

# Proletarian Era

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## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Remembered with tears and resolve

They streamed in, all, to converge upon. Not in gaggles, not in flocks — banded in groups and rallies they came with grief-laden hearts glimpsed in their silent, heavy steps, mingled with resolve in gait firm and erect. You could see, you could feel, the whole being glimmered a stuff different. Their movement, all their conduct spoke out what they are pledged to: transforming their selves to equal what history behoves them to do, and to elevate themselves to proletarian characters through collective activity, collective living, collective thinking; be ceaseless without flinch, waver, deviance in this struggle on the revolutionary political line. A struggle which is within and without at once. For, capitalism never sleeps, never ceases to worm its way in and degrade and debase character. Even hunger and humiliation that it inflicts comes nowhere near to this lethal power in its armour. In the darkness and thorns in people's lives the ray that shines, truly shines, is the beacon of thoughts the Great Leader bequeathed — Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He it is who showed the road to honour, the life that gleams in dignity, the fountain-head of strength to power the struggle, the unbending resolve for revolution and cherished emancipation.

The great Marxist thinker, our leader, teacher and guide, who gave a new meaning to the nobility of communism and held it high after Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao-Zedong, taught us the unwavering commitment of a communist even when a great tragedy might befall.



The great tragedy that has come down on our life in the passing away of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary and a great life-long revolutionary who led the Party onward in correct pursuit of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has been the test for the leaders, the Party rank and file to assess how far have they advanced in this struggle.

It was the 3rd of March, the day of Memorial Meeting, on which the Party paid tribute to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee and took the vow anew to carry ahead the task of struggle on

all fronts, individual and collective, to materialize the anti-capitalist socialist revolution on this soil. At the call of the Central Committee of the SUCI (Communist), the Memorial Meeting was held at the Netaji Indoor Stadium, Kolkata.

The Stadium and its precincts were decorated in solemn dignity, wrapped around in red flags and red banners. By the side of the main entrance, a photographic presentation of many moments in Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's life was arranged for comrades and people who flocked there daylong to

draw deep inspiration. Next to it was set up a Party book stall where comrades thronged to eagerly collect works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, books containing his invaluable speeches, publications of writings of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, and also other party literature. And then there was a huge portrait of the departed leader. The Memorial Meeting was scheduled to begin at 3 p.m. But from around 12 noon people started to pour in, offer floral tributes at the huge portrait and enter the stadium. The state leaders, organizers, workers and sympathizers, masses of the toiling people came from all corners of the country, from Assam to Gujarat, from Punjab to Kerala. By 2-30pm, the venue was full and a big gathering of people, who could not enter inside for lack of space,

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### Comrade Provash Ghosh elected General Secretary

In the meeting of the Central Committee of the SUCI (Communist) held at the Salt Lake commune of the Party in the morning of 4 March, 2010, Comrade Provash Ghosh, Member, Polit Bureau, was elected the General Secretary of the Party.

## Homage of the Central Committee, SUCI (Communist) to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), lifelong comrade-in-arms of the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, passed away on 18th February last at Calcutta Heart Clinic & Hospital. He was suffering from multiple serious ailments for which he had been under prolonged treatment. When he passed away, he was ninety. The Central Committee expresses its profound grief at his demise.

While paying its deep respect, the Central Committee recalls that Comrade Nihar Mukherjee at a tender age of 13 plunged into the vortex of revolutionary current of the Indian freedom movement. He joined the revolutionary organization Anushilan Samity as an activist. In course of his revolutionary activities he left behind his family, gave up his academic career and became a full time revolutionary. During this period he came in contact with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who also had joined Anushilan Samity in his early teens. Both Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee were arrested and sent to jail during the 'Quit India' movement for taking important role. While in Anushilan Samity, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was attracted towards Marxism-Leninism. Later, he embraced this noble ideology as the philosophy of life. As the CPI did not grow as a true communist party and as there was no other communist party worthy of its name, in order to fulfill the indispensable precondition for revolution, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh took upon himself the arduous task of building up SUCI as a genuine communist party on the Leninist model by concretizing Marxism-Leninism on the Indian soil. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, as a close comrade-in-arms of the Great Leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, put heart and soul in this historic struggle and played a unique role.

In the early years of this

audacious, indomitable struggle of building the genuine communist party in the vast stretch of this land without social identity any to name and means of any kind to fall back upon for food and shelter, spurred on alone by an *unwavering commitment* to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and a deeply entrenched resolve to accomplish the task of proletarian revolution, it was a daunting task to conduct revolutionary activities or even to arrange the minimum necessities for the sustenance of the lives of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and other comrades. It was Comrade Nihar Mukherjee who with immense patience and endurance shouldered the responsibility of arranging the necessary resources to continue



*Central Committee members offering Red Salute to the departed leader*

the party activities and save the lives of the comrades, particularly of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. With profound reverence and gratitude, the Central Committee recognizes this unexcelled role of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee in building up the party.

A historic necessity and social urge developed, after independence, for uniting the left and democratic parties and forces, including the then undivided CPI, on the platform of joint struggle against the anti-people rule of the Congress. At the behest of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee played a leading role in giving shape to such a Left-democratic front. Then onward, powerful united Left-democratic movement started surging forth and spreading all over West Bengal. While leading

those united Left-democratic movements Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was imprisoned several times. In course, he emerged as a front-ranking leader of Left-democratic movement. In remembrance of this exemplary role of his, the Central Committee pays its deep respect.

The sudden and premature demise of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our most beloved leader, teacher and guide, on 5th of August 1976 struck the Party like a thunderbolt plunging the whole of the Party into unplumbed grief. A deep sense of void cast itself over. At this crucial hour, the Central Committee of the Party elected Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, who by dint of his

unfulfilled dream of our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The Central Committee recognizes this role of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee with deep admiration.

The Central Committee considers it to be its honour-bound duty to record that from then onwards, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee waged a relentless and exemplary struggle that heightened and deepened his realization of the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He at the same time, for the upliftment of the ideological and cultural level of the entire Party, took different measures to involve all the leaders and cadres of the party in this struggle. With this very objective, he established the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatshila.

Being mired in election-oriented politics when other Left parties abandoned the course of democratic mass movement, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh called upon Party leaders and workers in 1975, to build up democratic mass movements single-handedly, if necessary, in order to advance people's cause. On his demise, the party under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee rose to carry out the behest of the Great Leader of the Proletariat. Not only in West Bengal, in other states too, the party, under his leadership, developed class and mass struggles conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution. In this process of defending people's interest, the SUCI (Communist) earned a coveted space in people's hearts as the only trustworthy force of left-democratic movement. Also, under his able leadership, the mass and class fronts of the party in various states continued to grow in strength and spread. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee also took bold steps in strengthening, both ideologically and organizationally, Komsomol, which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh initiated, reared and steered with great care to function under direct

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## Homage of the Central Committee, SUCI (Communist)

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guidance of the Party.

In profound regard the Central Committee records that the organizational structure which our Great Leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh shaped out for the Party at its Founding Convention, on the Leninist principle of organizational centralism based on ideological centralism, took its constitutional form at the First Party Congress held in 1988 under the able leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. It was the steadfast and all-encompassing leadership and effort of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee that brought all-out success of the First Party Congress.

It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who in course of his penetrating analysis showed that 'the 20th Congress of the CPSU under the leadership of Khrushchev opened the flood-gates of revisionism'. In the light of the historic analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee correctly labeled Gorbachev's programmes of Perestroika and Glasnost as the blue-print of counter-revolution for restoration of capitalism and emphasized the utmost urgency of intensifying a relentless ideological struggle against every shade of revisionism-reformism. This correct characterization and analysis provided by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee helped removing confusions that prevailed amongst many progressive people and even among in a section of honest communists home and abroad. It goes without saying that the counter-revolution engineered by Gorbachev-Yeltsin clique in 1989 vindicated this forewarning of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. At that juncture, the Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee called upon the people of the former Soviet Union to assimilate the essence of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism as well as the thoughts of Comrade Stalin and overthrow the ruling bourgeoisie from power by organizing anew anti-capitalist socialist revolution. In profound regard the Central Committee remembers this invaluable contribution of

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee.

After the demise of Comrade Mao Zedong, the great leader and teacher of world communist movement, when Deng Xiaoping, the epitome of modern revisionism, and his cohorts usurped the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the State and nakedly pursued revisionist policies in all fields, the Central Committee of our party under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, on the basis of the invaluable analysis of the *Cultural Revolution of China* by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, sounded caution of the impending danger of establishment of capitalism there. Unfortunately, no formidable resistance against this revisionist sweep developed in China. Finally, in 2004 counter-revolution was completed in China through grant of constitutional right to private property and capitalism got established. The Central Committee of the SUCI (C), under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, called upon the working class and working masses of China to draw appropriate lesson from this tragic turn and to come forward and initiate, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thoughts, the struggle to accomplish victory of socialist revolution in capitalist China by overthrowing the bourgeoisie from state power.

With the dismantling of Soviet Union and the socialist camp in 1990, the deterrent role that the world socialist camp led by the USSR had been playing against imperialist aggression came to an end. To make a correct assessment of the changed international situation and to chart out the course of action for the world proletariat and other exploited masses, a Party Plenum was held in 1994 under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. The Central Committee recalls that the Plenum held under his guidance, decided to give shape to broad-based anti-imperialist fora in different countries as instruments of intensifying the anti-imperialist struggles and militant peace movements, with the genuine communists acting as their core. Accordingly, under the direct supervision and direction of

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the SUCI (C), based on the realization of the necessity to rally together the anti-imperialist forces of different countries, initiated moves to give concrete shape to such fora. As a result, first the All-India Anti-imperialist Forum, and, in course the International Anti-imperialist and People's Solidarity Coordinating Committee have been formed. This historic step, which created the ground for interaction, coordination and mutual exchange of views among the genuine communists worldwide, is the result of the farsightedness of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. This also has paved the way for dissemination of the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh all over the world. Following this, there is increasing attraction round the globe towards his revolutionary thoughts. This, in turn, has strengthened the world communist movement giving a firmer ground to proletarian internationalism. The Central Committee is of the firm opinion that this bold and timely initiative by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee will leave its indelible mark in history.

