

AJOY Ghosh, our General Secretary, loved leader and comrade passed away suddenly.

It is with deep anguish that we announce this grievous news to all our Party members, all our friends, all our people to whose service Ajoy Ghosh dedicated all his energy, his capacities and his life.

Born on February 20, 1909 Ajoy Ghosh early entered upon the path of revolutionary activity. In the early 1920s he worked in the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army for the freedom of our motherland.

He was one of the co-accused along with Bhagat Singh in the Second Lahore Conspiracy Case and was imprisoned along with his other militant patriotic colleagues.

On release he plunged into the work of organising the workers of his hometown, Kanpur. His revolutionary fervour, his contact with the workers and the reading of the classics of Marxism brought him into the ranks of our Party in 1931.

Within two years he was elected to the Central Committee and in 1936 to the Political Bureau. Ever since then Ajoy Ghosh has been in the very front ranks of the leadership of our Party.

At a very crucial period in the history of our Party, in 1951, Ajoy Ghosh was elected the General Secretary of our Party. He worked till the day of his death in this, the highest office of our Party.

Ajoy Ghosh gave inspiring leadership to our Party at very critical junctures of our history. Under his leadership our Party surmounted many an obstacle, remained on the correct path and advanced the great banner of our cause.

Ajoy Ghosh by his political sagacity rendered yeoman service in maintaining and strengthening the unity of our Party.

Ajoy Ghosh raised high the prestige of our Party not only in our country but also in the international Communist movement by his contributions to the shaping of its basic policy documents.

The long years of hard work and personal sacrifice had told upon his health. Stricken with tuberculosis in the 1940s, he began to suffer from heart trouble some five years ago.

In spite of his ill-health he worked on with passion and with clarity, steering our Party forward. The Election Manifesto of our Party and the basic line of our electoral tactics and agitation were largely his work.

In the last weeks of his

life he was busy with the election campaign of our Party.

On the 11th of this month, he was suddenly taken ill and in the afternoon of the 13th at the Sen's Nursing Home he succumbed to a heart-attack.

The Communist Party has suffered an irreparable loss.

Inspired by the memory of his great life we must unite still more closely and work with still greater fervour for the cause of our people's victory and Communism, for which Ajoy Ghosh made the supreme sacrifice.

We dip the Red Flag in respect to our departed leader.

**NATIONAL COUNCIL,
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA**

January 13.



AJOY GHOSH MEMORIAL

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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25 nP.

LOVED LEADER

THREE DECADES

By P. C. JOSHI

During the late twenties and early thirties two famous conspiracy cases launched by the British to panic and divert the national movement, turned like boomerangs against the British usurpers themselves. The first was the Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case and the second the Lahore Conspiracy Case in which Bhagat Singh and others were the accused.

THE fiery passion for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialist overlordship was common to both. The difference between the two was that while Bhagat Singh and his comrades were national revolutionaries with terrorism as their main tactic, we were Communists, with the organisation of militant mass struggles and independent class organisations as our main tactic.

There were comradeship contacts between the two groups even before we were arrested. We already knew that Bhagat Singh and many of his comrades were studying Marxism-Leninism.

As the two cases went on, news came to us inside Meerut Jail that Bhagat Singh and his comrades had finally and enthusiastically accepted the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism as the only way to achieve the victory of the Indian revolution and decided to join the Communist Party as and when they came out of the prison walls. We in Meerut Jail, celebrated the grand news.

Ajoy was an accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, he was released earlier in 1930. I was an accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case and was released later in 1933.

I was appointed the Central Committee organiser for U. P. and naturally enough rushed to Kanpur, the industrial centre. There I met Ajoy first, who had already begun trade union work. We not only got to know each other intimately but began to work in close comradeship.

GREAT PRIDE

I recall with great pride that I proposed his name for the first District Organising Committee of the Party in Kanpur, for the first Provincial Organising Committee of U.P. then for the Central Committee and finally in to the Polit-Bureau. He justified himself so completely throughout his long Party life that when he died he was my leader, the General Secretary, piloting the Party through stormy waves as its helmsman.

In the early thirties when I first met Ajoy the tactic of United National Front was being discussed, on the basis of joining and supporting the Congress and drawing strength from the independent organisations of workers, peasants and students, etc.

Ajoy told me very shyly: I was thinking along same lines but hesitated to speak

up for fear of you comrades chiding me for remaining a nationalist yet!

Ajoy's own national revolutionary origin made him think in national terms and his fear of not going the conservative barren way of bourgeois nationalism made him study and apply the revolutionary principles of Marxism anew and more and more realistically to the problems of the Indian national movement.

Herein lies the key to Ajoy's rise as the leader of our Party and his high status as one of the top national political leaders of our people.

COMMUNIST JOURNALIST

His first assignment as a Central Committee member was to unite the various factions in Bombay. The leaders who had fallen out were not only older in age but far more senior inside the Party as well. Ajoy proved his limitless patience, great tact, and supreme devotion to the Party by successfully fulfilling this assignment.

When the first Congress Ministries were formed, before the war, we got limited legality and started the National Front as a popular weekly. Working on its Editorial Board, we discovered his worth as a publicist. His articles and reports were avidly read by Congressmen and helped strengthen the Left inside the Congress.

When we were again driven underground with the outbreak of the war, he along with N. K. Krishnan was responsible for bringing out the illegal Communist. He duly infected the readers with his own anti-imperialist fire.

To break through the isolation of underground life and get what he used to call "a spot of fresh political air" he went on a tour of U.P. on Party assignments and due to some accident got arrested.

