

LAKHS OF TOILING PEOPLE RESOLVE TO CARRY FORWARD THE GREAT TEACHINGS OF COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

The historic 24th April. SUCI, the only revolutionary party in India, the only ray of hope to the toiling millions of India for their emancipation from the yoke of ruthless capitalist exploitation came into being on this day 29 years ago under the leadership of Founder General Secretary, Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** one of the greatest Marxist thinkers of the present era, the beloved departed leader, teacher and guide of our party.

Sahid Minar Maidan was a vast sea of humanity on the occasion of 29th anniversary of the SUCI. The mammoth meeting once again demonstrated the correctness of the teaching of our beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat that a real revolutionary party gains strength in every serious political battle like the one in the last parliamentary election in which the party had to face the combined onslaughts of all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, money bags, press and rural vested interests.

This mammoth gathering once more vindicated the truth that a real revolutionary party when it comes out of the fire of a serious battle, emerges with redoubled strength even though it might not have any representation in Parliament. It might be disappointing to those who expected that this party would be weakened, or wiped out after the poll but, on the contrary, it instilled a new confidence in the minds of the toiling people that the party of the proletariat upholding the base political line along with the masses can never be wiped out.

It was a day of processions. Beautifully decorated processions of thousands of peasants, workers and middle class people carrying red banners and the big portraits of Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** drew the attraction of thousands of citizens. Thousands of people from the city and far off places came to join the meeting spontaneously. Sahid Minar Maidan was full to the brim and many people having failed to enter the Maidan stood on the roads at the outskirts and far off places. This mammoth gathering organised on the sole strength of the SUCI created new inspiration in the mind of the Common people.

The dais beautifully decorated with red banners and a huge portrait of Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat, glowing

in the red hues of the sun set the background. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of the SUCI garlanded the portrait and the meeting started with the opening song presented by the DYU music squad. Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, the Calcutta District Secretary and member of the West Bengal State Secretariat placed the resolutions paying homage to the memories of Comrades **Shibdas Ghosh**, Mao-tse Tung, Chou en-lai, Chu Teh and martyres of democratic movements of different countries. Thousands of people stood in silence to pay homage to the revolutionary leaders and the immortal martyres. After that the members of KOMSOMAL presented guard of honour to the great departed, leader, teacher and founder General Secretary Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh**. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, the Secretary

CONTRIBUTE GENEROUSLY TO THE ELECTION FUND

In an urgent call to the workers, supporters, sympathisers of our party, and to the people at large, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary SUCI urged for generous contributions to the Election fund of our Party. Comrade Mukherjee, has hoped that people who are appreciating the principled stand of our Party will come forward to render all sorts of material and moral support in carrying through this stand in the electoral battle.

of the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI delivered a brief speech and thanked all those who liberally helped in various

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Proletarian Era

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FRIDAY

Air Surcharge 4 P.

Police should not Interfere in Legitimate Trade Union Movements —UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Demands

After a lapse of six years the tripartite Labour conference convened by the Janata Government was held on 6th and 7th May '77 at New Delhi. Though the conference was aimed at reviewing the industrial relation in the country, it was noted with surprise that some of the most vital issues like the C. D. S, Bonus, large-scale retrenchment, lock-out, lay-off, closures and other excesses made by the management and previous government during the period of

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LIST OF SUCI CANDIDATES

Constituency Candidates' name

HARYANA

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1) Jatusana | Satyawan |
| 2) Salhawas | Balwant Singh |
| 3) Toshani | Zilu Singh |
| 4) Bhiwani | Ganpat Ram |
| 5) Darbukalan | Ajit Singh |

ORISSA

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1) Rourkela | B. Jena |
| 2) Raghunathpali (ST) | Deonathe Tappo |
| 3) Birmitrapur (ST) | Rohil Kr. Oram |
| 4) Korai | Balaram Sahoo |
| 5) Sukinda | Mayadhar Nayak |
| 6) Binjharpur (Sc) | Baisnab Jena |
| 7) Pipili | Raghunath Das |

WEST BENGAL

Cooch-Behar

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| 1) Mekhligunj (Sc) | Kanai Mallick |
|--------------------|---------------|

Jalpaiguri

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 1) Jalpaiguri | Dilip Bhattacharya |
|---------------|--------------------|

Murshidabad

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1) Hariharpara | Abu Raihan Biswas |
| 2) Jangipur | Achintya Sinha |
| 3) Bhagabangola | Prasanta Saha |
| 4) Beldanga | Jainal Abedin |

Nadia

- | | |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1) Palasi para | Khoda Bux |
|----------------|-----------|

Birbhum

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1) Suri | Protiva Mukherjee |
| 2) Muraroi | Ziad Ali Boxi |
| 3) Hasan (Sc) | Baidya Nath Mal |
| 4) Nalhati | Sirajadaulla. |
| 5) Rajnagar | Bhupen Das |

Burdwan

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 1) Durgapur | Subhasis Sen (Badsha Khan) |
|-------------|----------------------------|

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Defeat Congress, Forestall Two Party System Help Build up Left and Democratic Front

END OF CONGRESS RULE IS NEITHER AN END OF CAPITALISM NOR AN AUTOMATIC ADVANCEMENT OF LEFTISM

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ways in making this occasion a grand success.

Then Comrade Provash Ghosh, member of the West Bengal Secretariat, presented the political resolution and Comrade Tapas Dutta, the Secretary of the Orissa State Committee of the SUCI, spoke in support of the resolution in Hindi. Comrade Nihar Mukherji, the General Secretary of the SUCI, was the main speaker and he discussed in details the present political situation of our country. Comrade Shankar Singh, the president of the meeting, appealed in his brief speech to strengthen the SUCI, the real revolutionary party of the proletariat.

