensable.....Precisely because of this, all the revolutionary thinkers, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao had to bring some important and basic things in the discussion on strategy and tactics of revolution.

Without entering into a detailed discussion, I like to remind you of the three most important parts of the strategy of revolution, one is—what is the objective of revolution, that is which class or classes are the main enemy and are to be overthrown from power and what type of state will replace the existing one? The second one is which class will lead the revolution. Along with this I add one more important part—what will be the strategic alliance and strategic slogan of revolution? And the third one is the direction of the main blow. This is not

my invention. Those who, unlike the social-democrats of different countries did not only talk of revolution, but had actually organised and led revolution—all of them included this important part 'direction of the main blow' in the strategy of revolution.

...What you are to bear in mind in this connection is that **social democracy is working as a dominant trend in the communist movement of our country, it is acting as a force of compromise between labour and capital. Unless therefore, these social democratic forces are thoroughly defeated and isolated politically, by conduction of sharp ideological struggle within the united movement, it will not be possible to organise anti-capitalist revolution.** In this connection, I would remind you of a well known observation of Stalin. He said: without putting an end to social democratism you cannot put an end to capitalism. If you can correctly grasp this observation of Stalin you can very well understand why we direct our main blow, that is, sharp ideological struggle against CPI(M) within the united movement and if the rank and file of CPI(M) do also realise it correctly, they will also be able to appreciate that our criticism of their leadership is not directed from any bias.

Therefore, the united front is necessary not only as an instrument of struggle for conduction of mighty movement but also to provide the opportunity to the people who have not the power of critical examination of theories, to know, which among the different parties in the united front is the genuine revolutionary party from their direct experiences about the cultural standard, personal behaviours, political education, life style, process of working and method of conducting struggle of the leaders of those parties. So, you see, these are the three essential conditions before the mass movement which have got to be fulfilled.

Remember, whatever may be the issue on which the movement may start—be it the food problem, the democratic rights, it may start from people's grievances, from economic struggle but all these movements are to be conducted in such a way that they can give anti-capitalist orientation to the people. For, unless these movements are directed against capitalism, that is to say, unless they are led to the goal of doing away with the capitalist system by revolution then however much we fight for democratic rights, however much we may earn the democratic rights, to whatever extent we are able to increase our wages, no fundamental change in people's state of existence will be brought about by all these.

Let me remind you of a well known teaching of Lenin in this connection. Addressing the workers, Lenin said that within this capitalist system, in the bourgeois rule, however much the democratic rights are extended, economic demands are achieved through trade union movements, notwithstanding good deal of bloodshed and untold sufferings, the workers will have to pay for all these, these will not bring an end to their present distressed condition; they will continue to be slaves as they were before. Their sons and daughters; their grandchildren will also remain as slaves to

(Contd. to page 5)

(contd. from page 4)

the system Capitalism will not change and it will not change their condition.

The workers need their emancipation, that is to say, their liberation from all sorts of exploitation. In order to achieve this, the workers must have planning for the overthrow of capitalism in all their movements—this is the essence of the base political line. So, all those who are talking about Peoples Democratic Revolution, National Democratic Revolution, Agrarian Revolution in India, if they really mean by all these, a revolutionary transformation of the state, then their strategy of revolution must aim at the overthrow of capitalism. But if this is not so, then in the name of revolution, none of them aims at revolutionary transformation of the state. **These are all, in reality, some measures of reform from governmental position, in the name of revolution.** In that case, what all these kinds of 'revolutions' have got to do with the people who want a radical transformation of their present position?Those who believe that the government is in a position to do much for them and will remove the distress of the common men in our country are either knowingly or unknowingly beguiling themselves and others. One may not object to their deceiving themselves, but we should definitely object to their deceiving the common men. Because if people are allowed to be deceived thus, it would not only mean wastage of time but also help parliamentary illusion to take deeper root in mass mind. This, in reality will do us no good rather will damage our cause greatly.

.....*The state and the government are two different words having two distinctly different meaning.* One is permanent, the other is temporary. One is the caretaker of the other—the government is the caretaker of the state...

Now the question before us is : should the government (government of the left parties — Ed. P. Era) work as a faithful agent of this capitalist state as did the Congress Government or should we give the discontent of the people against capitalism the concrete shape of an organised movement? This is the real issue. The two roads are wide open before us now. The reactionaries and revisionists regard the government as all powerful.

.....It should be realised that in a capitalist society to depend on law and law alone will not deliver any good to the people. Because *whatever is legal is not necessarily justified, moral and humanistic*. It is more true in a capitalist society of the present day where injustice has become the order. On the basis of this outlook, the united front government will have to *patronise the mass movements.....* (Therefore) the UF Government should stop *police interference* in legitimate democratic movement, contrary to the practice during the Congress regime, and control bureaucracy effectively.A left government should set a bright example in protecting people's interest by always removing all obstacles set before the mass movements by the bureaucracy as well as by effectively restraining the police who on and often suppress by brutal force the legitimate democratic mass movements on the plea of maintaining 'law and order'.

.....*If the government can perform this*

To talk of Peoples Democratic or National Democratic Revolution means, at best, reforming moribund capitalist system from governmental position

correctly then something real for the people will be done. And it will be as good as cheating the people if this is not done however much is spoken otherwise.

.....It always happened in the past that the people while participating in the movement did not think and care what should have been the correct line, correct approach and correct ideology in order to achieve their goal. Nor had there been any attempt on the part of those political parties providing leadership over such movements to make them conscious about all this and build up revolutionary organisations—the political power of the people.....

Where then lay the mistake? The answer lies in repeating the same truth—our movements had not before them the correct base political line and the correct leadership. That is to say, all those movements had not before them the strategy and tactics of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. So, whatever might have been the struggles on the demands of the people, they were in essence fights for some reforms within the bourgeois constitutional span, although the leaders tried to pass them for 'revolution' to the people. So, the fate of these movements has been what is but natural in the given condition. *Political power of the people and the instruments of struggle of the exploited masses on the model of Soviets did not grow up through these movements.* That is the reason why you need to be very much careful and serious about all this while conducting your movements. You are to see whether the base political line of your movement is correct or not, in other words, whether it contains or not the strategy and tactics of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. Besides, in order to choose the correct leadership in the movement, you are to examine carefully who or which party is really eager and interested to develop People's Committees of workers and peasants as the instruments of struggle of the exploited people on the model of the 'Soviets' of the Russian Revolution through these movements and who are the forces creating obstruction under various pretexts to the formation of these struggling People's Committees and are, instead, trying to mislead the people by interpreting the increase in party's organisational strength as the emergence of people's political power. Over and above all this, in order to identify the correct leadership, you are to examine very carefully the leaders and cadres of which party in the movements, are reflecting in their day to day struggles, higher cultural tone and taste and ethical-moral standard conducive to anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. If you are to build up a genuine socialist system based on the theory of scientific socialism after overthrowing the present capitalist system through revolution then it is imperative on you to be very much vigilant in guarding all this in your movement.

By political power of the people, I mean such politically alert struggling committees of the exploited people in both villages and towns who can perform any kind of work on the basis of base political line by exercising their own brains, initiative and creativeness. They establish their leadership over the people not by threat or intimidation and police force nor by rowdiness but by virtue of their worth, qualities, personality, superior and matured thinking, integrity of character and thinking ability. These People's Committees formed through democratic mass movement from lowest to highest level, unless they are developed with such political consciousness and moulded in such higher ethical-cultural standard that they can effectively replace the three organs of the bourgeois state machinery, parallel state power of the people cannot emerge. So long this task remains unaccomplished, it will not be possible to organise revolution by change of government through election. I am asking you to build up this kind of politically conscious people's organisation from village to national level which can face effectively all sorts of adverse situation and carry on their works undisturbed. For, we cannot always anticipate what kind of obstacles, how and when would come from our adversaries. Those who are very intelligent can only anticipate sometime, some of the possible attacks but even a wise man cannot always anticipate surprise attacks from the enemy. Revolutionary movement will have to face such a situation any time. That is why the revolutionary organisers must acquire the capability, individually and collectively in the committees, to face such a situation with calm resoluteness, so that essential thing is not missed in the least by losing balance of mind, useless talkings and purposeless debates.