Confined within Deoli camp, he led the detenus in a hungerstrike for the rights of political prisoners.

He was shattered in health and infected with TB when he was released. It needed the collective pressure of all of us to send him to various sanatoriums.

After a few months he would either himself come rushing back or summon one of us to argue that it was no more necessary to spend all the cash on his living in the



Last homage to Ajoy—seen in the picture are M. N. Govindan Nair, M. Farooqi, Bhupesh Gupta, Y. D. Sharma, and P. C. Joshi (on right).

sanatorium, he was well enough to get back to "some work".

We used to grow impatient with him but he would patiently go on repeating his trick!

After release from the sanatorium, the doctors banned his staying and working in humid Bombay where the Party headquarters then was. We decided to send him to healthier Kashmir for further rest.

He went there "under protest" but made real good friends with the leaders of the National Conference and became one of our experts on the Kashmir problem.

He went on demanding full time Party work somewhere else, if we won't let him come back to Bombay and the Party Headquarters. We decided to post him as the Party organiser for the Punjab, charged with the task of bringing together, under the banner of the Party, the various Communist groups there. Once again he fulfilled the assignment with credit.

We used to twit him: the Punjabis are so happy with you that they have given you a Punjabi girl in marriage. I remember as if it was only yesterday how Ajoy used to blush.

SENSING THE NEW

With the end of the war, Ajoy was one of those leading comrades who found out the significance of INA and other national protest demonstrations and began pressing for the adoption of a more militant policy by the Party. This was done at the Second Congress of the Party at Calcutta.

Ajoy was again arrested in 1948. This time he began the struggle against left-sectarianism from inside the Party leadership.

In 1951 with the new Programme of the Party he was elected as the General Secretary. It was now, when at the head of the Party, that Ajoy's multi-sided capacities unfolded themselves.

By 1955 it became clear

from experience itself that the 1951 Party Programme needed correction. In the discussions that followed, Ajoy, step by step, led the Party towards a new orientation, in line with existing realities and more visibly towards the desired future.

Ajoy's matchless contribution was to listen to them carefully, irrespective of his own viewpoint, work out the points of agreement and present them as proposals for common acceptance, as the wisest and most realistic decision to take at the moment.

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For the last eleven years he was the General Secretary of our Party. He had something of his own apart from being just a member of the Party or its General Secretary; and that was exactly why he became its General Secretary.

Ajoy came to the Communist Party from the revolutionary traditions of Indian nationalism which many of us have got and many of us have not got because some of us are too young.

He belonged to the group of Bhagat Singh. Since his very young days he was in the tradition of what we called in those days revolutionary nationalism (some called it terrorism). It was in that tradition he came to politics. He was bound to come to Communism from that tradition.

Bhagat Singh himself was coming to socialism. Very few people know that some of the comrades of Bhagat Singh were working in the Workers' and Peasants Party. After the bomb-throwing incident, the Communist Party was trying to help him to leave this country for we knew what was coming.

The Second Lahore Conspiracy Case was followed by the Meerut Conspiracy Case in which we Communists were involved. For the first time Communism was coming before the whole country. When Ajoy came out of his detention from Lahore, he came to Communism.

To our Party he brought a sense of nationalism and along with that his own characteristic realism. He was not known to millions. He would just remain behind, a thinker, moulding people, arguing with comrades for a realistic line, neither to deviate to the right nor to the left, put forward his own line, convince people and take them along. Sitting behind in the organisation as General Secretary, he was moulding them.

Another reason for his not being a man of millions was his unassuming manner. He was very humble. He was ill. We asked him not to undertake too much work. But he would not keep back.

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OUR GUIDE

MOULDING THE PARTY

By S. A. DANGE

This is a meeting called to express condolences on the death of Ajoy Ghosh. What can I say about him?

HE was the General Secretary of our Party for the last eleven years. Ajoy Ghosh was not a man known to millions. Very few people had seen him actually. That way he was not a man whose absence could be felt outside. But once you come to that Party which moves these millions, then you know what he was. That was the way in which he was with the millions because the Party is known to them.

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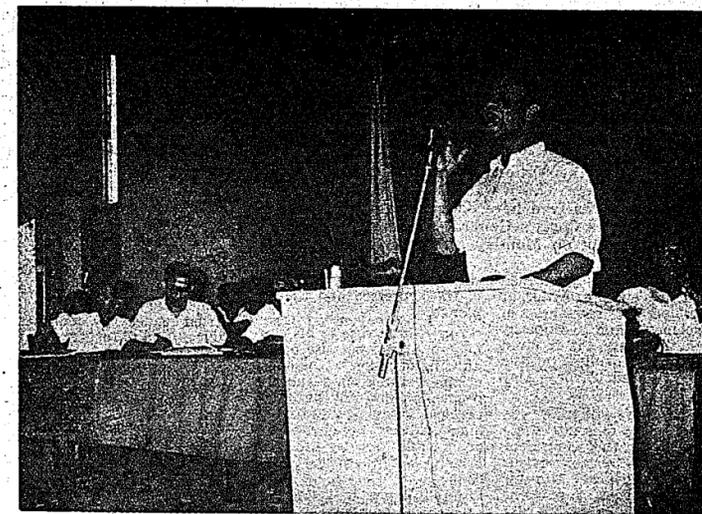
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Ajoy delivering the political report of the Central Committee to the Palghat Party Congress, April 1956.

Ghosh stood solidly behind the question of national integration, while many others wobbled. Ajoy's death is a great loss

not only to the Party but to the country, to the whole cause of freedom and independence which has got to be strengthened by the united efforts of all the progressive forces in this country, in which the Communist Party of India has to play its role. On behalf of you all and on behalf of myself, I express condolences.