In this changed international and national situations, history has bestowed an enormous responsibility on our party - the SUCI (Communist). Discharging this responsibility warrants correct adherence to the course charted out by Great Leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which calls for freeing the leaders and cadres from all sorts of bourgeois ideas, culture, influence of vulgar individualism, and ensuring collective thinking, collective action, and proper body-functioning at all levels of the Party on the basis of democratic centralism. To bring this into practice, the Central Committee recalls with profound respect how Comrade Nihar Mukherjee released and conducted an intense ideological struggle within the Party with his resounding call for 'Revitalization and Consolidation of the Party and its Mass Fronts'. It is in continuation of this struggle that the Second Party Congress has been held in 2009 under his leadership and direction with thunderous success, though severe ailment prevented him

from being present in person at the Congress.

The Central Committee also remembers with deep respect that in the process of correctly leading the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism Shibdas Ghosh Thought, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee in his speeches and writings made correct analyses and provided correct understanding of various important national and international questions which cropped up after the demise of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The Central Committee is of firm opinion that these works of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee will be of immense value to the treasure-house of knowledge of the Party.

In profound reverence, the Central Committee records that in his struggle to attain higher communist character by applying Marxism-Leninism in each and every sphere of his life in the light of the teachings and direct guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee left unparalleled mark of impersonal attitude and conduct on all questions till he breathed his last — this ever burning instance of embodiment of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings will shed light for us all. Precisely in this course, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee attained the level of a heightened communist character by identifying his self with the cause of the Class, Revolution and Party and emerged as a great revolutionary leader.

The lesson that Comrade Nihar Mukherjee left us to attain higher communist character free from all vile influence of individualism, to conduct the Party on collective decision and collective action, to protect and preserve the unity of the Party as the apple of the eye, we vow, we shall spare no effort till the last drop of blood to be equal to it.

**Long Live Revolution  
Long Live SUCI (Communist)**

**Long Live  
Proletarian Internationalism  
Red Salute, Great Leader of  
the Proletariat  
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**

**Red Salute,  
Great Revolutionary  
Comrade Nihar Mukherjee**

# Comrade Nihar Mukherjee a great character in proletarian struggle for emancipation

## — Comrade Provas Ghosh in Memorial Meeting

With deep pain and grief-stricken heart we have assembled here to pay our tribute to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the departed General Secretary of our party and a great leader in the struggle for emancipation of the proletariat in the present era, as well as to recall some memorable chapters of his unique revolutionary struggles, so as to take lesson and inspiration for the struggles in the days to come. All of us who are now sitting on the dais, have joined this party inspired by the ideology and thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist thinker. In the same manner as we had the intimate proximity, revolutionary teachings and love of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we were nurtured at the same time in the warmth of intimate affection of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. In such a situation, naturally it is very difficult for us to find words in his memorial meeting ( voice choked with tears). You all know that our party is like a family. Not on any blood relation; it is on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought that this family with unfathomable love and affection, has grown up with so many revolutionaries of different states of India as its members. After the demise of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was the most revered guardian of this very family. So, his absence, his demise is a great blow to us. (he choked again with tears).

You are aware that faced with the crisis arising from the absence of a genuine communist party in India, the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, with a view to fulfilling the historic necessity of the proletarian struggle for emancipation, founded this party through an arduous struggle of correctly concretizing Marxism in the soil of this country. In that struggle, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was his closest and most trusted comrade, his finest follower. It was Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, who was the first man on this soil of India to realize the historic role Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was going to play, his nobility, the vastness of his knowledge and broadness of his character, his greatness; he was the



first man who, on this realization, stood by his side. In the history of revolutionary movement this role of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee will remain unforgettable. That is why, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee cannot be judged separated from the thoughts, teachings and life struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. An incident of the fifties of the last century comes to mind. All of us used to have frank discussions with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh; in this, there was no formality in our party. One day, I was telling him my opinion about some of the leaders of the party; he was guiding me with his judgement. He asked me: What is your opinion about Comrade Nihar Mukherjee? I told him, he cannot be viewed separated from you. He said: You are still immature. You have said something very correct, though without realizing properly. When you will become more mature and realize the true significance of your words, you will be able to correctly understand this party also at that time. Yes, I could understand later what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh meant. In reality, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was identified with the teachings and revolutionary struggles of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, with the party he had founded. I recollect another comment of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on Comrade Nihar Mukherjee made later. Comrade Mukherjee had Parkinson's disease. Referring to that, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh once said that usually he has a trembling hand; but it won't tremble if required to put it on fire in the interest of his revolutionary party. These few

words clearly reveal what a great respect even Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had about Comrade Nihar Mukherjee.

The revolutionary life of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee had its beginning in a glorious chapter of Indian independence struggle, when a massive surge for service to the country, of patriotism, cultivation of knowledge, science, literature, culture swept through the country. Though in the ideological-cultural movements within society the influence of compromising humanist trend was greater in the main, side by side with it the alternative trend of humanism freed from the religious influence upheld by Vidyasagar and whose banner Saratchandra subsequently held high, also had its impact. In the political field too, as opposed to the compromising reformist trend of Gandhism, there prevailed an influence of petty bourgeois revolutionism. This revolutionism attracted teenagers and youth of different states of the country, particularly of the undivided Bengal, to rush out to join it. It was the time when Saratchandra had said that serving one's country is not empty words; it is the noblest mission of human life. A patriot is he and only he, who can sacrifice everything for the sake of his country. Only he can be a patriot who does not have any personal interest, nor any craving for money, name and fame, to whom there was nothing in between the country on one side and patriotism on the other. Those days, such ideals and slogans, the appeal of sacrifice of martyrs like Kshudiram and others, the reverberating call from Netaji Subhaschandra — all these awake the youth of Bengal from their slumber. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, both at the tender age of 13 years and almost at the same time, Comrade Mukherjee in 1933 and Comrade Ghosh in 1936 joined the independence movement as volunteers of the *Anushilan Samity*, a revolutionary organization. They were introduced to and got acquainted with each other in the *Anushilan Samity* itself. And that

too was a historic event. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee used to work in the city of Dhaka; Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in a nearby village of Paschimdih. We learnt from Comrade Nihar Mukherjee that a particular trait of behavior of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh attracted Comrade Mukherjee to him. In an incident of conflict with an opponent group, a member of the *Anushilan Samity* made an indecent remark about that group. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee told that it did not strike them at all, since they were used to hear such language from the Kutty community of the city. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh protested instantaneously and said that being revolutionaries they cannot make such indecent comments even about the opponents. This very tune of culture of Shibdas Ghosh at such a young age was what first attracted Comrade Nihar Mukherjee to him. Here in the party, at the outset of our political life, we found a lofty cultural tuning in Comrade Shibdas Ghosh; in Comrade Nihar Mukherjee too we could note a mental make-up deeply attached to that tuning. In later days, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said in many of his valuable discussions that the essence of revolutionary politics lies in the lofty standard of character. He said that the kernel of any noble ideology lies in the lofty standard of culture and character it upholds. Marxism is the noblest ideology of this era. The kernel of this ideology, too, lies in its higher culture. He also said that had he not found the high culture Marxism upheld, he might not have joined Marxist movement. You all know, based on this teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that we lay particular emphasis on character and morality and we carry on its cultivation as a living struggle within the party.

In any case, this way they worked separately at that time, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh mainly in villages and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee in the city of Dhaka. In rallies and processions held in Dhaka or in the workers' strike at Dhakeswari Mills, both of them

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## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was identified with teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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used to join and help with volunteers accompanying them. On one occasion, when Subhas Bose came to Dhaka, they both attended him with their volunteers. In course of these different programmes, they got more and more close to other. Though a very meritorious student, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh did not continue his studies after his school; he forsook his academic career for the sake of his country. He had also left his family, a needy family though it was. But he had deep respect and emotion for his parents. He used to say: parents are wailing in one family after another; I am a child of all of them; my mission is to wipe tears from all their eyes. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to intently study different branches of knowledge and science, biographies of great personalities, being particularly fond of the works of Saratchandra. He used to take lesson from the characters Saratchandra had created in his works, specially from the character of Sabyasachi in the novel *Pather Dabi*. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee had taken note of all these aspects of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's life and character as well as of his sincerity and devotion, his relentless struggle to know truth and apply his realization of truth in his life, and also his organizational ability. Through these, attraction towards Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gradually became deeper in Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. In the meantime, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee had reached the forefront as a student leader in Dhaka. When he had been the General Secretary in the Students' Union of the Dhaka Intermediate College, he was expelled from the College in 1940 for organizing movements against the British government and on different demands of students. In protest, there was a massive students' movement in the entire city of Dhaka that paralyzed the roads and traffic for several days. Ultimately to find a solution, the Congress leaders called for Sarat Bose, the elder brother of Netaji, himself an eminent leader of the freedom movement. At his intervention, the expulsion order on Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was withdrawn.

By that time in 1940, the leaders

of the *Anushilan Samity* had sent Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to Calcutta to look after the organizational activities. Thereafter in 1941, they sent Comrade Nihar Mukherjee to Calcutta to assist Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. They became closer to each other in course of their working together. Back in 1938 when the two were in Dhaka, a section of the *Anushilan Samity* had started a cult of Marxism; they used to hold classes at the Northbrook Hall in Dhaka with a number of selected activists, among whom there were both Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. During their stay in Calcutta, Dr. Niharendu Datta Majumder had entrusted Comrade Shibdas Ghosh with a task of organizing an uprising in Calcutta so as to capture some places like Writers' Buildings, Lalbazar etc., linking it with the Quit India movement of 1942. He had promised all help including supply of arms. With the permission of the *Anushilan Samity*, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh accepted the assignment and entrusted Comrade Nihar Mukherjee with the responsibility of organizing students. During preparation, in 1942, both of them were arrested. A case entitled "Ward Street Conspiracy" was lodged against them with charge of conspiring to overthrow the British rule through armed uprising. However, during the hearing, a patriotic lawyer deftly and competently pleaded for them and could save them successfully from the charges. They were served with a term of three years' imprisonment in place of a death sentence.

