

# **COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH**

**THE GREAT LEADER OF THE PROLETARIAT**

**Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)**

COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH — THE GREAT LEADER  
OF THE PROLETARIAT

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## ***Publisher's Note***

After the sad and premature demise of the great leader of the proletariat, our leader, teacher, guide and founder General Secretary of our party Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on 5th August, 1976, the Bengali organ of our party, 'Ganadabi', brought out a memorial issue on 19th August, 1976. At the request of the toiling millions of our country we had given in it a glimpse, that too very briefly, of the glorious, struggling and revolutionary life of this great man — which is far from a biography. A complete depiction of the history of this great revolutionary life means complete depiction of the tortuous history of the proletarian movement in our country, that is, the history of formation and growth of the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat, the SUCI. To complete that work within so short span of time was obviously impossible.

English version of that article was published in the 'Proletarian Era', the English organ of our party, in its issue dated 1st October, 1976, which soon got exhausted. Pressed by the growing public demand, we published it in bookform, after making a few incorporations.

This is the 4th print of the booklet.

48, Lenin Sarani  
Kolkata-13  
5th August, 2017

**Ranjit Dhar**



# **COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH**

## **THE GREAT LEADER OF THE PROLETARIAT**

In the sudden and premature demise of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist thinker and philosopher of the age, the world proletariat has lost a great leader and teacher. He held aloft the noble banner of Marxism-Leninism till his last breath, guarding and defending it against all sorts of deviations and distortions, and led a relentless struggle against onslaughts of various trends of bourgeois ideologies.

There was not even a single issue or problem relating to the struggle for emancipation of the proletariat in the national and international spheres which had not been illumined by his profound wisdom. There is no discipline of epistemology, including science and philosophy, and covering all aspects of life, which was not within his easy reach. In the course of handling newer and newer problems of life which appeared in the post-Lenin period, it was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who developed, elaborated and enriched the understanding of Marxism-Leninism and made definite new contributions to its treasure-house, bringing it to a newer height. In the present era, he was the living symbol of world proletarian revolution.

To him, Marxism-Leninism was a complete and comprehensive science, a philosophy of life, and all through life and in every aspect he practised it as the guide to action. It is difficult for us with lesser knowledge and a lesser standard of revolutionary character to fathom correctly the depth of the vast knowledge and profound wisdom and to conceive the height of proletarian ethics and culture he acquired through the conscious and ceaseless struggle of applying Marxism-Leninism in every sphere of his life. And

whatever our realization of him, still more difficult it is to express the same in language. But in response to the deep emotions and sincere desire of the toiling millions of our country, we undertake here an endeavour only to give a few glimpses, that too very briefly, of his great revolutionary life and character, keeping in mind that while this great revolutionary life and character and his invaluable teachings will endure as a living source of inspiration and as beacon light to generations of the proletariat in their struggle for emancipation, our realization of his great life and teachings in the light of newer and newer experiences derived through constant and continuous struggle will reach higher and still higher levels.

In the SUCI (Socialist Unity Centre of India), the only revolutionary party of the proletariat on this soil and which he built through arduous struggles, all his thoughts and ideas are concretised. The history of the SUCI is the history of the great revolutionary life and struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He completely identified himself with the cause of revolution, the class and the party, that is the SUCI. In him was concretised and personified the collective knowledge and leadership of the party.

He taught us : “Simply to speak of revolution is no revolutionary consciousness. So again, to speak for the working class, for the proletariat — this too is no proletarian class consciousness. The correct revolutionary consciousness is the correct proletarian class consciousness, and the correct proletarian class consciousness is the correct proletarian party consciousness.”

At the tender age of thirteen, as soon as he felt within the burn and humiliation of foreign domination, a tortuous and tireless struggle began in the life of this revolutionary, germinating this realization in him. Realizing that all the fruits of the independence, achieved through the heroic sacrifice of countless martyrs, were going to be usurped by the capitalist class, his heart was filled with deep agony and anguish, and

this, along with all experience he had gained from conscious participation in the freedom struggle, led him to the conclusion that the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited people can never be achieved without their class organ, the party of the proletariat. That is why, time and again he focussed on this all important question facing the democratic mass movements of our country : “Out of the discontent of the workers and peasants in the society, revolutionary tide will try time and again to surge forth in waves after waves — in wave after wave it will try to burst forth — the contradiction and conflicts brewing up in the society will time and again seek to come out and demand a fundamental change of this order, fervently appealing to human conscience and urging human consciousness in demand of revolution. But there will be no revolution. Again and again the revolutionary tide will recede, will go astray. Time and again reaction will gain. Revolution will have to wait until a revolutionary party emerges with necessary strength to lead it... .” To whatever extent this truth was realized by him according to the level of his consciousness during the freedom struggle, it blossomed later through conscious and continuous struggles and took a matured and concrete shape in and through the SUCI, the genuine communist party he built on this soil.