LEADER & BROTHER

By M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR

It is, perhaps characteristic that I first encountered Ajoy's mind before I met him personally. It was in 1938. I was at that time engaged in the struggle for democracy and freedom in Travancore-Cochin.

I then read an article in the National Front on the States peoples' struggle. The article was very concise, sober and placed the problem in its proper perspective. The author of the article was Ajoy Ghosh. So great was the esteem evoked by this article that I was extremely eager to meet the man who wrote it.

However, I was in Kerala and I could not meet him till many years after. But the second time I, so to speak, came into contact with Ajoy was in 1950.

This was the time of sharp inner-Party struggle and serious inner-Party crisis. Dozens of documents were being written and we all read them but without being very much enlightened.

Then just when one felt one's intellect and common-sense being continually offended against, I came across the document—called the Three Fs document. It was the document of Ajoy, Dange and Ghate. Reading that document was like breathing fresh air and I still remember how eagerly I mobilised comrades to rally round this document, since it presented the way forward for the Party.

I finally met Ajoy in Calcutta in 1951 at the Party Conference where he was elected our General Secretary. Since then I have known him quite intimately and I have always felt that his was the correct policy, the most balanced and realistic approach to national and international problems.

I would like to emphasize that the period, 1951-62, when we had Ajoy as our leader was

was the time of the EMS Ministry and of the "liberation struggle".

We in Kerala felt responsibilities lying heavily upon us and we did not know very often what to do, where to turn. And it must be said that it was Ajoy in particular who gave us concrete guidance and instructions and helped us forward.

Discussing with him, disagreeing with him, and even shouting at him—and being shouted back at, I felt that Ajoy's was not only a creative mind but a very resilient one. He had the great quality of deeply studying a situation before coming to conclusions. He had the great modesty to listen to argument and to advance his own political line by reasoning and by argument. Ajoy had enormous self-confidence but he never believed in his own infallibility.

It has always struck me that the unity of the Party was the supreme concern of Ajoy. He fought very often single-handed both against right and left deviations; overcame them and through his triumph helped to unite the Party. The most recent example of this was the Vijayawada Party Congress.

I think that his ability to unite us all was not merely due to his great intellectual capacities or to his superior understanding. It was also due to his personal characteristics and nature. He was an extroverted gentle person, considerate and loving. He never held any permanent prejudice against anybody or any unit of the Party. He was truly the comrade of us all.

I would like to end as I began on a personal note. In Ajoy's death, I have lost not only the leader of my Party but very much more. He always treated me as his younger brother and this was how I felt also.

WE PLEDGE

Members of the National Council of the Communist Party of India who work at the Party Centre in Delhi and who arrived here on hearing the news of the death of the Party's General Secretary, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, met on Monday afternoon.

THE members recorded their deep appreciation of the numerous messages of condolence and sympathy which the Party has received on the sad demise of the Party's beloved leader, Ajoy Ghosh.

Among those who have been kind enough to send these messages are the President and the Vice-President of our Republic, Prime Minister Nehru and other prominent personalities in different walks of our national life, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties from various parts of the world, the Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz, the Arab League, several Diplomatic Missions in New Delhi and many political and popular mass organisations all over the country.

Ambassadors and diplomatic personnel of the Missions of the Socialist countries, as well as of Cuba, the Arab League personally called at our Windsor Place office to pay their respects to the memory of our departed leader.

The National Council members take this opportunity to gratefully thank all these personalities and organisations for their kind sympathies and condolences which show the high esteem in which Ajoy Ghosh was held both within our country and outside. These expressions of sympathy have been a great solace and consolation for us at this hour of our severe loss and sorrow.

A revolutionary, a patriot, an outstanding Communist, Ajoy Ghosh's entire life and

The Party's relations with the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties all over the world have grown deeper and stronger in the finest traditions of proletarian internationalism.

In these and other achievements of the Party will ever live his invaluable contributions to the cause of our Party and of our people.

The members of the National Council who met in Delhi are confident that the Party and its members would honour the memory of the departed leader by redoubling their efforts to further strengthen the unity of the Party and deepen its bonds with the masses.

Ajoy Ghosh devoted all his energies for strengthening the unity of the Party and for equipping it in every other way for discharging its great responsibilities in advancing the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

All who came in contact with him acknowledged his sincerity and his unflinching love for the working people. So great was his revolutionary passion that even his serious ailment did not deter him from the service of the people and the Party.

Ajoy Ghosh was at the helm of the Communist Party of India from 1951 till the last day of his life. During this period the Communist Party of India made great strides forward in the political life of the country and became a major national force.

should have been so suddenly cut short at a time when he was most needed to lead the Party and the people in the great election battles.

The members of the National Council are confident that despite the terrible loss, the Party and its ranks which have already unitedly plunged into the election battles in every part of the country will now go forward and work still harder for the Party's victory in the forthcoming general elections.

Nothing could be greater homage to the memory of our beloved leader at this hour than to redouble the Party's efforts and bring the Party and the people new successes and triumphs in our people's onward march.

The National Council members are confident that in the election battles, our Party and the democratic forces will emerge still stronger and more united to face the future with greater hope and resolution.

G. Adhikari, M. Farooqi, S. V. Ghate, Bhupesh Gupta, P. C. Joshi, Jagjit Singh Lyalpur, M. N. Govindan Nair, N. Rajashekhar Reddy, B. T. Ranadive, Romesh Chandra, Y. D. Sharma, P. Sundarayya, M. R. Venkatraman and Sajjad Zaheer attended this meeting.