To them, the period between 1942 and 1945 was very significant, during which, held in prison, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh engaged himself in still more thorough studies of the independence movement of India, the world communist movement, Marxism and such others. A few questions that disturbed Comrade Shibdas Ghosh terribly was why could not the Communist Party of India or other big parties known as Marxists lead the independence movement; how could the Gandhites, representatives of the big bourgeois class usurp the leadership, while children of common people fought for independence staking everything they had, even their life. He had

respect for the erudition of the leaders of these parties, their scholasticism on Marxism, their honesty, dedication and sacrifice. He did not put these into question. But why, in spite of these, could it happen like that? Why could not a proletarian leadership as an alternative to the bourgeois leadership grow in India? Why could not a genuine communist party come up in the country? While searching for answers to these questions during his prison life, it dawned upon Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that though these leaders had studied a lot on Marxist literature, they could not follow the correct Marxist-Leninist methodology of founding a communist party. It was because they could not grasp the correct understanding of Marxism. He observed that whereas Marxism was not a mere economic-political doctrine, but a philosophy of life, a philosophy to apply in every aspect of life, from private or family life to love-affection, these leaders who had taken initiative to build up Marxist movement in the country, took Marxism largely as an economic-political doctrine and not a philosophy of life in reality. The great leader Lenin had said that without a revolutionary theory there cannot be any revolutionary party, nor revolution. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh realized that the significance of this Leninist teaching lay in the fact that such a revolutionary theory is not simply a political doctrine, nor a political programme of the party. It is a comprehensive concept that integrates all the knowledge of epistemology and science covering all aspects of life with a Marxist approach. When there was a debate raging inside the RSDLP of Russia on how should the revolutionary party be built up, Lenin pointed out that a party could not be formed with a few delegates sitting together and taking a resolution, nor could the party be formed with a declaration. What is needed at first is the unity of idea, an ideological struggle to reach at the unity of thoughts. Lenin added that there must develop unity of thoughts through ideological struggle finding out what differences existed, and with whom, and sorting them out. There cannot be a communist party without this. Further elaborating

this Leninist teaching Comrade Shibdas Ghosh termed it as ideological centralism, which meant building up unity of thoughts attained by guiding every aspect of life on the basis of Marxism. Lenin said that unity in organizations of a proletarian party should be developed and protected on the basis of democratic centralism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, in his elaboration of this teaching, pointed out that the primary condition of developing democratic centralism is to build up ideological centralism and organizational centralism must be developed on its basis. He thus explained, elaborated and developed Leninist teachings. Lenin had said fusion of proletarian democracy and centralism is democratic centralism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that proletarian democracy emerges in course of developing ideological centralism. Proletarian democracy may be said to be operating only when ideological centralism is established. Lenin had said that collective leadership is the collective knowledge of leaders and cadres of the party. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that establishing collective leadership is essential in a communist party; it can be said to have been established only when collective thinking is personified through a leader of the highest rank in the party emerging in course of an ideological struggle covering all aspects of life and conducted on the basis of dialectical methodology, and when a leader emerges in that process he is accepted as the leader of all leaders, the authority in the party. On proletarian democracy, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that the concept of democracy in a class divided society is of two types. One is the bourgeois democracy based on private property, private ownership of production and bourgeois way of living, that is which reflects individualism. Though there is a formal aspect of democracy to it, in reality, it works with one individual or a few as centres. In reality, it reflects owners and workers or bureaucracy and people. So, it is a formal democracy. The other one is proletarian democracy, which reflects collective ownership of production and proletarian way of living, that is

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# Comrade Nihar Mukherjee first revolutionary compatriot of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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collective living. We communists are fighting for collective social ownership; it is from this that the concepts of collective thinking and proletarian democracy stem. This is the foundation of proletarian democracy and culture. On these questions and issues Comrade Shibdas Ghosh engaged himself in intense ideological struggle while in prison. It was more so, because at that time there was an attempt mooted within the *Anushilan Samity* to build up an alternative Marxist party; subsequently it emerged as the RSP. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh opined that there could not be a genuine Marxist party with a mere change in the name of the *Anushilan Samity* or with just a change in the signboard. So far, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh cautioned, we practiced petty bourgeois revolutionism, now we are going to accept the new ideology of proletarian revolutionism based on Marxism. For that, we need, before the party is founded, an ideological struggle on the basis of Marxism, a struggle through which we must develop one process of thinking, uniformity of thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose covering all aspects of individual's life; and that is what is ideological centralism. The party cannot be founded before that. Lenin had said 'socialist theory is not completed and inviolable, it has merely laid down the cornerstone of the science, it is to be developed in all directions if we are to keep pace with life.' Comrade Shibdas Ghosh realized the real significance of this historic pronouncement of Lenin. He realized that in keeping with the ever changing life Marxism must flourish, expand and develop in philosophy, in knowledge and science, in revolutionary theory, in literature and culture. So, at the stage of founding the party he established ideologically why in this country Marxism is the only weapon for emancipation, by waging an ideological struggle against all the idealist and bourgeois philosophies of this soil like the Vedas and Vedanta, Gandhism and such others. Later on, he enriched and developed Marxism also on different questions of international domain. At that

time, he further realized the significance of two other important teachings of Lenin. And that is, internationalism does not mean blindly following the revolutionary line of another country, nor blind submission. It must be critically judged, the general line of revolution must be applied concretely to the concrete situation of any particular country. Lenin had said that the communist party must cultivate common constant activity. Enriching this, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that common constant activity within the party will be further developed through common constant association and common constant discussion.

At that time, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh raised another important question before the world communist movement. He said that in the age of development of capitalism, capitalist production system was complementary to the progress of the society. For advancement of society, it was then needed to establish capitalist private ownership destroying the feudal absolute ownership. To that extent, those days private ownership and based on that individual right, which meant individualism too, also helped in social progress. In our country during the age of *Swadeshi*, that is the earlier days of independence movement, this moral value played a relatively progressive role in society. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that now it is the age of crisis of capitalism, the era of imperialism. In every sphere of life, capitalist private ownership has become totally reactionary and stands against progress. In this era the only road to social progress lies in establishing social ownership in place of private ownership. As a result, individualism created by capitalism has become utterly reactionary in its character and is giving birth to self-centredness and selfishness. Ideas like individual freedom and individual right have, now-a-days, turned into weapons for wresting privileges for the individual instead of acting as a weapon for struggle to perform social duties and responsibilities. Today, individualism is a serious impediment to revolutionary transformation of society, to proletarian revolution. So, he said that in this era to attain a

higher communist character, a revolutionary must free himself from individualist thinking in all spheres of life and must identify himself with the social interest. Only in this process there will develop such proletarian revolutionary character, who can submit every thing of his individual life, unhesitatingly, unconditionally and happily to the interest of proletarian class, party and revolution. From amongst them will emerge the leaders of the higher ranks of the party.

In course of these theoretical discussions and ideological struggle within the prison, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee accepted Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as his teacher and leader. This is again a glorious instance to learn from. In their early life Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was a colleague, a co-worker; in course of this struggle Comrade Shibdas Ghosh became his leader and teacher. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was three years senior in age and also in joining of politics. But he accepted the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh without any shred of hesitation. On their release from the prison, there started a new arduous struggle for founding the new party. Hardly a few people knew Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, knew about him. They had no money, no manpower to assist them, no propaganda machinery, no shelter to live in, no means of subsistence. Day after day, month after month, year after year they had to lead such a life. Now they could not have food for a few days; then they could manage at most a square meal a day. Sometimes they had to spend nights in public parks, platforms of railway stations, or on the roof of the Kolay Market building in Calcutta. They had to walk for miles together for want of money. Everywhere and always, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee remained by the side of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He realized it clearly that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh must be kept alive at any cost. So each day some of his very important tasks remained in collecting a few paise from here and there, or a fistful of rice from somebody. Had not Comrade Nihar Mukherjee been there, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh might have died of starvation. One by one, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee brought his

relatives, friends and old colleagues to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, for him to elucidate Marxism to them. In such a situation, how difficult a problem it was to carry on an all-out struggle on revolutionary ideology, to build up a new party on that basis, may not be easy to comprehend for many in the present time. It makes a startling history. What depth of compassion for oppressed people, what extent of dedication to the cause of revolutionary ideology, how firm and solemn the pledge for fulfilling the revolutionary mission, could make it possible for them to undertake this task! At that time, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said: In our childhood, we had learnt from Vidyasagar's teachings 'Don't say any more that you cannot ... what others can do, surely you too can do that!' What Comrade Shibdas Ghosh added to it was: My pledge had been, 'What others think they cannot accomplish, I will do even that for the sake of revolution'. There were people, who even after accepting his indisputable arguments, commented that it was such a big country and there were so many big parties that he would not be able to cut any ice. He did not have any manpower, money-power, propaganda, recognition, nothing of the kind. He would only spoil his career. Firmly Comrade Ghosh would answer them: I don't crave for any career other than truth and ideology. I will die fighting, will fight while dying. If there is any truth in my struggle, one day history will recognize its worth. To those with whom he would be having discussions, he used to say: May be I will not be able to accomplish much during my lifetime; may be like me, you would also have to starve. Now, decide, if you would take up this way of living to pay for the revolutionary ideology. This was how people joined this party one after another. Later, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that we often were starving, but did not take pride in that. Because, we did not practise cult of sacrifice. We thought that revolutionary life is honourable. There is no life more honourable than it. What we left back was a degraded self-centred individualist life. In lieu of that we achieved a glorious honourable life of a

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# Comrade Nihar Mukherjee a front-ranking leader of united left movement

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proletarian revolutionary. Finding us in want or starvation, many people might have thought that we were suffering. But, he added, the immense happiness of a revolutionary life that we experienced from within this apparently miserable life — others could not find the like of it even by earning millions of rupees and living in palaces. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was the earliest comrade in this historic struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This was the process in which the party was founded in 1948 and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee along with a few others was elected member of the Central Committee. Comrade Mukherjee also became the West Bengal State Secretary.