.....Further, **you are to build up a strong, disciplined, ideologically dedicated volunteer force.** The first thing you are to take note of in this regard is that only by wearing a badge or attending the drill, nobody can really be a volunteer. The term 'volunteer' means a worker doing his work out of his will and moral and ideological inspiration—he is not a paid worker. In our country, not to speak of the bourgeois parties, even the pseudo-left and pseudo-Marxist parties are enrolling young men as their volunteers in exchange of money. These volunteers can at any moment hold weapons against others. Judged from this point of view, it can be said that these political parties have become, so to say, a kind of employment exchange. These parties are providing the young people with a kind of job. This is why they openly declare without slightest prick of conscience that: "We will not do anything unless we are paid." I would say, patriots like Subhas Chandra and Khudiram

(contd. to page 14)

Hold aloft the great banner of proletarian internationalism

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech on 24th April, the SUCI Day

Comrade President and comrades,

This meeting has been convened on the occasion of the 31st Anniversary of our Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party. It was on this day in 1948, at a transitional phase in history, that the SUCI emerged as the only Marxist-Leninist party in our country. Just hundred years ago, in 1848, the Communist Manifesto was published at the joint initiative of Marx and Engels. The Manifesto opened a new horizon before the toiling people all over the world and added an unprecedented momentum to their struggle for emancipation from exploitation. Coming in its wake the uprising of the Communards in 1871 in France and the workers' uprising of 1905 in Russia had failed though, it was from those failures that the first Socialist Revolution became victorious in Russia in 1917. Before this it was inconceivable in the history of mankind that the illiterate, ignorant workers of factories and fields, who are forced to live a subhuman life, could ever lay hold of the state power overthrowing the powerful capitalist state and run it. The Russian revolution of 1917 ushered in a new era in world history.

Marxism is the only philosophy based on science

As the onward march of Marxism-Leninism continued through many ups and downs, beyond this great landmark, side by side there has been no end to mischievous attempts as well to distort Marxism and malign its great revolutionary banner. All conversant with Marxism know that it was Marx and Engels who laid the foundation of the dialectical materialist philosophy, although the dialectical method of analysis was first developed by Hegel. But though Hegel formulated the method of dialectics and Feuerbach spoke of dialectical materialism, Marx's achievement lies in the fact that he established dialectical materialism on firm foundation of science. All the previous philosophies—whether idealist, spiritualist or metaphysical—have only tried to interpret the world. But Marxism is the only philosophy which not only interprets the world, but also shows the

scientific path to change it. It is the philosophy, the only philosophy that is entirely based on experimented truth of science. Marxism studies the laws of social change and development by applying the dialectical method on the basis of the general truth arrived at by co-ordinating and integrating the particular truths about different aspects of nature as established by different branches of science, namely physics, chemistry, biological sciences, etc., and thereby helps to accelerate the progress of civilization. Because of this Lenin observed, while explaining Marxism, it is not some quotations of Marx, nor it is a gospel truth, nor a dogma. It is a guide to action. All through the life Marx and Engels had to conduct severe struggles against the sham revolutionaries in order to establish dialectical and historical materialism on a strong scientific foundation. For which Engels had to say that the entire life of Marx and himself had been spent in fight against the sham revolu-

tionaries. This struggle started since the life-time of Marx and Engels and is continuing till now. Analysing the history of social development dialectically, Marx showed that the object and the mode of existence of the proletariat in production is collective. Hence it is the working class which alone is historically capable of establishing social ownership over production and productive system by putting an end to private ownership over means of production and thereby establish the classless society free from all sorts of exploitation. And in this way it can free not only production from its crisis but also science, knowledge, art, education—all, from the grip and tentacles of private ownership. Following this course, the communist movement and the working class struggle throughout the world have added many glorious chapter to history. It is however known to each and every class conscious worker that the path of revolution is not easy or straight, it is not strewn with roses. Many an obstacle has to be crossed along it. The deployment of the vested interest within society to counter the revolution from all sides is so wide and elaborate that failures and onslaughts come again and again, till the final victory of revolution. And the attack comes not from outside alone, but from within the working class movement also. Workers do not take long to detect, understand and grasp the nature of attacks that come from outside—those which come from the ruling class. But they take longer to understand the real character of attacks that come from within the movement, attacks which come from those who move in disguise talking of communism and waving red

banners. Remaining within the struggle of workers, peasants and other sections of the common people they take part in it and act as the anti-working class force within communist and working class movement. These are the forces known to be the forces of compromise between exploiters and the exploited, between labour and capital.

The essential tasks

After Marx, analysing the character of the world imperialist-capitalist system Lenin showed the toiling people of the world that the present era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Since in this era of moribund capitalism the bourgeoisie has turned into a reactionary force, not only in the capitalist countries but in the colonial and semi-colonial countries too, working class leadership will have to be established over the revolutionary struggle in order to lead revolution to victory.

And for this, it is necessary to have a clear concept and knowledge of social science, the correct revolutionary theory or ideology and the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat built up on the higher revolutionary consciousness, culture and ethics. Secondly, Lenin showed that before seizure of political power, or armed mass uprising, or technical revolution, it is indispensable to organise and conduct cultural movement conducive to particular revolution. An indispensable task to make revolution victorious is to draw, through this ideological-cultural movement, the bigger section of the masses ideologically on to the side of revolution, transform as many as possible into soldiers for direct participation in revolution and win over all others, who fail to take a direct role, as the auxiliary or reserve force of revolution. Besides, it is to be kept in mind that to lead the struggle

of the working class against its main enemy, imperialism-capitalism, to successful culmination it is essential to eradicate completely the influence of the forces of compromise between labour and capital, both ideologically and organisationally, and to isolate them totally from people by conducting an intense ideological struggle. Ultimately on this depends the success of the struggle. It must also be borne in mind that it is never possible to destroy capitalism without completely defeating these forces of compromise. For this reason, while discussing the October Revolution of Russia, Stalin repeatedly emphasized that it had been possible for the Bolsheviks to lead the revolution to victory just because they could completely defeat the forces of compromise ideologically as well as organisationally.

And on this developed the invaluable teaching of Stalin that in order to destroy capitalism it is essential to defeat the forces of compromise between labour and capital, that is, the social democratic forces of all shades and colours.

This means, on the question of the basic strategy of revolution, it has to be decided in the first place who is the main enemy, in other words, which class or classes are in state power—which class or classes have to be overthrown. Secondly, though all the people of a country may not actively take part in revolution, but at least the bigger section of them must be won over to the side of revolution and it has to be determined correctly which sections of the people, according to their class positions, may be allies of revolution, and steps must be taken to achieve it. Thirdly, an intense and relentless ideological struggle will have to be conducted to completely free the masses from the influence of the forces of compromise—the forces which, remaining within the exploited masses, try to shield the ruling class

(Contd. to page 7)

(Contd. from page 6)
in order to sustain it in power. Until and unless this is done, it will not be possible even to touch the main enemy.

Defeat revisionism-reformism

Now, if we analyse the present international situation, we will see that the US imperialism now stands as the main obstacle before the struggle for emancipation of the toiling masses of the world.

Therefore, all those who want to build up revolutionary movement in different countries will have to strengthen and sharpen the struggle against imperialism in general and the US imperialism, the main enemy, in particular. By no means can they afford to deviate from this line. Side by side, the other important question they will have to examine carefully is which is the power in the international field that is acting as the force of compromise between imperialism and the people in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and between the capitalist class and the toiling masses in the imperialist-capitalist countries, and by defeating which force they will have to go ahead. Is there any room for doubt that the present revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union is acting as a force of compromise within the communist movement of today? The day the revisionist Khrushchev leadership usurped power in the Soviet Communist Party and the state, this modern revisionist clique had started polluting the Soviet state, the first socialist state which Lenin and Stalin had built up, the state that roused the toiling masses of the whole world and inspired them in their struggle for emancipation from exploitation of all sorts. It is the great teaching of Lenin that unless the struggle to raise the ideological standard be continuously kept alive within the party, no one can prevent deviation from Marxism-Leninism. All the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world are

now paying a high price to learn this from the tragic experiences of history. If we deviate from the relentless, hard struggle for building up higher culture and raising the level of consciousness, then nobody can save us from sliding into revisionism-reformism. If the world communist movement is to be saved from this tragic consequence, if the revolutionary mass uprisings and the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in different countries are to be led to their cherished goal, it is, first of all, necessary to defeat revisionism, particularly the modern revisionist policies and activities of the present Soviet leadership.