In his one and a half hour long speech, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: We have come here to observe the 29th Anniversary of our Party, SUCI, at a time when our beloved leader, teacher and guide, the founder General Secretary, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** is no more. This is a very painful event which we cannot forget even for a moment. But his teachings and treasure-house of knowledge he has left behind for us, acquired through relentless struggles throughout his entire revolutionary life, is acting as a living source of inspiration to us. We know very well that the void created due to the absence of a communist leader of Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh's** stature cannot be filled by one Nihar Mukherjee. Not to speak of one Nihar Mukherjee, even all of us collectively cannot fill the void at a stroke. Leaders of such a height, who appeared in this world in different ages, who have influenced and guided the entire course of history of their respective period by their creative genius—leaders like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao tse-Tung, **Shibdas Ghosh** do not appear on and often.

Comrade Mukherjee continued: Departing from us, Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** has left behind for us a historic task, the task of the emancipation of our country from all sorts of exploitation. I, on behalf of his millions of disciples, students and followers and myself, who all are engaged today in the struggle to build themselves as true communists, take this pledge anew here with all revolutionary modesty that we shall collectively endeavour till the last breath of our life to strengthen and advance our party to fulfil the great task, the yet unaccomplished dream of his life, the victory of Marxism-Leninism on our soil.

We are observing this day at such a time when the thirty years' Congress misrule at the centre has just ended, at which people have heaved a sigh of relief. After all, the menace of Congress misrule has ended!

It is true that the end of the continuous Congress misrule is a great significant event. That is why our Central Committee has congratulated the people of our country for defeating the Congress at the Polls. But at the same time, our Central Committee could not but take note of the fact that though Congress was defeated, the capitalist socio-political-economic system it served all these years has not ended. It is still there to exploit the people of our country. With the end of Congress rule, the end of capitalist exploitation which is the source of all their miseries, has not come to an end and our Central Committee alerted our people about this stark reality.

I would like to emphasise that it is in their own interest, that the toiling people, the exploited millions of our country should try to understand the nature and character of this exploitative capitalist socio-political-economic system—its rule, its state structure, its various forms of exploi-

tation, the ways and means by which it is sucking their life-blood, crushing them under the grinding wheel of exploitation.

Every student of history knows that it is the exploited, the oppressed, the toilers who need to acquire knowledge because on them devolve the responsibility of advancing the society. So they should know and study history, science and epistemology. Then and then only they will acquire power of realisation, they will gain power to assess the events correctly. And only the conscious toilers can change their lot. So long the toilers remain unconscious, their miseries will not only continue to exist but it will worsen with the passing of days.

Not only that, if we fail to develop our political consciousness, we shall fail to evaluate the basic reasons as to why we failed to avail of the chances that came before us many times, to emancipate ourselves from the yoke of exploitation. We shall fail to avail of the future chances also.

Didn't chances come? The first and golden chance came during the days of an anti-British imperialist freedom struggle. Did the peasants, workers, students, youths, common people of our country sacrifice less? Did they ever lag behind anybody else to take sufferings, privations, to even sacrificing lives? No, never. Why and how then all the fruits of our freedom from British imperialist yoke could be usurped by the capitalist class of our country? Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** was the first man to show us that this fate befell due to the absence of a genuine working class revolutionary party, a genuine communist party in our soil at that time.

You all know that the anti-British freedom movement of our country came to the peak at a time when capitalism internationally was no more progressive,

when it was suffering from acute crisis—it was an era of moribund capitalism. And naturally, all the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial freedom struggles were part and parcel of the international working class revolutionary movement which could reach their logical culmination only under the leadership of a genuine working class revolutionary party. Our freedom struggle too was no exception.

There was, of course, the Communist Party of India in name. You all know that they got the recognition of the Communist International too. Moreover, they enjoyed the credit and prestige of the glories of International Communist Movement. But despite all these, they failed to develop as a genuine working class revolutionary party. And so, not only they failed to establish the working class leadership over the freedom struggle, but in fact, played to the tune of the bourgeoisie. This is how the first failure came. And correctly ascertaining this, Comrade Ghosh engaged all his energy to build up SUCI as a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat. We, who had been his close comrades-in-arms have seen how deep a pain he carried in him for the ever worsening miseries of the toiling people, all problems of whom could well be settled long before had we not missed our chance, and how relentlessly and tirelessly he moved every moment of his existence throughout the length and breadth of the country to build up SUCI. Where ever he went—to the peasants, to the workers, to the common people, to the intelligentsia—he tried to make everybody realise the fact that so long a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat, with a correct base political line, built on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the edifice of proletarian culture does not take a firm root—movements will

time and again sweep over the country, people will shed their blood, mothers and wives will loose their sons and husbands, but the goal, the emancipation of the toilers, will ever remain unaccomplished.

Toiling people never hesitate to rise against injustice and oppression. No brutal force, no amount of repression can dissuade them from struggle. Did not the people of Vietnam defy all the brutal forces of US imperialism? Are not the people of Pakistan defying all the repressions of Bhutto's military force? Did youths, students, workers, peasants and the common people ever hesitate to respond to the call of a movement given by any party during these thirty years? They had always been spontaneous in their response and never even stopped to think who were the forces that were at the helm, what was their actual aim, whether the path they were showing was the genuine path towards emancipation. I know they will always be spontaneous in their response in the future too.