He had inexhaustible love for the toiling millions. He taught us : With a communist, there is no artificiality in his love for the people. No separate entity of love exists in him for his near and dear ones, his love for them in reality manifests itself in his love for the people. His boundless love for the proletariat completely identified his deeper and finer emotions of love, affection, sympathy and compassion with the cause of revolution, freeing them completely from the narrow confines of individualism. His door was wide open to all. On and often, right from ordinary workers and peasants, all without exception approached him with numerous problems of their life. Day in and day out, even

in broken health, for hours together he would listen to their problems with patience and guide them. Even the minutest details of their problems would draw his most serious attention. He would discuss and analyse their problems and would wipe off in a moment all traces of their pain and sufferings with the tender touch of deep affection. His was a love of different quality. The tender touch of his love would transform a man into a revolutionary of different metal and instill in him a high tone of ethics and culture.

He showered his party comrades with his inexhaustible love and affection. Those who did not get the touch of his love can never realize how broad and deep it was. He said : Communists also need love, affection and they also desire to treasure tenderness, friendship and compassion, but they need them not outside the orbit of the revolutionary life. He said times without number : Throughout my revolution-ary life, the love and affection I got from the people and from my party comrades are unique and unparalleled.

How deep was his appreciation of the finer values in people! He did always try to protect with tender care even the minutest trace of finer values in whomsoever he found them against all odds and adversities. And again whenever he noticed in one the slightest of slide from the high ethical and cultural standard one had once acquired, his heart would be filled with deep anguish. What pain and agony such an event would cause in him ! And for this great appreciation of human values, how patiently he always tried to rid the comrades of their drawbacks and limitations and with what a loving care ! Even in his fight against his opponents he never missed to give due recognition to the values, if any, he noticed in them. While discussing about the mistakes and defects of someone, he always evinced a very high cultural and ethical standard. He taught us : “Whenever you criticize someone you should place yourself in his position first. Otherwise your criticism can never be impersonal.” He used to say : “Man has both virtues and

vices. If you really want to develop the virtues and eliminate the vices in him, you should constantly encourage his virtues and should not pester him for his vices. It is only then, with his qualities developing more and more, that he would get rid of his vices.” On the method of criticism very often he used to tell the party workers : “A revolutionary should criticize himself first before criticizing others. Criticism based on the spirit of self-criticism can serve revolution.” He used to say : “Anybody criticizing us, whether he is a comrade, an outsider, or an enemy even, we consider him our teacher.”

He had a deep respect for great men of the past and also taught us to respect them. His voice would choke with emotion and anguish whenever it came to his notice that the nation was forgetting them and they were being pushed into oblivion. He said : “It is because of forgetting these great men that the standard of ethics, morality and culture has declined steadily in the political movements, mass movements as well as in the fields of art and literature — the standard which had once reached a remarkable height has fallen down. So we have become rootless. We are failing to sustain the continuity of the rich mould of culture acquired during the days of independence struggle. A good deal of pleasant phrases we have culled from across the world. Yet we seem to have lost our link from the cadence of loftier culture wrought in the soil of our country. That link has to be established.” He reminded us that we, the communists, are not rootless, we are the product of a definite social process. Our emergence is in continuity with the cultural development and the movements for social progress of our country. Though there is a contradiction with the thoughts of the great men of the past, the revolutionaries of this era are the real successors of those men. It is only through correct evaluations of these great men that in continuity with their movement and having a break with their ideas the revolutionary movement of our time shall develop on the edifice of the higher proletarian class consciousness.

He was gravely concerned and deeply shocked to find that the ethics, morality and the finer sense of human values were disappearing from all walks of the society — from the mass movement and political movement to family life even. He observed : “Even a starving nation can stand up against injustice if it possesses human values. But if it loses human values it loses everything”. He said : “With deep pain and anguish I notice the harsh reality that the mass movement in all its aspects has become destitute of any sense of ethics and morality ... The cultural tune has been lost and all vestiges of ethics and morality have almost been eroded.” “Reason is not the only element needed in struggle, struggle demands a close blend of reason and emotion — revolution is no exception to it. Ideas are developing, if the sensibility of emotion cannot keep pace with it a gap will appear. Then ideas are sure to become confounded and their struggles bound to go astray, leading into a blind alley. “That is why, slogan-mongering has today become the dominant feature of mass struggles. So in waves after waves movements are surging forth and bursting out with the urge for a fundamental change, a revolutionary change of the society. People are dying, youths are sacrificing lives, but revolution, the radical transformation of society, yet remains a far cry.” He often said : “No amount of sacrifices and sporadic clashes without number which are totally divorced from higher ethics and culture can bring about the revolutionary transformation of society. The nation can stand up with firm determination against all sorts of injustice only when movements are conducted on the basis of higher ethics, morality and a correct base political line.”