Muzaffar Ahmad, Kalishanker Shukla and Harkishen Singh Surjeet had left earlier after attending the funeral of Ajoy Ghosh.

Ajoy Ghosh died at his post when he was deeply absorbed in the Party's campaign in the forthcoming general elections.

Despite his bad health and his illness which was to prove fatal, Ajoy Ghosh undertook strenuous assignments in the campaign.

It is a great tragedy for our Party and for all working people that the life of such an intrepid leader and fighter

Our Deepest Condolences To Ajoy's Respected Mother

DEAREST Mother,

We realise what infinite grief must be yours at the sad and untimely demise of your beloved son and our trusted leader and General Secretary, Ajoy Ghosh.

How can solace come to the stricken heart of a mother who has lost so suddenly her dearest possession? But we send to you,

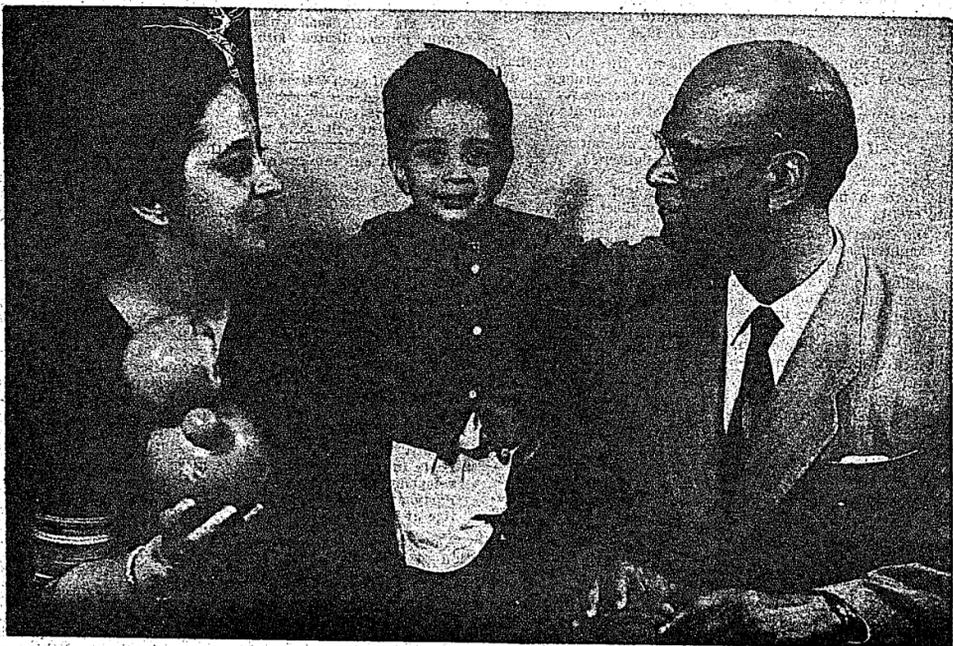
dearest mother of our comrade, our deepest condolence.

Your grief today is shared by millions of your countrymen as also by millions of working people and Communists abroad—for Ajoy Ghosh was one of the noblest and bravest sons of India, loved, admired and respected by his Party men, the working people and all

men of goodwill in our country.

We assure you that his work and memory will be enshrined for ever in the hearts of our people whom Ajoy Ghosh served loyally and well till his very last breath.

Yours in grief,
Members, National Council, Communist Party of India.



Ajoy with Litto and Arun.

LIFE OF OUR LEADER

Ajoy was born on February 20, 1909 in Mihijam, on the banks of the river Ajoy. It was because of this that his grandfather christened him "Ajoy"—unvanquished.

His father Sachindranath Ghosh was a doctor who had settled down in Kanpur.

He was the third child in a family of four brothers and two sisters. His mother, Sudhangsubala Ghosh, his elder sister and younger brother are still living.

He took his B.Sc. from Allahabad University with Honours in Chemistry.

He joined the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army in college in the 1920s. Bhagat Singh was his close friend and comrade.

He was arrested in 1929 as a co-accused in the Second Lahore Conspiracy Case, along with Bhagat Singh. He participated in the historic hungerstrike in which Jatin Das earned martyrdom. He was on hungerstrike for 55 days.

After his release in 1930 he worked in Kanpur and organised the Kanpur Mazdoor Sabha.

He joined the Communist Party in 1931.

He was elected member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1933.

He was elected member of the Political Bureau in 1936.

He was member of the editorial board of the National Front the then organ of the CPI, and of the editorial board of its theoretical monthly New Age.

He was arrested in 1940 in Lucknow and imprisoned in the Deoli Detention Camp, where he joined the famous hungerstrike.

He was released in 1942, already suffering from T.B. and went to Madanpalli, Ranchi and Kashmir for treatment and convalescence.

He was married in 1947 to Litto Rai in Lahore.

He was arrested in 1948 and released in 1950.

He was elected General Secretary in 1951 (Calcutta) and reelected to that post in 1953 (Madurai), 1956 (Palghat), 1958 (Amritsar), 1961 (Vijayawada).

GRATITUDE

Sudhangsubala Ghosh thanks all the thousands of friends who have sent her messages of condolence and regrets her inability to reply to them individually.

JANUARY 21, 1962.



RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
New Delhi-4.
January 13, 1962.
Pause 23, 1883 5KA.

I have heard with great regret of the passing away of Shri Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India. His death is a great loss to the Communist Party of India in particular and to the country in general.

I send my sincere condolences to the Communist Party and to Shrimati Ghosh and other members of the family.