Toilers of the world, particularly their vanguards, know it well that the sacrifice of life at the altar of revolution is a very minor phenomenon. The moment we have decided to be a worthy member of the revolutionary corps, we have signed our name on the death register. Comrade **Ghosh** has taught us that the main question before the revolutionary movement is the question of carrying these sacrifices of life towards the logical culmination. But on what does it depend? We shall definitely give blood, warm and fresh, if necessary. We, the toilers, standing like one man, shall smilingly die in the battle for emancipation. But that does not, does never mean that we, the communists, are blood-thirsty. The toilers have to give their lives because

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Bourgeoisie Conspire to Install Two-Party System to Obstruct Militant Mass Movement And Revolutionary Consciousness

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the exploiters do never give up their happy rule, however acutely crisis-ridden that may be, without fight and bloodshed. Can any one show us from history an example contrary to this?

Continuing his speech Comrade Mukherjee said: And as because the proletariat will have to capture power only through a long-drawn, bloody struggle against the capitalist state machine—its police and military—the toiling people must be made politically conscious and organised in their own instruments of struggle—the people's committees. But what can never be sacrificed for anything is the higher standard of proletarian ethics, morality and culture which alone can steel them with revolutionary fervour.

I take pride in mentioning here that in the history of the communist movement of India, Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** alone pointed out the importance of this question of morality, ethics and culture. In building up SUCI also, he put great importance on this. He emphasised times without number that capitalism, which we want to overthrow, though it has become reactionary, decadent, bureaucratic today, once fought against feudalism, absolutism and feudal and religious prejudices, and thereby developed a concrete concept of morality, ethics and culture which has made a deep inroad into the social mind. Naturally, those who come to swell the rank of the party of the proletariat as well as the people's committees, carry in them the old bourgeois and feudal concepts of morality, ethics and culture. They must free themselves from the influence of old and outmoded culture and concretise in their life the proletarian ideology, ethics, morality and culture and change into a new man. It is a long struggle to be conducted, covering all

aspects of life individually and collectively. Otherwise, one cannot become a true proletariat, a true communist. Only a verbal acceptance of the ideology of communism does not make one automatically a communist. He will continue to remain a bourgeois and may at best mouth certain communist vocabularies. And can those who are essentially bourgeois in character, successfully lead a proletarian revolution? No, rather they will knowingly or unknowingly betray the revolution. What are the lessons of history? Did the pseudo-communists ever lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution to its successful culmination? The answer is obvious. Moreover, if one is guided by bourgeois outlook and culture, one's power of judgment and power of vision is bound to be blurred and will fail to appraise what is right and what is wrong for the proletariat. That is why the question of culture, ethics and morality in all the movements of the toiling people is so important. Everywhere, in all their activities, in all their movements—be that economic, political or cultural—they should reflect a high standard of proletarian culture and ethics.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee continued: So, in their own interest, the toiling people must acquire knowledge, not bookish knowledge, but knowledge acquired through the cult of science, epistemology and history. Then they will be able to grasp correctly the significance of all the events. They will then realise why the bourgeoisie, who once upheld the banner of democracy in the free competitive stage of development of capitalism, are throwing it away. Then the toiling people will realise as to why the bourgeoisie, in this stage of crisis-ridden moribund capitalism, in all the capitalist countries, developed or

under developed, in order to stave off the possible anti-capitalist socialist revolution, are taking recourse to fascism in their respective countries. Then they will realise correctly as to why, promulgating the Emergency, Mrs. Indira Gandhi snatched away all the fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties. Was it only because she was power-loving and wanted to retain power in her hands? Was it only because she wanted to counterpose the crisis that developed inside the Congress Party as a result of the verdict of the Allahabad High Court? Many parties, even those who claim themselves Marxist-Leninists have, concluded like that. But in our opinion, such an appraisal is one-sided, wide away from the truth. For a correct appraisal of this nineteen months' Emergency, we shall have to apply the Marxist method of analysis, we shall have to analyse the events from class angularity.

We all know that our society is class-divided. On one side of it are the owners, while on the other, are the toiling millions. And in a class-divided society nothing is supra-class or above class.

The society is class-divided not because we communists fancy it, or not because we wanted it. Class division appeared in the society through a definite historical process. And because of class division, thoughts and ideas, ethics and morality, culture, concepts of law and jurisprudence and politics are divided. When I represent a culture, a politics, an interest, whether I know it or not, whether I am conscious of it or not, I am representing the culture, politics or interest of either the owner or the exploited class.

Now let us examine the stage and character of Indian capitalism. No doubt, in comparison to US or British capital,

Indian capitalism is backward. Yet it has given birth not only to monopoly but finance capital as well. We have learnt from Lenin that national capitalism attains imperialist character when it gives birth to finance capital when its capital is exported to foreign market. You should realise the difference between export of commodity and export of capital. Through export of commodity the capitalist class only earns some profit from the foreign market, exploitation remaining within the country. But through export of capital, the capitalists exploit the labour of the foreign country where capital is exported. The question of the quantum of capital exported, is immaterial here.

On the basis of this understanding, Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** pointed out to us that world capitalism is now passing through the third phase of intense general crisis, and as a part and parcel of world capitalism, Indian capitalism is in the throes of it, over and above the particular complexities of its own problems. The bourgeoisie, in order to stave off one crisis, adopts one measure this moment to plunge into a deeper one the next moment. People's resentment grows, they rise in protest here, there, everywhere—the bourgeoisie fear the doom of the capitalist social order. Naturally, being in power, they curtail people's rights—the right to strike, right to demonstration, right to voicing protest, right to criticise—in a word, they continue to curtail gradually the fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties of the people to prolong the life of this decadent, crisis-ridden discredited capitalist order. It is in the interest of this bourgeois social order that they tighten this grip of coercion, and again at times they may relax as a change of tactics.