Warning of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh about the defects and shortcomings of the international communist movement

31 years ago, at the time of foundation of the SUCI, our beloved leader, teacher and guide, the Founder General Secretary of our Party, an outstanding Marxist thinker of this era and the great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, with his profound knowledge and revolutionary wisdom, drew attention of the different communist parties of the world, particularly of the leading communist parties, to some serious defects and shortcomings of the international communist movement. He had pointed out at that time whereas the relationship among the communist parties of different countries should be based on the dialectical principle of unity-struggle-unity, a strong influence of mechanical process of thinking in this relationship was noticeable instead. It should not be forgotten that he who follows blindly lowers not only himself, but also the one he follows. History is full of tragic examples corroborating it. **Comrade Ghosh** showed that every thing develops through contradiction in a dialectical way. There cannot be any develop-

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech

ment of consciousness either of the leaders or of the cadres if there is no struggle and interaction of ideas between the leader and the led. Bureaucracy will inevitably grow in the party in absence of this struggle. And mechanisation is bound to follow it, in reality this struggle is avoided consciously or unconsciously. In this dialectical relation, while there is struggle and interaction of ideas, there is unity as well.

Comrade Ghosh had emphasised all this, because it was found that, in absence of this dialectical relation, a painful but dangerous trend had been tending to grow in the international communist movement.

At that time, braving all odds and obstacles at every step with his boundless courage and boldness, **Comrade Ghosh** went ahead to build up the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in India, the SUCI. With firm conviction from his deep realization of proletarian internationalism he pointed out that although the differences among the communist parties of different countries over various issues appear to be antagonistic in nature when taken separately, it at once transforms into non-antagonistic contradiction in the background of the united struggle against imperialism, the common enemy, if the struggle is conducted in dialectical method and in accordance with the principle adopted in the international communist movement.

This undoubtedly is an invaluable guideline for developing the correct Marxist-Leninist concept of relationship between the leaders and the cadres in the organisational sphere within every communist party and internationally, amongst the different communist parties. With much pain I cannot but say that the world communist movement today is paying dearly for its failure to

give due importance to his brilliant analysis.

Comrade Ghosh further showed that, although there was great possibility of victory of the communist movement in one country after another, it could by no means be denied that as a result of mechanisation in the process of thinking and process of organisation as opposed to dialectical process of thinking and organisation, unbelievable lowering of ideological-cultural standard and persistence of basically bourgeois humanist thinking, morals and ethics, serious defects and shortcomings were cropping up in the ideological sphere providing a breeding ground for revisionism, reformism in the international communist movement. At the same time, he also pointed out that the then leadership of the international communist movement had not been following the Leninist principle of evolving the international line of revolution through dialectical interaction of ideas between different communist parties and that most of the parties chose, contrary to the Leninist principle of organisation, the easy way of mechanical centralisation, that led to the formation of bureaucratic leadership at the top and that blind obedience and acceptance of leadership without questioning were considered as the highest sense of discipline.

As a result, not only has the international leadership been weakened, but even non-Marxist ideas have been smuggled into the world communist movement; it has brought in its wake deviation from the correct understanding of proletarian internationalism, the correct concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the monolithic character of the working class party, and such other basic teachings of Marxism. As inevitable consequence, reactionary nationalist ideas and degraded culture have made deep inroad in the world communist

movement and concepts totally alien to Marxism, like 'free thinking', 'different paths of non-capitalist development', etc. have raised their ugly heads to strike at the very root of proletarian internationalism. And a trend of national communism is trying to emerge as a new danger in different countries. Those who do not want to deceive themselves can by no means remain blind to this stark reality today.

At that time, no one had considered it necessary to pay heed to the warning of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. And what has been the consequence? Indulging in this mechanical process of thinking and blind support those who had once placed Stalin high as a demigod did not hesitate for a moment to pull down the great communist leader at a later time.

While building up the party on the basis of his vast and profound knowledge which he acquired in course of concretising Marxism on Indian soil as the worthy inheritor of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung and in the process of directly organizing the struggle for emancipation of the toiling masses as well as on the basis of his varied and rich experiences which he gathered from the cross-currents of the international communist movement, **Comrade Ghosh** as early as in September of 1948, cautioned against the trend of mechanical process of thinking and its disastrous consequences. He had shown that the reactionary nationalist ideas which were present as admixture in the communist movement, had although been subdued as a result of the ideological struggle conducted under the firm leadership of Stalin, these had not however been eradicated altogether.

Communist movement must be freed from the influence of nationalism

Analysing this point,
(Contd. to page 8)

(Contd. from page 7)

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech

Comrade Ghosh had shown, much of the growth and development of the present day communist movement owed its origin to the bourgeois humanist appeal, liberal sentiments, the anti-imperialist liberation struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and anti-capitalist movements in the capitalist countries and to the superiority of socialist system over capitalist system. In absence of a relentless struggle essential for acquiring the communist consciousness and the proletarian culture and ethics, the higher standard of the communist character and its firm determination are lacking. Such a condition prevailing, there is little chance of uplifting the general ideological standard of the mass mind by freeing it from the influence of the reactionary nationalist sentiments present as admixture in the communist movement. So long as a national independence movement continues against feudalism or imperialist domination in a country, the nationalist ideas or values remain conducive to revolution and people's cause and the patriotic feelings that grow out of it is quite compatible with the proletarian internationalism of the communists.

It should be remembered that the nationalist-humanist ideas and values had once freed mankind from religious bigotry and blind prejudices, had showed the path of advancement and had helped people play revolutionary role in social movement but today in the present moribund phase of capitalism, humanism, being reduced to a reactionary ideology, has historically lost its revolutionary character. There is a fundamental difference between bourgeois humanism and proletarian internationalism—not only in form and content, but in all aspects. However high might be the sense of moral values which humanism contributed to human civilisation, the march of progress of society did not

stop there. In the annals of human society humanism is not the last word. Communism begins where humanism ends.

Exhausting the humanist values completely, assimilating all their beauty and aesthetic qualities, all their contribution in the realm of human relationship, the onward march and continuous victory and enrichment of proletarian internationalism and culture, proletarian moral and ethical values started from where bourgeois humanism ended. So, it is essential to develop a clear understanding and an epistemological environment of proletarian culture, morals and ethics by continuously uplifting the ideological standard while conducting the struggle for emancipation. If the influences of the reactionary nationalist-humanist sentiments and feeling of the present moribund phase of capitalism cannot be eliminated from the ideological, cultural, political, social and every other sphere of life through constant practice of the higher proletarian culture, it will create a stumbling block in the path of consolidating the revolutionary working class state and the march of communist movement. It will bring revisionist-reformist deviation in the socialist camp.

Every student of history and social science knows that when Comrade Stalin could not save Tito from this political-ideological deviation, he had no other option than to expel Tito and the Communist League of Yugoslavia from the then international forum, the Cominform. At that time, September 1948, in his historic analysis seeking attention of the international communist leadership, **Comrade Ghosh** had cautioned that ideological differences and deviation in the communist movement had not died out with the burial of Trotskyism. If sufficient vigil were not exercised, newer rifts in the communist camp could not be ruled out in the prevailing complex situation.

Not only this, if this non-Marxist mechanical outlook, prevailing at present in the matter of ideological questions, is not rightly resolved in time, it may, no wonder, in the long run bring about a new phenomenon in the world history when people will witness that even after the establishment of socialist systems in different countries the communists, instead of further cementing unity between them and making rapid strides for the establishment of world communist society, are engaged in open confrontation. In view of the recent international and national developments, which have been causing concern among the communist-minded, leftists and the common people, it is our firm belief that the toiling masses of not only our country but of all countries will draw as the historic guideline in their struggle for emancipation from these invaluable analyses of **Comrade Ghosh** on the communist movement and they will hold aloft the great banner of proletarian internationalism.

