

**CARRY FORWARD THE BANNER OF
MARXISM-LENINISM-SHIBDAS GHOSH-
THOUGHT AND PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM**

Provash Ghosh

Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)

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[Speech of Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) at the delegate session of the 3rd Party Congress in Ghatsila on 25 November 2018]

Comrade Members of the Presidium,
Comrade Delegates & Observers,

By re-electing me as the General Secretary of the Party, you have again reposed faith and confidence on me. As a student of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist thinker and leader of the world proletariat, and Founder of our party SUCI (Communist), I assure you that I will continue my struggle to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought and Proletarian Internationalism. I will continue my struggle to serve the proletariat of our country and the proletariat of other countries with all my strength and ability till the last days of my life.

**History has adjured us the crucial task
of carrying forward the Marxist-Leninist
revolutionary movement.**

Comrades, history has bestowed upon us a very difficult but a great responsibility at this very critical hour of human civilization. You know world imperialism-capitalism has created a most horrifying condition. Economically, politically, ideologically, morally – in all aspects of life, it is pushing the entire mankind towards almost ruination. Everywhere there is a cry for emancipation. But who will organize and lead that struggle? Where is that worldwide

revolutionary working class movement? After the most painful fall of erstwhile mighty world socialist system and disintegration of international communist movement, there is complete absence of leadership. Under these circumstances, our party SUCI (Communist) is holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thought and proletarian internationalism. But are we capable enough to respond to the need of the hour? In fact, as a revolutionary party, our existence is just like a tiny island in a vast ocean of reactionary atmosphere. But let us remember the teachings of Great Lenin. He taught us, when revolutionary current goes on, it is easy to swim with the current because that current carries away even a leaf. But it is very difficult to swim against the current, and only a revolutionary can dare to do it. You know from history that since the time society was class-divided, there had been many struggles for emancipation. Many great thinkers, leaders and pioneers of new thoughts and emancipation struggles had appeared and they all had to face severe oppressions and onslaughts. Many of them were killed, lynched or burnt alive. There had been many setbacks in their struggles. Sometimes those struggles achieved victories, sometimes they faced defeats. Again there were victories followed by defeats and then again, victories. It happened with religious movements when those had a progressive role. Similarly, it happened with the Renaissance movements and bourgeois democratic revolutions. Same thing happened in world communist movement as well.

Lessons from the history of world communist movement.

In 1847, Communist League was formed, and most of its members were utopian communists. The Communist Manifesto, written by Great Marx and Engels was a great contribution in history which has been guiding the

international communist movement even today. This Communist League existed up to 1852. Then Great Marx formed the First International in 1864. It also lasted up to 1872. First International was also disrupted by the followers of Proudhon, Lassalle and Bakunin. Meanwhile, in 1871, for the first time in history, the working class of France captured political power defeating the bourgeoisie by armed revolt. This historical event is known as 'Paris Commune' which lasted for three months and then was overthrown by the bourgeois forces. Thousands of workers were brutally murdered. Again Great Engels founded the Second International in 1886. For a period, it played a very significant role in developing international communist movement. But on the eve of the First World War, it had also degenerated being corrupted by bourgeois parliamentary politics and had abandoned the revolutionary path. It distorted, misinterpreted and vulgarized Marxism. How the Second International had degenerated, Great Lenin analysed the phenomenon and wrote, "...it is possible to bribe the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy. And that is just what the capitalists of the 'advanced' countries are doing : they are bribing them in a thousand different ways, direct and indirect, overt and covert.

This stratum of workers turned bourgeois, or the labour aristocracy, who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook, is the principal prop of the Second international, and in our days, the principal social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie, for they are the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement, ...".⁽¹⁾ Thus, the Second International became a vehicle of revisionism. Great Lenin had to break away from the Second International, and conducted relentless battle against its revisionist deviation. In course of that struggle, he advanced Marxism further by

concretizing it in the then international situation of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution as well as in the concrete situation of Russia. This concretized form of Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution is called Leninism. Lenin established the Third International in 1919, and in spite of setbacks of Paris Commune, First International and Second International, those contributed much experiences and lessons towards further development of the world communist movement. As lessons of Paris Commune Great Marx and Engels said in 1872, "...one thing especially was proved by the commune, viz. that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes."⁽²⁾ Regarding the role of First, Second and Third International Lenin stated, "The First International (1864-72) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in *breadth*, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International. The Third International actually emerged in 1918, when the long years of struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, especially during the war, led to the formation of Communist Parties in a number of countries."⁽³⁾ Paris Commune also provided very valuable lessons for the success of socialist revolution in Russia in 1917. We should know that all the setbacks in working class movements, in other words degradation of the First and Second Internationals, and collapse of Paris Commune happened due to bourgeois attacks against working class movement. While the first two Internationals were degenerated because of bourgeois attacks in the field of ideology, the Paris Commune fell to violent armed attacks

by the bourgeoisie.

Great Lenin being assisted by Great Stalin, his worthy follower, was successful in accomplishing the first working class revolution in Russia in 1917 by way of correct application of Marxism. At that time, it was quite unthinkable that working class could defeat the bourgeoisie and accomplished a successful revolution. Thereafter, the new born Soviet state was surrounded by enemies. It faced counter-revolutionary attacks from within and imperialist attacks from outside. But, braving all odds and repelling all attacks, Soviet socialism turned a very backward country into a most developed one within a very short span of time. Stalin played a highly laudable role after the death of Lenin in construction and development of the socialist system, defeating the fascist axis in the Second World War and helping liberation of Eastern Europe and also in respect to the Chinese Revolution in 1949. In Vietnam, a heroic liberation struggle was conducted against the aggression of US imperialism. A mighty World Socialist System emerged as parallel to World imperialist-capitalist system. Thus a new civilization emerged threatening the very foundation of world imperialism-capitalism. We, particularly those of us on the dais, were brought up in that period when there was glorious onward march of communism worldwide. There was a tide of anti-imperialist struggle supported and helped by the Soviet Union. Marxism, Socialism, Communism – these words evoked tremendous enthusiasm amongst the people. Great humanists like Romain Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Einstein and others in the West and Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Subramania Bharati, Premchand, Subhas Bose, Bhagat Singh, Nazrul Islam, Jyotiprasad Agarwala and many others in our country hailed Soviet Union. Great Stalin was honoured as the saviour of mankind after the victory in the Second World War. Such was the atmosphere at that time.

The situation is however quite different now. After the tragic fall of socialism in Soviet Union and China, immense frustration has developed throughout the world. Stalin's authority was undermined by renegade Khrushchev leadership in order to undermine Leninism with the objective of preparing the ground for capitalist counter revolution. Seizing this opportunity, world imperialist-capitalist camp gleefully intensified slanderous campaign against Stalin, Marxism-Leninism and Communism. All powerful communist parties in Europe, Japan, Asia and in many other countries who mechanically followed the Soviet or the Chinese leaderships became confused, frustrated as a result of which they almost disintegrated.

The reasons for the present crisis in the world communist movement and its lessons.

We know that after the revisionist degradation of the powerful Second International, world communist movement faced a serious crisis. But it was Lenin who appeared as a great fighter and worthy student of Marx-Engels and conducted a relentless all-out ideological battle against revisionism and in the process, enriched Marxism, defended and strengthened international communist movement by defeating both revisionism and dogmatism. Dismantling of the mighty socialist system and restoration of capitalism by counter revolution posed far more difficulties before the world communist movement. This very painful setback also provided rich lessons for developing proletarian revolutionary movement in future.

In this critical hour, Great Shibdas Ghosh emerged as a worthy successor of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong, and it is he who provided a powerful ideological weapon to tide over that difficult situation. Here I am mentioning very briefly some important lessons pointed out by him when the world communist movement was almost

considered all powerful, infallible and hailed by all at that time. As early back in 1948, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh sounded a caution, when regarding the impending crisis, he said, “while acknowledging with just pride and difference the many achievements and successes and glorious sacrifices of the world communist movement, we have not failed, even for a moment to point out the serious shortcomings in it. ...so far, the communists of different countries mostly stressed one-sided routine work of organization without showing any regard to coordinating it with questions of ideology...that has virtually led to the negation of the Marxian science,...regarding the dialectical process of emergence and formation of the revolutionary communist leadership through interaction of ideas.”⁽⁴⁾ While criticizing 20th Congress of CPSU in 1956, he pointed out, “No doubt, this observation of Khrushchev is sure to generate the trend of reformism-revisionism in the communist movement of different countries.”⁽⁵⁾ Subsequent revisionist degeneration in the world communist movement proved the correctness of this warning of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Again in 1962, he showed a serious ideological lapse regarding this matter and said “...the philosophical development of Marxism-Leninism which ought to have been made in the face of multiplicity of newer problems of life and class struggles and in keeping with the spectacular progress of natural sciences that marked the post Lenin period, was not made.”⁽⁶⁾ Pointing out some serious limitations in Socialist Russia and China, he said in 1969, that even after successful revolution “...in Russia as well as in China, the number of people adopted the Marxist-Leninist way of thinking are very few in comparison to the vast population. Those who have some idea about Marxism-Leninism have just a superficial impact of this ideology on them. Again, the party workers who work and think in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist methodology and outlook have been found to suffer

from the bourgeois ideological confusions and are influenced by modern revisionism.” Further he said in the same speech, “The Chinese Revolution was an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic – a people’s democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class, with the national bourgeoisie as an ally of this revolution. Up to a certain stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia, the bourgeoisie there had advanced a few steps along the path of revolution and stayed in alliance with the communists. After that, before the bourgeoisie seated in power could provide stability to the bourgeois class rule, the proletariat in Russia rapidly overthrew the bourgeois class from state power and made the socialist revolution successful. ...they accomplished the unfinished task of the bourgeois democratic revolution. For this reason individualism there had a relatively progressive role at the time.”⁽⁷⁾

He had shown how the bourgeois individualism which had played a relatively progressive role in the early stage of revolution in Russia and China, later on, turned into Socialist Individualism endangering socialism. He said, in 1967 “They have not yet have been able to provide any theoretical formulation, confirmed by history and social science, as to the fundamental difference between the moral values of bourgeois humanism and proletarian culture. ... As a result, at this stage of development of the Chinese society, the theories and approach that they are presenting in conducting the ideological struggle are quite inadequate to free the society from the evil effects of individualism... This is precisely that growing trend aimed at reducing the sense of individual freedom and liberty, individuality and emancipation of the individual to individual privileges and vulgar individualism with the attainment of more and more stability in economic and political spheres in the socialist society, which I have already termed as ‘socialist individualism’, meaning a new kind of individualism in

socialist society... it is incumbent on the leadership to present anew and clearly to the communists and the people at large what should be the essence of proletarian moral values and culture what should be its content...the ideal of surrendering the individual's interest to social interest, adjustment of individual necessities with those of the society is nothing different from ideals of bourgeois humanist values. Up till now, the highest standard of communist moral values was considered to have been reflected in this, and only they were considered to be real communists. ...But this cannot be considered as the adequate standard for the leading communists in the context of newer complexities of present day life. Because, it is found that living under the exploitative capitalist system, the concept of freedom and individualism is being reduced to individual privileges on a wide scale and the individual's indifferent attitude to social problems is on the increase daily. After bourgeois sense of 'right of equality' being really established and the individual freedom and individuality being freed from the bourgeois and feudal repression in socialist society, an individual is enjoying more and more freedom and privileges. ...even the communists who are enjoying more and more facilities and amenities in the socialist society may reduce the sense of individual freedom and liberty to a privilege again. ...So far, the standard of morality which worked in proletarian revolutionary politics was that the individual interest must be subordinated to the greater sense of social interest. But, if the level of consciousness remains the same in the present new and completely changed situation of social system, then it is impossible to achieve complete dedication and arrest the trend of individualism. ...in the Socialist Society where to resolve this problem, a more intense and arduous struggle in to be conducted for complete identification of the self interest with the interest of society through unflagging dedication and constant

vigil.”⁽⁸⁾

Now it is our task to raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism not only in our country but in other countries too in the light of the above teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Undoubtedly, we are having a powerful weapon and that is the advanced thought of Marxism-Leninism provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. But this weapon itself will not work, unless, as soldiers, we can master the skill to wield this weapon properly in the battle. With full of dedication and braving all difficulties, our leaders and our comrades at different levels must be ideologically prepared, culturally advanced, and organizationally skilled to meet the situation with perseverance, patience, persistence, boldness and unity of will. Emotional commitment is not enough. It is imperative to conduct an all-embracing continuous struggle for developing ourselves in all aspects of life.

Imperativeness of conducting relentless ideological-cultural struggle

Moreover, we are born in a most degraded capitalist society. Right from our early childhood, we acquire all bourgeois vices in our process of thinking and habits. Further, we are surrounded by a polluted atmosphere which permeates us and corrupts us daily, hourly, every moment. This engenders moral degradation, individualism, selfishness, ego-centrism, indiscipline, hankering for power, name, fame and position. How can we face these attacks? It is only by conducting relentless ideological struggle which is a very urgent need of the hour. Before death, Comrade Stalin gave a warning in the 19th Congress of CPSU in 1952 that “Ideological work is a prime duty of the party and underestimation of its importance may do irreparable damage to the interest of the party and state. We must always remember that if the influence of Socialist ideology is weakened, the effect would be strengthening of bourgeois

ideology.”⁽⁹⁾ His warning was not heeded by the Soviet party leaders and cadres who suffered from self-complacency and gave emphasis on economic activities neglecting political-ideological struggle. As a consequence, you all remember with much pain, what happened in Soviet Union. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also said that unless there is continuous struggle to uplift ideological-cultural standard in the Party, danger of revisionism would creep in and consequently the party would degenerate. He said, “If backwardness continues to persist in the fields of epistemology and culture, then the entire party and the working class may, being misled, tread the revisionist-reformist path and bring about restoration of capitalism while waving the banner of Marxism-Leninism and chanting socialist slogans.”⁽¹⁰⁾ Soviet Party was built up by great Lenin-Stalin. But that alone did not save the party. Our Party was also built up by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. So, that alone would not save our Party as well if we neglect this struggle. Most of our leaders, executives and leading bodies give emphasis on day to day routine work, but not on ideological struggle. Many leaders are not engaging themselves in ideological struggle, as they do not feel the necessity. So they do not encourage others. It is a serious problem before the Party.

First you conduct struggle to understand Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought philosophically. Even if you have studied most of the philosophical works of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh-Thought and can quote from any page, it does not mean that you have properly understood his teachings.

For deriving proper understanding, I repeat once more the guidance provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He said that you are to change yourself in every walk of life in order to acquire higher communist culture. Without acquiring that standard, at best you can become a scholar, not a real communist leader. Theoretical study, joining class and mass

struggles and changing your life should go on simultaneously to achieve proper understanding. You are to continuously struggle to acquire higher and higher ideological-cultural standard to cope up with the ever-changing conditions of struggles. Secondly, study his analysis on different international questions, national questions and various problems confronting life. There are many valuable speeches delivered by him which would guide you in this regard. While conducting this struggle, comrades should help and encourage each other to develop. That is why Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us to have constant common association and constant common discussion which will strengthen constant common activity. Comrades should acquire the standard to understand any problem, any issue, any phenomenon or development in a dialectical way, study everything in contradiction and in the process understand it in such a way that they can express it and handle the problems correctly. Our comrades need to grasp dialectical materialism so that it can guide their process of thinking, as a result of which they can follow concretely the objective laws governing any problem or phenomenon in continuous motion and act accordingly. They must understand Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought in such a way that they can defeat all bourgeois ideology and convince the people. Education must be given in that way. First we should know the ideological-political views of opponents and then prove why those are wrong. Comrades should also study the views and writings of the bourgeois and social democratic parties.

Comrades must convince people ideologically

Coming back to the present political situation, what are the RSS-BJP preaching in the name of religion,? How and why they are posing a danger before the exploited people and their struggle? Why does the Congress also pose similar

danger? Why do we call these two parties as the most trusted representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie? It is not enough to just declare that they are bourgeois parties. We have to convince the people about that. Where lies the difference between a bourgeois party and a proletariat party? Why are the CPI (M) and the CPI not genuine Marxist parties? How, as social democratic parties, they have been deceiving the working class and toiling people? Where lies the difference between a proletarian party and a social democratic party? Comrades must be clear about these questions so that they can convince people. Comrades must know by what sweet words and deceptive arguments, these parties are misleading people, confusing people, camouflaging their ill motives. Comrades must be properly equipped to confront and contradict them ideologically. Only general talk will not help the comrades. They must be trained accordingly to be good communist propagandists.

Approach to Love and Emotion

It has been our observation that when our comrades join the Party in their youth they are very energetic, very struggling with much emotion. After a certain time, relation develops between male and female comrades. It is a new phase of struggle and if not guided by Party education, problems would appear, hamper development, even cause setback to those comrades out of weakness. When one enters into married life, another phase of struggle ensues. When they become parents, a new phase of struggle unfolds. All these are the different phases of struggles. The comrades who fail to apply Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought in these complicated struggles would find stagnation in them and their development would cease despite all possibilities they had so far. So I am again reminding you of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings. He said, "*The leaders of the world communist movement struggled to influence their families.*"

When they did not succeed, there was a painful conflict, there was separation, but they did not have any co-existence. That one cannot influence the other while staying together is impossible. If one is unable to influence the other, the other will surely influence him or her. If neither is able to influence the other, there will be a conflict, a struggle and the two will be separated. ... Everybody should know that the effect of relations, particularly emotional relations has a deep impact on one's culture and character. Emotional vehicles like love, affection are very powerful and are necessary also. These can make a man great and noble, as well as these can cause his downfall and degradation. Friendship, emotional relation, sexual relation and exchange of love and affection mean that culture, thinking, sense of humour of one will influence the other unknowingly. Through intimacy, dialogues and exchange of humour, through love and affection, one will be influenced. It will be manifested within him by overcoming his intelligence. Here intelligence plays little role, since, through intelligence, I am using logic, posing an argument in order to convince others, making them to go through a book and understand it. But through intimacy and dialogue, through the exchange of wit and humour, whether I admit to myself or not, unknowingly the outlook, culture, mentality, conception of affection and sense of humour of this decaying society intermixes as an alloy with my character, habits and prejudices, along with my sense of ethics and morality. ”⁽¹⁾

Comrades should take note of these valuable teachings. Many comrades faced this problem. When they are in relationship, in married life or when they become parents, their love and affection should not be turned into weakness. Love should be on the basis of ideology and culture. After 50/100 years who will remember you? Your only role is to serve the human civilization. That should be your role. Man

like Vidyasagar, who was not a communist, did not hesitate to abandon his only son because he behaved immorally. His parents opposed him, his wife and friends also opposed. But he did not vacillate. He was full of love and emotion with high morality. But we find that some of our comrades compromise with the wrongs of their spouses or children out of weakness. As a result, the advancement of such comrades is hampered.

Necessity of being declassified in order to carry higher proletarian culture to the people.

All of us have come from middle class families, i.e. petty bourgeois families. Petty bourgeoisie is essentially, in many respects—economic-political-cultural as well as in regard to approach to family life bound by the bourgeois culture with a thousand threads, knowingly or unknowingly. If you cannot recognize those threads, you cannot be free from those bindings. First recognize those threads of your own life and then conduct struggle, according to Party guidance in order to free yourself from the tentacles of bourgeois thoughts and culture. Here, let me remind you of a very important teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He said, *“The ceaseless class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the present society is constantly influencing our realm of thought, ethics and culture. This class struggle is not confined to the economic sphere or the arena of movement of the workers against the owners only. It is equally present in the spiritual world or mental domain. Whether you like it or not, it is firmly entrenched in your mind. One aspect of it is of the owners, the capitalists. The other aspect relates to the workers. Consequently it sometimes makes you tilt towards the capitalists, and some other time draws you in favour of the workers. This is the objective existence of class struggle in our society. The prevailing thoughts and*

concepts of the bourgeois society do impact your mind in the natural course. No leader or cadre can keep himself altogether out of bounds of this social environment. And because that is not possible, a leader, no matter how high a stature he may enjoy, must remain ever conscious and introspect whether the thoughts, ideas and attitudes that take shape in his mind at every moment, his behavior and style of functioning are compatible or not with the revolutionary objective and aspiration of the people.”⁽¹²⁾

How to conduct mass life

The question of struggle to become declassed is very important. We must develop our political hatred towards the bourgeois and petty bourgeois mode of life. We must go to the oppressed people not only to propagate our views but also to study their lives in order to know how they are suffering, how they are living, how their children are brought up in a most miserable condition. Study it in such a way that it awakens our conscience. Only by being aware of the teaching that revolutionary politics is a higher and nobler emotional cult, the desired emotional cult will not automatically develop. You must establish emotional link with the exploited people. While mixing with them, we should not degrade ourselves to the lower ideological-cultural standard of the oppressed masses but uplift them to higher proletarian ideology and culture. We should be declassed revolutionary intellectuals and work as vehicles of carrying the advanced revolutionary ideology to the most backward, illiterate, downtrodden, politically unconscious, slumbering people. It is a very difficult task. Our revolution is proletarian revolution. For that, the proletariat is to be politically educated, culturally uplifted and organizationally united. There are factory workers, agricultural workers and the poor peasantry along with the impoverished middle class. They are the forces of revolution. So you must go to

them and live with them to know their problems, questions and confusions so that you can educate them properly. We should not fence ourselves off from them being influenced by so-called middle class culture or puritanism. We are lacking very much in this regard. So comrades must move in the slum areas to mix with the downtrodden people. We should not go only to sell literature or collect fund or for preaching something. We should go to them as students to learn from them too. In this context, the words of Great Mao-Tse-Tung are noteworthy. He said “In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily ‘from the masses, to the masses’. This means: take the ideas of the masses... and concentrate them... then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action... And so on, over and over again... with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time.”¹³

We should go as a friend to become a beloved one, to win over their minds and educate them so that they could be turned into a revolutionary force. Lenin even said that if proletariats and semi-proletariats belong to any reactionary organization or associations, communists must go there braving all odds and difficulties with perseverance, patience, intelligence, skill and art to win them over.

Urgent necessity to speedily develop the class fronts

All the state committees should depute comrades to develop trade union movement in both organized and unorganized sectors in their respective states. In TU movement, we are very much weak. Unless we organize the proletariat, how can we develop proletarian revolution? Workers in both these sectors are severely exploited, ruined and ruthlessly suppressed and crushed. All other trade

unions are bribed by the employers and they all are betraying the working class. Out of accumulated anger, there are occasional isolated outbursts by these workers. But these outbursts are mostly suppressed brutally and end in frustration in absence of an effective revolutionary leadership. This situation demands our urgent attention towards developing our TU organization as rapidly as possible. Situation is same in the peasant organization too. Unbearable sufferings are pushing the peasants to sporadic, unorganized agitations and they are even facing bullets. But, all these agitations are fizzling out after sometimes and exploiting this agitational mood of the peasants, the vote-based rightist or pseudo-Marxist parties have been reaping electoral benefit. So this situation also demands our urgent attention to develop the peasant front as expeditiously as possible. All rural Party bodies must undertake this responsibility. All the women comrades barring those from the students' front, youth front and KOMSOMOL should be engaged to work among the ASHA workers and in such other women-based organizations like ICDS, Anganwadi etc. There are a few lakhs of such women workers in India. But AIMSS is mostly only confined within the middle class women. This should not be. These sections of working women can be turned into fighters of militant movements, if you can win them over and organize them gradually. You can win their entire families as well. Do not forget that women played a very important role in all the revolutionary struggles. In the name of so-called local work, female comrades should not be held back from organizing these working women. Comrades should be deputed in organized sectors, worker's barracks for exploration in different ways.

**Organizational expansion must be in a planned
scientific way**

Comrades, our Party organization is extending into

many states. We are also expanding in various districts of different states. But expansion is not taking place in a planned way. This expansion, if I am not wrong, is almost spontaneous. There is no planning for systematic consolidation and expansion. If proper attempts are made, valuable contacts can be found out. To maintain and develop those contacts is the urgent task of the hour. As there are strong districts, so are there weak districts. Weak districts are to be strengthened with the help of the strong districts. Again there are districts where we have no units. It is the task of the state Party to explore the districts where we are not having any cadre or unit. Depute comrades to explore those districts. Similarly, there are weak states. Relatively strong states should help the weak states. Every state must prepare a list to release some young energetic cadres to explore newer areas within the state as well as outside the state. But, a tendency among the local-district-state committees not to release comrades is hindering this task. They feel their work would suffer if comrades are released. Because of a kind of narrow sectarian outlook, these committees fail to realize the need for more and more expansion of the Party at all India level. They must abandon this narrow thinking. Earlier, the Party expanded in that way. During the initial stage of DSO, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya was deputed to Assam. At that time I had some hesitation regarding this decision. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh asked me: "Do you want the development of Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya?" I said, "yes". Then he told me to release him and said that this would help not only in building up the Party in Assam, but also develop Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya. And both of these did happen. In this way, when our Party was in the embryonic stage, he sent Comrades Sachin Bannerjee, Prithish Chanda, Hiren Sarkar, Amriteswar Chakraborty, Tapas Dutta, Haider and some others out of West Bengal to explore other states.

Subsequently they became Party leaders. So young comrades belonging to DSO, DYO and Party units in every state should be released for at least seven days to ten days every month. Let them work outside. Not only would there be organizational expansion, these comrades also will develop in the process. If a comrade works in a particular locality month after month, year after year, it narrows his or her horizon of outlook, limits his development and cripples his growth. Let them develop. Let them face new problems, new difficulties, and new questions. It will help them. Central Committee, State Committees should decide on it. And I call upon all the leaders of state committees, district committees, and local committees not to create any obstruction in this work. Comrades are experiencing that in spite of all political backwardness, confusions, questions and frustrations, there is a yearning among the people to find a real party. It is the experience of the comrades that wherever and whenever they go to a new place with the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, they get response. Our Party is expanding without any media backing. We are not having any MLA and MP. Financially we depend upon only public collection. Still we are expanding because our ideology is so powerful. We can expand yet more rapidly. This is the crying need of the hour. We need more young cadres. Give emphasis on DSO, DYO and KOMSOMOL also to find out new cadres. State leadership should not leave the question of development of these organizations by telling that it is a frontal affair, let front decide. No. These are the fronts of the Party. Party is in the leadership. It is the responsibility of the Party to develop class and mass fronts. Cultural, social and different types of mass forums and associations are to be developed to involve people of different professions.

Possibility of developing anti-fascist movement.

It is true in India that the forces of reaction are becoming

more powerful. It is true that fascism is getting more and more consolidated. But it is also true that observations of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh still remain valid. In India, there are many complexities and many contradictions. Contradictions among monopoly houses, contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and the regional bourgeoisie are there, and there are contradictions on religion, parochialism, casteism and language. Also there are contradictions concerning the dalits and tribal problems. Further, there are a large number of small productions in the country. Because of all these factors, it is very difficult for the ruling bourgeoisie to unite the whole people by raising slogans of fascist jingoism as Hitler did in Germany. These are impediment to development of all-out fascism. So we will get a breathing space.

There is another factor to be noted also. A large number of intellectuals who are not attached with any party, the liberal democrats, scientists, teachers, professors, artists, writers, all are voicing their protests against religious and fascistic attacks. We have to organize them. We have to organize different types of forums to involve them to the extent they can be involved. But you must handle such organizations very intelligently. Don't impose anything upon them. Evolve the idea through a persuasive discussion. We can get a large number of intellectuals in favour of our struggle against this fascistic attack.

Another point is that earlier the RSS was more dangerous. Fifty to Sixty years back, RSS leaders and cadres had some sort of religious honesty. Today, the RSS-BJP, wearing a cloak of religion, has become out and out corrupt like other bourgeois parties. People have been experiencing it every day. Remember, once Lenin said that an honest priest is more dangerous than a dishonest priest. The RSS-BJP is totally dishonest. Another point is that in India, religion has been a very powerful force since long. National

bourgeoisie led congress at the time of freedom movement being threatened by the possibility of working class revolution compromised with and encouraged religious thoughts. Social democratic parties, undivided CPI and then CPI(M), they never conducted any struggle against it, rather exploited religious sentiment for pragmatic considerations. RSS-BJP has brought religion as their weapon in the open battle field. Now, we are to answer to the people why religion cannot solve today's problems. We are faced with that battle. It is a very difficult and arduous battle. But it will help us too. Theoretically we have to conduct this struggle very cautiously without injuring the religious sentiments of the common people. At the same time this struggle is to be linked up with class and mass struggles.

Revolutionary purpose behind developing movements

In some places we are organizing movements. But these movements only achieve some demands. Our comrades fail to understand the objective behind organizing people's movements. According to Lenin, movement is a school of communism. When there is no movement, people languish in frustration. But if there is movement, people become very active, very alert and very militant. This is the moment when a flash of political consciousness gleam in the minds of the people in a rudimentary form. That is the time to introduce our political views by way of appropriately linking those with their movement. You must acquire that art also. 'All these are coming from capitalism; we have to fight against capitalism', these words and raising the slogan 'Inquilab Zindabad' alone will not do. People must understand why 'Inquilab' is necessary; how all the problems of their lives' are generated by capitalism. People must understand that ruling party is the servant of the ruling class. So it is not enough merely to go against the ruling party. They have to fight against the ruling class. It is not enough to go against

the government. They have to go against the bourgeois state which is the main power. Who will provide this education to the multitudes of toiling masses? Masses cannot acquire this consciousness spontaneously. Here lies the prime role of the vanguard. Moreover, workers, peasants and other toiling people are being corrupted by bourgeois vile culture, they are made disunited by religious, parochial, caste and ethnic fanaticism. While preparing and conducting the struggles, we are to free them from this pernicious influences and conspiracies of bourgeoisie. As vanguard, we have to provide this education. Comparatively, it is easier to organize agitation on burning issues but it is much more difficult to provide political education which requires revolutionary purposiveness, profound knowledge, wisdom, tenacity of mind, understanding of mass psychology and art of talking. We must acquire all these. We must know at which moment we can put our general line in a concrete way in a concrete situation so that it can gradually revolutionize the minds of the masses. If we merely achieve the demands but cannot introduce our politics in the movement and cannot increase the number of our cadres and supporters, then it would only be reduced to economism, not conscious revolutionary political struggle. In this connection, I will remind you of a teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He taught us that while preparing for any movement, we should develop the instruments of mass struggle i.e. peoples' committee and enroll volunteers. These committees should be composed of the advanced section of the struggling people and brave youths are to be recruited as volunteers. Preparing the charter of demands, chalking out the plans of movements and execution of the plans – all should be done by these committees. Party will guide in such a way that these committees can play an active role in deciding and executing the plans. Party must not impose, but guide to evolve the decisions. We should acquire this

difficult art. Always we should seek opinions, suggestions and advice from the masses in order to learn from them. Common people out of common sense can provide better suggestion. If we, in this process, continue the struggle, it will not only turn the passive masses into an active fighting force but also it will help to convert the hitherto unconscious people into a politically conscious force, it will also help to develop political power of the people, based on a high culture.

Who is a good revolutionary leader?

Comrades, we are all leaders at different levels. But we should not suffer from any leadership complex. When we are deputed for carrying out different jobs as leaders or members of different Party bodies, we are assigned higher responsibilities. We must discharge those responsibilities humbly. In the conference, we are elected. In the light of the very decision of the conference, we are deemed to have been recognized as leaders. But real leadership means being acceptable to comrades from the core of their heart with due respect and emotion. This acceptability I am to achieve by my higher ideological-cultural standard, selflessness, devotion, dedication, sense of responsibility, ability, self-critical attitude, boundless love for the oppressed people and unwavering loyalty to Party and revolution and emotional attachment with the comrades. It may happen that officially I am the leader of this body. But if I fail to acquire the above qualities, I will be accepted mechanically as leader, which will not serve the purpose. When you talk with the comrades and with the people as leader, the approach should be what I have to learn from them. Not that, I am talking to them as a preacher. But I am going to them as a learner. I am learning from their questions, from their points. I am studying them and then accepting what is right and which would strengthen me. At the same time, if any wrong is noticed, I would clarify

that. That should be our approach. Don't behave harshly and bureaucratically with the junior comrades with a commanding voice. Be the 'centre of emotion' to the junior comrades, just like an affectionate parent. Only then, you can help them. It can so happen that today I am someone's leader but tomorrow he or she could be my leader in course of time and struggle. If that happens, it ought to be of great satisfaction and pleasure for me. Never nurture a feeling that I am superior and you should always remain inferior. Correct process of struggle will determine the future development of all. So, this is not a question of who is superior and who is inferior. We are all helping each other. If a junior comrade cannot criticize me despite having valid points, it is a dishonor to me. It is because, that comrade is afraid of me. If he or she is angry with me, let him or her express that anger. But if he or she hesitates to speak and scratches his head, that means, not only does that comrade lack boldness, but also it is a testimony of dishonor to a leader. As a leader, I have created such an atmosphere that junior comrades cannot talk to me freely with ease of mind. If one does not feel easy to talk in front of me, today or tomorrow he will talk behind me. And that will be harmful.

Danger of drawing individual impression

No leader, no comrade should take individual reading as final. Impressions may come, those may be superficial, outward, one-sided, or on the basis of personal likes and dislikes. There are so many factors. I told earlier also that if I am a scientist, it is easier for me to study the motion of atoms or electrons. If I am a doctor, I can diagnose what kind of bacteria is causing ailment to a patient. But it is very difficult to study a man. There is no laboratory for this. Profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh-Thought, higher proletarian cultural standard, vast experience of life, impersonal approach and submission to

collective reading – these are necessary to have a correct reading. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that he did not take any impression individually. If anything came in his mind about any comrade, he would talk to that comrade to verify whether his impression was right or wrong. A great man like Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has said this. But most of our leaders often pass loose judgmental comments such as ‘you are like this, you are like that’ and so forth. In this way, they dampen the spirit of the rising comrades. We should not behave in that way.

Another point is that today I may be having some shortcomings. And you have noted it. But am I static? I am also in the process of continuous motion as nothing remains static. Either I will develop or deteriorate. So, correct conception at a given point of time will not be correct for all the times. If I continue to hold the old opinion, and on the basis of old opinion, I judge you, it would be a judgment based on preconception. If I am having hot exchange with anyone, if anyone misbehaves with me and if at that particular moment I judge that comrade, it will be wrong. Free yourself from that angry or aggrieved feeling, calm yourself, and don’t allow counter-reaction. Suppose, someone has misbehaved with you, before being angry, ask yourself whether you can claim that you have always behaved properly with everyone? Have you not misbehaved with anyone anytime? Any comrade can misbehave. What should be my reaction to that? Shall I have counter-reaction with a revengeful mood? That is bourgeois culture. I will feel pain because that comrade is committing some mistake which would hamper his or her development. My thinking will be how I can help him or her to rectify. This is a question of ethics. Earlier the humanists also reflected a higher standard. There must be no gossip behind the back of this or that comrade or this or that leader. These are all bourgeois approaches. If you have anything in mind or observation

about any comrade, place it before the leadership to help the concerned comrade. This time we have conducted criticism-self-criticism at all levels according to the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It was a very good and commendable struggle. But this is also true that a section of comrades could not take criticism happily. They accepted criticism with a pale or gloomy face. They accepted appreciation with a bright glowing face. These are our shortcomings. Many of us are yet not prepared to criticize our own shortcomings openly nor prepared to accept criticism from others happily. To accept the critic as a teacher still remains only a teaching before most of us. But to practice it is very difficult. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh even taught us to accept our enemies as our teachers, if there is slightest of truth in their criticisms. We have to acquire that standard if we are eager to elevate ourselves further.

Efforts towards developing united left movement

Comrades, we are striving hard to develop united left-democratic movement. But it does not depend only on our effort. Problem is that, the CPI(M), CPI are only running after parliamentary seats and they are very much eager to combine with the Congress and other regional-casteist-parochial parties branding them as 'secular and democratic'. How can we associate ourselves with such a move? Moreover, they are not at all interested to develop any militant mass struggle. Although from the very inception they developed as social-democrats, but still they played a militant role in mass movements to some extent up to 1966. But after seated in Governmental power in some states they behaved like other bourgeois parties in power and lost that militant role. Now their struggle is limited to issuing statements, holding conventions and at best taking out peaceful rallies aiming at vote bank politics. Beyond this, they are not at all ready to proceed. Yesterday, a draft

statement authored by General Secretary of CPI(M) was received by us here over telephonic talk. It was on observance of Babri Masjid Demolition Day on 6 December. Content of the statement was 'to save the secular democratic constitution of our country and observe Ambedkar Jayanti'. How can we be a signatory to this? We declined. There is a loose combination of six left parties. This combination issues some statements occasionally. Sometimes, it raises its head and then again goes to bed. We are not dissociating from it. At present, our stand is that if we find the constituents of the combination are building up any movement, definitely we will join them. But if, at any point of time at local and regional levels, you feel that you can involve them in the struggle, definitely you should do that. It is also a good sign that a section of the left-minded people or honest activists of the CPI(M), CPI in different states are eagerly studying our literature, helping us financially and joining some of our movements. A section of them is even joining our Party or Fronts. We must develop intimate relation with them and win them by cautious, careful, skillful efforts avoiding any hasty step. Involve them to whatever extent they can respond. Last year, during the November Revolution Centenary celebration all over the country, our comrades involved many left-minded people and a section of CPI(M), CPI people also. In this way, at local and regional levels, we can involve them. Even if they join us with their banners in a movement, there is no objection at all. Our stand is very clear. Even if a rightist party develops a movement and the demands are democratic and masses are involved, we will join that movement as we joined the JP movement in 1974-75. Our aim then was to expose the rightist leadership, to win over the masses and provide leftist direction in the movement. You know that is the stand of our Party. But we shall join only on the condition that the demands must be democratic and masses are involved.

These two points are very important.

Correct revolutionary approach towards election

Comrades, you all know that after this Party Congress, the entire country will be carried away by the wind of parliamentary elections. People will get involved in that election. Our task should be to develop a parallel current with all our strength. While one current is of election, we should develop another current of class and mass struggle at local, district and state levels on burning issues of life. In whatever way you can, you develop that alternate current of struggle. For that, you should go to whatever extent you can. Along with that, we will participate in the election with the flag of class and mass struggle. Our Party in all the states will strive to contest as many seats as possible so that we can place our revolutionary political line before the masses and unmask others. You must be prepared for that. After the elections, whoever comes to power, ruthless exploitation by capitalist class will continue with more intensity. Again there will be more and more outbursts of the oppressed people. We must be prepared to respond to the need of the hour. Meanwhile the CPI(M) and CPI will suffer further setbacks in the election and they will be further exposed and disgraced before the people. Already they are politically demoralized after the loss of government power in West Bengal and Tripura. Ideologically also, they are bankrupt and suffering from group conflicts since long. That will provide more opportunity for us to develop our organization.

Comrades must struggle to provide right direction to surging movements

Each comrade and every Party unit must always be prepared to respond to any simmering discontent among the masses. Sparks of discontents will be noticed here and there. It is impossible to foresee which spark will lead to what

big a conflagration. So you must always remain alert and prepared. Do not wait for instructions from the higher leadership; take up the initiative to lead the struggle. It often happens that on a particular issue, people are in the streets. In such a case, you cannot wait for unit meeting or committee meeting to decide what to do. Jump into that very moment without any delay. When masses are spontaneously coming on to the streets, a single comrade can take the initiative to organize their agitation. Every communist must have a mind to always protest against any injustice and oppression wherever it might take place — in train, in bus, on the street, in any institution, anywhere. This is necessary for development of character also.

We ought to study all political facts and events based on a Marxist outlook with a view to studying the various classes from all angles—intellectual, political, ethical, moral. We need to study weakness and strength of the bourgeois as well as the social democrat parties. We have to meticulously observe what is happening in our surroundings. We have to keep our ears open to the various talks among the public. Sometimes, people speak very loudly while sometimes they just whisper. Even at times, their mute faces speak of their minds and feelings. Our five senses must always be active so that we can correctly get into people's mind and respond timely and properly. That should be our approach. So preparedness must be there. All of a sudden a new situation may develop. It may be favourable or most unfavourable. To adequately cope with any of such situations, we are to remould our mode of organization and style of work appropriately and speedily.

Cry for correct leadership

Comrades, the entire country is crying for leadership. No party is trusted or relied upon. That is the situation. I have already told you wherever we are able to reach out

with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh-Thought, we are receiving appreciation and acceptance by the people. Only grievance they express is that why are we not so strong? Why are we not expanding rapidly? We are to answer them not by words, but by our deeds. Develop your organization. This is akin to the cry of a distressed mother for rapid development of her baby. Remember, situation now is most favourable for the development of our organizations.

World imperialism-capitalism is sunk in an accentuating insurmountable crisis

Comrades, we must note that world imperialism-capitalism is sinking in the ocean of insurmountable crises. Lately coined terms like ‘bubble economy’, ‘downsizing of industry’, ‘jobless growth’, ‘slowdown of economy’ are all reflections of continuing recession or economic downturn. There is no sign of recovery even in the remote future. Rather the crisis is intensifying and deepening more and more. All the imperialist powers like the USA, European Union, Japan as well as China and Russia, turned capitalist after counter-revolution, are at loggerheads with each other, engaged in mortal conflicts over grabbing of markets. They are entangled in fierce trade wars to seize each other’s market. All of them are increasing military budget and producing weapons of mass destruction. All their sittings and summits for settlement of conflicts are ending in precipitation of more squabbles leading to far bigger confrontations. It cannot be otherwise. India as a rising imperialist country is also a party to these conflicts. It is at present allying with USA, but at the same time maintaining relations with other contending imperialist countries also in an effect to increase its bargaining power. On the other hand, unbearable burning problems of life are pushing people of all imperialist-capitalist countries to the path of agitation. Oppressed people are now in of mood of protest. They desire

struggles. They desire change. They are, in fact, in a revolting mood. Often there are sporadic outbursts of mass movements in this or that country. Like surging waves, movements are developing but then receding in absence of revolutionary ideology and leadership. Again movements are bursting forth, but then subsiding again. How long this situation will continue depends upon how correctly and efficiently the proletariat discharges its class conscious role, the revolutionary parties of the proletariat discharge their conscious revolutionary role. Let me remind you that on the eve of the First World War, Lenin characterized imperialism as the stage of moribund capitalism. Now capitalism is lying in its death bed. It is ruining the entire mankind in all spheres of life—economic-political-cultural-ethical-moral. Like a stinking corpse, it is spreading its foul smell everywhere. Love, affection, social obligation, values, finer human qualities—all are being destroyed. How long shall we allow this miserable situation to continue? We are to answer that if we are really politically conscious revolutionaries, if we are really students of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, then we must respond to the need of the hour. First, we will have to prepare ourselves ideologically, organizationally and morally in our country and then only we can fulfill our international obligations by extending our help effectively. This is the call of the hour. This is the call of this 3rd Party Congress of SUCI(Communist).

**Let us remember the appeal of Comrade Shibdas
Ghosh**

Comrades, I have probably taken much time. I am coming to the end my speech and here I would like to read out to you an appeal of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This is an appeal to the students and youths but we should take it as an appeal to all of us. You know this appeal. *“Comrades, remember, those who can sacrifice at the initial stage for*

ideology and idea – they are not many people, they are always few people – young, bright and students. At every stage of development of the society, in every country, it is the students and young people who come forward, being influenced by and imbued with the revolutionary ideology and being completely dedicated go to the masses, rouse the masses, organize them in thousands and help them in creating their political power. Then the time comes for the masses for action — that we call revolution. Before that you will have to travel many a step, arduous and tortuous — painful but happier. I say this is the happier and honourable way. Yes, in this way of fighting things, it may be painful – sometimes even tortuous, but no doubt it is the honourable way to lead a life. Here in this struggle you may die, but you will die with honour, raising your head high. ... go to the masses, organize them, help them in creating political power so that people, the toiling masses, can take up arms and bring about a fundamental change of our society by overthrowing the bourgeoisie from power, replacing capitalism and establishing socialism.”⁽¹⁴⁾ This was his appeal in 1974.

Touching reminiscences of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Comrades, before I conclude, I will tell you three touching incidents. Probably four months before the death of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in 1976, I had a programme in Bangalore with some intellectuals. At that time Karnataka Party was not yet formed. I was in hesitation because you know I cannot speak English properly. He inspired me to go there and discuss without hesitation in spite of my language limitation. I went there, had some meetings and found out some contacts. On my way back, I went to Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh. While I was having discussions with a group of young men there in a room in the slum area,

suddenly we were surrounded by plain-dressed policemen and arrested. At that time, emergency had been clamped on the country. I knew that they could have lodged any false case against us. I felt very much worried about the newcomers. Following the education of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, I handled the situation very calmly and ensured the release of all of us. Details I need not discuss here. The moment I reached Kolkata in the morning, I reported the incident in details to Comrade Sachin Banerjee, departed Central Committee member. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh heard this incident from Comrade Sachin Banerjee. In the evening, when I met him in the office, he said smilingly: You have been very successful. Being overwhelmed, I told him: If we get you for 10 more years, we could conquer entire India. He stared at me for a moment with an eye of eager expectation. Then he asked me: ‘Whatever teachings of Marxism I have placed – are they not enough for you to go forward?’ He felt his days were numbered. Secondly, only four days before his death, myself alongwith some other leaders were in the Central Commune in Kolkata where he lived. He was then discussing how performance of some instrumental musicians touch the audience because of striking correct chords while many others fail to do that. Suddenly, he turned to us and said: ‘Whatever discussions I did, those came from the core of my heart full of emotional feelings for the oppressed people. If you quote these, you will get applause, but not the desired effect unless you have heartfelt emotional feelings for the oppressed.’ The last incident was on 5th August, 1976. This was on the day he breathed his last. I along with some leaders and comrades were at the Central Commune since morning. Just before he closed his eyes, he stared at all of us. What did I feel? I felt that he was dying. His eyes were asking whether his mission would be carried forward by the comrades around him? I felt that way. Comrades, I have narrated to you these

three unforgettable incidents because these always haunt my mind. Those of us sitting on the dais have all become old. We may not attend the next Congress. But your task is to carry forward this mission. You know, at the initial stage of formation of our party, when he was told that since he was alone and there was none to help him, neither did he receive any publicity, nor had any financial support, his life would be spoilt. So he was advised to better give up his useless effort to build up a revolutionary party. He answered firmly: 'I would fight and die. I might die in the streets. Even none may be aware of it. But if there is any truth in my struggle, one day people would accept it.' Now so many comrades are here, almost entire India is represented here. All of you are inspired by his teachings. Party is expanding. But numerical expansion will not do. We need qualitative development also. Whenever I speak in any mass meeting, in a class, in this house also, I feel I am merely a student of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I try to represent Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I feel Comrade Shibdas Ghosh represented all great men of human civilization starting from Buddha to Great Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong. He had carried forward their mission. We are his students. We have to carry forward that mission by holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh-Thought and proletarian internationalism. I expect that with this mind and resolve, you will leave this Congress.

Red Salute to you all

Red Salute to our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Long Live

Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas GhoshThought

SUCI (Communist) Zindabad

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