Comrade Mukherjee then said: True, both

Internal and External Emergency has been lifted. Possibly all the victimised railway employees will be reinstated. But from all this if any one runs with the hope that there is no obstacle now to get back all the fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties, even in a narrow bourgeois sense, then one will commit a grave error. Because the question of either curtailment or extension of fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties is not at all linked with the question of change of party or a person in power, but with the fundamental socio-economic condition. That is why we are not at all interested in the personal criticism of an individual. We judge him from class angularity—the interest of which class he represents. There may be good individuals in many parties, even in the bourgeois parties. It is not at all unlikely. But what good can he personally do to the proletariat when he is there to serve the interests of the bourgeois class? So, the question of judging every phenomenon, every party, every slogan, every political move of each and every party from class angularity is so vital. If we do not look at all these from class angularity, we are sure to fall into the trap of the bourgeoisie—and despite eagerness to the contrary, our miseries will continue to exist and intensify.

When Sm. Indira Gandhi promulgated the Emergency, imposed press censorship, negated all fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties in the late night of 25th June, 1975, what Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** told us on the following morning still rings in my ears. People were then stunned and a state of complete bewilderment prevailed throughout the country. Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh**, on the morning of

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Left and Democratic Front On Common Programme & Code of Conduct Alone Can Frustrate The Bourgeois Move

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the 26th June, 1975 said that observing this critical situation, if anyone thinks that this will continue for long, then one will be mistaken. India is a vast country, a multinational state. No doubt, the ruling bourgeois party, to tide over their crisis, want to push the country towards fascism. But however much the monopoly bourgeoisie may wish it, forces counter to this, the small production and the impact of the regional complex are there working inside the society. The regional mental complex definitely exerts its influence on the administration as well as on the military and police. By concentrating power in the hands of these organs of the state, the Indian bourgeoisie are trying to bring fascism in our country no doubt, but the forces working as a brake to this are also strong. The revolutionary party

in all countries try to play in between this contradiction in order to stave off a catastrophe.

That is why, when a meeting of all the opposition parties, forces and individuals was convened on the 28th June, 1975 we joined the meeting being instructed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. A proposal to unite all the forces, right or left, and stand united against this menace was brought forward. However much the ruling party may try to gag our voice, we should stand united in bold protest. But I cannot but recall here with deep regret that those who claim themselves to be revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists—the CPI(M) together with its allied parties—failed to respond. The CPI(M) leaders said that they would discuss it in the Central Committee and would let us know. But unfortunately, till today we have not received any

reply from them.

What was the inner significance of that proposal? When fascism raises its ugly head in a country, even those forces who have the slightest role in countering fascism should be brought to the united platform of action. The revolutionary forces should act as a core in it, must strive to keep the initiative in their hand and not surrender it to the vacillating forces, so that when the movement, thus unleashed, gains momentum, the vacillating forces, the forces of reaction, unable to proceed any further, will isolate themselves from the movement when the revolutionary forces will gain complete control over the movement and push it to a higher phase. But why the CPI(M) retreated, when even the forces of reaction wanted to proceed—we do not know. And because of their retreat, leaving the

field wide open for the bourgeois party to exploit, no movement could be initiated. Yes, we were there and we tried our best. But we did not have the strength needed to arrest the bourgeois forces.

What were they afraid of? Yes, Emergency, Press Censorship were there. Did we too not face the same difficulty? But these could not deter us from going to the people to the remotest corners of the country with the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Ghosh. During this period of Emergency, our organs published the teachings of Comrade Ghosh on the real character of fascism, later on published in book-form, titled "ON FASCISM", in different languages. During this same period, we published in our organs several other important articles on "Bourgeois Democracy—Past, Present and Future", "The Role of Opposition Parties in Bourgeois Democracy", "Bourgeois Constitution—Past and Present" to name a few, all of which contain-

ned the great teachings of Comrade Ghosh, and that helped the people to correctly grasp the concrete situation. Being guided and educated by Comrade Ghosh, our workers went to the people with these lessons and thereby maintained contacts and established relations with the people to give them courage and assurance in those dark days. Common people throughout the country will bear testimony to my claim.

What does all this signify? Our beloved leader, teacher and guide, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us that a revolutionary party should learn how to change their style of work as situation demands. They should learn also how to turn a disadvantage into an advantage in order to advance the cause of revolution. True to his teachings, the whole party, all our workers and leaders stood like one man in those darker days, and changing our style of work, remained with the masses.

Lenin said that revo-

A portion of the mammoth gathering at Saheed Minar Maidan on the occasion of the 29th Anniversary of SUCI. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary SUCI is addressing the gathering



lutionary politics is a science as well as a creative art. In whatever situation they may be placed, whatever obstacles may come in their path, the revolutionaries should never run away. They are to be with the masses to give courage and necessary guidance.