Free Marxism from the hands of the pseudo-Marxists

In this context the particular aspect to which I emphatically like to draw your attention is that not only the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people have been attracted by the noble ideology of communism, but even the cream of the intelligentsia had also been attracted once and this had been possible just not because of the impact of some slogans raised in fields and factories—those demands were of course legitimate, rather are still legitimate—but these people were attracted particularly by the high standard of proletarian culture, ethics and sense of values. For this **Comrade Ghosh** used to say: Whether an ideology is really great is not proved by whether it preaches a great ideal. The kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, any

philosophy or any worthy ideology lies in its cultural, ethical and aesthetic standard. The kernel, the living soul of Marxism-Leninism is ingrained in proletarian culture, ethics and sense of values which are still higher than the high standard of culture, ethics and sense of values which bourgeois humanism had given birth to in the era of capitalist revolution. At the hands of the pseudo-communists who failed to realise this Marxism-Leninism has been reduced to a body without soul.

However painstaking it may be, it is the task of the toiling masses who are engaged in the struggle for emancipation to free Marxism-Leninism by continually developing their social and class consciousness from the hands of those who are vulgarising the noble ideology of communism and proletarian internationalism, consciously or unconsciously, in the international as well as national sphere. Time and again **Comrade Ghosh** pointed out that Marxism-Leninism alone can emancipate mankind today from the grave crisis in culture, ideology, ethics and morals caused by degeneration of humanism into reaction in the present moribund phase of capitalism.

So, if they turn back from Marxism-Leninism seeing its distortion and vulgarisation in the hands of the pseudo revolutionaries, the people of no country will find the road to emancipation elsewhere. It will objectively mean strengthening of capitalism and granting it a longer lease of life.

SUCI emerged out of historic necessity

As a genuine Marxist-Leninist party plays its due role in the international field so also in the national field it concretely analyses the situation and determines the strategy and tactics of revolution on the basis of the correct analysis of the international situation and consciously develops

the process of building the party on Marxism-Leninism or dialectical materialism. A careful study of history will reveal to the toiling people that the workers, peasants, students, youths and other sections of the masses of our country had taken a greater part, had made much more sacrifices than the bourgeoisie in anti-imperialist independence struggle.

But the national bourgeoisie could establish its leadership over the independence movement and saddle itself in state power through compromise with the British imperialism by usurping the fruits of struggle and sacrifices of the exploited masses only because of the failure of the working class and the toiling masses, throughout the entire period of movement, to build up their revolutionary party based on collective leadership. Although the bourgeois and social democratic leadership was established over the movements of the working people and as a result the working class movement could not be freed from adventurism or opportunism, economism and reformism, the struggle and sacrifices of the working class were not in vain altogether. However belated, the working class of our country had ultimately succeeded in giving birth to, through a relentless, tortuous and complex struggle, the genuine working class party with the emergence of the leadership of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat. **Comrade Ghosh** founded the Socialist Unity Centre of India in 1948. When he founded the Party he had correctly realized that if the leadership of the genuine Marxist-Leninist party could have been established over the national independence struggle then it would have been impossible for representative of the Indian capitalist class to leave the bourgeois democratic revolution in a half-baked and truncated way by capturing state power

(Contd. to page 9)

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech

(Contd. from page 8)
through compromise with the British imperialist rulers, rather it would have been possible for the people to achieve independence from the imperialist yoke and organise socialist revolution in quick succession.

For this, **Comrade Ghosh** repeatedly emphasized that it is the people who need to learn and re-learn the revolutionary theory.

It is true that they are attracted to the communist movement due to the impact of the character, culture and behaviour of the leaders and cadres of the communists. But they too cannot do without grasping the revolutionary theory. Because one may feel concerned for the working class, may ponder over the question of emancipation of the exploited masses. But to speak for the working class, to think of revolution, is no proletarian class consciousness. The correct revolutionary consciousness is the correct proletarian class consciousness and the correct proletarian class consciousness is the correct proletarian party consciousness. While the genuine working class party explains different theoretical issues before the common people with a view to guiding their thoughts and ideas in the right direction, it is the task of the people to try to learn and re-learn these theoretical issues however painstaking the task may be. The people can never achieve their cherished emancipation bypassing this arduous struggle. The emancipation of not only the working class but of all sections of the toiling masses of our country depends upon deeply grasping the law of social development, critically studying history, science and knowledge and practising the proletarian culture, ethics and morals.

Scientific process to build up collective leadership

In course of applying Marxism-Leninism in the

concrete situation of our country, **Comrade Ghosh** concretised, elaborated, developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism. His life was the manifestation of the noblest ideal that 'revolution is life'. In him was personified and concretised the collective leadership of our party. With his emergence the struggle of the working class and the exploited masses of India found a correct guideline and a revolutionary direction.

Comrade Ghosh has shown that since socialist revolution is a revolution for establishing social ownership in place of private ownership over the means of production and collective control of production and distribution under the leadership of the working class, hence the concept of leadership of the working class in proletarian democracy is collective leadership. By collective leadership he meant the collective knowledge derived through struggle of all members of the party. The collective knowledge means a co-ordinated and comprehensive knowledge covering all aspects of life—economic, social, political, cultural etc. starting from art and literature to private and family life. This collective knowledge can grow only by developing the correct scientific concept of the material world, life and society and a uniform outlook among the members of the party through conscious, uncompromising and relentless ideological struggle of the leaders and the rank and file of the party covering all aspects of life on the basis of Marxism. In this context, it should be particularly remembered that the era of capitalist revolution was the era of development of the individual on the basis of individualism destroying the autocratic rule and absolutism in the period of feudalism. But in the present era of moribund capitalism and proletarian revolution the question of development of the indivi-

dual has historically become interwoven with the question of emancipation of the working class. Therefore, the emergence of collective leadership through an individual solely depending on individual effort or struggle outside the orbit of revolutionary movement of the proletariat is historically impossible in this era. It is not only by conscious participation in the struggle to identify one's self with the class, revolution and the revolutionary party, but by emerging as the symbolic expression of the highest proletarian class consciousness and proletarian culture through one's leading role in this struggle that the personified expression of concrete concept of collective leadership does actually take place. This is not an accidental phenomenon, nor it is leadership imposed from above.

The collective leadership emerges historically through collective struggle. Emergence of concrete and personified expression of collective leadership is one of the essential conditions for success of revolution in any country. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** was the concrete and personified expression of collective leadership within the party.

Strengthen SUCI

His life long struggle upholds his teaching that they only can build the genuine revolutionary party of the working class who have attained the high standard and tuning of the proletarian class outlook and culture casting aside the bourgeois class outlook and culture through conscious struggle on the basis of the Marxist methodology. **Comrade Ghosh** also pointed out that the struggle to be a communist is a painstaking and arduous struggle. The struggle for developing the proletariat class outlook and culture among the leaders and cadres of the party is no doubt a prolonged, complex and painstaking struggle, but

this is the primary and all important struggle for building the genuine working class party. It is by relentlessly conducting this struggle that the Marxist outlook and concept of culture, ethics and morals have developed among the leaders and cadres of our party. Similarly, it is through this process of struggle that the revolutionary theory and the programme of the Party, —its strategy and tactics, style of conducting struggle, organisational principle, the concrete concept of collective leadership and all other aspects of ideology and the congenial atmosphere of revolutionary activity have developed. **Comrade Ghosh** taught us that the only scientific way to strengthen the party and keep it free from all sorts of deviations and shortcomings is to conduct this struggle both inside and outside the party involving the leaders and the rank and file of the party as also the working class and the masses and to constantly keep it living.

It is through this process that **Comrade Ghosh** built the SUCI with all the characteristic features of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. Not only did he build the Party, he founded it on a well knit, strong organisational base by developing it on the noble proletarian culture and ethics. The SUCI has spread more or less powerful organisation in almost all the states of India under his leadership. However, it should be realised that although, armed with the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the Party has been fast growing throughout the country, but it is yet to acquire the necessary strength to lead the Indian revolution through to success. Today on the 31st Anniversary of the party it is my ardent appeal to the toiling people of India: You should grasp the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh** more deeply, apply them in your lives and come forward to strengthen the SUCI, the only genuine Marxist-Leninist party of India which **Comrade Shibdas**

Ghosh has built up, with all your might in order to make it equal to the task of accomplishing the Indian revolution.