Time and again he reminded us that mass struggles were to be built up on the edifice of higher proletarian morality and culture. He said : “It is not so important whether a party talks of great ideologies. Whether the ideal it preaches is really great is proved by whether the leaders, workers and supporters of the party reflect a high standard of ethical and

political conduct.” He strongly rebutted the misconception of the so-called communists of our country who consider the question of ethics and morality as mere bourgeois prejudice, and he said : Had I not found in the communist ideology higher and nobler ethics, culture and values, I would never have been a communist. He taught us: “The kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, any philosophy or any worthy ideology lies in its cultural, ethical, and aesthetic standard. Marxism is a lofty revolutionary ideal. Its kernel, the living soul of this noblest revolutionary ideal also is ingrained in its cultural and moral values.” He said: “The acid test as to whether a man has correctly realized Marxism-Leninism is whether a high cultural-ethical standard is being reflected in his life.” He observed that revolutionary politics was the response of higher and nobler human values and emotion. He showed that true realization of love was not possible without the attainment of the noble human qualities of heart like generosity, emotion, affection, compassion and wisdom which could develop in this era only out of the proletarian revolutionary movement.

He, for the first time in the international communist movement, introduced the ‘commune’ life in our party, thereby leading a collective life together with the leaders and ordinary cadres. He raised the concept of the struggle to acquire the communist character to a new and more developed height. Till his last breath he lived in the commune he had established at the beginning of the party formation, and guided the leaders and workers of the party in every respect to acquire higher political consciousness and cultural-ethical standard. His concern for every detail of his commune comrades, his constant attention to eliminate their drawbacks and shortcomings with endless patience, his impersonal attitude and outlook towards everything have instilled a very high tone of revolutionary ethics and culture in the party comrades. He conducted a constant and continuous struggle within the party to develop all the cadres into steeled revolutionaries imbued

with proletarian ethics and culture. As great musicians in their earnest devotion set the strings of their instruments in one single tune, so did our beloved teacher with great devotion set the cultural and ethical tune of the entire party on a very high note. Here lies the secret of the high ethical-cultural standard and sense of discipline reflected in the day to day activities and behaviours of the SUCI workers, which people very often wonder at.

He said to the workers : “Impossible is a word which should not find place in the dictionary of a communist.” Once, when he was in the jail, he took up a challenge to prove this contention and started learning to play sitar, all by himself, and after only a few days, he surprised everyone at a function inside the jail by playing sitar flawlessly. Since then on he never again touched sitar.

He would perform each and every work with utmost care, concentration and flawless perfection. He said: Even while doing a small task, do it with a creative mind. He would further add : To a revolutionary no work is insignificant. If you do not perform a work with all seriousness, considering the same insignificant, that does not only spoil the work but obstructs the very process of developing integration in the method of thinking.

His was a life of relentless struggle in quest of truth and in shaping out the revolutionary life at a higher to a still higher level. The vast treasury of knowledge he built bit by bit from the experiences gained while organizing people was an inexhaustible source. He said : Struggles of the communists are the struggles in quest of truth. He also said: In the present era, the proletariat have the greatest need to get to know truth critically and minutely. He added : If you want to know truth you should wage a firm, determined and uncompromising battle with courage to apply in all aspects of your life what you realize as truth by your analyses today, engaging yourself in the struggle of the proletariat. And on the basis of the deeper and finer

realization of truth through these struggles you will have to transform yourself constantly and continuously — this is the only way to know truth. He taught us : If you are really a devotee of truth then keep your mind and eyes open to learn even from a layman.

It was not his method of study to read for academic purpose, being detached from the struggles and problems of the toiling people. That is why, all through his great revolutionary life, he was rarely found being absorbed in reading books in isolation from people's concrete problems and struggles. Yet his outstanding knowledge and erudition in all branches of epistemology like science, philosophy, literature, psychology, music, among others, astonished all and drew their admiration. His was a fundamentally different method of acquiring knowledge. Whatever problem appeared before him in the process of organizing people's struggles for emancipation, he tried to solve them with the experience gained through struggles, at the same time putting those problems to closer examination in all their aspects by way of discussions with others and taking help on relevant points from the Marxian classics. And whatever truth was revealed to him through this, he relentlessly applied the same in his life, and thus the realization of truth grew deeper and deeper in him. That is why he could realize truth with so much transparent clarity and he could equally express it with so much lucidity. Those who had the opportunity to attend the political classes he conducted on Marxism-Leninism to elevate the revolutionary character and level of understanding of the party workers must have noticed with what ease he could introduce and tackle the most intricate and complex subjects of Marxist philosophy in a manner easily comprehensible not only to the intellectuals but to the illiterate workers and peasants as well.

There was no gap between realization of truth and its application in his life. Nothing, not even monumental adversities and difficulties could daunt him from doing whatever his

realization of truth urged him to do. Only at the age of twenty, the moment he realized that without a real revolutionary party of the proletariat the emancipation of the people from all sorts of exploitation was impossible, he engaged himself wholeheartedly to build a real revolutionary party of the proletariat on our soil. Never he thought for a moment whether it would be possible or not. No adverse situation, no obstacle, no amount of difficulties could make him flinch from applying this realization to practice. How amazing was the firm foundation of his revolutionary character and what we call tenacity of purpose or revolutionary audacity, even at the age of twenty, which made it possible for him to brave the unthinkable adverse situation for the building of this party.