Look at the role played by the CPI(M) during the Emergency, when Mrs. Indira Gandhi left no vestige of democracy in the country. Let us not go back far. In April 1976, big leaders of their political bureau met Mrs. Indira Gandhi and submitted a memorandum to her, assuring the party's consistent efforts of fight against right reaction—both internal and external—and 'ultra leftism' as well as their support to her 20-point programme. Mrs. Indira Gandhi while announcing the promulgation of Emergency said that the forces of right reaction in our country and some foreign imperial powers were conspiring and trying to bring chaos in the country. I would now request you to judge

for yourself what was the purpose of the memorandum other than lending support to the political line of Sm. Gandhi? What did it aim to perform? Not that we say that the opposition parties can never meet the prime minister and cannot place people's demands. But that is an entirely different thing. CPI(M)'s move can well be understood if you go through the pages of People's Democracy, Dashhitaishi, Ganasakti during Emergency and you will find innumerable examples of their support to the bourgeois party in power who were the main enemy of our toiling people.

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi nationalised fourteen Indian banks in order to protect the aggregate interest of capitalism, CPI(M) welcomed it as a step in the right direction, a step forward. After the split of the Congress in 1969 they said that there is a healthy trend in the Indira wing of the Congress which is anti-colonial, anti-monopoly,

Anti-Congressism Without Anti-Capitalist Programme Becomes In Reality A Cover For Capitalist Exploitation

pro-people. Indeed they can claim to have followed a consistent policy of support to the political line of Sm. Gandhi and her Party.

But that is just one side of the shield. Those who were just the other day, in the eyes of CPI(M), forces of right reaction and against whom they pledged their support to Mrs. Gandhi have overnight become forces of progress. Look at the pages of their organs whether I am telling the truth.

But we would ask them only one question. Have all these policies of appeasement to bourgeois parties given you any dividend? Biggest party as you are in West Bengal, how is it that you are assembling lakhs of people in the Brigade Parade ground only to make humble submissions to Janata Party for some seats. Does it speak of your bigness? (Here the

audience burst into applause) Don't applaud, but think seriously how leftism has come to such a sorry pass in this state of West Bengal which was the citadel of leftism and who are responsible for this?

It is true we criticise you. We criticised you in the past, we criticise you now, we shall criticise you in future also.

Those who are conversant with revolutionary politics know that even in united movements, the base political line must be kept clear before the masses—who is the main enemy, against whom is the struggle, who should be dislodged from power and in this struggle who are the allies. There is one more very important point—which force or forces in the united movement are acting as a compromising force. If these forces are not exposed before the people, if their politics and character of

compromise is not laid bare before the people they will be able to create confusions in the minds of the people in detriment to the cause of revolution and lead them astray. Naturally, those who led successful revolutions, had to wage bitter ideological struggles against the compromising social-democratic forces—even sometimes more bitter than against the main enemy. So revolutionaries, for no consideration, can forsake the ideological political battle in the united movement. I can just remind you what Comrade Stalin said in problems of Leninism. He said that before February Revolution the Cadets were complaining that Bolshevik Party was directing its main blow against them instead of czarism and so also the Mensheviks were complaining that during the period between April and

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November the Bolshevik Party directed its main blow against them. Why? Obviously because the Cadets were the compromising force in the fight against Czardom before the overthrow of Czardom in Russia while in the fight against the Russian bourgeoisie, the Menshevik Party and the Socialist Revolutionary Party were the compromising force. In order to advance the cause of Russian Revolution against Czardom the Cadet party had to be exposed to and isolated from the Russian peasantry and the workers—so the direction of the main blow was against them. Likewise, in order to advance the cause of October Revolution against the Russian bourgeoisie the Menshevik Party and the Socialist Revolutionary Party had to be exposed to and isolated from the masses—so the direction of the main blow was then against them.

This is the principle that guides us in our conduction of ideological struggle in the united movement. We criticise the CPI, CPI(M) not because we have any personal animosity against them. We conduct relentless ideological struggle because we believe that in order to advance the cause of revolution politics must be made clear before the people—so that they can educate themselves and choose between right and wrong. Those who are honest in their purpose, those who genuinely stand for revolution—should they be afraid of criticism? They should rather welcome it—if they have the genuine cause of revolution in their mind. What is there to be afraid of criticism? We are never afraid of it! We shall be grateful if you can show us where we are wrong.

That is why we criticise CPI(M). Shall we not criticise their politics of tailism? Shall we not criticise their act of assuring support to Mrs. Gandhi who promulgated Emergency, negated all fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties, imposed Press Censorship,

Build up Peoples' Committees On The Strong Edifice of Proletarian Ethics

gave the monopolist class of our country an unbridled scope of exploitation resulting in further aggravation of people's miseries? Well, we shall and no consideration can dissuade us from it.

Going deeper into the politics of CPI(M) you find section 108 of the programme of their party has been framed, keeping in view that section of the Indian bourgeoisie whom they consider not only as progressive but as a vacillating ally of the Peoples Democratic Revolution. It has been clearly stated there that in the event of contradiction between the big capitalists on one hand and the imperialists on the other on various questions—be it war or peace or on the question of expansion of Indian business they, on behalf of the workers and peasants of this country will extend unstinted support to the government. This politics of CPI(M) has reduced Marxism-Leninism and leftism to such a state! I appeal to them to pause and ponder. I want to draw the attention of the common people to a very vital question of today. Because movement will again start as things are going on day by day. And as the crisis is going to take an acute form you will have to be on the street again in spite of the fact that people's movements may sometimes be crushed from a dictatorial position. But before that the politics must be clear—there must be a proper understanding of the character of the state and also of the change that has taken place in the government which looks after the state. We want to test on the anvil of politics, we want to determine on the basis of correct class angularity, which is the correct way for the emancipation of the toiling masses and which is the correct base political line of anti-capitalist revolution. It must be remembered that whether through four party rule or through two