If you look at the present political situation in India also, you will see that today the leading role of the SUCI in the democratic mass movement has distinctly come to the fore. So long, the CPI and the CPI(M) could create confusions in the masses by posing themselves as the leading forces of democratic movement. But the compromising role of the CPI has already become clear to the people because of its open support to Indira Congress. And after being saddled in power in West Bengal and Tripura the CPI(M), as the most dependable instrument at the hands of the ruling class, in its conspiracy to prolong capitalist exploitation is pursuing such policies that its compromising role also is getting exposed more and more. But before we analyse the role of these parties, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the present political situation of India. So, I will try to place before you, in short, the present political situation of our country and in the light of it some aspects of different trends in our democratic movement.

The Congress during its thirty years' rule, including ten years' rule of Mrs. Gandhi with nineteen months' black-rule of Emergency, served the ruling capitalist class most loyally and led the country to the path of fascism. But despite this role of the Congress what compulsion made the ruling class remove it from Central power?

Attempt to install two-party parliamentary system in India

You know that during Mrs. Gandhi's rule many leaders, starting from Jayprakashji, tried hard to give shape to a 'viable alternative' by combining some heterogeneous parties and forces. And all of them failed. But when the people's anger against Indira Congress was going to burst out throughout

(Contd. to page 10)

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech

(contd. from page 9)

the country then with a design to confining people's movement within the four walls of two-party parliamentary system, the capitalist class took no time to form the Janata Party with those very heterogeneous parties and forces as an alternative to the Congress on national plane as soon as the election was declared. Because, quite instinctively they felt that had they tried to continue one party rule any longer, the ever growing grievances of the people against the Congress might have been led in a correct political line under the leadership of a genuine working class party and that would have dug the grave not only of Congress led by Indira but of the capitalist system itself. Thus, what could not be achieved for long, the capitalist class, taking the advantage of low level of consciousness of the masses, as well as the absence of a genuine left alternative on all India level, set-up the Janata Party even with the communal forces and those individuals who were discredited and rejected by the people, with the backing of their money bag and propaganda machinery and the administration. So, they not only set-up their alternative party, but also placed it in power. And our CPI(M) friends helped them in achieving this! Attempts are being made to convince the people—how a 'silent revolution' has been achieved through ballot box! And our CPI(M) friends also joining hands with the Janata and the CFD missed no chance to take part in that 'silent revolution'. As a result their friendly party, the Janata, is now placed in the Central Government while they have been saddled in West Bengal and Tripura. But the people should understand that through this change what actually happened is that the capitalist class has been successful in initiating two-party parliamentary system for which they were trying hard for long.

Non-left attitude of the 'Left Front' Government towards mass movements

The attitude that the leaders of the ruling 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal are reflecting, whatever they are telling, the way they are behaving or the policies that they have so far declared—all are there before the people. Thanks to them they have been successful in excluding the SUCI from the Front. Because, it would have been quite impossible for them to pursue their present policies with SUCI in the Front. In 1967 and in 1969 also United Front Governments, with even more heterogeneous characters, with so many political parties were formed in West Bengal. Surely, the constituents of the present 'Left-Front' have not forgotten the basic principle which guided those two United Front Governments. In the Marxist classics no definite guideline has been laid down as to what basic outlook should guide a Marxist or a revolutionary party if it musters majority and comes to governmental power within the bourgeois parliamentary system. Because, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin or Mao Tse-tung did not have to confront such a situation. But when in 1967 this became an objective reality in West Bengal, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, basing on the accumulated knowledge of Marxism-Leninism enunciated and made the United Front accept a basic principle which gave the United Front Government a qualitatively different character not only from the Congress Government but also from all other non-Congress Governments formed so far in India.

We know that maintaining the existing capitalist state intact, no left party, nor even a genuine communist party can solve the fundamental problems of people's life merely by changing the government through

elections. Perhaps you have noted that this very thing is being told by Jyotibabu also.

But they are not following, rather most carefully avoiding the policy which, in the real interest of people's emancipation, could be pursued from the governmental power—a policy which is a contribution of **Comrade Ghosh** to the treasure of Marxism-Leninism. Not only this. Very carefully they are resorting to thousand and one tactful means so that such a thinking does not grow at all in the people. But what was that policy for which the United Front Government could appear before the people as the real instrument of struggle and for which the capitalist class, not only of India but of the whole world raised hue and cry against it? The policy was that "police shall not interfere in the legitimate democratic mass movement" of the people which Comrade Subodh Banerjee in 1967 as the Labour Minister implemented in practice from his department. I will try to explain the real revolutionary significance of this policy afterwards. But surely you have not forgotten how at that time this policy rocked the foundation of the capitalist class and how the ruling capitalists and their newspapers, crying themselves hoarse over 'gherao' tried to confuse the people about the real significance of this policy. And surely you have not forgotten also how, in their petty sectarian interest to anyhow strengthen their party, our CPI(M) friends by committing excesses, then helped the bourgeoisie to achieve this end. But actually the ruling class is not afraid a bit of gherao. Gherao was not uncommon even before Comrade Subodh Banerjee became the Labour Minister. Like many other forms of democratic movement, gherao is also a form of struggle. The ruling class is not afraid even if it takes militant form, so long the movement is not organised and is devoid of

definite revolutionary objective and if the instruments of people's struggle are not given shape to through their movement. The capitalists do not fear even when people burst out in anger—if that movement is unorganised and sporadic. They do not fear because they control a highly organised state machine, they control army, the main organ of the state, which is armed with sophisticated weapons and which they are strengthening continuously.

They do not bother even when people die in starvation—they are after continually strengthening the army by increasing the military budget every year. This army and the police forces are the most powerful instruments at the hands of the ruling class in suppressing people's movement.

This is why starting from the Central to the State budgets including the budgets of the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal, all are reflecting the same trend. The Defence Budget is being increased every year. Because, they need a stronger army, need modern arms! If America refuses, Kosygin is there, they will collect it from anywhere possible. And what is the position in West Bengal? 60% of the total allotment for administration is being spent for police alone. The Left Front Government claims, it is the Government of the workers and peasants! They say, they will run the Government depending on the people. But our representatives in the Assembly pointed out time and again that Left Front Government within two years had increased nearly fourteen and a half crores of rupees more in the police budget than what was spent by Indira's Congress Government during Emergency when they virtually established a 'policeraj' taking away all the rights of the people. The Left Front Government is arguing—the police are also human beings. That is true. But are not the refugees of Marichjhapi, against whom the Left Front Government took

all sorts of inhuman and cruel measures. human beings? Are not the workers of Santaldih, whose movement they brutally suppressed with the help of police, human beings? Are not the share croppers, agricultural labourers and the poor peasants who are fighting either for rightful ownership over their lands or for higher wages, human beings? Then why the Left Front Government is pursuing the policy of strengthening the police and its arms? It is because, whether in the name of leftism or Marxism-Leninism or in any name whoever will try to keep the present day crisis-ridden capitalism going through reforms, historically, has no other go. I will request the honest members and the supporters of the CPI(M) to ponder over it. During thirty year's rule of the Congress, the capitalist class of India has given birth to not only monopoly and finance capital but also financial oligarchy through merger of banking capital with industrial capital. They are now exporting not only commodities—this was already there—but also capital, which in the light of Lenin's teaching means Indian capitalism has already acquired definite feature of imperialism.

As a part and parcel of world capitalism, which is passing through its third phase of intense crisis, Indian capitalism is being engulfed in acute and insurmountable crisis and as the reflection of that crisis, thousand and one problems are being created in the life of the people. If we analyse the problems of people's life, we will find that there are three basic problems—unemployment problem, problem of modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture and the problem of uninterrupted industrialisation—none of which can be solved within this capitalist exploitative system. Today, a large section of our people are unemployed, who have practically no purchasing power. And

(contd. to page 11)

(Contd. from page 10)

for them also, who are already employed, to meet both ends is very difficult. On the other hand, 75% of our population live in villages. Again 80-85% of them are landless peasants and agricultural labourers who practically do not get any employment for more than three months a year. How much of purchasing power can they have? In such a situation not only industrialisation is being hampered and stunted, the already installed capacity that we are having in the factories and industries is also remaining idle. Consequently, what to speak of creation of newer employment opportunities, the already employed people are also gradually losing their jobs and swelling the army of unemployed. In this situation modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture is impossible. Because, if they modernise and mechanise agriculture, that will by one stroke, render lakhs of people unemployed, to whom today's crisis-ridden capitalism can no longer provide any employment. So, to sustain the crisis-ridden capitalism, different schemes are being experimented with to keep the rural population confined within small patches of land and the rural youths in ill-paid employment in the so-called 'extension scheme' of small and cottage industry. But these are all hoax. You should understand that the people can be emancipated from this suffocating situation only by gradually strengthening the democratic movements built on higher proletarian culture and ethics and with the definite political goal of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and in this process by finally overthrowing capitalist state machine and replacing it with a socialist system.