Rajendra Prasad
PRESIDENT OF INDIA

RASHTRAPATI'S MESSAGE

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Rajendra Prasad,
President of India.



VICE-PRESIDENT
INDIA
NEW DELHI
13 Jan. 1962.

My dear Bhupesh,

I am greatly distressed to hear about the sudden passing away of Shri Ajoy Ghosh. The last time when I met him was at the National Integration Conference where, I thought, he made some valuable contribution.

My deepest sympathy to the members of his family in their great bereavement.

Yours sincerely,
W. R. Krishnaiah
(S. Radhakrishnan).

Shri Bhupesh Gupta, MP,
C/O No. 2 Windsor Place,
New Delhi.

Vice-President's Message

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Yours Sincerely,
(S. Radhakrishnan).

JANUARY 21, 1962.

Nation's Homage

PANDIT
NEHRU

DEAR Mrs. Ghosh,

The Prime Minister has learnt with deep regret of the sudden death of your beloved husband. He has asked me to convey to you his sincere condolences at the great loss that you have suffered.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.)
(K. Ram)

N V GADGIL

CONVEY condolences to Mrs. Ghosh and other relatives' deeply mourn the death of Shri Ghosh.—Gadgil, Governor of Punjab.

Yours very sincerely,
Violet Alva.

C D
DESHMUKH

PADMADMA
NAIDU

I HAVE heard with regret of the death of Shri Ajoy Ghosh and send my deepest sympathy in your great loss.

—Padmaja Naidu,
Governor of West Bengal.

JAYAPRAKASH
NARAIN

DEEPLY shocked to learn of Ajoy Ghosh's death. His life was a fine example of devotion to a cause. Please convey my condolences to family.

—Jayaprakash Narain.

BAKSHI GULAM
MOHAMMAD

ACCEPT heartfelt condolence on demise of your husband a great fighter for India's freedom. Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, former Minister of Jammu & Kashmir.

GANGASARAN
SINHA

SHOCKED by death of Ajoy Ghosh. Please accept my heartfelt condolence and sympathy. Convey to his family also.—Gangasaran Sinha.

TARA
SINGH

EXTREMELY sad to know about Ajoy Ghosh's untimely death. Great loss to the nation. Convey my heartfelt sorrow to family and members of the Communist Party.—Master Tara Singh.

VIOLET
ALVA

MY Dear Mrs. Ghosh,

I have not been able to meet you to condole with you personally. I tried to get you at your North Avenue residence twice yesterday afternoon and again late in the evening. I also went to the Communist Party Office twice to know your whereabouts and so I finally have to write this letter to you.

Your loss is irreparable and one can hardly say anything that would bring you and Arun any kind of consolation.

NEW AGE

HARSHDEO
MALAVIYA

SHOCKED to read sad news. Great loss to nation. All my sympathy and heart with you.—Harshdeo Malaviya.

AMARNATH
VIDYALANKAR

EXPRESS deep grief sudden demise your husband. Offer sincere condolences.—Amarnath Vidyalankar, Education Minister, Punjab.

DEPUTY
MAYOR MADRAS

DEMISE Ajoy Ghosh convey my great sorrow to his family.—Deputy Mayor Corporation of Madras.

JOACHIM
ALVA

TERRIBLY sincerely grieved your great husband's life thus early terminated. His name will always be remembered. God bless you, your child. Kindest regards, —Joachim Alva.

LAL NISHAN
ORGANISATION

LAL Nishan Organisation Maharashtra pays respectful homage to memory of stalwart General Secretary Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, who staunchly fought for unity of party organisation—Limaye, Datta Deshmukh.

AHMED
ABBAS

DEEPLY grieved. Progressives have lost beloved comrade. Heartfelt condolences.—Kwahaja Ahmed Abbas.

BOLSHEVIK
PARTY

SHOCKED to learn the sudden death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. This is a great loss for the toiling people of India.—Nepal Bhattacharya, General Secretary, Bolshevik Party of India.

RAMPIARA
SARAF

THE Jammu & Kashmir Democratic National Conference expresses its deep sorrow at sudden demise of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. He was a great Marxist-Leninist and by his death the country has lost a great leader of the working class.

—Rampiar Saraf,

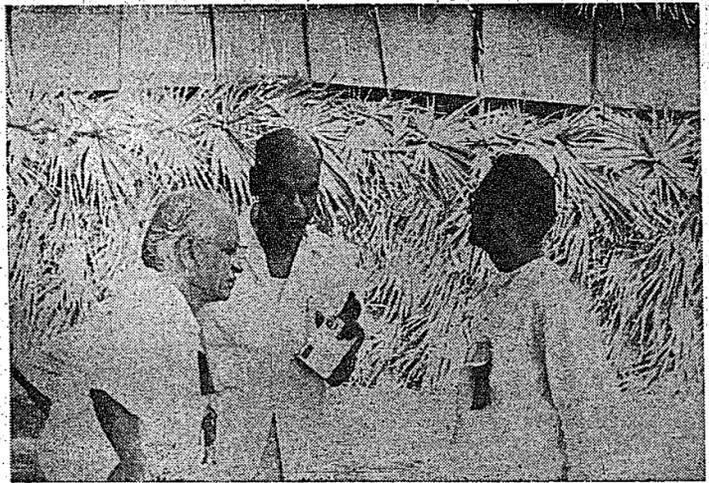
General Secretary, Jammu.

S S
SOKHEY

I WAS shocked to read of Ajoy's death in the morning paper. My heart goes out to you in this great loss. But the loss is even more terrible to the Party and the country at this juncture, and we can face it only by working more closely together.