party rule the capitalist system is served—its aggregate interest is served. In this connection we must not forget the teachings of Comrade Ghosh about fascism—fascism may grow even within the framework of parliamentary democracy. At a time there was a lot of confusion in World Communist circle about fascism and it was thought to be of tyrannical and nakedly violent character only. Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** has given us a most comprehensive outline of fascism with its philosophical, political, social and economic aspects. Fascism is today, laying its foundation by destroying the reasoning faculty within the society and by the spread of decadent capitalist culture. All sections of the toiling people must be united against this conspiracy and they must be made conscious about the class character of the state and their own instruments of struggle must be built up. The modern state which is nothing but a capitalist state takes various measures and adopts different plans—these measures and plans are not necessarily stereotyped but may change according to condition but it is to be seen whether these measures and plans are consolidating, however limitedly possible, the present capitalist state and capitalist social order. This is the yardstick of analysis. As there are capitalists so also the teeming millions of exploited people in our country. It is rather we, the workers, peasants and toiling people, the builders of civilisation and creators of history who must determine the future of our country. But what is necessary for determining the future is the correct political consciousness. And because of this the study of history and epistemology is necessary, and that alone can give us invincible weapon mightier than any lethal weapon of

the bourgeoisie.

Beware of those who ask your votes with the promise of changing your lots in this capitalist set up. Even if a non-Congress ministry is installed in West Bengal as the CPI(M) is trying in alliance with Janata party then we must say that this Government will also fail to fulfil your aspiration if it tries to bring some measures not-backed by people's movement. Then again the fundamental question remains what is the class character of these non-Congress parties. What kind of measure they can adopt? Can they encourage people's movement which will aim at striking the vested interest? These are the very serious questions. People must understand. In our opinion, a government that can truly serve as the instrument of peoples' struggle must be a government of left and democratic forces united in a front with a minimum common programme and code of conduct. This government of left and democratic front can alone bring some measures backed up with people's movement attainable within the present bourgeois set up. I appeal to the rank and file of the CPI(M) to raise this question before their leadership that as a big party it had been its duty to forge a left unity with all the left and democratic parties. If you have any difficulty to unite with us, the SUCI, don't unite. but even then as Comrade **Sibdash Ghosh** has himself declared—if you start movement no need of formal invitation, we hardly need it—we will be with you in the movement. Even in the perspective of the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to install two-party democracy may we ask is it not time to pause and ponder as to the very fate of leftism in our county? To where has they landed leftism let alone the question of Marxism-

Leninism? So often you accuse us, the SUCI but the SUCI was not with you for two years—who obstructed you to start movement? To day or tomorrow this question has got to be answered. We are aware that there are honest workers and organisers in different parties. The workers of the party have to pay with their lives. Are they there only to make a few of their party leaders, MLAs or ministers? The poor peasants and workers who are under the banner of the party will have to sacrifice. So Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** said with sorrow—we, leaders are quite safe from any repression—it is you people who suffer and die. So the urge for bringing clarity in politics must emanate from you. Here I may take the opportunity of reminding you what Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** said to you many times: Comrades, please think over—please ponder what harm this opportunistic politics of the CPI(M) has done to leftism to day. Still there is time to retrace the step and change the way. Every man can commit mistake. We have learnt from Marxism that if we commit any mistake we must take proper lesson from the mistake in order to rectify it. We may err in our assessment, in our thinking or in our understanding. But even a common man with some dignity feels no hesitation to admit his mistake. Why should it be with the Marxist-Leninists? Communist ethics and morality demand such a code of conduct. While discussing on ethics and morality Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** repeatedly stressed this point. But whenever the leftists were urged to maintain minimum ethical standard in left movement they showed scant regard to it. This pained Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh** very much particularly when those people who claim themselves to be Marxists used to pose the question—where is the

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place of ethics and morality in Marxism? At this he replied with deep anguish that had there been no ethics and morality in Marxism and had the proletarian culture and morality not been based on the highest standard of morality and culture, I myself would not have been a Marxist. Today the politics of booing, the politics of Hurrah is trying to do away with the reasoning faculty. With deep anguish Comrade Ghosh said, the cult of this attitude of not hearing to others, not trying to understand the politics of others and not reading the organs of other party, fanaticism and blindness, will not advance the cause of leftism but will provide fertile soil for fascism to grow. These weaknesses in left movement provided an easy passage for the Congress which was annihilated in West Bengal in 1969 to stage a come back to power again. So comrades, continue the cult of politics. We gladly welcome bitterest political criticism against us. We welcome criticism particularly for the fact that if the policy pursued by our party is not correct, this criticism and counter criticism will help to remove all the errors and will help to keep us on the right track. There is nothing to fear in criticism. The CPI(M) found fault with us as because we criticised their policy of bringing disruption in the unity of nine party combination over the issue of their joining in a day's convention with Sri P.C. Sen and others. He who knows himself to be weak, avoids criticism and is always afraid of criticism. Otherwise what is there to fear about? In party strength the CPI(M) is still now bigger than the SUCI in spite of definite sign of decay in their party. But when this decay has once started, they will not be able to resist it. Comrades, capitalism is in a decaying stage—and it must have its reflection on social democratic parties too, but if the left movement is to be

Defend Leftism and The Red Banner By Strengthening SUCI

steered in the correct direction, the gate of criticism and self criticism is to be opened. The CPI(M) holds us guilty for saying this and is it due to this that they could not work with us? We urge upon them to launch a movement even in an experimental way. But it must not be that type of movement having an eye to parliamentary politics. Even the rightists do that type of movement. A party of the capitalist class also does that type of movement. When the Congress was in power its student wing made overtures of movement. But was it a movement? By pointing out to one or two monopoly capitalists instead of capitalism as such, this play of movement tried to keep the mass discontent away from the main anti-capitalist revolutionary movement and tried to channelise the same in different direction. This tactic is still there and it will continue. But all mass movements, be it the struggle for land of the peasant, for increasing the pay of the workers or against the government oppression or even on the demand of the students for introduction of democratic scientific and secular education system, must be conducive to anti-capitalist revolution. There are so many other issues for movement.