I have already told that be it Janata or either of the two Congress or CPI (M) led 'Left Front', whoever is there in the government at the Centre or in states, everyone is reflecting the same attitude

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech

towards democratic mass movement. You have surely noted that CPI(M)'s friendly Janata Government at the Centre is trying to introduce the Industrial Relations Bill with a view to confining the working class movements within the bounds of legalism by taking away whatever minimum rights. The working class movement was enjoying so long and by violating the congenial atmosphere for the growth of democratic movement in the country. And if you carefully examine the Labour Policy of the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal and the role of the trade union, peasant, student and other frontal organisations of the CPI(M), the major constituent of the 'Left Front', then also you will find that the same tactics are being followed here. They say, they will see that the class struggle does not get intensified, rather gets pacified and they will try to settle the disputes between the capitalist owners and the labourers through compromise. Now they are telling all this openly—there is no room for hide and seek game any more. Because the capitalist class which patronise them will surely demand return against its services rendered to them. But what it has got to do with Marxism-Leninism? And see again. The party which once rent the air with slogans for struggle is now, after coming to power, discouraging struggle itself and brutally suppressing them in the same old way whenever and wherever it is trying to grow. This is why expenditure on police force is increasing every year in West Bengal during their regime. On the other hand if you see carefully, you will find that with all their policies and activities, they are continuously discouraging democratic movement and trying to destroy democratic atmosphere in the country.

You know that the 'Left Front' Government has decided to give a nominal allowance to a very limited number of

unemployed and that, too, with a petty party interest. And this they are propagating vigorously. But instead of organising movement against unemployment and encouraging the youths towards this, they are giving this allowance in such a way that it creates illusions about the existing system. We, the Left Parties have been demanding for introduction of unemployment allowance for long. But the main object of this was never to create illusions in the youths about the existing system but to give some relief within this system and at the same time, by making the people conscious about the fact that capitalism is the root of this evil, to continuously strengthen democratic movement for ultimately overthrowing capitalist system itself. But this is not their object. Instead, democratic movements are being continuously discouraged and brutally suppressed by police. And also illusions are being created about the existing capitalist system by assuring the people that they can solve the problems if they can go to the centre or if more power is granted to the state. This way they are only weakening the anti-capitalist democratic movements.

Heinous conspiracy of degrading the youth

On the other hand, attempts are being made to drag the youths to their party by encouraging corrupt and unethical means of livelihood among the youths and by giving protection to such acts. Their attitude towards the youths is—let the youths lead their life as they like no matter if they go to hell. Only they should not take the path of democratic movement; but when needed they should stand behind those political leaders who can give them protection against police. They are trying to use the youths in the same way once Hitler used them. All possible ways and means are being explored so that the youths become totally

indifferent towards definite object of life and ideology, lose all sense of values and dignity and forget their historic role in building the future society. Or how can you explain the fact that in West Bengal the 'Left Front' Government which is so much vociferous against degraded morality and culture, has, in a sense legalised cabaret by imposing taxes on it while on the other, it has imposed burden of newer taxes on those theatres run by the amateur groups, which have been carrying a relatively healthy trend of culture—so that this too becomes further weakened. And I cannot but tell with anguish that in their eagerness to serve the ruling class they have gone to such an extent that they have withdrawn duty from country liquor, so that our people, particularly our youths become more and more aimless and desparate, anarchic and indisciplined and getting fully drunk can remain oblivious of this painful life.

Is it Leftism? If it is then where this brand of Leftism will push the Country?

The anti-people language policy of the 'Left Front' Government

It is not that they are making attack on our cultural life alone. In educational field also, the language policy that they have formulated will close, the door of higher thoughts and culture on the common people of our country. I will request you all to consider one very important question—can higher cultural standard grow without higher thinking? And if the political and social movements do not grow on the basis of higher culture then is it at all possible to bring about fundamental change of the society? For this, **Comrade Ghosh** cautioned time and again that even a starving nation can stand up and fight if there remains a strong sense of values in the people. But to keep

the sense of morality and culture of the people high, language is a very important medium through which the people can come in touch with higher thoughts, higher culture and with different branches of knowledge and science.

If we want to acquaint ourselves with higher thoughts and culture of the world, with different branches of knowledge and science then can we afford to ignore the indispensable necessity of English at this stage of development of our mother tongues? Then what type of patriotism or mentality is it that they are abolishing that very English?

And it is not that they are totally abolishing English Education. They are taking different measures in such a way that it will close the door of English Education to the common people, to the sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and middle class families while it will remain open to the sons and daughters of the rich and the high ups.

Congress, a known bourgeois party, used to say—Mr. Bidhan Chandra Ray used to say—'why the son of a compounder should dream of becoming a doctor?' And now the Jyoti Babus are also telling the same thing—though in a round about way. They are telling—'what is the necessity of higher education for the common people? They need that much education just necessary for earning their living. But the fact is that they are not making arrangement for the spread of that much of education even. After coming to power they have not made adequate allocation in the education budget. But they have increased police budget against which they were very much vociferous when in the opposition. Anyone will feel pain for this deplorable condition. But do they feel for it, not to speak of a communist or leftist even a liberal bourgeois will surely feel for this.

Any person with progressive thinking will
(Contd. to page 12)

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech

(Contd. from page 11) surely admit that if we want to build up firm unity of the people, freeing them from casteism, communalism, parochialism, provincialism, linguistic fanaticism and all other divisive tendencies still prevailing in our society then we are to develop democratic ideas and values, strengthen democratic movement, introduce secular and scientific education, expand education and thus open the gate of higher education and culture to the people. The known bourgeois parties, the two Congress and the Janata cannot do this. Rather, it is they who are after creating division in the people by any means. Because, today the bourgeoisie do not require even the unity that they needed during independence struggle. Bourgeoisie do not have that necessity today. Rather, in face of the acute crisis of Indian capitalism, unity of the exploited classes itself is threatening the existence of the bourgeoisie today. This is why we find that capitalism is taking recourse to fascism more and more with the deepening of its crisis and intensification of the struggle of the exploited masses.

And with the sole design to destroy the struggle of the people by creating division among them the bourgeoisie not only preserving these reactionary and divisive mentality in the society, but also is instigating fratricidal riots and butchering people whenever needed, by fanning up these feelings. Not to speak of the communists, even the true leftists will surely try to save the people from this miserable condition and helplessness. Can the education policy of the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government help in this respect or will it bring disaster? This is not all. If you carefully see, you will find that in their bid to save the decaying capitalism from its inevitable doom not only the Janata at the Centre and in some states or the two Congress in some other, even the

CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Governments are also engaged, directly or indirectly, in a conspiracy to disrupt the unity of the people.

And this way, if we critically analyse all their policies and activities—which we have already done in our Party literature then it can be shown how all these are very subtly and cunningly serving the ruling class as against the interest of the people.