—S. S. Sokhey.

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Ajoy discussing with Dange and Ranadive at the Vijayawada Party Congress, April 1961.

Indomitable Will

BY B. T. RANADIVE

Ajoy is no more with us. It is difficult to believe it for he was part and parcel of every activity of the Party for the last three decades. The void created by his sudden death cannot be easily filled. The loss of the Party is irreparable.

AND not only the Party, but the wide democratic movement which the Party leads and influences will feel the great loss. The working-class of India has lost a noble champion and the cause of socialism its devoted warrior. Engaged in the important and critical battle of the third general election, the Party ranks will no doubt move forward and discharge the responsibilities placed on them by Ajoy Ghosh as the General Secretary of our Party. Nonetheless each of us

will go forward with a heavy heart, with our minds filled with sadness and sorrow.

I first came into contact with Ajoy Ghosh in 1934 when our Party in Bombay along with trade unions was preparing for an all-India textile general strike.

The world economic crisis of 1932 had created a serious situation in India. The rationalisation drive of the employers had thrown thousands of workers in the street. In the city of Bombay nearly 40 per

cent of the textile workers were unemployed. The British Government was crushing the textile workers' strike with utmost ferocity.

An all-India Conference of textile workers was called in Bombay in January 1934 under the Presidency of Hariharanath Shastri. Ajoy came as a delegate from the Kanpur Mazdoor Sabha to attend the Conference.

My first impression of him was a tall well-built young man, shy, but full of seriousness of purpose. At that time, especially in the Conference it was not known to everybody that he had joined the Communist Party. He was still an underground member.

By 1936 when I came out of jail, Ajoy was already a member of the highest Com-

SELFLESS FIGHTER

mittee in the Party—the Polit Bureau. P. C. Joshi, Dr. Adhikari and Ajoy Ghosh constituted the celebrated F.B. I now came into direct contact with Ajoy and his wide reading, the sweep of his understanding and intensity of feeling made a profound impression on me. Those were the days when Marxist literature was rare, almost every copy coming into India through underground channels or some daring booksellers. Ajoy was posted in Bombay on behalf of the Centre to guide the Party.

I remember, the first time it was decided to write running weekly notes, the task was given to Ajoy. The next day he showed me the notes and told me that they were completed in two hours only. All of us at that time were amazed at the speed with which Ajoy could write.

Soon he became the indispensable element in the National Front. He was asked to write on every important development—national and international and sometimes wrote more than one article for the same issue. When this happened, we used to joke with him and describe the issue of the paper as Ajoy Ghosh issue.

P. C. Joshi, who laid the foundation of the popularity of the paper, had to devote himself to organisational work and Ajoy was unanimously asked to be the editor, a responsibility which he discharged with ability and success.

While Ajoy was now one of the topmost leaders of the Party, he continued to be the shyest individual inside the Party. The man who wrote so many fiery articles, who delivered thundering speeches, was yet very shy before people whom he did not know, would look down when talking to them, would hardly raise his voice, except, of course, when a political issue was involved. Then all his shyness would disappear and the spark from his writing would return to his conversation.

In this period the States' Peoples' movement in India, the movement against the rule of Indian feudal princes was gathering a new momentum. The Congress leaders were not yet ready to sponsor the movement directly and openly lead it.

Our Party and the left forces wanted the movement to broaden and become a part of the anti-imperialist democratic movement against the British and for freedom.

Ajoy Ghosh was asked to guide our comrades on the front; he attended States' people's conference and strove to democratise and broaden the movement. We soon began to call him "an expert on States" and he devoted himself to this new front.

In 1940 during the last war when some of us were sent to jail, Ajoy with P. C. Joshi and Adhikari remained underground and produced brilliant political pamphlets for the Party. He was arrested later

and I again met him in Deoli detention camp. What I saw now was a wreck of the former young man with athletic build. He was seriously ill in his underground days and was now affected by T. B.

The doctor who examined him in the camp was nonetheless surprised at his developed muscles and asked him whether he was a boxer. Ajoy told him he had learnt boxing and that he used to do regular physical exercises.

When he told all this to me, I asked him how he came to learn boxing. He laughed and said that it was a school boy's idea of fighting the British Indians were considered to be cowards in individual fights—hence boxing.

It was really the same idea that made youth of an earlier generation to found akhadas.

He told me that he had to use his boxing capacities on one or two occasions. Once—in Kanpur against some one who was rude to a comrade's wife; and once, much later, when he was a top leader of the Party—I think that was at Ranchi and the person was either a rude British missionary or a soldier.

In Deoli Ajoy was continuously unwell and yet he singly led the courageous hungerstrike of our comrades. It was remarkable that he could stand the strike for thirteen long days. He was reduced to a skeleton but he would not advise compromise till some of the demands were assured.

Here in the camp his political and personal leadership inspired everybody and he was one of the main forces that kept up the spirit of our comrades.

I am confining myself mainly to the earlier years for that is a part not known to many Party members.

The last ten years are known to all. He took charge of the Party when it was in the throes of an internal crisis due to the left-sectarian mistakes and tried to unify it.

Guiding the Party through two general elections, leading it to tide over a series of differences, he made great contribution to the struggle for democracy, peace and socialism in our country.

It was not surprising that at every Congress he was unanimously elected to the post of the General Secretary, the highest honour that could be conferred on a Communist.

Ajoy Ghosh started his political life as a revolutionary against the hated British. A colleague of Bhagat Singh, he was prepared to sacrifice his life for his people and country.

He ended his life as the General Secretary of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Communist Party of India.