There are many political workers of different political parties including ours still languishing in jails. Many Naxalites are still in jail. Not only they are detained without trial, but many of the political workers of different parties including ours are convicted in got-up cases. There are thousands of got-up cases against thousands of political workers. We demand that those workers of democratic movement killed inside jail must be adequately compensated. We are aware that martyres can not be compensated by money. But as the freedom fighters

are honoured similarly families of these workers of democratic movement killed inside the jail are to be compensated. At the same time the Government must bear the full expenses for medical treatment and rehabilitation of those who suffered physical injury for torture in thana lock up or in jail custody. There are so many other democratic demands like these. A united front of all the left and democratic parties is a historical necessity today in order to build up these movements. It is due to this necessity that in our Central Committee statement (6th April) we appealed to build up united front on the basis of a definite norm, political perspective and code of conduct to all the left and democratic parties. I appeal to those who are members of different left and democratic parties to consider this proposal. The penalty for not accepting our proposal prior to the election has already been paid by you and us and by the workers, peasants and the middle class people. So I am again reminding that there is still time to retrace the step, to correct the mistake. Please ponder whether you will accept our proposal.

In the election we tried to forge ahead by breaking the triangular barrier and we did advance. It is a fact that we could not secure any seat and no candidate of our party has become an M. P. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us an important lesson that a revolutionary party can have no other option than to participate in election till an alternate power of the people develops and the time comes when people reject election from a positive approach. But even while participating in election, we can never sacrifice our basic political objective just for seats. If the parties known as left responded to our

proposal that day then the political picture would not have been such to day. Please think over it. In the Janta-CPI(M) alliance there was no question of principle and no question of commitment—their sole concern was only seat adjustments for mutual benefit. They are still trodding this unprincipled path. So again I say, it is time to turn your face, friend—think it over again. If you agree to talk with our proposal we shall go to your door. Please answer whether it is a historical necessity or not.

To fulfil this historical responsibility we appeal to all the left and democratic parties and the toiling people to see that a left and democratic front could really develop as suggested by us. Our party comrades must endeavour to build up people's own instruments of struggle through peoples' committees in the villages. I like to remind the people that the presence of a real revolutionary party with correct revolutionary ideology can not by itself guarantee the creation of a congenial revolutionary condition unless the people come forward to strengthen the party. In the language of Stalin, what is necessary to make the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism effective is strength. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh one of the greatest Marxist thinkers of the era, our teacher, guide and the founder General Secretary of the party has not only laid down the correct base political line of Indian revolution but has built with his own hand the real revolutionary party, SUCI to accomplish this task of revolution. I appeal to you to strengthen this party, the SUCI, the only genuine Marxist-Leninist party in India and build up quickly the people's committees, the people's own instruments of struggle everywhere and launch powerful political struggle for waging united movements of all left and democratic parties.

UTUC (Lenin Sarani) DEMANDS REFUND OF CDS

Sri Fatick Ghosh, General Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), has issued the following statement to the Press:—

"We can not but be shocked at the decision of the new Government regarding not refunding the money collected under Compulsory Deposit Scheme. We demanded of the Government in the recently held Labour Conference in Delhi to fulfil its commitment by refunding the money so far collected. The Government, it is apparent, has gone back on its commitment on the same old plea of the earlier Government. We demand immediate refund of money collected under the Compulsory Deposit Scheme."

I have already pointed out that our criticism is not due to any personal grudge. We criticise not from hatred. But on political questions we are uncompromising. We feel it necessary for clarity in thinking. Stalin taught us, if capitalism is to be overthrown, social democratic forces, the forces of compromise between capital and labour must be completely isolated both politically and organisationally from the people through intense ideological struggle. Unless this is done the dream of anti-capitalist revolution will not materialise, so in order to accomplish the task of anti-capitalist revolution and thus to open the flood-gate of progress in our society by freeing the toiling millions of our country from capitalist exploitation, all social democratic trends within the democratic movement must be defeated by conducting uncompromising ideological struggle against them. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown us this path and in it lies the real guarantee for the emancipation of the people of this country from exploitation. With this word I conclude here with revolutionary greetings to you all.

**Long Live Revolution
Long Live
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh
Long Live SUCI**

UTUC (Lenin Sarani)'s Demand

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'Emergency' were not included in the agenda of the conference.

The subjects before the conference were 1) Certain issues relating to comprehensive law on industrial relations (2) Workers participation (3) Setting up of Gratuity Fund (4) Composition of Indian Labour Conference (5) Labour in unorganised Sector—(contract labour, workers rural workers' and bonded labour).

Com. P. Chanda General Secretary, and Comrade Fatick Ghosh, Secretary UTUC (Lenin Sarani) attended the conference as delegate and Comrade A K Pandey, Vice President and Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta Secretary (Lenin Sarani) also attended the said conference as advisers. Representatives from INTUC AITUC, HMS, CITU, UTUC, HMP, BMS, NFITU and NLO also attend the conference. After the inaugural address by the Union Labour Minister Sri Rabindra Varma Comrade Pritish Chanda, General Secretary UTUC (Lenin Sarani) at the very outset pointed out that there should be general observations on the industrial relation with specific reference to the burning problems like mass scale retrenchment, lock-out lay-off, bonus and CDS etc. He insisted that these issues should be taken up first in the conference. There was also a strong feeling among the trade-unionist that the burning problems of the workmen should have been given priority in the agenda of the OLC. This being the general view of the trade union leaders, it was decided that the agenda placed by the Government will be taken up after the general observation from all sides are over.