He developed in him from even his early age the unshakable determination and devotion to application of truth in life. Only at the age of thirteen, the moment he realized that the question of social progress was inseparably linked up with the question of India's freedom from the chain of British imperialist rule, he did not hesitate a while to decide his future course of life. Responding to the call of 'Anusilan Samity' (a petty bourgeois revolutionary organization) he gave up everything personal — family, home, education, career, and he plunged into the freedom struggle. In the tears of his parents what he visualized was the wail and agony of millions of oppressed and humiliated parents of the society, and never he failed, even for a single moment, to realize what this pain or agony demanded of him to do in life. He was the eldest son of his father in a lower middle class family of the then East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and was a brilliant student. What great hopes and expectations did his parents cherish about their son ! And what boundless love and reverence he had for his parents ! Usually he would not talk about his early family life. But whenever, on some occasion, there would be any reference to his father, his voice would choke with emotion. This depth of love and emotion for his parents had sublimated

into his fathomless and genuine love for the people.

It was this firm and unwavering struggle to apply truth in life that made him such a great man. He was himself firm and unwavering on principles and objectives and also wanted others to be so, but he was out and out opposed to blind allegiance in any form. Before accepting anything to be true he would always put that to critical examination on the anvil of scientific logic and experience gained from struggle. During the freedom struggle, when it was simply inconceivable for an ordinary worker to enter into debates and discussions with the leaders, he did not hesitate to do so while he paid them the respect and regard they deserved. Again, what he understood as truth out of these debates and discussions he would, with equal and unflinching vigour, defend and apply in life.

Later on, in the SUCI also, he conducted a relentless and conscious battle to combat every trend of blind allegiance to leadership. His advice to the comrades was : Critically judge even the leaders before accepting them. He warned : If the atmosphere of debate, discussion and critical examination is replaced by blind practice of mechanical allegiance in the party life, then it will not only lower the standard of the cadres but will gradually degrade even the topmost leader held in the highest esteem. That is the way to ensure their own advancement ; and leaders, too, should maintain with utmost vigil such a healthy atmosphere inside the party through active and conscious struggle. But his specific advice in this regard was : Such debates and discussions must be kept free from ego, bias, or preconception.” Again and again he warned the party workers : “If this ego is not completely fought out and if it persists in you, no matter in whatever subtle and latent form, in course of time it may give birth to opportunism, adventurism and revisionism.” He used to say : Do not attach any much importance to the manner of expression of the comrades, but try to grasp the spirit of what they say.

This attitude, approach and bent of mind of accepting

everything on the anvil of logic and science only, and of realizing truth and applying it in life advanced him towards Marxist philosophy and its dialectical methodology. So, in 1940, when a group came out of the 'Anusilan Samity' with the object of forming a Marxist-Leninist party under the name RSP, he associated himself with it. But shortly afterwards, at the outbreak of the second world war, the imperialist rulers started putting the freedom fighters behind the bars. Many were arrested while others went underground. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, posted with organisational responsibility, had to shift his center of activity from Dacca to Calcutta, and he played a significant role in the August Movement. And in 1942, while he was underground, he was arrested and detained for three years. While in the jail, he started an intense struggle to build the RSP in the correct and scientific process of forming a Marxist-Leninist party.

From his early boyhood he developed a very high ethical norm, that is, before asking anybody to practise anything he himself should put it into practice in his own life. The conduct and behaviour of his entire life bear testimony to it. The problem of starving and poverty-stricken parents, problems concerning his wife and son — all appeared in his life, but with firm determination and courage he resolved all these problems in the light of the realization which had dawned in him, arising from his complete allegiance and dedication to the cause of revolution. At a later period, he laid down a code of conduct for the revolutionaries, basing it on the truth he had learned from his own experience which he had gained by conducting his life and struggle from higher and advanced revolutionary consciousness. And this code has brought into the communist movement a more developed and a completely new approach without which one cannot acquire the communist character in this era when bourgeois individualism has degenerated into vulgar privileges and has assumed an utterly reactionary character.

The very fact that the private life and personal conduct of the leaders of the CPI were by far different from those of genuine communists struck him deeply and it was one of the main reasons for him to conclude beyond doubt that the CPI had failed to develop as a genuine working class party. He used to say: “These leaders call upon the students and youths of the country to dedicate themselves to revolution. They ask them to fight, go to the jail, and face lathis, bullets and not to care for career. But they ask their own children to be good students, to build their career first, be established and then decide what they would do. For their own sons they are after lucrative employment and for daughters well-placed grooms. But for the daughters and sons of the people, their advice is to fight for revolution. And it is for this unabashed hypocrisy of these leaders that such a noble ideology has remained chained to the narrow bounds of economism-reformism and till today has failed to inspire the people to the cause of revolution”.