In the homage of the Central Committee we have mentioned about the important role of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee in spreading left and democratic movement in this part of Bengal after independence. In their condolence messages, the CPI(M) and Forward Bloc leaderships have mentioned this in one form. Many people do not know that in the fifties of the last century when united left movement was started in West Bengal, different parties including RSP, Forward Bloc, RCPI, Bolshevik Party were vehemently opposed to the idea of including CPI into this united movement because of the role of CPI in the independence movement or the subsequent ultra leftism of Randive and such other reasons. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee that CPI was a powerful leftist party and should be included in the united movement. Dr. Suresh Banerjee was then the President of the *Durviksha Protirodh Committee* (Famine Resistance Committee). Once a Congress leader, he was then a leader of PSP. And Hemanta Basu of Forward Bloc was the Secretary of the Committee. Different parties, including ours were in the Committee. On the other hand, CPI and Democratic Vanguard belonged to the *Khadya Abhijan* (Movement for food) *Committee* led by Dr. Dhiren Sen. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh entrusted Comrade Nihar Mukherjee to convince Dr. Suresh Banerjee about why it was required

to bring CPI into the united movement. Comrade Mukherjee discussed with Dr. Banerjee several times and finally convinced him. Then Comrade Nihar Mukherjee informed Jyoti Basu, the then State Secretary of CPI, of this development; the latter readily agreed. This way it was possible to include CPI in the united movement through the efforts of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee at the guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Afterwards he took part as one of the front-ranking leaders in each and every movement in this state. Inside the party, in regard to organizational activities, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee always tried to see that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh did not have to worry about wherefrom the Party fund would be collected or how the activities will be run. He always wanted Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to remain absorbed with building up revolutionary cadres, with discussions and cult of philosophy, different branches of science and knowledge and with the plans and prospects of spreading out organizations to different places.

How dedicated Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was in his efforts to keep Comrade Shibdas Ghosh alive and his discussions and observations drawn from his invaluable revolutionary political teachings continuing unceasingly, you may perhaps realize from two significant incidents. In the early sixties there was a meeting being held at the Party office in Calcutta. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was making his deliberations; by his side were seated Comrade Nihar Mukherjee and a few other leaders. Facing them, we sat listening. Suddenly we saw Comrade Nihar Mukherjee uneasy; it appeared his head was reeling. His eyes were shut. In a moment, he fell on the ground, unconscious. The discussion was stopped. When he regained consciousness, he was sad to find that the discussion had stopped because of him. We understood that he had been feeling sick, but was not inclined to let others know it. He was struggling with himself silently to keep himself steady, so that the important discussion of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was not disturbed. He could not succeed and fell down. Let me

mention another incident. Comrade Anil Sen is present here, he also knows about it. We were then residing at the Party centre at Akhil Mistry Lane. At around 10 pm we came to know that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had had an accident, while returning from the party office by taxi. He had been hospitalized. All of us rushed to the hospital. By that time Dr. Nani Guha, a renowned doctor, had reached there. He had profound respect for Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and also loved Comrade Nihar Mukherjee very much. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was on the bed. There were stitches made at several points in his head, below the ear. Dr. Guha was himself checking those. Suddenly he found that a stream of blood was coming down from the knee of Niharbabu. It showed that he too was severely injured in the same accident. But he was simply oblivious of that; he was worried about Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and was busy arranging for his treatment. We were all astounded. Thereafter he had to be treated also. These instances of his deep respect for Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and love for him from the bottom of his heart left a deep imprint on us. (He choked with emotion)

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh died at only 53 years of age. What a condition we were thrown into! All around, everybody was crying. Only one person did not cry and that was Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. He stood up erect with all our grief in his heart. We knew it well, that, in fact, the fire of grief was charring him from within and only a few days later he had a stroke. In such a situation, the party entrusted him with the responsibility of the General Secretary, for next to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, it was Comrade Nihar Mukherjee who was in our heart. No discussion was required to take this decision. With his role, his character, in everything, he emerged as the next General Secretary in the thoughts and contemplations of all leaders and cadres of the party.

After 1976, the party has expanded to many states of the country under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. Now, the banner of SUCI (Communist)

flutters in almost every state of India. We have thousands of wholetimers. Workers, peasants, students, youth, womenfolk, middle class people, all are joining the party in numbers. Our mass organizations have also increased their strength. And all this could happen under the extremely competent leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee towards giving concrete shape to Marxism-Leninism- Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

In 1974-'75, even with his failing health, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had been travelling around the country from one state to another. At that time, there was a surge of movement in the Hindi-speaking states. Rightist forces had usurped its leadership. It was required to establish leftist leadership on those movements; it was required to develop powerful movement under the leadership of leftists in West Bengal. But we could not convince any party including CPI(M). It was because they had a clandestine understanding with Indira Gandhi. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had been moving around from state to state, giving calls for revolutionary movement to be built up. Doctors advised him to take rest. There were his famous words in answer: I am a revolutionary; I can not rest; I exist, I breathe for revolution. In a convention in 1975 at Suri in Birbhum district of West Bengal, he fervently appealed to the youth: If others are not agreeable, we would have to develop movement ourselves and alone. Jaiprakash Narayan was also present in the convention. Within 4 or 5 days from taking this decision, the Emergency was clamped over the country. Even under the Emergency and with his further deteriorating health, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh held meetings with the organizers of different states and different districts of West Bengal. Repeatedly he said: There will be surges of movement again. Be prepared for that. Before the year passed, he breathed his last on August 5, 1976. Before his demise, in many mass meetings and workers' meetings, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pronounced with great anxiety and emotion that surges of mass movements are rising time and

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## Countless souls orchestrated in the tune of revolutionary purposiveness

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patiently gathered outside, que and disciplined reflecting the higher culture of the Party and had their eyes glued upon the TV screens showing the proceedings inside.

Inside the stadium, it was a great congregation of people, but ordered and calms. The long curving rows in the gallery stretching around the entire stadium were full of people, and the vast floor was full to capacity. It was an epitome of grief calmly borne, of resolve burning in silence, of discipline weaving a uniform whole. Countless souls orchestrated in one rhythm, one tune. The tune of revolutionary purposiveness. The leader is no longer in physical presence, his behest remains to rouse them up. So they are aroused, solid as one man, dedicated to the cause of revolution.

With deepest attention the people present focused their mind on the towering dais, on the giant portrait of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, an emblem of radiance in the spirit of revolution. The Polit Bureau and Central Committee Members and veteran former Central Committee member who stood on the dais offered floral

tributes and respect in Red Salute. The state leaders and all-India leaders of mass organizations paid floral tribute. Floral tribute was paid by painters, artistes, writers, physicians, advocates, teachers, and professors. Floral tributes were paid by leaders of the RSP, CPI (M), Marxist Forward Bloc, PDS and Bolshevik Party. Representatives of a number of other parties could not attend the memorial meeting due to an inadvertent and regrettable shortcoming on the part of the Party in the matter of issuing invitation letters.

The proceedings unfolded and advanced under the stewardship of the President of the Memorial Meeting, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member of the Polit bureau of the Party.

Calmly rose a strain of the song on Comrade Nihar Mukherjee.

You will remain forever bright in the history of toilers' emancipation,

You are great, sleepless sentinel of the thoughts and creations of Shibdas Ghosh.

Your dedication to organise the struggle of the Indian toiling people will never fade, worthy follower of Shibdas Ghosh. Red Salute to you,

life-long revolutionary. Red Salute to you, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee.

We are in tears, losing you, we have lost our voice to cry. You will remain in our conscience, give us inspiration forever.

We remember you, we pledge we will overcome all that hinder us to fulfill the dream of Shibdas Ghosh and hold high the fluttering red flag. We will march ahead on the road of class battle, rearing in our heart your last call.

Following the song, the leaders paid their respects in flowers. Paying tributes were Comrades Provash Ghosh, Manik Mukherjee, Krishna Chakraborty, Ranjit Dhar and Asit Bhattacharyya, all Central Committee Polit Bureau members, Comrades Yakub Pailan, Debaprasad Sarkar, Kalyan Chowdhury, C. K. Lukose, K. Radhakrishna, Gopal Kundu, Soumen Bose, Satyawan, and Sankar Saha, all members of the Central Committee and Comrade Anil Sen, veteran leader and former member of the Central Committee,

Now was the turn of the KOMSOMOL, the young communist league, of the SUCI(C), to present guard of honour to

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. They were 90 members clad in white with 90 red flags flowing in their hands, signifying the life span of the great revolutionary leader. Marching on steadily, dream and determination in their eyes, the future legion, legion of emancipation presented guard of honour to the departed leader.

Thereupon the Central Committee presented its homage in memory of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. First, the homage was read out in English, by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, then Comrade Satyawan read it out in Hindi, and finally Comrade Manik Mukherjee read it out in Bengali. Then the whole gathering stood up and observed one minute's silence paying respect to the great revolutionary leader. Condolence messages received from abroad were read out by Comrade Manik Mukherjee. These were from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Russia, Philippines, Britain, Netherlands, Norway, USA and other countries. It was followed by the penetrating and inspiring speeches by Comrade Provash Ghosh, the main speaker and by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, the

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## Comrade Krishna Chakraborty in the Memorial Meeting

I wish to place a few words that come to my mind in this memorial meeting.

A few years back Comrade Nihar Mukherjee himself told me in a Central Committee meeting, 'Have you ever heard of any General Secretary of a revolutionary party, who cannot even go to the party office for years together?' He said this with deep pain. He was very eager to go, but could not, on grounds of failing health. In reply, what came to my mind, I told him. I said, 'I do not know of any General Secretary who while sitting in a room has been leading a party, organizing it in such a big country as India'. Yes, Comrades, he tried to unite the communists the world over, conveyed the revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to them, elaborated Comrade Ghosh's thoughts in this country too. He did it exclusively sitting in the room.

When Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was still alive, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee emerged as a leader next to him. We knew it. But what was not known to us was that he possessed such tremendous power in him. We could know this after the demise of such a great thinker, organiser and leader like Comrade



Shibdas Ghosh and the necessity devolved on Comrade Nihar Mukherjee to lead the revolutionary struggle and the party. In the midst of that deepest moment of bereavement, he led the party to stand steadfast. It was in my school life when I joined the party in 1951-52. At that time, only the Communist-Congress or the Congress-Communist, the two names, were doing the rounds in the country. There was no other party well-known here then. SUCI took birth at that time in 1948. In such a vast country, it was unfathomable then, that this party could grow to such dimension as now, that it could draw attention of the whole country.

But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh knew it, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee knew it. They realised that the exploited people once introduced with the revolutionary ideology cannot but be attracted to it.

You have already heard that Comrade Nihar Mukherjee joined the freedom movement of the country well before Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He was senior in age also. To recognize a teenager as a leader by another teenager is not so easy, ego must stand in the way. Over and above, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh joined the revolutionary movement one year after Comrade Nihar Mukherjee did. Nevertheless, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was so attracted to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's overwhelming power, to his higher taste and culture that Comrade Mukherjee gradually accepted Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as his leader and began journey with him in the revolutionary struggle. It is not so simple as meets the eye. Until the sense of individual ego is totally shunned, this standard of character can never be attained. One can see the nobility of the other, only when one possesses that quality. It was Comrade Nihar Mukherjee who first recognised the greatness of Comrade Shibdas

Ghosh. Comrade Sachin Banerjee, Comrade Subodh Banerjee came later, who also were attracted to this greatness in Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This is the quality that is of immense necessity still today, the quality which springs from the mind free from ego. Such character cannot grow from individualistic ego. One who can give up everything of one's life to the cause of the society smilingly, he or she can be a great leader. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was such a leader. His name will be inscribed in history after Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Today, we can realize what a vacuum has been created! Why are we feeling the want of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee? It is because the struggle through which Comrade Mukherjee acquired this higher standard of character is absent today. What we have to learn from Comrade Nihar Mukherjee is that to win over the heart of the common people we have to be free from individualism. Like Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, whoever went to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee returned with inspiration and encouragement. In the days of his grave illness also everyone coming to meet him from

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## Intensify revitalization and consolidation struggle to pay worthy tribute to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

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outside left with enthusiasm. In spite of his most critical illness everyone was amazed to have observed his vigour of character. This grit of character stems from the revolutionary thought, revolutionary culture and love for the people. Love for the exploited millions breeds this inspiration. To his last breath, he struggled against the illness. He wanted to survive for the revolution, for the party. Only for revolution and party he kept fighting the diseases. The physicians who attended him for treatment, witnessed how he fought to his last, even when consciousness began to wane. He was identified with the revolution, with the party. He had no other existence other than party and revolution. It is in this backdrop that his character of such grit took birth. We have to learn this from him. This is lacking greatly nowadays. Individualism is the main enemy to the advancement and progress of the society. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that during the period of Marx, Lenin, Mao Zedong individualism did not assume such extreme degenerated form. Individualism today is polluting the honest minds. Even after enormous sacrifice there remains some such factors in the character centering round the individuality that deters one from associating with the progressive movement. This individualism creates obstacles in the way of revolution. Even after capture of state power, individualism poses various problems, brings in crisis – as occurred in Soviet Union, in China. Individualism breeds revisionism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh repeatedly emphasized, if we could not weed out individualism, revolutionary struggle would not advance, society would not progress, revolution could not be organized. The main problem before the party today is to acquire higher ethics, culture and a mind free from the influence of individualism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that without achieving higher culture, attainment of higher understanding also will not be possible. What does the higher culture mean? It implies getting rid of the influence individualism.

The objective truth does not depend on willingness or

unwillingness of any individual, it does not even depend on the existence of man too, as this microphone operates. I am now using it, you can use it, anyone can do so. Even if I cease to exist, if I am not here, it will work. This is called 'objective law'. To know this objective law, we have to free ourselves from individualistic thinking. If the eminent scientists who discover various laws of nature, cannot free themselves from the individualistic thinking, if they do not pursue scientific methods in the laboratory, they will not succeed in their mission.

First, we have to get rid of individualistic thinking. Secondly, we have to acquire dialectical method of thinking. If we do not accept the dialectical process of thinking, we cannot find out the truth. In the absence of "truth", revolutionary struggle cannot be carried forward either. We need truth and to acquire this truth we have to struggle. Reading volumes of Marxism-Leninism we can know many things. But merely reading the books will not do, we have to apply the teachings of those books in our life. If covering every aspect of life we can follow dialectical process of thinking and behave accordingly, what we call dialectical relation, then and then only this will get reflected in our thoughts one day. From thinking to practice, then again from practice to thinking – these two are inalienably linked up. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, following the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, assimilated these two in his self. He would follow dialectical method in his thinking and practice. It is for this reason, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee could lead the party activities sitting in a room. After 1997-98, he could not go to any state, even couldn't be present in the party headquarters. It is natural for him only, who is free from individualism. In all his conducts and activities, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee followed the method of collective thinking.

Comrades, I'll say only this much that revolution is not far today. I have had the opportunity to visit different states. I have seen, wherever SUCI reached, wherever we could in any form reach the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas

Ghosh, however ordinarily the ordinary comrades could take them to the people, they created immense attraction among the people. Today, people are being steadily disillusioned about the left parties like CPI and CPI(M) throughout the country. They hate these parties. In all the bourgeoisie parties – may it be the Congress, BJP, TDP or DMK or Lalu Yadav or Mayavati, or Mulayam's party – people have the least trust. But wherever in the country SUCI is working, people repose faith in it. They have intensify revitalization and consolidation struggle to pay worthy tribute to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee expectation about this party. They believe, it is this party which can do something. They understand our party deeply. However, if by this only one concludes that they understand the political line of our party, it is mistaken. But the culture which is being reflected through this party has itself created a confidence among the masses about it. This culture and sense of values are badly lacking in the society. There is tremendous yearning for this. This is why they are being drawn to the party. Assimilating the aesthetic essence of this soil Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave birth to this culture based on Marxism, which Comrade Nihar Mukherjee disseminated across the country.

You note that the country is breaking apart – not geographically, people's unity is breaking down through caste and communal conflicts. Parochial conflict is creating division among them. The states are being torn assunder by separatist movement one after another, they are getting fragmented. Given the situation,

those who attended the open session of the party's Second Congress in Delhi witnessed that a new India, a united India is taking birth given the composite character of the gathering. With whose thoughts is it taking shape? The architect is obviously Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, which Comrade Nihar Mukherjee spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. On the edifice of new ethics and values, a new united India of the exploited people has begun to take shape. The whole country is taking stride towards that end, I discern. Won't you respond to it? If you can rise up to the occasion in response, then revolution is not far away. The struggle to free ourself of individualism and identify the self with the life of the party, which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh initiated and Comrade Nihar Mukherjee carried forward, — we have to apply it in our life too. If we can do it, if hundreds of thousands of comrades can do it in unison, I reiterate, revolution is not far off. The vacuum too created owing to the absence of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee today, will be filled in soon. Presumably, Comrade Mukherjee realized that his days were numbered. So, he gave the call to begin the struggle for revitalization and consolidation. We have fulfilled that struggle partly, yet left a lot unfulfilled. We have to accomplish it. If we can take ahead this struggle of revitalization-consolidation sincerely, only then can we pay worthy tribute and honour to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. This is what we shall have to do. With this I end my words after offering Red Salute to the great revolutionary leader Comrade Nihar Mukherjee.



*About 20000 Anganwadi workers marched with a 7-point charter of demand under the Joint Platform for Action to the Parliament in Delhi on 25 February; JPA President Comrade Achintya Sinha and leaders of JPA addressed the rally*

## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee architect of concretizing Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought all over India

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again; they are bursting forth in wave after wave; people are laying down their lives; blood is being shed all around; but the movements are repeatedly failing for want of the correct revolutionary leadership; having been led astray people are bogged down into election-oriented politics. So, the party must be strengthened not just ideologically, but organizationally too; it must earn fast the capability to emerge in leadership.

Since 1977, our party has organized and is continuing to organize, a number of mass movements in different states of India. The responsibility Comrade Shibdas Ghosh bestowed upon, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee has discharged that in his absence. If others do not come along in the movement, we will carry out the task alone : Such was the call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee has translated that task too into reality. Today, not only in West Bengal, in many states of India people find how the cadres of SUCI (Communist) are fighting for various demands of people at the cost of their blood, even life.

Our party cadres know that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh did not allow to adopt any Constitution formally in the first Convention in 1948. It was because, he did not think it right to impose constitutional rules and disciplines right at the beginning. He wished that rules and disciplines would naturally grow as habits of cadres through conventional practice. Thereafter at any suitable stage, the Constitution might be adopted in a party congress and the constitutional frame of the party be formalized. He was moving ahead towards holding a party congress, but his sudden demise cut his efforts short. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee successfully accomplished that task in 1988 by holding the first Party Congress.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had another dream. It was, setting up of a study centre of Marxism-Leninism at Ghatshila. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee gave shape to that too. Our party has set up a Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts at

Ghatshila. For the party cadres and particularly for those of future generations, he has erected a statue of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh at the Ghatshila Centre, which will act as a source of inspiration of the revolutionaries. The statue was built by the late Comrade Tapas Dutta, member of the former Central Committee of our party and a well known sculptor. Under the guidance and editorship of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, a few volumes of 'Selected Works' of valuable speeches and discussions of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh have been published, a few more are in preparation. Repeatedly and in each and every mass movement, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh laid emphasis on setting up of 'people's committees' as instruments of struggle. Elaborating this, Comrade Ghosh pointed out that the people's committees must be set up as instruments of struggle in such a way that these can act as instruments of struggle for revolutionary movements in days to come, so much so that acting on the strength of Marxist revolutionary ideology, consciousness and culture, these may give birth to people's political power as an alternative to the capitalist state power. On the basis of this teaching, he guided us in every mass movement.