Do not step into the trap laid by the capitalists

But I will request you, do not do anything out of excitement. Oppression, repression—all these have become part of our life. These were there during Congress rule and these are there today during Janata and 'Left Front' rule. But I would request you not to forget your political object—being agitated out of grievances and anger, do not allow the bourgeoisie to sustain the pattern of rule they want to perpetuate—about which I have already discussed. The bourgeoisie want to give a stable and permanent shape to the two-party parliamentary system which they initiated during the last general election only to save the present crisis ridden capitalism from people's wrath. For this, they are giving patronage to different parties. In the situation both the CPI and the CPI(M) are trying hard to emerge as an alternative in the two-party parliamentary system by winning the confidence of capitalist class. They are trying to appear as the third alternative in the two-party parliamentary system according to the decisions of their own party Congress. They are also getting patronage from the capitalist class in this respect. But the capitalist class knows this, too, that whomever they may place in power, the ever accumulating people's anger may one day burst out against that party also. To meet that situation, first they try to suppress the movement by police and military. But when

they fail, when they feel that this way they will not be able to suppress the movement, they bring another party in place of the already branded party of the bourgeoisie. And when the situation becomes such that the new party might get rejected by the people, then again they try in various cunning ways to bring back the old party once rejected. So long, this vicious game of parliamentary politics will persist in our country, this pattern will also continue. Therefore, I would ask you to ponder over the issue seriously. You have already tasted the Congress, you have also seen the role of the Janata. Being agrieved with the 'Left Front' Government if you bring back any of these parties to power, would that help solve any of the problems of people's life or will it change their fate? When such is the position, then why should you step into the trap of the capitalist class out of anger or grievances?

Arresting them in power isolate the 'Left Front' from the masses

Just to confuse the people, Mr Jyoti Basu in the CITU conference in Madras, alleged that the SUCI, combining with the Congress and Janata, is conspiring to topple the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal. We say, no, Jyoti Babu, you are completely mistaken. Our politics is not to capitalise the grievances of the people in the bourgeois parliamentary games as you have been doing. We rather tell the people—keep the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government arrested in Governmental power. Arresting them in power, on the one hand build up people's movement against the anti-people policies of the 'Left Front' Government and as they themselves would be exposing their true colours by suppressing those movements, complete the process of isolating them ideologically and organisationally from the masses. And on the other in ful-

filling this task, build up your organisational strength and political consciousness in such a way that neither the Congress nor the Janata, nor any other branded party of the bourgeoisie can come to power taking advantage of the failures and the anti-people policies of the 'Left Front' Government to crush the left and democratic movement.

And build up your movement in such a way that when the 'Left Front' Government will be overthrown, along with it you can overthrow the capitalist system itself replacing it by a socialist system.

But don't take to any adventurist line out of anger or excitement. Remember, in people's own interest of progress and development, it is essential to free the democratic movements from the influence of adventurism and make them conducive to the growth and development of revolutionary movement. The workers, peasants and the middle class people will have to master this politics.

Surely, you have noted one more point. The Jyoti babus are repeatedly trying to raise a point—that the ruling capitalist class is engaged in a conspiracy against the 'Left Front' Government. I am not sure whether Mr. Jyoti Basu and his friends take the people's to be such fools as not to understand—even such a simple thing—why the capitalist class would topple them from power so long they are serving it. The capitalist class may oust them and bring another party to power only when, they would see that it would be no more possible to confuse the people with them in power. Then what are the real motives behind this bogy of conspiracy? The motives are to divert the attention of the people from the grievances, which are growing against their anti-people policies and thus to create confusion in the mass mind as much as possible and secondly to prepare a ground which

may help them in future. It will be easier for you to understand if I explain it a little more. You have all noticed that at present Mrs Gandhi is emphatically trying to create an air as if she has been ousted from power as because she opposed the monopolists. And it is clear to all that by this tactful propaganda, she is trying to refurbish her lost image. You have also noticed that the same capitalist class which, to protect itself from people's wrath, removed her from power during the last general election, is now extending their full patronage to this attempt of Mrs Gandhi. Just like this the CPI(M) leaders are also preparing a ground beforehand by raising the bogy of 'conspiracy' so that if they are to face such a situation in future then, whatever grievances may have grown against them today, they will try to make use of it as a weapon to refurbish their lost image. If they are to ever go back to the opposition then you will again see that the self-same CPI(M) which from governmental power is now busy in searching out formula of compromise between the capitalist owners and the labourers and in applying its full strength to obstruct the growth of democratic movement would not then hesitate to make show of movement or in raising battle cry against the capitalist class to regain its lost left image. And capitalising all this they will again try to come back in power—a politics which the Janata and the Congress are now practising in the state. I will request the people to consider calmly whether they will allow to continue this bourgeois design. We firmly hold that this cannot be allowed. If you allow, it will simply mean granting fresh lease of life to the decaying capitalism. For this, what all of us should attempt, where we all should concentrate our

(Contd. to page 13)

(Contd. from page 12)
mind is to take positive steps for building up each and every democratic movement conducive to the growth of anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Take active part in mass movements

I know, the people of our country today earnestly desire that a strong united left and democratic movement grows against the present suffocating situation. In conformity with this aspiration of the people, the Central Committee of our Party has taken up a programme of an well organised movement against the anti-people policies of both the Central and State Governments. This, the Secretary of our West Bengal State Committee has already placed before you. But we will expect, rather demand of you, of every section of the toiling people, the workers, peasants, middle class to co-operate and build up this movement in your localities and in your fields of activities. Because, without the conscious and direct participation of the masses only the party cadres cannot build up a mighty struggle, nor can lead that struggle to its successful culmination. As our Party is relentlessly trying to build up these struggles on correct base political line and ideology as well as on higher cultural, ethical basis, so also the toiling people of all walks of life need come forward for active and effective participation in this movement. Otherwise, so many hands will be at work to mobilise mass opinion behind those forces who want to mislead the movement either by adventurism or by confining the movement within the narrow bounds of bourgeois parliamentarism. This is why our viewpoint hardly gets any coverage in the dailies. And I am not sure how much of even such a mammoth meeting will be covered tomorrow. But if the Congress or Janata Party or the CPI(M) holds a meeting—with however insignificant gathering, or even if they hold a close-door meeting instead of a public rally, they get wide

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech

coverage. Because, these newspapers, controlled by the ruling class through their propaganda want to project before the people those parties which have chosen the path of reaping harvest in the bourgeois parliamentary politics by confining the movements of the people within the labyrinth of agitational form of struggle for ever. You will have to decide whether you will allow the movements to remain confined like this or by releasing it from its confines give a revolutionary orientation to the movements. Each and every one of the toiling masses will have to settle this question once for all. Today, the situation is such that the grievances of the people may burst out at any moment. We say, that even amidst this tense situation, people will have to settle the question of the base political line. This question of determining the base political line should not be forgotten even while conducting movements on different issues. And we should never forget that these movements give birth to an invincible force only if you can build up political power of the people in course of building up the people's committees as the real instruments of struggle.

With this aim in view **Comrade Ghosh** propounded the policy of non-interference of police into the legitimate democratic mass movement during the First United Front Government of 1967—which I referred to earlier but could not elaborate. Explaining this policy at that time **Comrade Ghosh** said that though it would not be possible for the United Front Government to solve the fundamental problems still it would be a great achievement if, as long as it would remain in the government, it could give birth to people's power by opening the gate of unhampered growth of democratic mass movement.

The question of 'Law and order' which Mr. Jyoti Basu's Government

is raising today and using it as a plea to suppress people's movement just like the Congress and Janata, was also raised at that time and even a hue and cry was raised to frustrate this policy of the then United Front Government.

Exposing this malicious propaganda **Comrade Ghosh** said, did not those people, who raised the hue and cry over 'law and order' know that laws in the capitalist society are meant not for the workers, peasants and the common people but are aimed at consolidating, free from trouble, rule of capitalism. Explaining the concept of law, he showed, that in this society whatever is legal may not be always legitimate, moral and humane. But what should be our approach, who claim to be Marxist-Leninists and Leftists? We will be always with the legitimate, moral and ethical struggle of the people. So long we would control governmental power, we would never use the police and military to suppress the legitimate democratic movements of workers, peasants, students, youths or of any section of the toiling people which had been used as the paid agent of the ruling class during Congress rule. Let the police arrest dacoits and stop theft, let them see that the women can protect their dignity against those who insult and humiliate them. But how much the police fulfil these duties? There is no more security of life in this society. If a capitalist owner or a wealthy person goes to the police station and files a complaint, or even complain over telephone, at once the police become so much alert. But thousand and one injustice and repression on the common people have no redress. If the people organise any deputation, when the workers do not get their pay and are forced to starve, if the peasants are illegally evicted from their land or the students

demand for holding examination in time the police are brutally suppressing those deputations even. Shall we allow these things to continue? And if these continue then where and how a Left Government differs from a Congress or Janata Government? At that time, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** raised these points. Now you analyse the approach and attitude of the 'Left Front' Government on this basis. Do you find any basic difference between them and the Janata and Congress Government?