As regards the pedantry of M. N. Roy he said that if anybody had ever attempted to provide a theoretical foundation of Marxism in India, it was M. N. Roy, who actually did it first, and as regards his scholasticism it had its greatest possibility in him. But he never harboured any illusion about M. N. Roy, as the glaring inconsistency between the preachings and practices of his life had been revealed to him from the very beginning. He himself provided a thorough, critical, theoretical analysis on the deviations and degeneration of M. N. Roy. Afterwards, whenever any reference was made to M. N. Roy, he would say : A communist ? Well, how does he lead his life ? What is his personal conduct ? In this regard, his ethical tune was set on a high pitch and these things never escaped his notice.

He most hated the double-standard in life. While exposing the double-standard in the life and conduct of the so-called communist leaders of our country, he had pointed out : “There are among them many leaders who have personal properties,

who own personal houses and cars, have more than enough sets of dresses for daily use, even enough sets of dresses for attending tea-parties or for going abroad. But when they go to peasants and workers they go in the commoner's dress as if they are the epitome of great sacrifice !” He pointedly asked: “What is the motive behind hiding one's personal way of life under all these falsehood like the bourgeois hypocrites ? Is it not a deception over the workers ? Is it anything other than cheating the people?”

That is why, he always urged the revolutionary workers and toiling people : “If you will learn the revolutionary ideals you should learn it from those and only those who are consciously trying to conduct their life on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles, who are indeed in the midst of such struggles and have been successful. Don't learn Marxism-Leninism from those who are still victims of bourgeois ethics and culture, practices and habits in their personal life. For, what they teach in the name of Marxism is anything but Marxism. A party whose leaders and cadres are in the habit of behaving in their personal life according to their individual whims, a party whose leaders and cadres constantly rationalise their behaviour and provide individual explanations in regard to ethics, aesthetics and culture—this may be a feature of a petty-bourgeois party, but a real Marxist party can never allow such things to grow. And a party which, in the name of Marxism-Leninism, behaves in this way is really a petty-bourgeois party in the garb of Marxism.” On the basis of the then level of his realization at the initial stage of the RSP, he posed the question thus : Those who intend to come forward to build this new party must involve themselves in the struggle to remould their character as communists on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and covering all aspects of life. For, we, who have come forward to build this party, have so long been in the freedom movement, guided by petty-bourgeois nationalist ideology, as a result of which we carry in us a petty-bourgeois

mental makeup, thought process, concept of ethics and culture. So, if we are to build this new party on the basis of proletarian internationalism we should first of all develop in us the Marxist outlook, process of thinking and mental makeup through intense struggle and only when we achieve this object will we be able to form a real Marxist-Leninist party. Otherwise, despite allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and earnest desire to build a Marxist-Leninist party, we will also reduce ours to a petty-bourgeois party, just like others, because of following the wrong process.

On the basis of this realization he said to his leaders with due honour : Inspired and attracted by your characters we joined the freedom struggle. I deeply respect you from the core of my heart and shall hold you in reverence till my death. But if you are to join the real revolutionary party of the proletariat we are going to build, you would also have to engage yourselves in this struggle for acquiring the communist character and only after achieving success in this struggle can you lead this new party.

Guided by this revolutionary thinking, he started, inside the jail, a relentless and arduous struggle towards the primary preparation to build up a real Marxist-Leninist party. For them who have not seen it, it is hard to believe what a strenuous labour he undertook, day in and day out. For days, while others enjoyed meal on time and rest, his food went stale, he hardly had time to take food and rest. His dress and other belongings remained uncared for, unless others looked after these. He was totally unconcerned about all these. Night after night he could not go to sleep. As he was a brilliant student, many, including some of his leaders inside the jail, even advised him to sit for examinations and obtain degrees, which was quite a usual practice in the case of many political prisoners. But all in vain, because he had no concern other than for the cause of revolution. And with unflinching devotion he conducted a conscious and strenuous struggle with the sole object of

building a Marxist-Leninist party.

So, with this sole revolutionary aim and objective, after he was released from the jail in 1945, he continued as before his ceaseless, conscious struggle to build the party. The struggle he initiated to achieve uniformity of thinking, one process of thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose among the members and workers of the party through intense ideological struggles on the basis of the dialectical materialist method of thinking and method of analysis, covering all aspects of life, with a view to shaping out the RSP as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, did not meet with success. But what he succeeded in this process of developing ideological centralism through intense ideological battles, conducted both inside and outside the jail, was the creation of a band of professional revolutionaries along with whom, both in continuity of the struggle within the RSP and after a complete break with it, he formed the SUCI.

With this began a new phase of the most arduous and fierce struggle. It is really hard for anyone to believe and conceive even, at this stage of development of our party, how inconceivably strenuous and painstaking was the struggle that he had to wage, what monumental difficulties he had to face, only with a handful of revolutionary compatriots and against an extremely adverse situation in order to build this party, the SUCI. And with what revolutionary dedication, and revolutionary purposiveness he made it possible is inconceivable to others ! Perhaps, this has no parallel in the entire history of formation of the communist parties of the world.

For him and for the very handful of his dedicated revolutionary compatriots there was no roof over head, no shelter, no provision, not even money to meet bare expenses for conveyance, no congenial surroundings, and none to encourage, but what they had in them was the firm conviction and, based on it, the unflagging determination to build a new, a

genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat on the Indian soil. Everybody in those days ridiculed the idea and considered it simply impossible, if not an act of madness, to attempt to build a revolutionary party for making revolution successful with this microscopic strength and meagre support in such a vast country like India and in the face of countless obstacles.