You know in what a complex situation Comrade Nihar Mukherjee took initiative to develop the instruments of struggle against imperialism. Socialism in the Soviet Union had been over thrown and socialism in China, too, was endangered. A few countries including Afghanistan had been attacked, Iraq too was facing invasion. The USA was behind all these attacks. Due to the downfall of the world socialist system, there was no effective resistance against imperialist aggression. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee realized that as internationalists, we had a great historical responsibility. He had seen that even when in 1948 Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was forming the party practically without a roof over his head, he had, as a great internationalist, held aloft valuable Marxist analysis before the world communist movement. That analysis showed rare insight. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said

that it was true that the strength of the international communist movement was increasing under the leadership of Great Stalin, but due to lack of requisite advancement of ideological standard, instead of the mutual relationship that should have developed within the movement on the basis of dialectical materialism, a largely mechanical relationship prevailed which would create danger in the coming days. Later on, when revisionist Khrushchev attacked Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Ghosh was the first communist leader in the world who pointed out that the attack was not only against Stalin but it was against Lenin, against Leninism. This was because we had learnt Leninism from Stalin and the danger of revisionism and counterrevolution would arise through attacking Great Stalin. During the cultural revolution of China, too, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh vigorously stood by the side of Comrade Mao Zedong and placed a valuable analysis for enriching the cultural revolution even while criticizing some of its shortcomings. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee knew all these. So he understood that the SUCI would have to take up this responsibility at that difficult time of the world communist movement. He sent representatives of our party abroad to contact anti-imperialist and communist forces in different countries of the world, to make them alert, conscious and unified. Through this process, an anti-imperialist platform has now appeared on the international scene. Another point is, he felt the urgent necessity of developing international communist unity. When the Second International degenerated, Lenin formed the Third International. It was under the leadership of the Third International that the Russian and Chinese revolutions were accomplished and a powerful communist movement developed in the world. At present, the world communist movement is again crisis-ridden. Despair, dependency and rifts are widespread. It is at such a time that Comrade Nihar Mukherjee took the initiative again to establish contacts with and unity of the communist organisations internationally. You have listened to, so many condolence messages sent by

different communist parties of the world that have been read out here. You can well understand what intimate relationship has been established between them and us and that exchange of thought on different issues with them is on. Building up this anti-imperialist organisation and movement in the international sphere, developing exchange of thoughts and consolidation between the communist parties of different countries and conveying Shibdas Ghosh's revolutionary thoughts, the most advanced expression of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, from country to country – these will remain memorable as the historic contributions of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee.

A teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was : In order to become a proletarian revolutionary, one has to learn at first from the lives and characters of the great personalities of the bygone era. This still continues in our party as a living movement. What Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to say, and what he practised in his own life, is that in order to become a proletarian revolutionary, one must at first assimilate in one's own character the essence of the boldest, uncompromising tune of humanist sense of values of the era of freedom struggle in our country. That is why he taught us too: Take lessons from the characters of the great personalities of the renaissance era, of the great revolutionaries of the uncompromising trend as only through crossing that stage can one attain a proletarian revolutionary character. Attaining a proletarian revolutionary character meant, Comrade Ghosh spelt out, to identify oneself with the interest of revolution, proletarian party and the society (/class) by freeing oneself from individualism. There would no longer be any contradiction between individual interest and the interest of the revolution. Without attaining this standard of character and culture, correct realisation of Marxism would not come about. It is Comrade Nihar Mukherjee who has kept uninterrupted this struggle inside the party. It is under his leadership that the party has commemorated the death

*Contd. on page 12*

## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee led SUCI(C) in organizing worldwide anti-imperialist struggle

*Contd. from page 11*

centenary of Vidyasagar, the 125th birth anniversary of Saratchandra and the birth centenaries of Khsudiram-Netaji Subhas-Nazrul Islam.

We know that in Russia and China, socialism was powerful in the economy, the socialist state was politically powerful and strong and there had been advancement in different spheres – but crisis came despite these. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that the main tune of bourgeois humanism that the social interest was primary and the individual interest secondary, worked in inspiring individuals in the Russian and Chinese revolutions. But bourgeois individualism was inherent in this sense of values and culture and it was this that created a new crisis as “socialist individualism” even after socialist reconstruction and attainment of stability in the state and economic systems and brought about the danger of revisionism and capitalist counter revolution. And today, the SUCI(Communist) exists in a capitalist country like India where capitalism has attained the stage of imperialism. and has become utterly reactionary. Here politics is capitalist, culture is capitalist. It is in such an environment that our party exists. The families of the society from which our party workers come, are also under the influence of reactionary capitalist thinking. In this condition, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh conducted an all-out struggle to ensure that the influence of bourgeois ideology, thinking and culture are eradicated from inside the party and that no weakness, compromise prevail in personal life, family life and the sphere of love-affection-attachment. Later on, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, too, kept this struggle uninterrupted and organised the Second Party Congress as its culmination. His dream was to be present at the Second Congress. He tried utmost so that he could get up a bit and go to attend. We too hoped for that but it is very painful that he could not. You know, he had been sick for a long time. He had to undergo bypass surgery for heart. Stenting had to be resorted to thrice to remove heart blockage. He was attacked by

pneumonia again and again. The truth was, he could not walk, nor could move his hands and feet properly. He could not eat on his own, but had to be fed. But the youth of his knowledge, of his thinking not only remained unimpaired but kept developing further. This is a great struggle. It is in this way that he directed and guided the party. But this time, just on the eve of the Second Congress, he was again stricken with pneumonia. Even while in the hospital, he struggled so that he could attend the Congress even during its closing stages. But he could not succeed. He sent us instruction to conduct the Congress, and we conducted it accordingly. From the hospital, he enquired about the day’s proceedings every night. On 15 November, the date on which the delegate session of the Congress ended, a telephone call from the hospital reached us in Delhi at 11-17 p.m. in the night: Comrade Nihar mukherjee wanted to say something. After enquiring about everything over telephone, he concluded by saying “You go ahead! Red Salute to you!” We understood he realized that his death was imminent. This Red Salute he offered to the whole party. But even after that, we regained hope. He came out from the hospital. But he again fell sick and had to be hospitalized again. A few days later, he returned. But once more he fell sick and was readmitted to the hospital. Ultimately, he breathed his last at the hospital itself. This struggle, this hard struggle against disease even while lying on his death bed because it was necessary for the party – this will remain as a rare example before us. Even the distinguished doctors of Calcutta were amazed and were overwhelmed with reverence. One of them told me that looking at Comrade Nihar Mukherjee’s face, he found no expression of pain even though he was afflicted with such a painful ailment. The pain of this ailment was so much that ordinary patients would wail and cry out in pain, bang their heads against the wall. But he silently bore the unbearable pain and conducted an extraordinary struggle to live. Had he succeeded in keeping himself

alive, he would have to lead a crippled, worn-out and very painful existence. But he wanted to live on for our sake so that he could stay among us for some more time to guide us on the basis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh’s teachings. Even in the midst of all pain and suffering in the hospital, his face and eyes remained calm, steady and composed – such remarkable was his power of endurance. The doctors and nurses said again and again : We have not seen such capacity of endurance, such unquestioned allegiance to medical science and doctors in anyone earlier. Wherefrom did Comrade Nihar Mukherjee acquire such strength? He was a great revolutionazry moulded by Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. He knew that Marxism was a scientific philosophy. That is why, he had unshaken trust in the medical science. Again, he had seen Comrade Shibdas Ghosh too, seen how he had fought death in 1972. At that time, there was no hope that Comrade Ghosh would survive. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee used to stay by his side almost whole day and night, in the hospital. That time, Comrade Ghosh somehow came out alive. Even while in the sick bed, almost face to face with death, Comrade Ghosh’s eyes and face showed no expression of pain or suffering. The day in 1976 on which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh breathed his last at the Commune, he had a few successive heart attacks. He was lying down silently without any expression of pain in his eyes or face. Just before his death, Dr Nani Guha, sitting beside him, cried. Comrade Ghosh breathed his last after stroking Dr Guha’s chest with his hand to console him. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was standing by the side. This time, we found Comrade Nihar Mukherjee struggling in the same way. He conducted an arduous revolutionary struggle in regard to his medical treatment in the same way he did it lifelong in the affairs of the party. This will remain as an example before us. On 5th February last, a tube had to be inserted in his throat. He would not be able to speak anymore after that. That is why, at the last moment before that, he enquired about us to tell us

something. But the doctors said there was no time for that as it would take us a considerable time to come. He wanted to tell us something for the last time, but he could not say it ( his voice choked with tears).

But of course we know what he wanted to tell us. The repeated clarion calls of the great Marxist thinker Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that was before us — Comrade Nihar Mukherjee too reminded us lifelong about these again and again so that we constantly cultivate Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, so that we continuously elevate the standard of our consciousness, so that we can continue to further sharpen the struggle to attain higher proletarian culture and ethics by combating bourgeois ideologies of all sorts, so that we keep living collective thinking, collective leadership and body functioning at all levels inside the party on the basis of democratic centralism, so that we continue to hold aloft the banner of Proletarian Internationalism, so that we continue the struggle against imperialism, world capitalism, so that we further strengthen the initiative to build up communist unity in the international sphere, so that we further intensify the class struggles and mass struggles inside the country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, so that we build up in this process the people’s committees, volunteer forces and the instruments of revolution in the coming days. He repeatedly stressed these points. And what he used to tell us again and again is: You should all work together closely. When we met him after the Second Party Congress, he said: All of you, the five Polit Bureau members should stand like one man, all members of the Central Committee should stand like one man; you should see to it that the state committees stand like one man, that the whole party stands like one man. Let us all take the pledge that, till the last day of our lives, we shall give due honour to this clarion call of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the able and best continuator of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. That would be our true homage to him.

## Historic AIMSS Protest March to Parliament on the Centenary of Women's Day

True to its legacy of struggle for women's cause the AIMSS observed the centenary of International Women's Day this 8 March with a historic Protest March from Ramlila Maidan to Parliament. Thousands of women from all walks of life, including doctors, educationists, artists, housewives along with the most oppressed sections of working women and peasants from different states of India, spanning North, South, East, and West, marched under the banner of AIMSS. The 100 red flags at the front held aloft by women activists symbolizing the centenary year of International Women's Day. Passers-by on the road looked on in amazement and expressed their appreciation at the long, colourful and spirited march of women who carried placards and raised slogans in so many different languages, and radiated such disciplined and dignity. The March ended at Parliament Street where police stopped them. It was followed by a protest meeting which was presided over by Dr. H. G. Jayalakshmi, General Secretary of AIMSS. The meeting was addressed by Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, All India President of AIMSS, All India leaders of the organization and other state representatives. Dr. Tarun Mandal, Member of Parliament, Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist) also spoke on the occasion. Former Chief Justice of Delhi High Court, Justice Rajendra Sachar was the chief guest. He stressed that whatever women have achieved till now is the result of movements. He reminded that six years back the AIMSS had organized a Protest March to Parliament against the order of the Supreme Court which allowed the arrest of women after sunset and without the presence of women constable. Highlighting the fact that this movement was successful, Justice Sachar said that this



AIMSS Protest March in Delhi on 8 March

should be the way of struggle and that is the message of Women's Day.

A memorandum against price rise, atrocities on women, obscenity, liquor menace and demanding education, job and security for women, among others, was submitted to the Prime Minister of India. Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee in her address said that reservation cannot solve any problem of women's life. Atrocities and crime on women are increasing; and so are obscenity and liquor menace; women are deprived of education, job opportunities and health care. The government is not taking any effective measures to eliminate these problems, rather they have introduced a Bill on reservation for women with a view to mislead women and to create a false hope that this will empower them and will solve the problems of their life. It is our firm belief that reservation and demand for equality cannot go hand in hand. Democracy upholds the idea of equality of man and woman. This idea of reservation for women goes against the very spirit of democracy. It goes against the honour and dignity of women. So no dignified woman can demand

reservation for women. Afterwards, leaders, including State Secretaries, State Presidents, State Convenors of AIMSS from 14 different states addressed the women rallyists in their own language, each dealing with a different problem faced by women, including among others, crime on women, obscenity, problems of working women, problems of caste communal and regional divide. Thus, AIMSS State Secretaries Comrades Hashi Hore of West Bengal spoke on the problem of price rise, Swayamprabha Naik of Orissa on Crimes on women, Keya De of Jharkhand on Obscene portrayal of women in media, Aparna of Karnataka on Problems of Working women including that of ASHA workers, Shyla K John of Kerala on Liquor menace, AIMSS State President Comrade Chandralekha Das of Assam on Education and employment for women, Comrade G. Lalita, President of Organizing Committee of Andhra Pradesh, on Sex education, AIMSS State Convenors Comrades Sadhana Mishra of Bihar on Sex tourism, Jayanti of Tamil Nadu on Female foeticide, Meenakshi Joshi of Gujarat on Caste, communal, regional divides,

gathering. Comrade Shubha Dikshit, Organizer of Delhi presented a song. Dr. H. G. Jayalakshmi, presided over the meeting.

Later that same day Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, called upon the women who gathered at Ramlila Maidan for a cultural event — organized by AIMSS on International Women's Day — to unite and fight for their legitimate demands. This is the one and only way for women's emancipation, he stressed. "I am 95 and I would like to see Indian women enjoying freedom and social security during my life time."

The programme was presided over by Dr. Sudha Kammath, All India Vice-president, AIMSS. Comrades Manik Mukherjee and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty Politbureau members of SUCI (Communist), Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, and Dr. H.G. Jayalakshmi, were also present. Comrade Manik Mukherjee addressed the gathering. In his speech Comrade Mukherjee congratulated the organizers of AIMSS for organizing a massive demonstration before Parliament on the occasion of the Centenary of International Womens' Day. He called upon the women of the country to continue their struggle for their dignity and rightful place in the society.

Various cultural programmes in the form of progressive songs, dramas, dance-dramas, plays, dances etc. were performed in all of which the pathetic condition of women in our society and the struggle against it were presented.



Justice V. R. K. Iyer (left) and Justice R. Sachar addressing

Nandini Bhonde of Maharashtra on Child labour, State Organizer Comrade Jolly Sarkar, of Madhya Pradesh on sexual crimes on women by politicians. Comrade Ritu Kaushik, State Convener of Delhi the

## In memory of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

[The following is a news item from the *News Russian* journal of Russia]

### Obituary, All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) Russia

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the SUCI (Communist) breathed his last on 18 February, 2010. After the demise of the Founder General Secretary Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in 1976, he took upon himself the unfinished great task left by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. On the occasion of the 50th death anniversary of Comrade Stalin in March 2003, he published 'Remembering Stalin'. The booklet concluded with the slogans "Red Salute to the Great Leader of International Communist Movement! Long Live Proletarian Internationalism! Long Live Revolution!"

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was a genuine Marxist-Leninist (Bolshevik). He provided firm leadership in developing the Party. He imbued the urban and rural proletariat of India in actively participating in anti-imperialist movement and movements for establishing human rights and bringing back peace in lives of the working people of India. He considered that the 20th Congress of the CPSU was the beginning of treachery to socialism, abject surrender to imperialism, the enemy of socialism. It was in continuation of this trend that, in the Gorbachev regime, demolition of the world socialist movement took place.

At the demise of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of the Central Committee, All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) sent condolence message to the SUCI (Communist) also expressing solidarity with the Party's struggle for socialism.

#### Party Red Norway

Dear Comrades,

Please accept the deepest Condolences to your Party and the family of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee on the passing away of the beloved General Secretary February 18th.

As having the honour of being a guest at the 2nd Congress of your Party recently, I was aware of the illness of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. It was a very sad message to receive that he could not recover his strength.

However, his contributions to the revolutionary movements in India and worldwide

### Comrade Soumen Basu elected West Bengal State Secretary

In the meeting of the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI (Communist) held on 4 March, 2010, Comrade Soumen Basu, Member, Central Committee and West Bengal State Secretariat, was elected the Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party.



Massive gathering at the Memorial Meeting on 3 March at Netaji Indoor Stadium, Kolkata

will continue to inspire and mobilize in the struggle ahead. Being a devoted revolutionary for more than 70 years, and General Secretary of SUCI since 1976, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee has played a decisive role in developing a revolutionary line for the united left democratic movements, in special in West Bengal but also in all India and wider. This will not vanish, even if his body no longer is among us.

We are mourning the death of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, but the struggle he represented will go on!

Solidarity regards  
Party Red Norway  
Arnljot Ask

Responsible International Relations  
**Prakashbhai Shah**

(Editor, Nireekshak, Ahmedabad and Covenor, Movement for Secular Democracy, Ahmedabad, Gujarat)

India has lost a great son in the demise of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. His stewardship of SUCI will be remembered by many persons like me as a pillar of strength to people's movement. Salute to his memories.

In addition to the condolence messages published in the last issue of the *Proletarian Era*

, messages were also received from :

Dr.(Capt.) D Nayak, Medical Service Centre, Orissa; Prof. Dr. Birandra Nayak, President, Save Education Committee, Orissa; Brajanath Rath, Poet and Former member of All India Sahitya Academy and All Orissa Sahitya Academy Award winner ; Prof. Neelamani Sahu, Orissa; Prof. Brajamohan Mishra, Orissa; KR Chowdhury, Intellectual of the Working Class, Andhra Pradesh; BS Rao, President, Progressive Organization of People, Andhra Pradesh.

## Memorial Meeting

Contd. from page 8

President of the meeting. The Memorial Meeting ended with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and the *Internationale*. The speeches enthused the huge gathering, providing a purposive revolutionary direction to the grief and emotion of those assembled.

The myriads of people attending the solemn meeting stepped out of the stadium precincts, with the refrains and strains of the songs still ringing their ears, with firm steps, their profound grief crystallized into revolutionary purposiveness and determination to fulfill the task that lie ahead.

## Protest Day observed in Assam on 4 February

In demand of curbing sky-rocketing price rise of food grains and essential commodities, introduction of all-out state trading of these items, meting out stringent measures and punishment to the black marketers, profiteers, hoarders and unscrupulous business houses, protest day was observed at the call of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI (C). Responding to this call common people including workers, employees, youths, and students, peasants, women enthusiastically joined street corner meetings, dharnas of thinking and protest demonstrations organized by the district committees of the party in different parts of the

state. On this occasion, a protest demonstration decorated with placards, gestoons and banners marched from Judges Field at Guwahati to the office of the Deputy Magistrate, led by Comrades Bimal Nangi, Suratjaman Mondal, both members of the state Secretariat of Assam, District Secretary Comrade Ajit Acharyya and other district leaders. A memorandum addressed to the Chief Minister was handed over to the Deputy Magistrate. Besides, Protest Day was observed holding similar programmes in Dhubri, Goalpara, Lakhimpur, Darang, Cachhar, Karimganj, Hailakandi, Shonitpur and other districts of the state.

## Police savagery on struggling students of Bihar

Police of the Bihar government led by Nitish Kumar resorted to wanton lathi charge on the agitating students of BR Ambedkar Bihar University at Muzaffarpur on January 29 last which, in protest, fired up massive student movement in the state. Students of BR Ambedkar Bihar University, under the leadership of the AIDSO, had long been demanding reevaluation of most negligently assessed answer scripts of Part II examination, immediate election of the students' union due since 1977, filling up of vacant posts of teachers now ranging more than 50% of the total teachers' strength and against rampant corruption in university

Jitendra, Secretary, Bihar State Committee of AIDSO, Comrade Pannalal and Comrade Parvez Alam, both members of the Bihar State Committee of AIDSO. But the students did not yield and the VC was compelled to meet the students, expressing however, his inability to accept the demands, particularly, reevaluation of answer scripts.

On the next day on 30 January statewide Protest Day was observed against police atrocity, demanding in addition to others, removal of police from the University campus. Protest demonstrations were organized throughout the state. In Patna, the protest demonstration



administration and others. But the university authority turned deaf ear to all the legitimate demands as a sequel to which the students stalled functioning of university administration since 23 January, 2010. On 29 January a massive demonstration with the above said charter of demands was led to the administrative building of the university. But despite prior intimation neither the Vice Chancellor nor his any representative met the students' delegation. When the students wanted to meet the VC at his chamber, a huge contingent of police suddenly resorted to massive and brutal lathi charge on the demonstrating students including the girl students, severely injuring dozens of students. Among the injured were Comrade Suryakar

from Patna University burnt the effigy of the Chief Minister. Similar programmes were observed at Bhagalpur University, LN Mithila Viswavidyalaya at Darbhanga, in the districts of Arbal, Jahanabad, Vaishali, Sahibganj, Khagaria, Jounpaur. In Muzaffarpur district total students' strike was observed, massive demonstration was organized and effigy of Nitish Kumar was torched. The demonstration was addressed by, among others, Comrade Arvind Kumar, District Secretary, AIDSO and Shiv Chandra Paswan. It was resolved that the movement would be intensified and for that purpose of Bihar University Students' Struggle committee was formed which called for a students' Convention at LS College Compound on 16 February 2010.



Protest rally against price rise at Silchar, Assam on 11 february

## Red Salute Comrade Sudhir Pal

Comrade Sudhir Pal, a veteran party member of the SUCI (C), breathed his last on 20th February at 8 pm, at the Popular Nursing Home in Mecheda. Afflicted with age-related ailments, he was also suffering from cardiac and breathing problems. The news of the demise of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee on 18th February, had caused him deep grief. On 20th noon, his pain having aggravated, he had to be admitted to the nursing home. But his condition deteriorated and he passed away that evening, rendering the doctors' attempts futile. Upon receiving the news of his demise, Comrade Manab Bera, member of the West Bengal State Secretariat arrived at the nursing home alongwith Mecheda party workers. Comrade Pal's family members, his son and son-in-law also went to the nursing home. Comrade Manab Bera paid homage by garlanding the body of the deceased after having dwelt upon certain aspects of the long struggling life of Comrade Sudhir Pal. Comrade Pal was cremated on 21 morning on the bank of Rupnarayan river.



Ever since his student life in Dhaka, in current Bangladesh, Comrade Sudhir Pal was quite intimate with and loyal to our departed leader Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. Through him, he came into contact with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and embraced Marxism-Leninism- Shibdas Ghosh Thought as the philosophy of his life. After independence, coming to West Bengal, he joined the Government's agriculture department and despite the then severity of rules and regulations, propagated the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and party ideology among everyone around him and attempted to link them up with the organization. Transferred to Jalpaiguri in mid sixties as an agricultural officer, he set himself to start party work there, and one by one got quite a good number of people including students and youth interested in SUCI(C). He also arranged visit of state members from Calcutta to Jalpaiguri so as to hold discussions with the newly made contacts. It is specially worth mentioning that in 1969, it was Comrade Sudhir Pal who was the main organizer of the meeting held at Jalpaiguri, where Comrade Shibdas Ghosh held the discussion which was later published as the historic book "Why SUCI is the only Communist Party in India". In fact, those who worked in later years as leading organizers in North Bengal had all been recruited to the party by Comrade Sudhir Pal. Later on, he bore other important responsibilities assigned to him by the party and carried on with dedication the responsibility of supervision of the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought in Ghatshila, as entrusted to him. The last four years of his life he had been residing at Kolaghat in east Midnapore district. With the demise of this veteran comrade, our party has lost a party organizer truly dedicated to his ideology.

## Nandigram Day observed on 14 March



Comrade Soumen Basu, West Bengal State Secretary, SUCI(C) offering tribute to the brave martyrs of Nandigram movement on 14 March at Nandigram. On his right Comrade Bhabani Prasad Das, front-ranking leader of Nandigram movement and on the left Shri Shubendu Adhikary, TMC leader and MP.

## Dr. Tarun Mandal, SUCI(C) MP on the President's address in Parliament on 4 March, 2010

Honourable Madam,

Participating on discussion on President's Address, I would like to start where from the "Address" ends i.e. point 74 on the last page (16). Here a saying of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of midnight of 14th August, 1947 has been narrated. "The Service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means ending poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity." I like to ask the UPA Government led by INC how far these dreams and destinations have been achieved after 62 years of independence, where INC ruled more than half a century? It's a shame that one-third of world children suffering from malnutrition belongs to our country, more than 50% of our population lives below poverty line. We are having the largest number of TB, Leprosy, Filariasis patients of the world where our government spends among the lowest five countries of the world in health. 'Ignorance' and 'Illiteracy' of our majority population, especially of women are among the highest of the world and a democracy we have created which means not of the people, by the people and for the people; but of the money power, by the money power and for the money power. And particularly after the globalization, liberalization and privatization policies of the government they have increased the gulf of difference between rich and poor people of the country. Rich became richer achieving even top ranks in the world whereas poor has become poorer. It is a pity that 77% of population of the nation earns less than Rs 20 per day. One fourth of our citizens go to bed with hunger. In this backdrop to talk about economic growth in the range of 7.55 (2009-10) is an insult to the unfed, unclothed, unemployed and diseased millions of the country.

Our Government is not actually giving due importance to pluralism and secularism. Instead there are signs and symptoms of fascist

regimentation by this government. In West Bengal, people's mass and democratic movements are demolished by 'Joint Forces' in the 'Jangle Mahal' as manoeuvred by CPI(M) led government to get back their control at adivasi areas, killing and capturing citizens who are crying for legitimate demands of food, roads, education, employment, water and development of the deprived areas. Draconian and most undemocratic acts like UAPA being implied to leaders and workers of the mass movement, stamping them as 'Maoists'. Unrest cannot be solved by 'power and guns', but can be solved by exercise of sensible talks with the agitated people and groups.

Though declared as a natural calamity of severe nature Aila'09 (of West Bengal) affected people of Sunderbans and of West Bengal have not received their due relief materials, promised for them and CPI(M)-led government through partiality and corruption has eaten away crores of rupees, depriving the actual victims. Central Government should take corrective steps to save the Aila victims and punish the miscreants.

Bharat Nirman 'vis-à-vis' Flagship Programme have achieved less than 50% success. 62% of our agrarian lands are without irrigation facilities after 62 years of independence. One-third villages of India still lack supply of potable drinking water. Electricity is a far cry to remote areas. In majority states including West Bengal NREGS is a failure and a 'Story' of nepotism and corruption.

UPA II Government has miserably failed to stop rise of prices of essential commodities including foodgrains, and food materials. PDS is in a mess. No hoarders, no black marketeers have been booked and punished in the entire country. If production is less, people will receive less, but at fixed and reasonable prices. But only to satisfy the purse of the traders and businessmen Government has

## SUCI(C) demands scrapping of Nuclear Liability Bill

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (Communist), in course of a statement issued on 14 March, 2010 said, that, the proposed Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Bill is a pernicious legislation framed only to protect the interest of the foreign, in particular US, suppliers/builders of nuclear reactors, done under pressure from USA. The foreign firms would have no legal liability in case of accidents and would be completely immune from any civil or criminal proceedings either in Indian courts or in the courts of their home countries. In case of accident, the maximum liability of the Indian state-owned reactor operator, Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited (NPCIL), would be merely Rs. 500 crore (\$ 109 million). NPCIL may try to recover this amount as compensation from the foreign suppliers, but the latter would have no direct accident related liability. The Indian Government (that means the Indian people) would be liable for paying damages in excess of Rs. 500 crore, but this is also capped at a maximum amount of Rs. 2087 crore (\$ 458 million), the total amount being a pittance compared to liabilities of several billion dollars stipulated in countries like Japan, USA, France etc. and unlimited liability in Germany. The Bill also limits liability in time to 10 years though it is known that the harmful effects of exposure to radioactivity may take many years to manifest and continue for many generations. Thus while the guilty foreign suppliers will bask under legal immunity the Indian people will have to not only bear the brunt of the medical disaster but also the financial liability. We strongly demand that the proposed Bill be scrapped in totality and call upon the Indian people to organize powerful movements to stop the enactment of this black Bill.

opened the floodgate of exploitation and oppression of common people. Without all-out state trading of essential commodities and sale under Government control, to reduce price is impossible. Increase in prices of petrol, diesel indirectly increasing prices of everything. This is totally an anti-people step thrusting further burden on our people, who are practically living 'subhuman life'. Petroleum price rise decision must be immediately withdrawn.

In education, plan to invite foreign institutes and universities will adversely affect our education system. Privatization and commercialization are the mantras of present education policy and design to dismantle all councils and directorates in favour of National Council of Higher Education and Research is undemocratic.

In the health field, NRHM is a massive failure as per audit accounts. It is aimed to destroy our existing health structure in favour of private health business, contractualization of services and to

treat health as a commodity up to village level. Three and a half year medical course, floated by Union Government is to hoodwink rural population which is anti-constitutional and neglecting rural 75% population of India as second class citizen. The scheme should be immediately withdrawn. Improvement of infrastructure, implementation of proper, democratic, national policies and increase in health budget, instead, can solve our rural health problems.

Government should take steps to stop news purchasing by moneyed political parties and candidates which are anti-people, unethical and downgrading impartiality of print and electronic media.

Discrimination in giving unique identification numbers to a section of citizens of Assam especially to Bengali minorities section of that state and to make lakhs of people as 'devoters' cannot be accepted. Government must solve the problem with all sincerity and sanctity.

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