It was a fitting culmination to his revolutionary zeal of his youthful days. May his memory remain long with us.



Ajoy signing the Statement of 81 Parties in Moscow, December 1960, in the preparation of which he played a leading part.

ASSAM

SHOCKED at untimely and unexpected demise of Ajoy Ghosh, a great irreparable loss to our Party and country. We share deep sorrow and grief. Pledge forward march in Ajoy's best. Convey condolence to Litto. —Phani Bora.

TRIPURA

TRIPURA State Council condole the sad demise of our beloved leader and General Secretary Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. His untimely death is great shock to us and irreparable loss to nation. —Biren Datta, Secretary.

ANDHRA

WE are extremely shocked at the sad news of Comrade Ajoy's death due to heart attack.

It is an irreparable loss to our Party and to the cause of our Indian working class. He had shouldered the burden of the General Secretaryship of

our Party for more than a decade in a most difficult and trying period of our Party, despite his delicate health and repeated heart attacks.

This tragedy has fallen on our heads when our Party is in the midst of a big political battle, the third General Elections and hence the loss is doubly depressing.

We hope that the selfless sacrifice of Comrade Ajoy for the great cause of Communism will enable us to overcome the grief and give courage to discharge our duties in ensuing election battle. Please kindly convey our heartfelt condolences to Comrade Litto and Ajoy's aged mother.

—Rajsekharreddi Sundarayya, Basavapunnahalli, Krishnarao, Gopalrao, Yellareddy, Nagreddi.

HIMACHAL

HIMACHAL comrades mourn sad demise of our beloved leader convey sympathy to bereaved family.

RAJASTHAN

PROFOUND sorrow demise of Ajoy whole Rajasthan Party myself share grief. —H. K. Vyas.

PUNJAB

SECRETARIAT Punjab State Council highly shocked death of Comrade Ghosh, true patriot, democrat and our leader. Express deep sense sorrow and grief. Convey condolence bereaved family.

GUJARAT

EXTREMELY grieved Comrade Ajoy's demise pay deep homage—Dinkar and Gujarat comrades.

MADHYA

PRADESH

ALL Party members convey heartfelt condolence on sad demise of our beloved leader.—Khandkar.

KARNATAKA

DEEPLY grieved at the sudden death of Comrade Ajoy. We dip red banner in honour of Ajoy who is dear and near to all of us. Convey our heartfelt condolences to

bereaved family and friends. —Karnatak Provincial Council Communist Party.

ORISSA

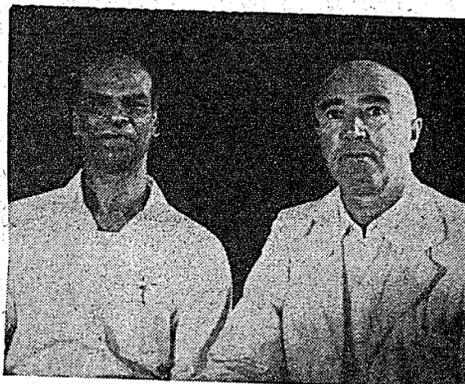
WORDS cannot express, comrades, unfathomable sorrow at the shocking news

at the sad demise of our dear comrade Ajoy. With salutations to the dead soul we express our deepest condolence to his bereaved family Litto and the little kid, Ramkrishna Pati, Cuttack.

PARTY'S GRIEF



Ajoy with Rajeswar Rao at the Andhra Party Conference, 1959.



Ajoy with Harry Pollitt at the Madurai Party Congress, December 1953.



Ajoy with Suslov at the Vijayawada Party Congress, April 1961.



Ajoy, laying a wreath at the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, April 1958.

THE FIRST MEETING

BY MUZAFFAR AHMED

As he was preparing for the return journey to Calcutta on Sunday evening after the cremation and all was over Muzaffar Ahmad recalled his first meeting with Ajoy.

ALTHOUGH I knew Bhagat Singh personally, I never had the opportunity of meeting Ajoy in those days. While we were in Meerut jail, Ajoy was in prison for the Lahore Conspiracy case. Ajoy after his release came to Meerut while we were still in jail and inside we got the news that he had come.

However my first meeting with him was not to be till he had come to the party and become a member of the Polit Bureau.

"Ajoy joined the Party in December 1934 or January 1935. I was kept in detention even after the Meerut Conspiracy Case was over and was not released till June 1936. It was after that that Ajoy came to Calcutta and I met him for the first time. It was years after I had known him by reputation."

Muzaffar Ahmad recalled a discussion he had with Ajoy at that time over the issue of joining the Indian National Congress. "I had written a pamphlet on the kisan move-

ment and Ajoy was writing a review of it for the National Front. He sent me the manuscript and the discussion arose from that."

"During the first underground Muzaffar Ahmad recalled how Ajoy was arrested in Lucknow. On his way from Bombay to Calcutta, he was trying to contact Bharadwaj in U.P. Betrayed by an informer Ajoy was arrested in a Lucknow hotel. Thus, the meeting Muzaffar Ahmad had looked forward to did not come off.

After his release from the Deoli detention camp Ajoy was declared a T. B. patient and was entered into a sanatorium. He could not attend the first Congress of the Party, Muzaffar Ahmad recalled.

"When he came out of the sanatorium, Ajoy was asked by doctors to go to Kashmir. Just before leaving for Kashmir he wrote to me asking me also to come for a rest to Kashmir. I could not respond to that invitation, unfortunately.

"It wasn't really till the Party emerged from the underground in 1951 that I could come to know Ajoy very closely. When at that time we were trying to persuade him to take over as the General Secretary, Ajoy was very diffident. He thought it might not be possible for him to carry the comrades who had taken extreme left sectarian positions.