At that time, the Communist Party of India existed as an all India organisation, enjoying international recognition and usurping the credit of the international communist movement. Naturally, whoever was attracted to the communist ideology, did swell the rank of the CPI. Also existed the All India Forward Block, founded by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the RSP — professed as a Marxist-Leninist party, enjoying the support and patronage of the ‘Anusilan Samity’, the RCPI carrying the then public image of Soumendra Nath Tagore, its founder, the Democratic Vanguard credited with the heritage of M.N.Roy, the Bolshevik party enjoying the strength of the Dock and Port workers’ unions — all these. Each one had considerable strength.

How a young man of twentyone, along with a handful of compatriots of practically the same age group, who had no support, no resources, nothing of its kind, would build the revolutionary party of the proletariat rising above all these odds was really a matter which no one could even dream of. But he had in his revolutionary character such unique firmness that what he had realized to be truth he always tried to apply in practice, and nothing, no measure of adversity could deter him. On the contrary, the more the difficulties, the more the adversities, the more firm and determined he would grow in his struggles. Against all odds, with singleminded determination, he marched forward to give the party a firm foundation. He said : “I would rather die on the street and think myself that it was necessary for the Indian revolution. If I am to die, I will die with honour, raising my head high.” Afterwards, many a time he used to tell the party

workers : I could never imagine to even indulge in the thought that I shall not be able to perform whatever my realization of the necessity of revolution would prompt me to do. I feel extremely humiliated to think that anything is impossible to a revolutionary.

Day in and day out Comrade Ghosh and his revolutionary compatriots had to starve. At a dingy hovel in South Calcutta they lived together and started here the first commune of the party. For their bed they could procure only a mat. For them, and when it could be made available, meal meant nothing more than boiled rice with a few pinches of salt. On and often they had to collectively share a particular set of dress among themselves. And they engaged in an inhuman struggle round the clock for building the party.

Despite all this, never they thought to themselves that they were making sacrifices. Comrade Ghosh often said : “To a revolutionary nothing is nobler than revolution, nothing is more precious than the revolutionary life. And that is why, when in the interest of revolution and for leading the life of a revolutionary he is to give up anything, even his life, he never considers it a sacrifice at all.” And this he expressed in one of his writings :

“During those early days, when we started building the party, there were very few people to support us, we could not even arrange a room for our shelter and day after day we had to strive hard without food, but we had no grievance about this. For years we shared a mat and so many winters we passed. Our old friends will bear testimony to it. They can tell you that never they could trace any lack of composure in us. How many days we went without food. But we felt ashamed even to tell it to someone. That we could not arrange our provision, we had not enough supporters, we could not collect the bare minimum were all in our consideration our own failings. What was there to be proud of it ? How could it be reckoned as a height of sacrifice ? Even to spell it out to others was a matter

of shame to us.” To this height did the mould of proletarian ethics and culture grow in him !

This unique revolutionary character and profound wisdom had a magnetic attraction for the people. At a later period, even the best boys, the cream of the university and colleges, used to attend the study classes conducted by him. But in the early period of party building, whenever he heard that somebody was showing interest, he would immediately rush to him, even walk for miles and would discuss for hours together. Thus through this unimaginable struggle and painstaking labour, he had to convince and recruit cadres one by one. How difficult it was in those days even to get a single cadre ! First, one had to be convinced that scientific socialism was the only way for the emancipation of the people from all sorts of exploitation. Then he had to be satisfied with irrefutable logic as to why the party with the nomenclature ‘CPI’ did not grow as a real communist party — and how difficult a task it was in those days ! And finally, in the background of all these, one had to be convinced of the indispensable necessity of building anew a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat to accomplish the task of Indian revolution. And no less difficult was the task to keep up the conviction of a worker thus recruited — for the cause of revolution, unwavering and ever flaming. For, it is simply unimaginable in today’s background how difficult it was to keep one’s unwavering dedication to the cause of building of a revolutionary proletarian party in those days, when the party could not yet earn mass support and recognition, had no renowned mass leader, and when to be associated with it was to invite derision, slighting remarks and insinuations.

Almost unknown to the people, no resources, no sympathy from any corner, no backing of the press — there was nothing but ridicule, jeers, retorts, canards and slanders—obstacles stood like the Chinese wall all around. In the background of these adversities, when apparently there was no redeeming future, when, tormented by insults and injuries at every step,

party workers were wavering in their faith and were doubtful of success in their mission to build a revolutionary party, they would rush to him and express their doubt and anxiety : “Would it ever be possible ?” To that his answer was the same firm and straightforward : “Suppose not, what else to be done ? Should we give up this struggle, join in service and submit to the conventional life of servitude, or should we join the CPI which is anything but a communist party ? Should we thus betray our conscience ? And I am the last man to do this. Even if I can do nothing else for revolution I would at least lay the first brick, others will build in future the edifice of the revolutionary party on it. With all my dreams and ambitions in every moment of my existence I know of only one meaning of life — so long I exist, I exist as a revolutionary.” Thus, in every moment, he infused in his revolutionary compatriots a new sense of values of the revolutionary life, imparted to them steadfastness in the revolutionary objective and invigorated them with firmness of the revolutionary character.

And through these fierce struggles without parallel, with resolute determination and singular courage he laid the solid foundation of the SUCI, the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat on our soil, and during the last twentyeight years in course of the relentless struggle against all odds and adversities he erected brick by brick an impressive edifice of the party. He provided the toiling masses with the correct and scientific programme of action for their emancipation from all sorts of exploitation — the strategy and tactics of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. He bequeathed to us a vast treasury of knowledge, covering all branches of epistemology and the most developed concept of proletarian culture that alone can properly guide the struggle of the proletariat today. He was able to correctly grasp the truth that a party formed by a few people, by simply accepting Marxism-Leninism as their ideal cannot become a real proletarian party if the correct and scientific process of building a proletarian party is not followed from the very

beginning. Out of this realization he conducted from the very outset the struggle for acquiring the concept of a life conducive to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and built the party with utmost care and sincerity. On the basis of Marx's historic teaching that "To change the world, the workers will have to change themselves first", he started on his mission on the guiding principle that those who would come forward to build this party and take a leading role will have to engage themselves collectively in the struggle to acquire the communist character. He said : "We must bear in mind that in the present society the ethics and morality, sense of duty and obligation or the values, which we are guided in every aspect of life still today are all bourgeois concepts and so, only by conducting constant and continuous, conscious struggle to acquire the communist moral values, replacing the bourgeois values and develop instead of bourgeois outlook, the proletarian class outlook or what we call dialectical materialist or Marxist approach, we can develop ourselves as communists."

Conforming to the needs of this period of decadent and utter reactionary individualism, he provided a completely new and more developed concept of the communist character. He said : "The high standard of communist morality in the revolutionary politics of the proletariat was so long conceived as submission of individual interests to the greater social interests." As against this, for the first time in history he showed that, in this era, in order to acquire the higher communist character, "an individual must identify himself, unquestioningly, happily and unconditionally with the interests of the proletarian class, revolution and the party." He was himself the living embodiment of this higher standard of communist character. His personal life and revolutionary life had merged into one and the same. His life was completely identified with revolution, revolutionary movement and the party. From the very inception of the party till his last breath he conducted this struggle collectively, embracing the leaders and cadres of the party.

In the course of this struggle he not only reached a new height of communist character himself but also created a band of leaders and cadres with high revolutionary standard. That is why, how well one can speak or write, how high is the academic attainment of one or what social status one enjoys — none of these is the deciding factor for evaluating the revolutionary competence of a leader or a cadre in this party — the standard of the leaders and the cadres as tested and tempered revolutionaries is judged in this party by the extent to which they have been able to identify their personal interests with the interests of the society, that is, the interests of revolution and the revolutionary party, through this continuous and conscious struggle. The party has developed, on the basis of this very scientific process he initiated, and this process is still in operation within this party. In this process, attaining the high standard of ethics and culture, a competent leadership is emerging at the different levels of the party continuously and constantly — in whom is embodied the concept “party is life, revolution is the mode of existence.”

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, whose entire life was dedicated to the cause of emancipation of the proletariat, has created, with the vast knowledge and experience accumulated through his lifelong struggle, the real revolutionary party of the proletariat, the SUCI, an indispensable instrument for revolution, and a band of professional revolutionaries competent enough to lead the revolution. The fruit of this struggle is finding expression in the gradual expansion and consolidation of the party throughout the length and breadth of the country. So it is only through the constant cultivation of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great revolutionary leader of the proletariat, and by strengthening the SUCI, the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat, founded by him, to make it strong enough to lead the revolutionary struggle, that the Indian proletariat can achieve its emancipation from all sorts of exploitation. He is and shall ever remain very much with us through his teachings, and his

name and ideas will endure for ever as the living source of inspiration and beacon light to us.

At this hour of most profound grief, while paying tribute to the great departed leader, we pledge ourselves that following the great example of the unique revolutionary character of our beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who completely identified himself with the class, party and revolution we will dedicate ourselves more and more to the cause of revolution and increasingly identify ourselves with the party founded by our great leader, teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

We vow, while engaging to organize the revolutionary struggles of the toiling masses, following his teachings we will relentlessly conduct the struggle to acquire higher and still higher revolutionary character and will always uphold higher proletarian ethics and culture, and through constant and unceasing cultivation of the rich treasury of knowledge which he acquired in the course of his lifelong struggle and bequeathed to the proletarian revolutionary movement, we will make our realization of these teachings deeper and deeper.

We vow to carry forward the struggle for emancipation of the toiling masses to its ultimate victory by strengthening the SUCI, the only communist party on the Indian soil, the noblest of his creations, and we will guard the collective leadership and proletarian democracy in our party like the apple of the eye as he taught us to defend.

We vow to carry forward the task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution to complete victory with the last drop of our blood on the basis of the well defined strategy and tactics he provided to us as the correct guideline for the emancipation of the oppressed people of our country from all sorts of exploitation.

We vow to be ever steadfast as he taught us to be in our uncompromising battle against all varieties of revisionism, reformism and social democratism to constantly uphold the correct base political line of the proletariat and unswervingly

defend the revolutionary kernel of Marxism-Leninism. We vow that guided by his correct and scientific teachings on fascism we shall mobilize people in millions in the unrelenting and fierce struggle against fascism, the worst enemy of human civilization.

We vow that at this hour of profound loss we must turn our grief, as taught by him, into firm determination, courage and revolutionary purposiveness. We take the pledge to stand as 'one man' and strive hard to fill the void created.

We take the vow that all of us, thousands of revolutionary workers, taught and trained by him, shall hold aloft the glorious banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism with every drop of our blood.

**RED SALUTE COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH**  
**The Great Leader of the Proletariat**

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S HOMAGE

**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the leader, teacher, guide and General Secretary of our Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India breathed his last following an acute myocardial infarction (severe and massive heart attack) at 7-30 P.M. on Thursday, the 5th August, 1976, at the party's Central Commune in Calcutta at the age of 55.

Immediately after his sudden and premature demise the Central Committee took the following resolution paying homage to the memory of the great departed leader.

The Central Committee of our party expresses its profound and deepest grief at the sudden and premature demise of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** our beloved leader, teacher, guide and General Secretary of our Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India. He was one of the outstanding Marxist thinkers of the present era. It was **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** who concretised Marxism-Leninism on Indian soil and developed, elaborated and enriched many aspects of it and also brought many other aspects to a new height at this particular stage of the present era of 'Imperialism and Proletarian Revolution' enunciated by Lenin. He also provided a newer and concrete understanding of Marxism-Leninism in the course of dealing with the problems that appeared not only in the political and socio-economic fields, but also covering all aspects of life and epistemology — science and philosophy, ethics, morality, culture, art, literature and aesthetics in the post-Lenin period.

So, it is incumbent upon all to make a serious cultivating of the thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** without which the understanding of Marxism-Leninism at this stage of the present era cannot be adequate.

Realizing the need of Indian revolution, marked by the absence of any genuine working class party, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** took upon himself the historic task of building a revolutionary party of the proletariat with which the question of emancipation of the people from all sorts of exploitation and oppression was inseparably linked up. In the process of building party **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** historically emerged as the great leader of the toiling millions. In this struggle for building a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in our country, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** developed to a new height the Leninist concept of Marxist party and pointed out that only after achieving ideological centralism by conducting an intense ideological struggle covering all aspects of life organizational centralism can be achieved and only then the party can develop as an organic whole. In him was personified and concretised the collective leadership of our party.

His contribution to the ideological fields of international communist movement made him a communist leader of unique distinction. He was the first to point out that modern revisionism-reformism was the main danger in the present day international communist movement and showed the correct line of struggle against it. His contribution to the fight against all sorts of illusion being created by different schools of bourgeois philosophy and its modern trends will act as indispensable and valuable guide not only to the revolutionary movement of our country but to the international communist movement as well.

His ceaseless fight against economism, opportunism and diverse varieties of social democratism that have permeated through and through the working class movement gave a correct and new direction to the working class struggle of our country. His clarion call to the toiling millions of our country

was that they should always adhere to the correct base political line of the proletariat and build the political power of the people without which the cherished goal of their emancipation can never be achieved.

He consistently upheld the nobility of communist ideology and taught us that the living soul of any great ideal lies in the higher standard of morals, ethics and culture. He taught us to practise and develop the working class revolutionary politics on the basis of communist ethics and morality. It was also his teaching not to be afraid if any difficulties but to face all adversities with revolutionary zeal and determination and thus be able to turn disadvantage into advantage.

The Central Committee firmly believes that the correct and scientific analysis made by him of each and every national and international question shall surely act as an invaluable guide to the proletariat in the struggle for emancipation for decades to come. The Central Committee is also of firm opinion that many of his contributions in the field of epistemology are definite new additions to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

The Central Committee is convinced that following the great example of his unique revolutionary character in which was completely identified his self with the class, party and revolution — all leaders, workers, supporters and sympathizers will dedicate themselves more and more to the cause of revolution and increasingly identify with the party founded by our great leader, teacher and guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. At this hour of great loss we must turn our grief, as taught by him, into firm determination, courage and revolutionary purposiveness. We take vow to stand as ‘one man’ and strive hard to fill the void created. He is and shall ever remain very much with us through his teachings. His name and teachings will endure as the living source of inspiration and beacon light to legions of revolutionaries who will fulfil the behest of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Let all of us, thousands of disciples and admirers of **Comrade Ghosh**, hold

aloft the banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism with every drop of our blood.

With deep respect to our great departed leader, teacher and guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the Central Committee dips the Red Flag in salute.

Central Committee  
Socialist Unity Centre of India