Comrade P. Chanda's Speech

In his speech Comrade Pritish Chanda referred to the problems accumulated during 30 years of Congress misrule and revealed its anti-working class policies.

He demanded that aspiration of the working class should be taken into account while declaring the policy of the new Government. Attitude of the Government should not be that of so called neutrality. It should come forward in defence of the weaker section in the working class against the all out attack of the capitalist class. He demanded that the new Government should announce a clear declaration that police should not be allowed to interfere in the legitimate trade union movement. Unnecessary harrasment by instituting false and fabricated cases against the TU leaders and workers, by the police should be stopped and legitimate trade union movement should be actively patronised by the government. Referring to Naval Tata's comment on gherao, Comrade Chanda explained that gherao is nothing but a legitimate form of movement. When the management refuses to negotiate genuine grievances of workmen, violate each and every law of land workers are left with no other alternative than to take recourse to gherao. He referred to massive attack of the capitalist class in the forms of large scale retrenchment, lock-out lay-off, closures, and victimisations particularly during the period of emergency. He exposed N. Tata's attempt to equate strike with lockout. Comrade Chanda explained how strike had become a fundamental right of the working class while lock-out was not a fundamental right of an employer. He demanded that the CDS should be scrapped with immediate effect. Deduction should be stopped and the amount so far deducted is to be paid to the workers and employers immediately along with the interest accrued.

Comrade P. Chanda said that as regards bonus there should be status quo-ante with the minimum of 8.33% and strongly demanded

that bonus should be given to all categories of employees even the government employees and other employees who do not enjoy the right should be covered under bonus Act.

As regards workers participation, Comrade Chanda said that in this class divided society, when the capitalist class is out to snatch away maximum profit, workers' participation is meaningless, and in real sense not possible. On the issue of one union in one industry Comrade Chanda said that it will end trade union democracy and encourage monopoly in trade union field. Workers right to organise trade unions of their choice should not be curtailed Majority union ascertained may be recognised but the minority unions should be allowed to function and must have the right to be associated in general policy matters.

As regards the composition of the Indian Labour Conference, Comrade Chanda said that equal number of representatives should be allowed from the central organisation and the basis should be the recommendation of 17th session of the I.L.C. which reads, "organisation claiming representations on the ILC should have an all India character with minimum membership of 1 Lakh spread over a number of states and a sizable membership at least in the majority of industries."

Lastly Comrade Chanda demanded that the fraudulent Consumer Price Index be corrected and as per his demand an expert committee comprising of T.U. and Management's representatives, some expert, men from data collecting machineries should be setup very soon.

At the Conference, working pannels were set up for comprehensive labour legislation and composition of Indian Labour Conference. Another pannel will go into the question of workers' participation. A committee will also be

LIST OF SUCI CANDIDATES

(Contd. from Page 1)

Midnapore

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1) Bhagawanpur | Bimal Jana |
| 2) Narayangarh | Panchanan Pradhan |

Bankura

- | | |
|------------|------------|
| 1) Chhatna | Arun Barat |
|------------|------------|

Purulia

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1) Raghunathpur (Sc) | Bijoy Bauri |
| 2) Para (Sc) | Sailen Bauri |
| 3) Hura | Dulal Hembram |
| 4) Kasipur (ST) | Shyamapada Murmu |

Calcutta

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1) Rash Behari | Ranjit Dhar |
| 2) Maniktola | Fatick Ghosh |

24-Parganas

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1) Jaynagar | Debaprosad Sarkar |
| 2) Kultali (Sc) | Probodh Purkait |
| 3) Mathurapur | Robin Mondal |
| 4) Mandirbazar (Sc) | Renupada Halder |
| 5) Patharpratima | Phani Guchhait |
| 6) Behala East | Amitava Ganguly |
| 7) Canning West (Sc) | Dasarathi Mondal |

The list of Candidates of Bihar, UP and Delhi could not be published in this issue due to shortage of space. In our next issue we shall publish the same.

KERALA UNIT OBSERVED 29th ANNIVERSARY IN A BEFITTING MANNER

Kerala state committee of the SUCI observed in a befitting manner the 29th anniversary of the party. Despite inclement weather the meeting that was held at Quilon was quite well attended. Comrade James Joseph, Secretary of the Kerala state organising committee of SUCI presided over the meeting and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty was the main speaker. Comrade V. Natarajan, Secretary, Quilon District organising Committee of SUCI read out the resolutions paying homage to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the out-

standing Marxist thinkers of the era and the great departed leader, teacher, guide and founder General Secretary of SUCI and also to the great Marxist philosopher and architect of Chinese revolution Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Chou En-lai and Chu Teh the great leaders of the proletariat. A minute's silence was observed in solemn remembrance to these departed leaders.

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty who was the main speaker, dealt in detail the recent parliamentary election and the present political situation in our country and appealed to the people to strengthen SUCI, the only genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in Indian soil for accomplishing the task of socialist revolution in India. This meeting created a new enthusiasm and hope among the general public.

set up to rectify the fraudulent Price Index.

It was further decided that another conference will soon be held on unorganised rural sector and contract labour after giving opportunity to trade unions to submit their views on the issues.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE