



## SUCI(C) hails victory of historic peasant Movement

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C), issued the following statement on 19 Nov. 2021:

“Fascist BJP-led central government ultimately had to bow down before the struggling peasants and concede to their legitimate demands. It is a great victory of the historic peasant movement which again proves that undaunted determined sustained movement can alone defeat any sinister design of the ruling parties serving the capitalists and multinational corporations.

It is a very important lesson for all the oppressed people.

Red salute to all the martyrs and the still fighting peasants!”

## AIKKMS congratulates peasants for forcing BJP govt. to repeal three Black Farm Laws in parliament

Comrades Satyawan and Shankar Ghosh, President and General Secretary respectively of AIKKMS, issued the following statement on 29 Nov. 2021:

“The Indian parliament has passed today the bill to repeal the anti-farmer pro-corporate three farm acts. It is a great victory of the struggling peasants under the leadership of SKM and a result of a year long heroic, historic peasant movement that sacrificed near about seven hundred lives. We congratulate the farmers and pay our heartfelt tribute to the martyrs.

We call upon the peasants to continue the struggle till the demands like legalizing MSP and repeal of Electricity (Amendment) Bill-21 and others are achieved.”

## AIKKMS on formal withdrawal of three Black Farm Laws and remaining tasks before the peasant movement today

We know that under pressure of the heroic struggle and self-sacrifice of the peasants and all sections of the toiling people across the country during last one year, Modi Government has been forced to announce repeal of the three anti-peasant pro-corporate Black Farm Laws. But still it is pursuing the same old policies to oppress the people and serve the interest of the monopoly houses of home and abroad. In its last cabinet meeting on 24 November 2021, it has declared to table the anti-people electricity bill-2021 in the coming session of parliament and has not said a single word on the question of legalisation of Minimum Support Price (MSP) of procurement of all agricultural produce by the central government. Now, it is a serious challenge to the struggling peasants to compel the government to legalize MSP and withdraw the proposed Electricity (Amendment) Bill 2021. We know this Bill is not only a serious attack on the farmers but also on the electricity consumers of the entire country. So it is an imperative task of the movement to foil this heinous attack of the Modi led-BJP Government.

Prime Minister Modi has mentioned of forming a committee on MSP. What is the necessity of forming committees on issues already decided and promised to implement? We know, in the year 2004-2006, The Farmers Commission headed by M.S. Swaminathan had recommended to provide MSP at C2+50% basis (C2= the actual amount farmers spend on growing a crop each season plus actual input costs as well as the implied economic value of family

members working on the farm plus value of capital assets, including rent and interest on the land.) In the 2014 election, the BJP promised in its manifesto to operationalize it and the Prime Minister himself promised to implement the recommendations of the Swaminathan Commission.

Apart from this, in the year 2011, when Shri Modi was the Chief Minister of Gujarat, a committee was formed under his chairmanship which also recommended to the then Prime Minister to provide legal guarantee on MSP. So, what is the point of forming a committee again on the same subject? It is nothing but an attempt to deceive the peasants and other people. So it is our considered opinion that government should take appropriate steps in the coming session of parliament to legalise MSP and to shoulder the responsibility of procuring agricultural produce at MSP.

Due emphasis should also be given on four other demands like (i) adequate compensation to the families of the martyrs, (ii) withdrawal of all cases filed against the struggling peasants of different states and, (iii) ouster of Ajoy Mishra Teni from the central ministry etc. which are already mentioned in the open letter to the Prime Minister by SKM.

In this context, our suggestions to the SKM are as follows:

1) If all these demands mentioned above are not met properly, we should continue and strengthen our country-wide movement. For that purpose, a countrywide movement

programme should be announced in due time.

2) Our worker brothers under the leadership of 10 Central Trade Unions are strengthening their movement against privatisation and corporatizations and they have already declared two days' all India strike in the month of February 2022. Soon they are supposed to finalise the dates of the strike. We should give an all-out effort to strengthen workers-peasants unity to defeat the heinous move of the corporates and their subservient central BJP government.

3) We have noted that nowadays this movement has not just remained a movement of the peasants, but has become a movement of all sections of the toiling people across the country. So, Samjukt Kisan Morcha (SKM) should take proper steps to unite all these people round the country.

It is a reality that the undaunted heroic peasant movement has created a firm conviction among the masses of the whole country that they can defeat the machination of a fascist autocratic government if they are united, organized and mentally prepared for a sustained struggle braving all sorts of oppression and suppression. Exactly that has happened under the wise leadership of SKM. The Indian people demands more from this leadership. They are sure that this leadership will take proper steps to strengthen and advance the movement further to defeat and destroy this rule of capitalists and corporates and their servile central BJP government.

— All India Kisan Khet Mazdoor Sangathan (AIKKMS)

## Congratulating struggling peasants for forcing fascist autocratic government to bend



Kolkata



Thiruvantanampuram, Kerala



Delhi

More Photos on P. 5

## **SUCI(C) vehemently opposes Bank privatization bill, calls for launching a powerful resistance movement**

*Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 25-11-21:*

We vehemently oppose the brazenly anti-people move on the part of the BJP-led central government to introduce the Banking Laws (Amendment) Bill 2021 with a view to handing over the nationalized banks, once set up with people's money, to the monopoly-owned corporates. This reckless privatization spree is destined to endanger the safety and security of hard-earned savings of the common depositors as well as job security of bank employees and allow the private owners to gleefully as well as increasingly plunder people's savings in the name of securing finance for their own industries, enterprises and institutions. Already the amount of defaulted loans (Non-performing Assets-NPAs) with the banks have been soaring sky high as most of such loans to industrial tycoons are either condoned, or waived or written off. Now NPAs would further multiply because of easiness on the part of the corporate sharks to shift money from their own banks to their personal wallets under the garb of lending. The very logic of saving the public sector banks through privatization is a bunkum as private banks like Global Trust Bank, Lakshmi Vilas Bank and Yes Bank have failed over the past years and there are serious allegations of frauds against ICICI and other private banks.

We call upon the entire working class the bank employees included to draw inspiration from the ongoing peasants' movement and build up a united powerful resistance against such a draconian move.

### **How 'Double Engine' government of UP is "striding along developmental path"**

"Those who have any doubt about the capabilities of UP and its people should come to Sultanpur today to witness their strength. Such a modern expressway has now come up where it was just a piece of land three to four years ago," PM Modi said as he addressed a gathering in Karwal Kheri of the Sultanpur district. He was speaking after landing at newly constructed Purbanchal Expressway in UP in a military aircraft on 16 November last. "Those who have any doubt about the capabilities of UP and its people should come to Sultanpur today to witness their strength. Such a modern expressway has now come up where it was just a piece of land three to four years ago," he added.

The UP BJP chief minister who was also present in that lavish ceremony said that there is a focus on overall and inclusive 'vikas' across the state as part of a big development push. A month back, PM Modi while addressing a public meeting on Barwa farm ground in Kushinagar district of eastern UP claimed that the 'Double Engine' BJP government at the Centre and in Uttar Pradesh (UP) has brought a turnaround in the state within four years and a half. The BJP PM also boasted that UP leads in Covid vaccination as well as in the fight against TB and malnutrition, and the women benefitted from the launch of welfare schemes.

But in no time, the first Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) report published by Niti Ayog on 25 November last showed UP is third in the index

with only to be followed by Madhya Pradesh, both having 'Double Engine' governments. As per the report, 37.79 per cent of people in UP and 36.65 percent in Madhya Pradesh are poor. Bihar which tops the list by recording 51.91 percent of impoverished populace is also in the 'Double Engine' category. Bihar also has the highest number of malnourished people followed by Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. According to the report, India's national MPI measure uses the globally accepted and robust methodology developed by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). India's MPI has three equally weighted dimensions, health, education and standard of living – which are represented by 12 indicators namely nutrition, child and adolescent mortality, antenatal care, years of schooling, school attendance, cooking fuel, sanitation, drinking water, electricity, housing, assets and bank accounts.

All these indicators, a layman can also understand, are vital parameters of gauging development. But to the BJP Prime Minister and Chief Minister, construction of an expressway by spending Rs 22,500 crores and a strip of 8 kms of that being capable of bearing the load of a war jet is hallmark of development! What a mockery with the semi-clad, semi-fed wretched Indians struggling to somehow hold on to their life!

(Source: Hindustan Times 20-10-21, 16-11-21, India Today 26-11-21)

### **Ajit Doval's tirade against civil society**

National Security Adviser (NSA) Ajit Doval, a political appointee of the ruling BJP government, while speaking at the Passing Out Parade of Hyderabad-based Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel National Police Academy on 11 November, said "Civil society is the new frontier of war - fourth-generation warfare (4GW)-because it is the civil society that can be subverted... that can be divided, that can be manipulated to hurt the interest of a nation." Then he advised the pass-out IPS officers to protect the people from the civil society. Rightly observed Smt. Aruna Roy, a civil activist, that "Doval neither bothered to define the civil society he wants his officers to be at war with, nor explained what gave him the authority to declare a 'fourth-generation war' on our own people".

However, he has not taken the pain to spell out whether he and his ilk belong to the civil or civilized society or not. But one thing is clear—the autocratic BJP government and its courtiers are visibly afraid of the rising voice of the intelligentsia against the surfeit of wanton anti-people policies and measures they are adopting and crimes they are committing on the countrymen in order to serve the

vested interest of the ruling monopolists. So, they have found in the enlightened civil society, whose voice for upholding legitimacy and people's cause has sent chill down the spine of the despotic rulers in every age, a potential danger against whom a war is what they are bent upon to launch. Mark Twain, the famous litterateur, had said in his 'Fables of Man' ". . . Lust of conquest had long ago done its work... had taught... to endure with apathy the...multitudes who had applauded the crushing of other people's liberties, lived to suffer for their mistake in their own persons. The government was irrevocably in the hands of the prodigiously rich and their hangers-on; the suffrage had become a mere machine, which they used as they chose. There was no principle but commercialism, no patriotism but of the pocket."

It is time for the civil society of the country to give a befitting reply to this "Fourth Generation War" theory of a bureaucrat who has preferred to be a bootlicker of the power that be rather than reflecting the civilized face of truthfulness. (Source:- The Print-13-11-21, ABP 18-11-21, Indian Express 19-11-21)

### **Endowment of dying capitalism**

Global food prices have hit the highest level in over a decade after rising by more than 30% in the last year, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has said.

The agency's figures highlighted the soaring cost of cereals and vegetable oils around the world. The FAO said its measure of cereal prices was up by more than 22% compared to a year earlier.

The price of wheat was one of the major contributors to this rise, up almost 40% in the last 12 months. rising food prices are typically felt most acutely by the poor, as disadvantaged groups are pushed further into poverty and that this has the potential to heighten social and political tensions. (BBC 05-11-21) Surely, this is a glaring evidence of how the global people are living in capitalism which is thriving on their maximum exploitation.

### **SUCI(C) to contest 20 seats in Kolkata Municipality Election**

Holding aloft the banner of genuine leftism based on Marxism- Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought and with an appeal to make its candidates victorious to strengthen democratic mass movement, SUCI(C) would contest in 20 wards in coming Municipality Election in Kolkata.

# In memory of Comrade Mubinul Haider Choudhury, Founder of BASAD (Marxist)

Provash Ghosh

*[First instalment of the English translation of the valuable speech delivered online in Bengali by Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), on 19 July 2021 in memory of Comrade Mubinul Haider Choudhury, Founder of Bangladesh Samajtantrik Dal--BASAD (Marxist) and a life-long revolutionary, who passed away on 6 July 2021 in Dhaka due to multiple diseases at an age of 87, was published in the Proletarian Era dated 15 November 2021.. The second instalment is published here. Responsibility of translation error and inadequate expression, if any, lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era.]*

## Comrade Haider shouldered any assigned responsibility happily

I have seen whatever task was assigned to him by the Party in this country, he never raised any question about that being arduous, difficult or painful and hence difficult to shoulder. He never refused to undertake any responsibility. While he was in India, he developed Party organizations in many new places here. He built up trade union movement in Khidderpore area of Kolkata and recruited a good number of new students and youths in the Party. He had a significant role in development of the movement of the goldsmiths amongst whom we had no organization earlier. He had also developed anti-communal movement with which he associated many intellectuals, not only of West Bengal but of other states as well. He built up youth movement and youth organization here. Again, when he was sent to Delhi where the Party had no organizational base earlier, he moved around Delhi, Haryana and Western UP to find new contacts and brought them to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh for discussion. Thus Party organization sprouted in those states. Comrade Haider was very brave. Let me narrate one incident of 1962. Assembly elections were then being held in the Birbhum district in West Bengal. Through struggle, Comrade Protiva Mukherjee then had earned the respected name of 'Didimoni' (elder sister) among the poorer section of the masses. She was our candidate from Suri constituency. The jotedars (landed gentry) there were die-hard anti-SUCI (C). The situation was such that if any of us had tried to enter any locality, they could have murdered us. Comrade Haider was in-charge of election in two Panchayats known as Damdama and Purandarpur. Majority of the residents of Purandarpur were Hindus whereas Muslim population was dominant in Damdama. One day, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh called me and told that Comrade Haider was mercilessly beaten in Purandarpur.

He was pricked with spears. Somehow, he could escape from being murdered. He asked me to go to Purandarpur. But Comrade Haider was very much against my going there. He told Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, 'Provash is physically weaker than me. They would kill him. Please do not send Provash'. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh convinced him and sent me to Purandarpur. Comrade Haider was asked to stay at Damdama only. But he came to meet me in Purandarpur at the wee hours of night. I asked him, "Why did you come here"? He said, "if something happens to you, then"? I told him, "you are not supposed to come here". But he was bent upon not leaving me alone. After the first day, he again came on the next day. Out of love and affection for me, he risked his life to come

there. He did not listen to my advice. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was then at Suri to oversee elections in the Birbhum district. I informed Comrade Nihar Mukherjee that if Comrade Haider continued to visit me like this, his life would be endangered. Thereafter, he could be persuaded not to come like that. Later, in West Bengal, the police on occasions had been chasing and mercilessly beating the participants of a democratic movement. We were also in those movements. Comrade Haider guarded me all along to ensure that I was not assaulted by the police. He himself took all the beatings. There are many other incidents which were illustrations of his immense courage and boundless affection for me.

## Arduous struggle of Comrade Haider for building up a true communist party in Bangladesh

I want to discuss one more question. There are some questions among a few in Bangladesh about formation of a revolutionary party there. It is to be borne in mind that building up a Marxist party is no easy a task. Comrade Lenin had founded a model Marxist party in Russia. Comrade Stalin had saved it. Comrade Mao Zedong had founded a Marxist party in China. And we firmly believe that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had founded a genuine Marxist party in India. Comrade Haider went to Bangladesh with the objective of forming a true Marxist-Leninist party there. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave him the responsibility of developing someone of that land as leader of that party. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh told him, 'You should not be the leader because you are going from India'.

After going to Bangladesh, he could not secure citizenship of that country for quite a long time. It was very risky to cross the border in those days. If he was caught, he could have either been jailed or hit by bullet of the border security forces. Very boldly and intelligently, he crossed the border on quite a number of occasions. We did not know these earlier. He never disclosed such things of his own. We came to know about such boldness and determined venture of his in course of some other discussions. Once both of us went to Haldibari in North Bengal bordering Bangladesh. He told me at that time how he once crossed Haldibari border. 'On one side, there was the Indian military while on the other side was the Bangladesh military. I straightaway crossed the border without giving any chance to either of the security forces to suspect me', said Comrade Haider. In the initial days, he used to stay in a big slum in Dhaka. How did I come to know that? He gave the book "On evaluation of Saratchandra" by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to some students. One lady professor of English of Dhaka University was highly

impressed by reading that book after procuring a copy from one of her students. She enquired wherefrom the student had got that book. When she came to know that the book was given by Comrade Haider, she came in a car to meet him. Comrade Haider told me, 'I was then staying in a slum'. That professor learned about Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and expressed desire to meet him. But Comrade Haider told her that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had demised. From his narration of this incident, I came to know that he was putting up in a slum. Otherwise, we could have never come to know that.

He had no self-conceit. He had gone from this country to a different country, got himself acquainted with many people there, contacted many of them, explained the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought to them and tried to induct them in revolutionary movement. None of us shouldered such responsibility. From that perspective, he was unparalleled. Some of the leaders of the undivided CPI had stayed back in the then East Pakistan after partition of the country. But to initiate revolutionary movement in Bangladesh by going from India was a unique thing. I am not aware of any second example of this. None of us had to give such a test. Comrades of India are also aware of this. For this, I hold high respect towards him. Slowly, he initiated the process of building a true revolutionary party in Bangladesh based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

Let us recall the history of world communist movement as well as the history of First, Second and Third Internationals. Both great Marx and Engels were in the First International. But that International was dismantled within a few years. Great Engels built up the Second International. Great Lenin was a student of the Second International. But Lenin found before the First World War that the Second International had degenerated. There was a severe difference between Lenin and other leaders of the Second International. So, Lenin formed the Third International after Soviet revolution in 1919. Lenin had struggled hard for ten years to form a real revolutionary party. He started an ideological struggle within the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) from 1902 and formed the Bolshevik Party as the genuine communist party in 1912. There had been so many breakings and makings.

There can no doubt be any comparison whatsoever between Lenin and Comrade Mubinul Haider Choudhury. I am just dwelling on the history. Similarly, after formation in 1921, Chinese Communist Party (CPC) had repeatedly been victim of either right-wing or ultra-left deviation. Mao Zedong had struggled relentlessly

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**Comrade Mubinul Haider Choudhury**

## Comrade Haider conducted a hard painstaking struggle for building a genuine communist party in Bangladesh

*Contd. from page 3*

to establish the correct revolutionary line. But he was cornered by the deviators. Finally, Mao Zedong came into leadership in 1934 and from then onwards the CPC was on the right track. These are all facts of history. Myself and other comrades of India had been working in a Party founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. But Comrade Haider was neither Lenin nor Mao nor Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Those who had raised some questions regarding formation of a revolutionary party in Bangladesh need to seriously ponder over this question. He had trust and confidence in those whom he had put in the forefront of BASAD. But later on, problems of individualism, populist trends and signs of bureaucratism began to surface in them. Even they began to raise questions about ideological centralism and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought within the party. On the one hand, Comrade Haider was recruiting youths and students by conducting discussions based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, while, on the other hand, the person whom he placed in the leadership and a circle around him began to deteriorate because of not rectifying their marked defects and deviations. Comrade Haider took some time to notice this gradual deterioration. Unless someone possesses very high standard of Marxist outlook, often it is not possible to identify the quantitative change.

When quantitative change reaches a nodal point, qualitative change occurs. The deviators understood that presence and role of Comrade Haider was a deterrent to their deviationist activities. But it was Comrade Haider who assembled all of them and placed them in leadership. So, they tried to see that the meetings of Comrade Haider which were attracting the students and youths towards the party did not take place. They advised Comrade Haider that instead of holding such meetings in different districts, he should concentrate to build up 'Charan Cultural Centre'. Afterwards, they declared that they did not consider Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as an authority of international communist movement. So, Comrade Haider had to leave the party along with many more comrades and formed BASAD (Marxist) in 2013. At that time, he was quite aged and his health had broken. Yet, he untiringly

conducted hard, painstaking struggle to build up a correct Marxist-Leninist party in Bangladesh till his last breath.

### **Developing a revolutionary leader is not that easy**

In this connection, I want to say another thing which BASAD (Marxist) has correctly observed. Comrade Haider did not get a competent compatriot. Some people have alleged that he failed to create anyone to be so competent. Is it so easy to create? What has been the role in history of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin who were by the side of Lenin for so many days?

In pre-revolutionary days, Stalin got very little opportunity to be in close association with Lenin. Most of the time, he was in exile in Siberia. He met Lenin only in one or two conferences. Stalin was in Moscow only during revolution. So, it is not that if a great leader tries to develop anyone as a good revolutionary with utmost care, the person concerned would come up to his expectation. This is never so easy. Both external as well as internal contradictions are crucial factors in this regard. Internal contradiction determines what would be the form and nature of the change. At the same time, if external contradiction is not favourable, internal contradiction cannot mature. And there is a difference between man and other animals or any other inanimate matter in so far as workability of these contradictions are concerned. If a big leader counsels anyone, is it inevitable that the person would undergo a change by imbibing the essence of that advice? Because, in case of man, mind or cognition has a major role.

More heated is water by an external heating device, quicker would it turn into vapour. But if I try to change someone by educating him or her, will he or she change automatically? How far one would accept the advice, or even if one accepts, how much one would apply that in life, how much would one apply the learning in which case or sphere—these internal factors are of immense importance. When someone raises a question as to how could one in spite of being in close association with a great leader lag so behind or even degenerate, one fails to understand this basic truth, identify the root cause. While the endeavour of the leader should be in the right direction, it is equally important how

the recipient responds to it; whether he or she has a mindset to imbibe the correctness of the leader's advice and how much is his or her grasping ability. This is very important. Comrades need to understand this properly. Was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh created by any leader? He has drawn appropriate lessons from the life and struggle of all greatmen of the world, as well as all great movements. He had struggled covering all aspects of life as an ardent student of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong. In this regard, I believe that the initiative of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to remould himself as a revolutionary was the prime factor. Same is true of Stalin and Mao Zedong. Otherwise, how could those in close proximity of Lenin degenerate so much? As a true disciple and follower of great Stalin, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh emerged as a giant Marxist authority and we are now holding aloft the banner of revolution as students of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. In spite of that, why no leader could emerge in Soviet Russia to stand by Stalin or succeed him as his trusted lieutenant? Next leaders who came in the leadership after Stalin's demise had adopted crass revisionist line and engineered capitalist counter-revolution. That they would cause such a debacle could not be guessed even by a great leader like Stalin. The very Central Committee of CPSU which was constituted in its 19th Congress in presence of Stalin had begun attacking him after his demise under the leadership of Khrushchev with a view to undermining Leninism. When the 20th congress of CPSU was held in 1956 with Khrushchev at the helm, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh criticized the report placed by him in that congress and said that undermining Stalin and his authority would open the floodgate of revisionism-reformism round the world. He showed that attacking Stalin means to uncrown Lenin himself as Stalin was an authority on Leninism. Hence maligning Stalin would pave the way of counter-revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong, at the outset, could not identify the danger inherent in the Khrushchevite line spelled out in the 20th Congress. He supported the resolution of 20th Congress. Only he said that the positive qualities of Stalin outweighed his negative sides. After seven years, the CPC under Mao's leadership admitted that the report of the 20th Congress was anti-Marxist. At the same time, those who were

by the side of Mao Zedong comprised Liu Shao Qui and Deng Xiaoping. A book titled "How to be a good communist" written by Liu Shao Qui was once a textbook in the communist movement. Deng Xiaoping was the General Secretary of CPC. But when Mao Zedong conducted magnificent Cultural Revolution, he was virtually alone. He was then quite old and suffering from Parkinson's disease. He lost the power to speak. One member of CPC used to write down his advices based on his lip movement. Whom Mao had to fight against? The very Liu Shao Qui and Deng Xiaoping who once were his right and left hands. Mao gave the slogan "Bombard the Headquarters" during Cultural Revolution and called upon all to take up cudgels against the capitalist-roaders. In this struggle, a vast number of the young generation joined him virtually in an unorganized manner. Mao did not have any competent leader by his side. There is a teaching of Mao Zedong. If one commits a mistake and then openly admits it and rectifies oneself, one should be taken back in the party and given the right post. Deng Xiaoping admitted his mistake and Mao restored him in his earlier position. Here lay the greatness of Mao. But Mao could not realize the evil intent of Deng. After demise of Mao, this very Deng Xiaoping went against the spirit and prescripts of Cultural Revolution and opened the door for establishment of capitalism through counter revolution. That is what we are witnessing today. China has now been transformed into an imperialist country and challenging the US. Only it is carrying a 'communist' signboard. So being great communist leaders, both Stalin and Mao made some mistakes in their evaluation of their associates and could not create a proper compatriot. Yet, they are our revered leaders, teachers and giant authorities of Marxism-Leninism. In no way, their authority can be undermined. On the other hand, though they were stationed far away, their teachings had helped Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to develop as one of the foremost Marxist leaders and thinkers. Am I saying all these things on my own? No. I am saying these things based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

### **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out prevalence of mechanical thinking in international communist movement in 1948**

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had cultivated creative Marxism. Many of the people as well a good number of our new comrades do not know

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# Sudan in turmoil again

Sudan, the oil and mineral rich country of North Africa has always been a hunting ground of the Western imperialists. The tribal-populated south Sudan had remained a hotbed of sinister imperialist machinations and torn apart by sustained ethnic conflicts and clashes fuelled by the imperialist particularly US imperialist sharks thereby shattering normal life. Finding the then regime of independent Sudan led by President Omar Hassan al-Bashir unbending, US imperialists in pursuit of their international gangsterism, falsely indicted him of war crimes and crime against humanity by requisitioning the intervention of the International Criminal Court (ICC) pliable to their dictates in July 2008. Just the way they had attacked and occupied independent sovereign Iraq under fraudulent pretext of President Saddam Hussein possessing Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), so also here they have brought fabricated charges against the Sudan President pointing at the large scale killing at Darfur in Western Sudan.

It is known to all peace-loving democratic-minded people round

the globe that the imperialist super-powers like the US or UK first perpetrate communal or ethnic divisions in a country and then make that a plea to prepare the ground for imperialist intervention subverting the inalienable right of the local populace to decide the nature of governance of their country. Finally, at the instance of the Pentagon rulers, this largest geographic nation-state in Africa was divided into North and South Sudan in 2011.

US imperialism, which exacerbated the conflict that split Sudan with the objective of controlling the energy resources of that vast area, later increased its direct military intervention as instability grew there. The interim military council in Sudan backed by the US imperialists and their associates, seized power in a coup overthrowing President Omar al-Bashir in April 2019 and cracked down on peaceful pro-democracy protesters in Khartoum, capital of Republic of Sudan (north Sudan) who were demanding the promised civilian rule, leaving at least 100 dead. Thereafter, In talks brokered by the African Union, Sudan's

ruling military council and the coalition of civilian groups that have been valiantly fighting for the restoration of democracy agreed to a power-sharing formula, leading to the formation of a transitional government— a development that took everyone by surprise. The last thing the US and its allies wanted was the establishment of a government in Sudan that was detrimental to their interests.

Recent weeks since last October have seen a rapid build-up of tension in Khartoum. A hostile takeover of power is what many in Sudan and beyond have feared

could happen anytime. The signs have been all too clear. A pro-military sit-in right in front of the presidential palace in Khartoum was seen as choreographed to lead to a coup. No attempt was made to disguise its purpose. The protesters demanded that the military overthrow “failed” civilian leaders. It was an unusual attempt at legitimising a military takeover, using the guise of a popular protest.

Nearly a week later, a counter-protest was held. This time, huge crowds came out in support of the civilian government.

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**AIKKMS President Comrade Satyawan (extreme left) and AIKKMS General Secretary Comrade Shankar Ghosh (second from left) at the meeting of the Sanjukt Kishan Morcha on 21 November to decide further course of action following the declaration of the Prime Minister to withdraw the three Black Farm Laws.**



**Lucknow Maha panchayet organized by Samjukt Kisan Morcha (SKM) on 22 November (right). Comrade Satyawan, President, AIKKMS, addressing the Maha Panchayet (left)**



**Gajipur border**



**Delang, Odisha**

**Congratulating struggling peasants for forcing fascist autocratic government to bend**



**Durg, Chhattisgarh**



**Ahmedabad, Gujarat**



**Guna, MP**

## What do you say now, BJP Sirs?

1. I am seeing a new jamaat, all ‘andolanjivis’ are parasites: Prime Minister Modi (Times of India 09-02-21)

2. Mere gathering of a crowd does not lead to revocation of legislations: Agriculture Minister Narendra Singh Tomar. (Business Standard 22-02-21)

3. While negotiating with protesting farmers, Food and Consumer Affairs Minister Piyush Goyal has said ‘ultra-left and Maoist elements have hijacked the agitation’. (Economic Times-11-12-20)

4. Union Minister VK Singh

observed that thousands of protestors against the Centre’s agricultural laws near Delhi “did not appear to be farmers in pictures”. (scroll.in 01-12-20)

5. BJP MP and former Delhi unit chief Manoj Tiwari said that the ‘Tukde-Tukde’ gang (a term used by the BJP leaders to criticise people and members of social groups allegedly supporting sedition and separatists) was a running Shaheen Bagh 2.0 experiment under the garb of the farmers’ protest. (The New Indian Express-03-12-20)

6. Union Law and Justice

Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad stated that stern action will be taken against nation breakers “Tukde Tukde Gang” trying to take advantage of farmers movement against the new farm laws. (NDTV 13-12-20)

7. Union Minister of State Ministry of Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution Raosaheb Dadarao Danve has claimed that Pakistan and China are behind the ongoing protests by farmers, who are seeking repeal of three new farm laws. (India Today-10-12-20)

8. In the backdrop of the massive protests by farmers in and around the national capital, Karnataka BJP Agriculture Minister

B C Patil called farmers who have died by suicide “cowards”. (Indian Express-04-12-20)

9. Haryana BJP Chief Minister Manohar Lal Khattar talked about “tit for tat” and asking the supporters of the saffron party to attack the farmers protesting against three agriculture laws of the Centre. (India TV 04-10-21)

10. Uttar Pradesh BJP Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath hit out at opposition parties for allegedly leading the farmer's movement towards disorientation, and said that the “malicious” efforts to spread disharmony in the country would not be tolerated. (Business World 12-12-20)

**Comrade Mubinul Haider Choudhury**

## Stalin and not Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin could grasp Marxism-Leninism

*Contd. from page 4*

that during Second World War, the luminaries of the whole world like Romain Rolland and Rabindranath, were looking at Stalin with great expectation and faith. Rabindranath was then on his death bed. All of them believed that Socialist Soviet Union under the stewardship of Stalin alone could defeat the fascist axis. Exactly that had happened. Chinese Revolution was accomplished by defeating imperialism. Despite all such glorious achievements and tremendous progress of world communist movement, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, way back in 1948, sounded a note of caution that a mechanical relationship as against dialectical relationship was prevailing between the international communist leadership and others in the socialist camp.

He further pointed out that the amount of emphasis given on organizational growth was not given on ideological struggle. To quote him: "...there is still a lack of firm solidarity on the basis of ideology and uniformity of thinking in the united revolutionary front of the people fighting for the above objective. The danger with which it is fraught cannot be averted by ignoring and glossing over it or by remaining blind to it." (Self-criticism of the Communist Camp) If ideological standard is lowered, the dialectical relationship would cease to be in vogue resulting in a growing tendency to blindly follow the leadership, warned Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This, he added, would engender crisis in future. Our Party was never pro-Moscow or pro-Beijing. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh never followed either of them blindly. Wherever they were correct, he supported them. But if it occurred to him that they were committing mistakes, he used to express his difference maintaining full respect for them. This is dialectical relationship.

We all today are students of great Stalin and Mao Zedong based on the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. We consider Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as their worthy continuer. Counter-revolution has taken place in both Soviet Union and China. World communist movement is in total disarray. Communist parties of France, Italy, Indonesia and Philippines were once so strong. They had conducted so many struggles. Now they all are in

shambles or disintegrated. Because all of them suffered from blind allegiance to international leadership which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had fought against. The moment the world communist movement was divided between Moscow and Beijing camps, these communist parties of various countries were also split and then collapsed. But our Party did not break because of counter-revolution in Soviet Russia and China. We have been pained but our Party has not only been intact but is growing fast. There is no sign of frustration among our comrades. Because we are in a position to understand the root of all such problems as well as the remedial course thereof from the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

### Formation of BASAD (Marxist)

Coming back to what I was discussing earlier, Comrade Haider had formed BASAD. But when the leader whom he kept at the forefront had deteriorated and created a group within the party, Comrade Haider's efforts to build a true communist party had failed. So those who raise question about such a sad experience need to understand that it is not that easy to read a person. After going to Bangladesh, Comrade Haider had come to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh three to four times till 1976. He sought advice of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and did receive that. After demise of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, departed Comrade Nihar Mukherjee who succeeded him as the General Secretary of the Party was bed-ridden for a long time having been afflicted by various diseases. The leaders who were senior to us and are no more now as well as those belonging to our level used to decide everything collectively under his guidance. I had to disclose this today out of a particular necessity. During the tenure of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, I was Secretary of West Bengal State Committee and remained engrossed with the work of the state Party. At that time, the CPI (M) government of West Bengal was adopting one after another anti-people policies like abolition of English and pass-fail system from the primary school level, allowing skyrocketing of price line and raising the electricity tariff by leaps and bound. The CPI (M) government had also opened fire on the workers and peasants and

forcibly evicted the poor peasants from land with a view to handing over the same to the monopolists and Multinationals. In protest, we had then organized one after another movement. The criminal brigade of the CPI (M) had killed about 200 of our workers and leaders. So, for quite a long time, Comrade Haider could not receive necessary advice that he used to get from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Whatever little advice I could give him earlier as per my ability also eluded him because of my preoccupation as the West Bengal State Secretary. I only spoke in the founding convention of the new party, BASAD (Marxist) in 1913 as an invited guest. Another of the then leaders of BASAD (Marxist) requested me to go to Bangladesh in 2017. I told him how could I go unless your party asked me. At the request of that leader, Comrade Haider invited me to Bangladesh. I had a meeting with them. What I had discussed in that meeting is known to the comrades there. They have with them my speech. Comrades of India are not aware of that.

I am reading out a portion of that speech of mine. I told them: "Your party is in the process of making. It has not yet assumed the character of a full-fledged party. The struggle for party building is on... So far I can make out and whatever understanding I could arrive at by interacting with your leaders, I have expressed to Comrade Haider. I have also stated that in your extended meeting. Some of the comrades have rightly said that it was necessary to meticulously analyse why BASAD could not develop as a genuine Marxist party... the first basis of unity of the newly formed party was whether to follow Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought or not.

Those who wanted to move ahead based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, they had progressed with honesty, dedication, struggling mentality and deep emotion. You all and many others not present here are all in that stage. Secondly, your profound respect and emotion for Comrade Haider because of his revolutionary character, personality and views have initiated you into this struggle. Yet I would say that in absence of high Marxist consciousness and culture, this respect and confidence are to a great extent based on blind

allegiance. At the outset, such is quite natural. But there is a difference between conscious respect and blind following. Thirdly, the bureaucratic functioning of the official leadership of BASAD, various traits of their character, their conduct and behaviour and various activities had caused disrespect for and loss of faith in them.

### Dialectical relationship cannot develop unless one attains a higher revolutionary consciousness

It is not so easy to comprehend Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. As you know, Kautsky, Plekhanov and Bernstein had read the works of Marx. So had Lenin. But the way Lenin had grasped Marxism, the others could not. Similarly Trotsky, Kamenev, Bukharin, Zinoviev and Stalin had all studied Lenin's works. But there was a gulf of difference between Stalin and others in so far as assimilation of Lenin's teachings was concerned. So where lies the difference? Difference lies in understanding. You need to cultivate Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought to realize its essence. I do not know how far this cultivation is being done in your new party. But from the various discussions I had with you, it appears that necessary struggle in this regard did not take place. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had also said that any bright student can easily go through the Marxist classics, memorize them and give quotations or cite references from them line by line. But realization presupposes application in life of what one has learnt. That means change of life, a total change of culture comes by grasping Marxian science. Contradiction per se does not mean dialectical relationship. Conflicts and contradictions are galore in various walks of life and family. Mere argument and counter-argument also is not dialectical interaction. Contradiction based on dialectical process, philosophy of dialectical materialism does not happen overnight. It is not that one desires to have an interaction on understanding of dialectical materialism and can instantaneously start practising it. When one is able to change one's life by grasping Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, which cannot be acquired by conducting struggle alone. This is never possible merely by singular effort of any individual. This realization and grasping can occur only through collective struggle. A uniform outlook and higher culture grow through collective struggle following correct process. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had taught that

*Contd. on page 7*

**Comrade Mubinu Haider Choudhury**

## **BASAD (Marxist) needs to concretize Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought in the concrete situation of Bangladesh**

*Contd. from page 6*

unless consciousness and culture of the party workers attain a higher standard, dialectical relationship cannot develop. And blind following harms the leader, the self and the party. Another aspect you need to understand very carefully. Most of you had worked in the old BASAD for a long period. Though you had joined BASAD having been attracted by Comrade Haider's talks, character and living association, but the party was run by another leader, not Comrade Haider. So, for a long time, non-Marxist thought process, style of functioning and mutual relationship in the name of Marxism which was practised in the earlier party have crept in you all as forces of habit.

To free yourselves from those vices, you need to immediately release an arduous painstaking, relentless struggle, both individually and collectively. Otherwise, notwithstanding honesty, dedication and sacrifice, you will not achieve success in building up a real Marxist party. Another wrong notion is somehow existing among you that in order to identify the self with the party, one has to hold or retain in mind a particular leader. This thought is incorrect. You would get in the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that one has to conduct an all-out struggle covering all aspects of life happily, unconditionally and unhesitatingly to be free from private property and private property mental complex to be identified with the proletarian class, revolution and

party. Only then can one attain a higher communist character. In this process, identification with the party leadership would also grow. ...I told Comrade Haider before this meeting that you are my friend, comrade-in-arms. But I have some criticism about you. He told me to say openly everything, whatever I have to discuss in this meeting. Here was his greatness.

This is a correct communist approach. What a height is needed to attain to say like this! He told me to place all my criticisms with an open mind. I respect this attitude. I shall say that before you. He is highly respected by me. I know at what age and with what experience and ability he came to Bangladesh obeying the advice of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He was then not a well-known leader or organizer in India. In Bangladesh, he had to conduct a very hard struggle. I cannot say with certainty that had Comrade Shibdas Ghosh sent me to shoulder this responsibility, I would have succeeded. I did not have to give this test. I tell this to all the comrades of India. And it is his greatness that he wants to know and learn something from me. In the same way, I also learn from him. Whenever I think of something, I tell him. Though I was not at all familiar with all the developments here. All these things have helped me a lot. He had to undertake the responsibility of building this new party when he was very sick and at the fag end of

his life. It is very stiff a task to develop collective leadership. I did not initiate this struggle in India. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who had developed collective leadership in our Party. I am only a part of that.

But here, Comrade Haider had to engage himself in that struggle when he became very old, was suffering from various diseases and virtually counting hours. This work is very difficult. For example, Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought is to be concretized in the concrete situation of Bangladesh as well. Only printing the literatures of our Party in India would not do. Bangladesh has some unique national characteristics and features though in many cases, those are similar to India. It is much more difficult to build up a party based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought in England or France. Since both India and Bangladesh were once within the same country, there is a unity in language and culture. From that perspective, many analyses and opinions of Indian Party would help you.

Again, you have certain particular problems and specific economic-political-cultural aspects. Taking all those into account, you will have to conduct a collective struggle to concretize Marxism on your soil based on correct application of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. In spiritual and cultural spheres as well as in the very mode of living, bourgeois

thoughts are existing here in a specific form. The bourgeois thoughts prevailing in India and Bangladesh are not the same. The dominant religious mindsets of India and Bangladesh are different. Where and in whatever forms remnants of feudalism exist in India are not exactly similar to those in Bangladesh. You will have to identify all these differences. You would have to analyse in what form individualism is existing in your country. I don't say that you have done nothing to understand the ideological base of freedom movement here, what was its sense of pride and what was the distinction between the compromising and uncompromising trends. Taking due cognition of all these facts, the task of the collective leadership is to provide a guide to action covering all aspects of life based on Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

Contradiction based on continuous interaction of ideas and exchange of opinions based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought involving all leaders and cadres within the party, would, in course of its resolution, develop a uniformity of thought and help in understanding what is in accordance with Marxism and what is contrary to Marxist thought. It means you all would then be habituated to think and analyse based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Here I am emphasizing on the word 'habituated'. In the process of this struggle, you would be able to fight individualism among the leaders and cadres. What is uniformity of thinking? It means uniform understanding about Nazrul, Rabindranath, imperialism, fascism everything.

*(To be Continued)*

## **Significant Victory of AIDS0 in Karnataka**

Karnataka State Pre University board (11th and 12th Standard) recently released a circular stating that the upcoming midterm examination of Second Pre University (PU) students would be a board examination and the marks scored would be considered as final result of the student if final examinations would be cancelled due to third wave.

This move was in stark contrast to the existing norm, wherein midterm examination was only a college level examination whose result was not considered for final result of the student. This decision was declared in an absolutely undemocratic and autocratic manner. AIDS0 Karnataka State Committee immediately took up the

issue after many lecturers and students appealed before the organisation in deep fear and anxiety. Already entire education community is reeling under the terrible effect of Covid pandemic and subsequent lockdown. This academic year has been a challenging one and students are struggling along with teaching community to overcome the grave situation. In midst of such a turbulent academic year, this decision came as a rude shock to them. AIDS0 Karnataka called for a State wide protest day on 16 November 2021 and immediately

released a press statement condemning the decision. The response for both statement and call for protest was overwhelming. Thousands of students participated in the protests across the state. Even association of principals and teachers released a statement criticizing the board. Under pressure of protest movement, the board was forced to convene a meeting of principals and a circular

was released revoking the earlier decision.

This was a huge victory for the students' movement. Several principals and teachers wholeheartedly congratulated AIDS0 activists. Even Media reported that board was compelled to retreat due to the surging protests under the banner of AIDS0. Over 6 lakh students studying in Second PU have got the relief due to this movement. After a successful movement of Undergraduate, Postgraduate and polytechnic students two months back, this was another prominent struggle of Karnataka Student Community under the aegis of AIDS0 which has captured the attention of entire education community of the state.



## Nurses of West Bengal on a warpath against injustice

A determined battle of the nurses of West Bengal is going on under the leadership of 'Nurses' Unity' in demand for revision of the discriminatory pay-scale of for the revocation of the transfer orders of the nurses of SSKM Hospital, Kolkata, including Secretary of the organization.

After failing to persuade the state government for three odd years to accede to their legitimate



Rally on 27 November

demand of modification of pay scale, the Nurses' Unity launched a massive movement on July last for 10 long days by organizing a sit-in demonstration at the SSKM hospital premises. Under pressure of movement, the minister of state for health assured them that their demand would be met in 3-4 months' time. Accordingly that movement was postponed.

But when the government did not honour its commitment even after lapse of over 4 months, Nurses' Unity decided to resume the

movement.

When health ministry official failed to give any satisfactory answer, the struggling nurses again organized a sit-in demonstration at SSKM hospital. But the TMC-led state government like any other bourgeois government decided to disrupt the movement by adopting vindictive measures. On 13 November, it unilaterally and arbitrarily announced that 11 nurses including the Secretary of the organization would be 'deemed to have been transferred'. In protest, the nurses gheraoed the Nursing Superintendent of SSKM Hospital. However the authority with the help of police escorted her out of the cordoning nurses. And immediately the final transfer order was released.

In protest, Nurses' Unity organized two massive rallies in Kolkata and has given a clarion call to all members of nursing community to join their ranks and escalate the movement to a higher scale so as to compel the government to withdraw the undemocratic punitive transfer orders and keep its promise for Pay-scale revision expediently.

## AIUTUC and Bank Employees' Unity Forum protest Bank Privatization Bill

In a statement issued on 25-11-21, AIUTUC strongly denounced the anti-people move of the BJP led central government to place the Bank Privatization Bill in the Winter Session of the Parliament and called upon the bank employees in particular and the working people in general to build up united powerful movement to foil this evil move.

While condemning the Bank Privatization Bill, Bank Employees' Unity Forum in a statement on 25-11-21 said that this privatization effort was on since first Congress-led UPA government backed by the CPI (M), CPI and now assuming proportion during the BJP rule to seriously jeopardise the interest of the Bank employees and the customers. It also exhorted all to develop a strong united resistance movement.

Electricity Consumers' Association, an all India platform to organize people's movement against Electricity Act 2003 and proposed Electricity (Amendment) Bill



Deputation to MD, Adityapur Electricity Department, Jharkhand, on 23 November



observed a protest fortnight from 10 to 25 November throughout the country

Deputation to Power minister on 23 November in Kolkata

## AIDSO commemorates 107<sup>th</sup> Memorial Day of Martyr Kartar Singh in Punjab

At the initiative of AIDSO's Punjab Unit, a book stall was organized on 16 November at 'Shaheed Bhagat Singh Chowk' of Punjabi University, Patiala, in commemoration of the 107th Memorial Day of young martyr Kartar Singh Sarava of Indian freedom struggle. Comrades Sourav Ghosh, General Secretary, AIDSO, and Shivashish Prahraj, convener of the AIDSO Punjab Unit, Shreya Singh, secretariat member of AIDSO as well as other students who were present paid their floral tribute to the martyr. The occasion was observed through various programmes in different schools and colleges of Punjab.

## Sudan in turmoil again

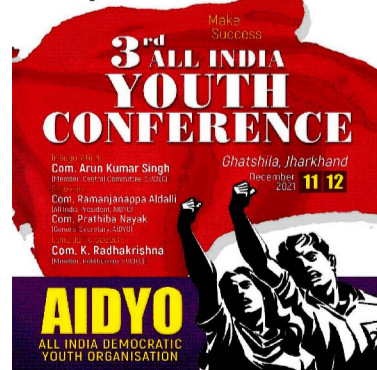
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Sudanese anti-coup activists called for mass protests on 14 November, as sources said the number of people killed since last month's military takeover had risen to at least 40. On 17 November, countrywide protest rallies were organized raising slogan of 'no cooperation, no talk with the ruling military regime', 'no sharing of power', 'no compromise with the military officials'. Lakhs of protesters took part in such rallies in 16 cities. 17 more lives were sacrificed on that day.

In a statement dated 3 November 2021, the Sudanese Communist Party opposed the coup and called on the Sudanese people to continue civil disobedience supported by strikes and all forms of escalation and resistance to push against the coup to find a national

democratic alternative with a new political vision, and a democratic constitutional declaration that addresses the key issues, such as dissolving all militias and reforming military institutions. Anti-imperialist peace-loving people need to raise a united voice against sustained illegal intervention and military action of US imperialists and their cohorts in Sudan.

- Provide Jobs to Unemployed
- Say No to Communalism- Casteism
- Resist Obscenity, Liquor & Drug Menace



## AIDYO State conferences on the eve of All India Conference



Rajasthan on 21-11-21



Uttar Pradesh on 14-11-21

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