Build up mass movements on the correct revolutionary line

But I would like to repeat what I have told already—do not do anything all on a sudden out of anger and excitement. Determining the correct base political line while organising the movements, take firm steps so that you can lead the movements to the goal of anti-capitalist socialist revolution defeating the conspiracy of confining them in parliamentary politics. And also build up your organisation on such a strong foundation that by defeating the attacks of the police and military as well as the conspiracies of the ruling class you can develop these movements into a protracted and sustained struggle. Remember, the path that they have chosen, will push them to take many more cunning means than only depending on police and military. And these they have already started doing. From the experiences of history the bourgeoisie have come to realise that they cannot sustain this decaying capitalism depending simply on the strength of police and military. It is already there. But along with it what is necessary is to divert the attention of the people from revolutionary object as well as to break the moral of the people. Because they know it very well that if once the movements

develop on correct revolutionary politics and on higher culture, then it will not be possible to suppress the movement even with police or military repression. Nowhere in the world this could be done. So, they have resorted to many cunning means. But this cannot be done by the known bourgeois parties. The social democratic forces, which are the last resorts of the bourgeoisie can with their revolutionary vocabularies, in this way, confine the democratic movements within the bounds of parliamentarism and can rapidly push the country to fascism.

In this context we are always to keep in mind an invaluable teaching of **Comrade Ghosh**. He said:

"It should be borne in mind...that among the Social-Democratic Parties affiliated to the Second International who were more liberal in their approach could not bring fascism because of looseness in their organisational structure, rather it was those social democratic parties who subsequently turned into revisionist and national chauvinist and who were of more militant character and fostered fanaticism and blindness in their ranks that gave birth to fascism, internationally.

".....In our time, those communist parties within the international communist movement who have already degenerated to revisionist parties and reduced themselves to the position of national communist parties (or in other words, who are communist in name only, but Social Democratic Parties in practice) do have every possibility of turning themselves into fascist parties, if these parties while waving the red banner and moving under the cover of Marxism can combine blindness and fanaticism with their so-called militant character".

Build up peoples' committees as instruments of struggle

If the people remember
(Contd. to page 14)

Build up people's instruments of struggle and political power through mass movement

(contd. from page 5)

had to collect money from the members of the public. But they worked for some ideals and people came forward to help them with money. We are also in need of money and we go to the people to collect money.

Remember therefore, only they can be volunteers who have this consciousness that they will change the society, they will build a new world. Only those youths who without caring for the material comforts—food, money, shelter or clothings are ready to undertake this noble mission, wilfully and happily and feel proud for having undertaken this responsibility, can be the volunteers.

..... Like the commanders, like the generals, they will have to lead thousands and thousands of people in combat against their enemies in the field of battle.

Remember you must, that yours is a just and noble war. This is not a war of the mercenaries. It is for accomplish-

ing the revolution by staking your life, to save the country from dire calamities, for freeing the rural and urban life from continuing degradation, for liberating the culture in national life, science and technology even from the nexus, tentacles and shackles of capitalist profit motive. The great responsibility of accomplishing this task rests on you...

This revolution can be victorious only when from every family of poor peasant and worker comes out a revolutionary worker fit to carry the task of your party and under whose leadership the poor villagers and workers are organised with iron-like discipline like in an army. Before that, you will have to carry on your work with the dream of revolution. You will have to put in ceaseless and untiring efforts to complete the revolutionary preparations. Before that, the revolution will not come, it will remain afar.

After you wake up, bring out workers fit to give leadership, form powerful party committees in every village and mahalla, organise the poor ideologically-politically inspired and dedicated under the committees and like the disciplined army, move as one soldier, one man and one body, then and then only none will be able to stall the march of Indian revolution with tanks, canons, fire power and army. Victory will be ultimately yours.

Free translation from the excerpts of speeches of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** as indicated below :

On Problems of Mass Movement and the Task of the Students (AIDSO Convention, Calcutta University Institute Hall, 30th December, 1974)

24th April—Maidan Speech, 1974.

24th April—1967.

On Problems of Mass Movement.

(DYO Convention, Suri, West Bengal, 20-22nd June, 1975).

On Peasant Movement.

(12th Conference West Bengal, K.K.M.F., 27-29th March, 1970.

& K.K.M.F. Conference, 1974, at Bankura.)

(contd. from page 13)

these teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**, then only they will be able to detect and understand the social democratic nature of the politics of the CPI(M) or of any other party—whichever name that may go by.

So, what I was telling is that, if you want to lead your struggle to the definite political objective, you will have to, by your effective participation, develop the struggles on a well thought-out plan and contemplation for a protracted battle, so that people themselves develop the ability to understand when to advance and when to retreat. For this, you will have to organise the people's committees as the real instrument of struggle everywhere—in the localities, fields and factories, in schools and colleges.

Never forget that this question of formation of people's committees is not only important but indispensable for making the struggle protracted and leading them to successful culmination. We placed the proposal for formation of people's committees every time whenever united movement developed in West Bengal in the past. But on all occasions, starting from the CPI and the

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's speech

CPI(M), all other parties rejected this proposal of ours. At that time, explaining the objective of the people's committees, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** said: during movements when we call for building up people's committees, we mean thereby the building up of people's own instruments of struggle so that people can establish their leadership over those movements and in course of developing those movements can prepare the ground for a greater struggle to ultimately overthrow capitalism. And through these people's committees the people will gather experience, develop their ability to lead struggles and conduct organisations. In this process, when a greater movement will develop, then, by correlating and co-ordinating all these struggles, people's committees will develop into effective instruments for seizure of power. In other words, through this process of conducting their struggles, the alternative political power of the people has to be developed gradually. In this context the people are to remember that all the revolutions which took place in history in course

of development of society, excepting socialist revolution, established dictatorial rule of the minority over the majority and perpetrated exploitation and oppression on the people by the repressive instruments of the state. Only the socialist revolution, by establishing dictatorship of the majority, that is, of the working class, after overthrowing the minority—the exploiters—for the first time guaranteed enormous economic, political, social and administrative power to workers, peasants, and the other exploited masses.

As it is an indispensable task after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build up a firm revolutionary alliance among the workers, poor peasants and the agricultural labourers for fulfilling this objective, so also, in the pre-revolution period, it is also an indispensable task to give birth to political power of the people on the basis of higher proletarian culture and under the leadership of a revolutionary party. On this question **Comrade Ghosh** said that those who want to develop mighty mass movements should attach great impor-

tance to the question of the correct base political line and the correct leadership. The main object of your struggle should not be just to win some demands or to conduct election battles. Rather, through these struggles you should give birth to the political power of the people from the lowest to the highest level. He showed that revolution means fundamental change of the state machine. And the state has got three organs—the army, judiciary and the bureaucracy including the police. These three are co-ordinated into a single whole with the same make up.

If, in course of conducting democratic movements, political power of the people cannot be built up on the basis of anti-capitalist political consciousness and higher culture and ethics—in other words, if through the movements an alternative political power cannot be given birth to, then emancipation, revolution—all these—will remain an idle dream and utopia.

So, only when it will be possible to build up alternative political power, which in the Marxist or revolutionary terminology

means 'political power of the people', will it act as a directive or motive force for social change.

So, you understand, the question of resolving all sorts of problems that have engulfed the life of the people from all sides depends on how quickly you can build up mighty democratic movements fulfilling all the above-said conditions. I shall not take more time. I hope and firmly believe that however seriously the known bourgeois parties, the social democratic forces may try to confuse the people with their malicious propaganda, the workers, peasants, middle class, students, youths—all sections of our people will come forward to take active part in the oncoming movements for leading their struggle to successful culmination by overthrowing capitalism—in other words, for the victory of the anti-capitalist socialist revolution—and will go ahead with firm determination to fulfil all the above-said conditions. With this, I conclude my speech here on the occasion of the 31st Anniversary of our beloved Party.

Long Live Revolution !

Long Live Comrade Shibdas Ghosh !

Long Live S U C I !

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE