

Proletarian Era

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Extraordinary Party Congress of SUCI (C)

Calls for intensifying class and mass struggles

Just a year back, people of Delhi, the capital city of India, witnessed the revolutionary audacity and resolve of the genuine communist party of the country, Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), which guided by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of the Party and one of the eminent Marxist thinkers of the world in the post-Lenin era, held its Second Party Congress from 11 to 17 November 2009 under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the then beloved General Secretary of the Party, the great revolutionary and worthy disciple and closest life-long comrade-in-arms of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of

the proletariat.

However, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee already grievously ill during the Second Party Congress, breathed his last on 18 February 2010. Constitutional provisions and conventional practice, required holding of an Extraordinary Party Congress primarily with the task of

Extra-ordinary Party Congress was stipulated also to deliberate upon some imminent vital aspects of international and national politics that might have emerged since the holding of the Second Party Congress in 2009.

Calcutta, the Headquarters of the Party and witness of not only its

another historic occasion of its Party life. The Congress was scheduled to be held at the Mahajati Sadan auditorium in the north-central Calcutta, itself a historic premise since the days of independence struggle which had housed so many massive and historic assemblies in the past. The delegate camp for 890 delegates including 183 observers from 18 states of India, was arranged at the Dormitory of the Salt Lake Stadium in eastern part of the city. From the morning of 24 November both these venues took a resplendent appearance with Red Flags fluttering high and hoardings, banners and posters, largely on flex materials everywhere. Delegates gathered at the Salt Lake camp for registration and necessary preparation. They were then carried in vehicles to the venue of the Congress sessions. The Mahajati Sadan, located in a business-cum residential area, suddenly looked like an island, emanating the warmth and vigour, which Calcutta, the citadel of left-wing politics since long, was very familiar with. The narrow lane to the south of the premise housed an open-air exhibition and a Party book-stall. There was a quotation exhibition with valuable quotes from the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the teacher and guide of the Party. The exhibition also portrayed photographs of different occasions and events of the life of, as well as portraits of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, since the teens of this great revolutionary, when as a volunteer of uncompromising independence movement, he had been just stepping into the struggle for building himself up as a Marxist.

Comrade Provash Ghosh elected General Secretary unanimously

electing the General Secretary of the Party. Accordingly, the SUCI(C) convened the Extraordinary Party Congress, this time in Calcutta on 24- 25 November 2010. In addition to the primary task of electing the General Secretary of the Party, the

growth and development through the long six decades, but also the disciplined, determined and courageous mettle of the Party, once more found that uncompromising, unwavering sentinel of people's mass and class struggles, staging



Comrade Provash Ghosh addressing the Congress. Sitting on the dais (from left) Comrades Debaprasad Sarkar, Chhaya Mukherjee, Manik Mukherjee, Kalyan Chowdhury, Yakub Pailan, Mobinul Haider Chowdhury, Krishna Chakraborty, Asit Bhattacharyya, Ranjit Dhar; (Second row: from left) Comrades Gopal Kundu, Sankar Saha, Soumen Bose, Satyawan, CK Lukose, K Radhakrishna

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Extraordinary Party Congress of SUCI (C)

Pledges to develop anti-imperialist movement

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Along with these, the exhibition also had photographs of different mass and class struggles, the Party and its mass organizations, or the mass committees formed on specific issues have been carrying out over the years involving students and youth, workers and peasants, women, intellectuals, as well as different episodes of the anti-imperialist movements. On the front pavement were put huge hoardings with portraits of the six great leaders of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh, with a quotation from each of them.

Inside the walls, in front of the building were erected a Martyrs' column and a flag-stand. The dais of the auditorium held the portraits of the six great Marxist authorities set at the top of the background and six Red flags waving on one side. The occasion, the 'Extraordinary Party Congress', the venue and the date as also the name of the party were inscribed below the portraits. At the left corner of the dais, there was a big portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the leader, teacher and guide of the Party and on the right corner, the podium for the speaker.

The proceedings of the Congress started as, Comrade Gopal Kundu, Member, Central Committee of the Party, called upon Comrade Provash Ghosh to hoist the Red Flag. Members of the KOMSOMOL then paid Guard of Honour and thereafter Polit Bureau members, Comrades Ranjit Dhar, Provash Ghosh, Manik Mukherjee, Krishna Chakraborty, and Asit Bhattacharyya as also Comrade Mobinul Haider Chowdhury, the fraternal delegate and Member, Central Committee of Socialist Party of Bangladesh (SPB) garlanded the Martyrs' Column. The delegates then moved inside the hall.

The Delegate Session was initiated with rendering of the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member of the Polit Bureau, briefly explaining the agenda of this extraordinary Congress, said: You know that to fulfil the constitutional obligation the General Secretary has to gain the confidence of the entire party, and for that he has to be elected by the Congress, the highest body, within one year after having been elected by the Central

Committee. It thus forms the main agenda of the present Congress. Moreover, the Congress will discuss two important Resolutions with the aim of further developing and consolidating mass movements and anti-imperialist movements in the national and international spheres respectively.

Then Comrade Krishna Chakraborty proposed a Presidium to conduct the proceedings of the Congress, with Comrade Manik Mukherjee, member Polit Bureau as the President, and Central Committee members Comrades Yakub Pailan, Debaprasad Sarkar, Kalyan Chowdhury and Chhaya Mukherjee as its members.

Comrade Manik Mukherjee first read out two Condolence Resolutions. The Resolution on the demise of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, beloved former General Secretary, recalled, among others, with deep respect that "it was Comrade Nihar Mukherjee who was the first to respond to the call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh for building up SUCI(C) as the genuine communist party on the soil following correct Leninist method and subject himself to the extremely arduous socialist struggle covering all aspects of life... His life was a living embodiment of true realization of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought and hence a fount of profuse inspiration for all of us."

The second Condolence Resolution, on Comrades Sukomal Dasgupta and Sitesh Dasgupta, former members of the Central Committee, noted with deep appreciation that both of them instilled with lofty ideal and thought could very easily free themselves from the lure of bourgeois careerism and dedicate themselves to the cause of building up the party at the preliminary stage. In the process both Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta and Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta became revered senior leaders of the Party, holding out glowing instances of the struggle for identification with the revolutionary cause a goal every comrade should aspire for.

Tribute with Red Salute was also paid to Comrades Dipankar Roy, member West Bengal State Committee, Ranjit Modak and Bijan Das both from Jharkand State Organizing Committee, who passed away since the last Congress as also to the martyrs of class and mass

struggles and anti-imperialist movements. To pay their deep respect the House observed one minute silence.

Thereafter, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, briefly addressed the delegates. He said, *inter alia*: you have heard from Comrade Krishna Chakraborty why this Extraordinary Congress has been convened. The Central Committee has decided to highlight certain issues pertaining in particular to movements and struggles and invites guidance and suggestions from this Congress, the highest body, on these. You all know, that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, from an early age consistently upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism and world proletarian revolution. His unique analysis of the World Proletarian movement, he made just after party formation in 1948 when he was barely 25 years old, demonstrates the greatness of his calibre. At a time when under the leadership of Stalin world proletarian revolution was surging ahead, from one victory to another, when China was on the verge of victory, and the imperialist camp had become very much weakened, nobody could conceive even of any crisis looming ahead. At that time it was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who, while paying heartfelt tribute to Stalin and his contribution, drew attention to the prevalence of mechanical process of thinking in the international communist movement, and warned about the serious consequences of this defect if not eradicated in time. Since then, one attack after another has come down on the international communist movement, which have shown how prophetic was his warning. After Stalin's demise, when Khrushchev in pursuit of abject revisionism adopted the policy of de-Stalinization, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh warned that to disown the authority of Stalin and consequently reject his interpretation of Leninism, which is the present-day understanding of Marxism-Leninism, would objectively uncrown Lenin himself. Analysing the root cause of this grave deviation, he provided the guidelines for the ideological struggle with



Comrade Provash Ghosh hoisting the Red Flag beside Martyrs' Column

which alone this can be fought out. At that time Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was unknown to our country, not to speak of being known world wide. Till his last he defended Marxism-Leninism and strove to build up and develop mass movements, be it together with other forces or single-handedly. Again shortly before his demise he gave a clarion call for building up mass movements and developing class struggle conducive to the anti-capitalist revolution of the country. After his demise, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the closest comrade-in-arms of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, led the party to make efforts to develop close connections with worldwide anti-imperialist movement as well as communist forces of different countries. Besides, the party, under his leadership led numerous mass and class struggles in different parts of India. Thereafter, the present Central Committee pledges to carry forward the tasks they have left to the party. As you have heard, the Congress will move two resolutions for discussion and consideration. The Central Committee hopes you will take active part in it and extend your valuable suggestions.

Comrade Ranjit Dhar, member Polit Bureau, then read out the Resolution on Development of Anti-Imperialist Movements and on Coordination and Consolidation of International Communist Movement. Comrade Satyawan, member of the Central Committee then expressed his whole-hearted

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Importance of party communes and party centres in our life

Comrade Provash Ghosh addresses Party centre inauguration at Kultali

On 20 October last, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary of our party, SUCI (C), inaugurated a Party centre at Jamtala of Kultali in the South 24 Parganas district of West Bengal. The inauguration meeting was presided over by Comrade Yakub Pailan, member, Central Committee and District Secretary, South 24 Parganas and was also attended by Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar, member, Central Committee. After the inauguration of the centre named as *Comrade Sudhir Halder Smriti Bhaban* (Comrade Sudhir Halder Memorial Building), Comrade Yakub Pailan placed his brief words to the party cadres, supporters and sympathizers assembled there.

Thereafter, Comrade Provash Ghosh delivered his inaugural speech. He said: In this inaugural ceremony of the party centre at Jamtala of Kultali, first I extend my revolutionary greetings to the common people of this district, to its party cadres, supporters and sympathizers and to the members of the families of the so many martyrs of this district. It was in this district that on 24 April of 1948, SUCI (Communist) was founded as the revolutionary party of the exploited masses, the working class of India. It was in this district that during the fifties of the last century the historic movement of the agricultural labourers-sharecroppers and poor peasants was organized for the first time on the strength of the thoughts of the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and based upon it a strong mass base of the party developed in the rural hinterland of the district. It was in this district that in course of organizing class struggles, more than one hundred and fifty comrades became martyrs, laying their lives at the brute attacks of the goons of the jotedars (the big landowners)-Congress and CPI(M), as well as attacks of the police. At the conspiracy of CPI(M), 49 comrades have been falsely sentenced to life imprisonment. This glorious role and sacrifice of the people of this district will remain engraved in the history of revolutionary movement of India. It is commendable that this party centre has been named after Comrade Sudhir Halder, the first martyr from this district and, by that measure, the first martyr of the party itself.

On this occasion, I would like to say a few words on why our party lays such importance upon party communes and party centres. You know that ours is the only genuine Marxist party in this country. Great Marx himself called upon the workers-agricultural labourers and poor peasants of the world saying: You would put an end to

exploitation, would change the world, but for that you must change yourselves. You cannot change the world without changing yourselves. What do these words signify? It means that the workers, the poor though do not own money or wealth, even they bear in them the germs of capitalism. Even the poor have the greed for acquiring private property, they hanker for being owner of property and wealth, they do also have the propensity to earn profit. In this capitalist society, every person bears this greedy and profit-seeking mentality. Even a poor tries to become rich, given a chance to. Even he possesses a mind to become an owner and earn profit by making use of the labour power of another person. This is what is called a capitalist mentality, a bourgeois mentality. There is also another kind of thinking in them. And that entails to think: I am poor because of my sins, because of my wrong deeds in my previous birth in this world, so it is my destiny. Can the poor agricultural labourers or poor peasants fight against exploitation and injustice with such a frame of mind in them? Without freeing themselves from such a mentality, from the greed and craving for profit residing within their self, even the exploited poor cannot bring an end to exploitation, cannot change the system. That was why Marx had said that those who would change the world, would change the exploitative system, would have to change themselves first. This change demands a new character, a new sense of humanity. This is the teaching of Marx. Following Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong taught us many things. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh by further elaborating and developing all those teachings of the great leaders, has left before us his teachings on acquiring new sense of humanity and higher communist character. And it entails that those who would develop to become the leaders of SUCI (Communist), those who

would discharge higher responsibilities, must not only renounce ownership of property, they must also do away with the private property mental complex, with weaknesses centering round personal relationships in the name of love-affection-fondness. What are we struggling for? We are fighting for the establishment of communist society. Communism is a society where there will be no private ownership. The entire society will be the owner of its wealth and property. Collectively all will produce to meet the ever growing needs of life and collectively all will enjoy the social wealth. There would not persist, none at all, the mental traits like personal interest, profit motive, greed, mind of depriving someone to grab something for own's own gain or deceiving others to make some gains and so on. No longer there would be the mental make-up that prevails now within us and prompts us to grab more at the cost of others, to manage some gains for oneself deceiving others, to think that 'I don't care if he starves to death even, I will only make sure of my share'. Our struggle aims at bringing the society to such a height, where there will not be any discrimination between the rich and the poor ; where, we the people, will collectively produce to meet the ever-increasing needs of the society. More the needs, more we shall produce, more we shall meet our needs and that way, collectively we will build up a human family. It is towards that end that we strive for.

Today, it may seem to many to be a utopia, impossible to achieve. But it was Marx and Engels who pointed out for the first time in human history that the discrimination between the rich and the poor had not been there in the society for ever, not will it be there for ever in future. It is possible to uproot this discrimination. Long back in the past, thousands of years ago, the religious prophets, who were no doubt great men, also felt deeply for the poor. But at that time there was no modern science, they did not have the scope to judge things with scientific outlook, so they sought for the solution in the spiritualist way. They thought that this world is created and conducted by a divine force; everything of the

society, including rich and poor are the creations of god. Both the rich and the poor are enjoying or suffering from the inevitable outcome of earlier birth. The rich have always made use of this thought of the prophets. As the latter failed to suggest any means for the poor to free them from suffering in the present life of theirs, that is in this earthly world, the prophets dreamt of another world and advised that if the poor wins virtue in this world, they would be able to go to the Heaven and enjoy real equality there, since there is no rich and poor division in the Heaven. It is true that the French revolution raised the slogan of equality-fraternity and liberty in this very earthly world. But it could not establish that in reality. The path to establish this equality in reality was illumined by Marx with modern science. That was why Engels said that the equality the prophets imagined to attain in the Heaven; we, applying science, are struggling to establish that heaven or equality on this earthly world. This is what is known as communism.

In the capitalist society we live in, everything of the country, from agricultural production to industrial production, its trade and commerce, is controlled by a handful of capitalists. Motive of production is but to earn profit for them. And they make profit only by exploiting the workers, the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. This is the system of capitalist ownership. And in this system of ownership, only a few monopolists control more than 90% of the property of the entire country, directly or indirectly. They make profit, they reap the harvest. And that causes millions of unemployed in the country. Tens of millions of workers are retrenched. Equal number, if not more, of people are starving, succumbing to death without treatment, are turning paupers. The crux of the system is private ownership, property in the interest of individual. However, the private property mental complex, we all bear in ourselves. One who owns, today, merely one acre or two of land, or even less, say half an acre or the man who owns just a small tea stall, he too aspires to add to his property or extend his business;

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Communes and Centres help integrate self with collective

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feasible or not, he too wants to add to his property. This is nothing but the capitalist frame of mind. Small capital tries to rise to big capital; but fails in the long run. On the contrary, big capital swallows small capital. The owner of land of one acre or two, finds his land being swamped into the hold of big land owners. Small shop-vendors cannot stand competition; their shops are closed for ever. Can't you find that Big Bazar is going to penetrate your locality too, all arrangements are being made to that end? The big business is now running even vegetable shops. Tatas and Ambanis or their like, are purchasing entire local markets, thus grabbing everything on their way. Small owners can never compete with big owners; but even then, they bear the aspiration to be owners and grow further. This sense of ownership is the root from where stems the sense of individual interest. Emerges the proverbial traits : 'me first, father later', 'why think of others, think of your survival' etc. It means, first look after and ensure your own interest. This mentality exists in our blood. So, I am interested in property, name, fame, high post, I want that people should speak well of me, even if I am wrong or unfair and so on. The essence of all these desires and aspirations is self interest. This is bourgeois mentality. When we come to join this party, we come with this mentality. We never join SUCI (Communist) as communists right from the beginning. We responded to the call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and decided to join the party. But the family we are born in, or the village or the town or city we live in, the schools or colleges which we studied in, nowhere there is any lesson taught as to how to be a member of SUCI (Communist). Rather, we are taught to look after my self interest first, to find out wherein lies our own interest. These are the ideas that flow in our blood. Not only these, the Hindu-Muslim sentiment, upper caste-lower caste feelings, the sense of male dominance over female, are also there in us and these are very strong feelings. We exist with all these, with a mind that is beset with envy or enmity, with trends to look down upon others and to boast of ourselves.

On the basis of Marx's

teachings, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said: If you are unable to free yourselves from these mentalities and thus change yourselves, you will not be able to change society too. That is why those who were the pioneers to accept Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings and join the party, namely Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, Comrade Sachin Banerjee, Comrade Subodh Banerjee, Comrade Hiren Sarkar, Comrade Pritish Chanda and other comrades who rose to the leadership in the years to follow, did not have private property; had they possessed any they submitted it for the cause of the party, for the cause of the movement only. But that is not enough. They had to move farther to free themselves from private property mental complex following Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings. This is a still more difficult struggle for us. And that is, we must free ourselves from the weaknesses centring round love and affection based on personal relationship; for instance, I am soft towards my husband regardless if he is good or bad, or the other way round, good or bad, I am weak towards my wife or my children. We must free ourselves from these. We must free ourselves also from the craving for being a leader, for earning some name and fame, for rising to some higher posts, must free ourselves from envy and hostility. Debbabu has joined the party after me, I have introduced him with the party, now he has proved his worth and advanced forward ahead of me. So I feel envious. Everybody praises him, and not me, so I have a pang inside myself, I try to find fault with him, I cannot rest in peace till I belittle him in public. Or, say, Pailan Saheb has correctly found a fault with me and has pointed it out to help me, for my own benefit. But that has made me angry; I am silently waiting for days to come to settle scores with Pailan Saheb. Or, say I have made a reasoning and somebody junior to me has expressed another, and for that matter, a correct reasoning. But since I am senior or elder to him, I cannot accept his reasoning. Our mothers used to scold their daughters: 'Have I given birth to you or you have given birth to me?' Then how is it that I should have to learn from you?' As a senior I become a victim of such thoughts.

So, I scold the junior rudely to sit back and say : Still a kid, how much do you know and understand? Here, I do not value the truth, I do not value the reasoning. Or else, once as a junior I had been gentle and modest; but now being a leader, my ego is inflated, I do not care to pay respect to my seniors. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh made it clear that with these mentalities in you, you will not be able to attain the standard that I longed for. That is why a very difficult struggle is released inside our party, which people from outside can not make out or understand. From outside the party, they think, that the cadres of this party are of a different mettle. Even if you shoot all of them dead, it will be of no avail; new cadres will be born from their blood itself. But the real source of this strength lies in the revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, which we carry in our heart. Mere listening to speeches or reading books will not bring this strength automatically. Reading books or hearing speeches, we may come to know which is right or which is wrong, what are the do's and what are the don't's. Of course, it has its values. But then again how can it be ascertained, if I have realized it correctly what I read or heard? It is reflected in my conduct, my movements, my behaviour. My character expresses itself in my behaviour. Even in darkness a piece of diamond shines. Even if it lies in coal, it does not fail to shine; glass never shines that way, nor does gold. Real human character is such a piece of diamond. That is why, a revolutionary is identified from his conduct and behaviour, from his movements, even from his manner of talking. It comes out when he takes a sip in a tea-stall, when he is in a train or a bus, when he is calling upon somebody; even from his dealings as a newly-wed bridegroom right on the night of his marriage. Everything reveals that the person is of a different mettle. He has a different kind of character, conduct and behaviour. Then again, when life becomes stormy, when it is struck by severe blows or shocking defeat, he can be known, can be recognized from his expression of grief and bereavement, from his displeasure and anger. It is a struggle to bring about a total change in mind and body, to grow into a completely new

human. On one side of this struggle for becoming new humans, lie the party cells, local committees and district committees where party workers interact among themselves, discuss on their activities, on that basis they work, launch movements, and they identify and remove lapses and defects of each other, take lessons from among themselves. This struggle runs on inside the party; at the same time, the other organisation, the most important one in which this struggle goes on, are the party centres and the party communes. Commune is the highest stage. The party centres make the step immediately below it.

Party centres do not mean simply that some comrades live together, stay together, take meals and spend days together. They constitute a family, in which the member comrades live together under the same roof, sleep on the same bed, use the same kitchen, move about or take rest in company with each other, talk among themselves, chat during the recess, discuss on their activities. In this family there is no distinction between the comrades hailing from Hindu families or those from Muslim families, from those of different castes. We have a single religion, a single caste, so to say. We are all activists, the cadres of the SUCI (Communist) party. Such is our family. In living together in that family everybody cares for all others; does not look for himself or herself separately in regard to taking meals, nor in lodging. These things are expressed in subtle forms. All of us take note of living, eating, working or taking rest, that is every movement, of all others : this is how they are taught. It may be that Comrade Debbabu always is looking after the entire arrangement for all; I may be getting into it sometimes, now and then but not always. Again Comrade Pailan Saheb may have a further different case; he does not look after these things at all or seldom he does. These differences bring out the comrades in their real shape, reveal their culture. Say, for instance in the same centre, I live as a party cadre; my wife too being a cadre herself lives there. Take for example, Comrade Debbabu's wife, a party cadre, also lives in the centres. (smiles jokingly), though in fact, neither Comrade Debbabu nor

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Comrade Provash Ghosh on party communes and centres

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myself has that privilege! Any way, take it for an example. Say, our wives are living in the same centre. For some reason, they had a quarrel in the kitchen, an exchange of strong words. The same night the wives report that separately to their respective husbands, to Comrade Debbabu and me. Next morning, we feel awkward in presence of each other, hesitate to take tea together. This is quite common in families nowadays. It becomes clear, that Debbabu's wife has driven something into his head and my wife too has not failed to do it. In that case, can we be called communists? This is sheer weakness over petty family scores. My wife feels slightly more concerned about me, his wife about him. All these are also such weaknesses centring round family ties. Or, feeling more concerned about one's own children: it means, I do not consider myself as the mother or the father of all children. I have not been able to develop that feeling in me. Such things make out much more clearly when people live under the same roof, within the confines of the same room. These are not merely a 'mess' or boarding, in which we have come together for convenience of board and lodging. In communes or party centres, I am a communist at every step: at the lunch table, on the bed, in the sitting room, that is, in constantly living together. I desire to develop myself as the worthy disciple of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Of course, I cannot reach that end by one stroke; there will be so many mistakes, there will be bitter clashes and debates. If I have filth in me and cannot find it out, somebody else would help me to clean it. If he has the same filth, I would try to help him. A party centre is the proper place where we conduct this struggle.

Even party offices do not provide us with so much of scope. We do not live together in party offices; there, we discuss on our programmes and activities. That also involves some kind of association; we also have long discussions in party cells, or local or district committees or in meetings in general or in general body meetings. But the centre life involves much more difficult struggle embracing many other aspects of life. There may be a

comrade who tidies up the beds of all comrades in the morning, and there may be another who slips out early to avoid this boring task. There may be one comrade who hurries through his or her meal so that he or she does not have to clean the utensils. There is one comrade who almost every morning feels headache to avoid going to market, another, though goes to market bears grudge while some other comrade does the everyday marketing with pleasure. One male comrade voluntarily looks after kitchen job, but other male comrades consider this job as the exclusives of the female comrades. But the female comrades too do day long party work among the public like the male comrades. Even then, in party centres, the male comrades do not offer help for kitchen job or share the job, even they do not feel concerned about it. This is a regular practice in common family lives. But can we, the communists, do it? In this context I would like to recall a valuable teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh: Any work, in or out of the commune or centre, however small or minor, even the work of cleaning of rooms, either taken up voluntarily or at the instruction of somebody else, the communists always do all work happily and ungrudgingly, with utmost care and attention and with a creative attitude. Even for a small work, they do never indulge in carelessness. On this attitude depends the development of one's integration in thinking and character.

All these things come out in the open. Some day, I may bring some food, hidden from others, for my son. I did not care for the child of another comrade residing in the same centre. Even, I ask my son to take food hurriedly, so that nobody finds it out. With all these petty meanness, one can not develop into a communist. In a centre life, these can not be kept under the carpet, they will come out today or to tomorrow. And as soon as these come out, I will point it out to the concerned comrade that this is not what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us. Sometimes you may find that a comrade who does not hesitate to face bullets of enemies may also fall victim to these defects. He succumbs to these from his weakness for his offsprings, or

Ramsey Clark to attend International Anti-Imperialist Conference in Nepal



Comrade Manik Mukherjee, General Secretary, International Anti-Imperialist and Peoples' Solidarity Coordinating Committee (IAPSCC) met Ramsey Clark, President of the organization at his residence in New York for a discussion.

Sara Flounders, a Central Secretariat member of the Committee was also present there. Comrade Mukherjee apprised them of his discussion with Comrade Prachanda, leader, Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) on holding of the International Conference of the Committee in November 2011 at Kathmandu in Nepal. Ramsey Clark delightfully promised to attend the Conference and, if possible, the Press Meet before the Conference. They also discussed on different organizational aspects of the Conference.

for wife or husband. They must be brought into this struggle in the centres. They must be placed where leaders and cadres live together, there even a cadre would point out to a leader his or her defects and lapses, once they are observed would dare to say: This is not correct or just. You should not do this. This they would point out, if the case be so, even to Comrade Pailan Saheb or to me. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has provided us with this teaching and courage. He told the leaders to understand what the cadres intend to say, allow them to speak, you must give a patient hearing. He would add: A child respects his father, loves him. Leaders must reciprocate with due honour for the cadre's views. If the cadre is right we must accept it; if he or she is wrong, we would be patient to explain it, if necessary, for twenty or thirty times to convince them. We must create an easy atmosphere for such open minded dialogues. There are some leaders to whom cadres can not give out their heart. They hold their thoughts back. They walk about in front of leaders' room, but hesitate, fumble, and then decide to step back for the day. These are not the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. We learnt to argue with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh when we were quite young, even in our early teens. He himself taught us to do that. Also, there are leaders in our

party who do not allow comrades to speak out, they scold them and gag them. They also do not abide by the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. They may excel in some fields of work, but at least on this point they carry bourgeois blood. Centre life helps to remove these. This way, the centre life serves to attain higher communist character. Being involved in that life means releasing the struggle for not only freeing oneself from private property, but also for freeing oneself from the mental make-up, thinking-ideas-conduct and behaviour that arise from bourgeois private property, centring round such traits and questions as love-affection-sympathy and fondness etc. It gives the comrades enough scope to involve themselves in the struggle to gradually free their outlook, lifestyle, conduct and behaviour, one another's relationship from personal approach and to become impersonal in all respects. There must be competent leaders in the centre to guide this struggle. He or she must be a vanguard in the struggle for achieving impersonal attitude. Our party centres are founded so that we can conduct these struggles properly and correctly. I would hope that you would carry on the struggle to develop this centre befittingly on the edifice of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

In Haryana too, Party is engaged in movement against land-grabbing

Comrade Satyawan at meeting of West Bengal Party Comrades

In the last two issues of Proletarian Era (November 1 & 15, 2010), we published the speeches of Comrade C K Lukose, Member, Central Committee SUCI(C) and Kerala State Secretary and Comrade K. Radhakrishna, Member, Central Committee SUCI (C) and Karnataka State Secretary, delivered in the meeting of West Bengal Party comrades and leaders, held at Mahajati Sadan in Calcutta on 29 August 2010, in presence of the General Secretary, Comrade Provash Ghosh, and all the other members of the Polit Bureau, in which they narrated the history of the development of the party in their states and the major mass movements launched by the party there. Here we publish the speech of Comrade Satyawan, Member, Central Committee SUCI(C) and Haryana State Secretary, delivered in the same meeting.

When I came in contact with the party my student life was already over. I was then engaged in teaching at a school. It was through the speech published in Trend under the title "Cultural Movement in India and Our Tasks", that I got acquainted with the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Until then I used to engage in social activities based on my perception of what is good or bad for the man. I believed that basically it was people's good or bad thinking that was the determining factor behind social activities. This booklet was an eye-opener to me. To my great relief it removed the haziness in my thinking. I realized for the first time that our society is divided into exploiting and exploited classes, and that in this society no thought, no contemplation of doing good is free from class-concept. All thinking is class-thinking. Just like a compass helps one to find the right direction, so did this speech indicate the path to me. From this booklet I also learnt what is meant by progress and reaction. However little I understood at that time, it meant a lot for me.

At that time, and today still, Haryana society is under the sway of casteism and backward mindset. During my work I realized that casteism is an enemy of the exploited people and a friend of the capitalist class. How deeply it is entrenched in Haryana I felt from the very day I started my work.

During Emergency in 1975, excesses were committed upon the people, particularly in villages of Haryana centring round the government's family planning policy. In that connection, police shot dead an elderly man and also a woman who tried to come to his rescue. Against this a huge protest panchayat was held. One of our veteran leaders, late Comrade Balwant Singh, who was

underground at that time, also joined it. At the call of Dahiya Khap, 3 lakh people stayed assembled in protest continuously for three days. They raised the demand that we should take the dead bodies to Delhi to Indira Gandhi's Prime Minister's



Comrade Satyawan addressing at Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta

house. Why did these innocent people have to die? But such a huge mass movement ended in utter failure because the struggle committee of Dahiya Khap yielded to a compromise trusting upon the then Congress leader belonging to that Khap. Despite his arduous efforts, Comrade Balwant Singh failed to save the movement. This instance provides a glaring example of how trusting upon a leader without examining the character simply because he belongs to their khap, goes against the people to benefit the ruling class.

Guided by the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh we observed the 50th martyr anniversary of Shaheed Bhagat Singh in 1981. By organizing rallies, innumerable meetings along with various other programmes, covering Delhi, Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan we were able to create an emotional response among the people towards this great martyr. At that time, in this process of involving the youth in these programmes, the first Conference of AIDYO was held in our state. Bibi

Amar Kaur, the sister of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, after coming in contact with us, participated in this conference. Later on, she participated in many of our programmes, and also joined the CPDRS (Committee for Protection of Democratic Rights and Secularism) movement against the ruthless communal attack on the Sikhs in Delhi and surrounding areas, defying her ailments and old age. Moreover, she even expressed that after her death our comrades in Haryana were to light her funeral pyre. What deep emotional attachment indeed and trust in the party can bring one to express such a desire!

Our departed leader and teacher

the party 30 years ago, but later left, are coming back. I have realized that if we remain steadfast in our adherence to the revolutionary ideology, and if we can build up ourselves the way the leadership wants us to, then nobody can resist the attraction of this party.

I have also learnt a lot from the conduct of the leaders. For example, during the Assembly elections in 1982, I accompanied Comrade Pritish Chanda (late veteran Central Committee member) on a propaganda campaign. Incidentally, it started raining and thundering. Night came. There was an old three wheeler, and that broke down midway. Walking in the dark we lost the way. There were hidden thorns there in the path through agricultural fields, worse than sharp nails. And it was among these that we were walking. It was troubling us a lot. But Pritish Chanda did not utter a single sound in discomfort, rather he spoke words of encouragement to me.

Again, there is an example. Late Comrade Dipankar Ray, West Bengal State Committee member, used to visit Haryana in connection with AIDS and Save Education programmes. Let me cite but one example. In our state the party office generally remains open for 24 hours. One day it was closed at night. Exactly on that night Comrade Dipankar came and found the office closed. Comrade Dipankar was unwell. But when we came to open the office in the morning he did not even mention it. It was from the tailor of the shop below that we heard of his arrival at night and the hardship he suffered. What I felt on hearing this, today I like to share some of it with you. Because, if like the leaders we too go on performing our duties unflinchingly with firm determination, without getting irritated, or without grumbling, without hankering after things, then this kind of conduct will awaken slumbering forces in us and heighten our consciousness.

Concerning movements, there are many experiences to relate. For example, our party was involved in the movement against privatization of the Maruti Udyog Limited, a public sector company, in Haryana. Although this movement was led in name by the CPI's AITUC, in reality, it was our party comrades whose sustained and arduous efforts

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With full confidence Haryana women join movement under SUCI(C) leadership

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steered the movement to its culmination. For this, after the agreement was reached, our party comrades working in the company were sacked. This very Maruti Udyog is still there, and AITUC leader Gurudas Dasgupta continues to be in the picture there. But even as, through their close ties with the Congress, they played a role in running the Centre, oppression on the workers of the company grew even worse. Today everybody still remembers the fighting zeal of our comrades in that movement.

Concerning the student movement in Haryana, SFI, the CPI(M) student front, used to raise the demand for nationalization of education. AIDS0, on its part, started movements demanding democratization of education and secular, scientific education. They also explained why nationalization is neither in the interest of the students, nor of education. This created a tremendous impact on the student community. Such is the situation now that SFI from time to time cannot but also voice the demands for democratization of education, and for secular, scientific education.

That 8th March is the International Women's Day I came to know only when our women's organisation AIMSS started, for the first time, to observe this day in the state. For women to participate in politics was simply out of question in those days in Haryana society. Today, the women of this state are joining the political movements led by the SUCI(C). Leave alone any anxieties perturbing their guardians, all the families, the villages, and localities, from where these girls and women are coming out feel confident that their daughters, their wives and mothers are going to the most befitting, the right place.

It is our party that for the first time in Haryana mobilized peasants and agricultural labourers, formed their organization and highlighted that the peasants are not a caste, that agricultural labourers are not a caste, that they are a class groaning under capitalist exploitation. This provided a direction to the peasants-agricultural labourers' movement in the state. Sixty per cent of the peasants in Haryana are immersed in debt. Yet instead of coming to their

rescue the government is snatching away their lands, just like in other states. The movement that started in Singur-Nandigram has provided inspiration and courage to the whole country. In Haryana also the peasants-agricultural labourers' organization has already developed quite a few movements. One such was against the thermal power project of the Tatas at Matanhail, the village from where our State Committee member Comrade Anoop Singh hails. A notice was issued requisitioning the lands for this project. The farmers formed a struggle committee there. Although Comrade Anoop Singh was not present there at that time, he was elected President of the Committee. The village people declared, we have confidence in him and SUCI. For it is this party and its leaders who stand up unflinchingly against any onslaught whatsoever and guard the interests of the peasants. The Chief Minister of Haryana hails from the same district. The struggle committee sent a deputation and submitted a petition to the CM and his son, the MP of the area—in vain, however. Having failed to stir the government the Committee put up blockades around that village and on seven roads consecutively for three days, blocking also access to the neighbouring villages and some remote areas. The government did bow down and the Tatas wound up their project—this news has spread far and wide.

During this period, a special economic zone was being planned for Reliance India Limited on 25,000 acres of land covering the districts of Gurgaon and Jhajjar. In protest against this, our party summoned the Panchayat in Gurgaon. Initially, the villagers expressed to hand over their lands for the project. But we painstakingly explained to the villagers why it would be wrong to do so. Subsequently they unanimously resolved not to surrender even an inch of land. But when the question of forging a struggle committee came, a farmer asked why are you not working unitedly with the Bharatiya Kisan Union which is quite strong in Haryana and Punjab, and has also much strength in Uttar Pradesh? It seems you want to make a name for yourself. We told him, alright, you go and talk to them on

our behalf. But the Bharatiya Kisan Union did not support the slogan that land should not be surrendered. Our attempt to forming a struggle committee failed. Thereafter, in Jhajjar district we were confronted with even more hurdles and opposition from the villagers themselves. Debt-ridden as they were, they were willing to surrender their lands having been promised much higher compensation compared to the pittance offered by the former Chautala government. They reacted with hostility to our attempts to educate and mobilize peasants in a struggle committee, calling us agents of Chautala, etc. and turning to BJP seeking guidance. But we did not give up. Our comrades moved among the peasants and tried to convince them, confronting one hurdle after another. After long six months the struggle committee could finally be formed under the banner "Kisan Mazdoor Joint Committee to Save Land". This committee firmly declared that no land would be surrendered to the Reliance company. As a result, the government was compelled to amend and renew the licence of SEZ twice. Even then, the company could not acquire the land in one lot but in small fragments. Consequently, the company could acquire only 7,000 acres instead of the planned 25,000 acres of land, and that too not at one stretch but scattered in different areas, with no roads to connect one with the other. The peasants opted to sell only small patches of land, say, 10 acres here and 15 acres there in such a way that the land does not go out of your hands at one stretch and the corporate houses cannot get you in their clutches. In the end Reliance Ltd had to retreat. In another case in the district Gurgaon for 30 days, 5000 police had barricaded ten villages and framed peasants with false cases, but the Save Land Joint Committee stood firm.

Led by the AIKKMS such Save Land committees of peasants-workers have been formed in many places in Haryana. Wherever the question of land requisition arises, movement is being organized in the state. In Sonapat district such a movement is now going on against requisition of 3300 acres of land spanning 10 villages.

In Mandothi village, too, a

struggle committee has been formed to fight against requisition of 250 acres of land for setting up a cyber city. We have only one comrade there. In the village one thousand youth issued an ultimatum—either rescind the notice, or we will cut off the water supply to Gurgaon. The police officers had to go there, and finally, the Chief Minister had to submit to the demand and withdraw the notice. In this way the movement against land requisition has spread all over Haryana.

The same CPI(M) that has resorted to atrocities in Singur-Nandigram, has kept a studied silence against requisition of land in Haryana; not a single statement have they issued so far. But now when people have come out in protest against the establishment of a nuclear power plant in Fatehabad district, and people from the affected villages started to proclaim that they would not surrender any land for it, the CPI(M) too started to take up this slogan there. However, this has put them in a situation where they have to face a barrage of questions by the people on their role in Singur and Nandigram. At the time of the horrendous attack on 14th March, 2007 in Nandigram, a movement against land requisition was going on in Jhajjar district. On hearing the news of Nandigram the people there instantly took to the streets on the following day, put up blockades and demanded that statues of all the martyrs of Nandigram must be put up at Kisanghat in Delhi. In Haryana wherever we are today, the Singur-Nandigram movement is acting as a fount of inspiration. In UP too our party has participated in movements.

Today on the question of requisitioning of land a lot of publicity is given to the 'Haryana model'. But this is a complete fraud, it is nothing but falsehood. No commitment has been met—be it the royalty to be paid, allotment of housing plot, or the Rs.35,000 pension for the peasants who lost their land—not a single promise has been fulfilled to this day. A brouhaha is being raised regarding the compensation amount in Haryana of Rs.22 lakh per acre of land. But the fact is that in the villages of Delhi adjacent to

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Extraordinary Party Congress of SUCI (C)

Vows to come equal to tasks history has assigned

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support to the Resolution. Thereafter, Comrade Manik Mukherjee invited the delegates to come forward and place their suggestions.

Many delegates from different states placed many valuable concrete suggestions regarding the issues raised in the Resolution. The Resolution was then put to vote and unanimously accepted.

the only force for mass movement. The Resolution was then put to vote and unanimously adopted.

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member, Polit Bureau then moved a few amendments to the Party Constitution. These too were unanimously adopted by the Congress.

Thereupon, Comrade Provash Ghosh was unanimously elected as General Secretary.

Extraordinary Congress. We propose to publish the full text of his speech later.

The entire proceedings of the Congress were marked with the discipline and resolve of revolutionary cadres, so typical of the Party SUCI (C). The young, vibrant volunteer comrades performed their tasks with dedication; the entire gathering of the delegates as also other comrades

there been any, but even stepped ahead to offer help and cooperation. The delegates, visibly moved and inspired by the suggestions, reports and the address of the General Secretary and all the lively interactions among themselves in two days of close proximity, left determined to bend all their energy for the struggle ahead.



A section of the delegates at Extraordinary Party Congress

In an interlude a video of the proceedings of the Second Party Congress held in Delhi was shown. After it Comrade Krishna Chakraborty read out the Resolution on Present Political Situation in the Country and the Task of Strengthening Mass and Class Struggles. Comrade K. Radhakrishna, Member, Central Committee extended unstinted support to the resolution. The reports and suggestions coming from the different state organizations and mass fronts showed how people have lost faith in all the political parties, national or regional, irrespective of hues, and how the SUCI(C) has gradually but definitely gained their confidence as

Comrade Mobinul Haider Chowdhury, member, Central Committee of Socialist Party of Bangladesh, then rose to briefly address the House.

Finally Comrade Provash Ghosh delivered his closing address to the

took it upon themselves to act to the demand and need of the situation. The solemnity and gravity of the situation impressed also upon the common people, locals or passers-by, who not only ungrudgingly accepted their inconveniences, had

Haryana model of land acquisition not in the interest of peasants

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Haryana the compensation paid by Delhi government for one acre of land is Rs.75 lakh. The Haryana farmers ask, then why only Rs.22 lakh per acre for Haryana?

I want to tell one thing about the ruling Congress: Rahul Gandhi said, that victory against Vedanta in Orissa is the people's victory. And he claims he supports the kisans of Aligarh, but where was he when their own government in Haryana resorted to such kind of oppression and attacks, and is still doing so? How is it that Rahul Gandhi is nowhere to be seen? Where are they when in other states their government oppresses and tortures the people?

This much about Haryana today. In the days to come, the culmination of all kinds of movements, students' movements, youth movements, to their desired goal – this depends on how quickly we can increase people's support for the party and can build up our revolutionary character along the path shown by the party. In Haryana we are engaged in this struggle, and are endeavouring — while drawing on our strength within this state — to spread the influence of revolutionary politics to areas beyond. With this I conclude, with my apology for my inability to speak in Bengali.

(Free translation from Hindi)

**Fight Unemployment, Cultural Degeneration & Communalism
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1st All India Youth Conference

Open Session : 3 December 2010

PMG Square, Bhubaneswar, Orissa

Delegate Session : 4 - 5 December 2010

Nehru Yuva Pratisthan, Bhubaneswar, Orissa

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SUCI (C) Calls to Observe 6 December as Anti-Communal Day

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