"I and Jyoti Basu then encouraged him an assured him that he would be able to do so.

"Since then we had come to know each other closely. I was a member of the delegation that went on behalf of our Party to the 40th anniversary celebration of the October Revolution. There I could see his functioning in an international gathering.

"Ajoy has died in a period when we needed him most. It is terrible that a comrade like him should have died at this time and so early in life. We never thought that the end was so near. This trouble he had, kept coming off and on, and he would surmount it every time. We could never imagine that it would end so.

"Now that he is no more we have to maintain the unity of the Party and do our utmost in that cause," said Muzaffar Ahmad in conclusion.

THE EARLY DAYS

BY G. ADHIKARI

The shock of the sudden passing away of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh from our midst is so great that it is difficult to accustom the mind to the idea that he is no longer with us. It is difficult to produce a coherent copy of the reminiscences so soon after the shock.

I met Comrade Ajoy in the early days of 1934. It was in February, I think, when he had come to the Preparatory meeting held in one of the union offices in Parel—for the all-India Textile Workers' Conference. Broad working class unity was being forged to launch an all-India textile workers' action to resist the owners' offensive of wage-cut and which later led to the great textile workers' general strike in Bombay and in other centres.

Ajoy had come as the representative of the Kanpur Mazdoor Sabha which was already a united union. I remember the tall lank figure of Ajoy, passionately and persuasively arguing for unity to unleash the most powerful action of the textile workers.

P. C. Joshi had written to me that Ajoy was with the Party Group in the Mazdur Sabha and knowing his association and role in the revolutionary group of Bhagat Singh and comrades, I was deeply impressed by this outstanding addition to our Party.

In the later days of 1934, when almost all the leaders of the Party were either arrested and jailed or interned and the Party was formally declared illegal, Ajoy Ghosh joined P. C. Joshi and R. D. Bharadwaj and others to build the underground centre of the Party, to reunify all its forces all over the country.

But I was arrested in April 1934 and later interned in Bijapur together with my brother J. Adhikari and I got the first opportunity of knowing Ajoy personally and intimately when the underground Party centre sent him to meet me secretly and to work out with me the plan of my escape from Bijapur.

The plan of escape which this centre had given Ajoy to convey to me was quite com-

plicated and unreal, I was not in jail but interned within the city walls, free to move within. The daily police surveillance was there but had slackened after three years. It was easy to work out a plan which would enable me to slip away in a car to a wayside railway station and travel by train and meet Ajoy at a railway junction from where we could both travel in disguise by train by a circuitous route.

Ajoy, with his great experience of underground work, readily agreed with the simple plan, and we fixed the details which included an arrangement which kept the Bijapur police off the guard for at least three days after I had left.

Ajoy was disguised as a sahib-looking like a Government officer, while I was made up as his servant in dhoti and kurta. Everything passed off well. Only once between Wadi and Hyderabad, a railway police C.I.D., being attracted by the striking figure of Ajoy, made enquiries. Strangely the man asked me, his servant, who this sahib was.

I promptly replied: "Don't you know Mr. Latif Ahmed Bal, the Excise Inspector?" and he was satisfied. There was no further incident.

We travelled smoothly and naturally via Hyderabad, Waltair, Puri to Calcutta where the Centre was then located.

I treasure the memory of this strange trip with Ajoy, of the conversations we had about the tasks of unifying the Party, about the problems of applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete questions of our national liberation struggle.

This was in February 1937. In the underground days of 1937-38, in the National Front days (1938-39) and in the underground days of 1939-40 till Ajoy's arrest and incarceration in Deoli Camp, I had

the opportunity of working shoulder to shoulder with him.

In the discussions and consultations of those days, it was Ajoy who used to make outstanding contributions to the task of combining militant working-class activity with the building of the anti-imperialist united front in the struggle for national independence to the task of unifying the Party.

His suffering in the Deoli Camp jail, the results of the long hunger-strike undermined his health. In 1942 when he came out he was suffering from T.B. I will remember the days when he was deeply agitated over the political line which was then being adopted by the Party.

Regardless of suffering and fever he wanted to remain in the Party Centre and work and we had to exert great pressure on him to go to the Talegaon Sanatorium to take treatment and rest.

Political work—work for the liberation of the country and of the working people was an all absorbing passion with him and he always plunged himself in it completely unmindful of his health. That was his characteristic then and that was how he worked unmindful of his health in the last five years, when he was suffering from heart trouble.

From 1951, when he was elected the General Secretary of our Party, through all the succeeding ten years and more, he worked tirelessly for maintaining the unity of the Party, for shaping its political line so that it truly reflects the integration of the truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete and living experience of the struggles of our people for national and social liberation.

The best memorial for him and for his work is to continue his work to work tirelessly for the unity of the Party. It may be that we can give a concrete shape to his memorial by building a Party Centre House and a hall named after him.

PASSION FOR UNITY

By P. SUNDARAYYA

I first met Ajoy in October 1934 in Bombay when the Central Committee was being re-organised after the release of the old comrades from the Meerut Conspiracy case. It was in this meeting that Ajoy and myself were elected to the Central Committee.

THE Central Committee met soon after at Nagpur early in 1935 following the arrest of Lahiri and Iqbal Singh, which led to the virtual smash-up of the Party Centre. In this meeting, it was decided to send Ajoy to Bombay as the Central Committee representative to unify the various groups which had fallen apart, and he brought them together under the banner of the Party.

We were all underground in those days. Ajoy and myself were entrusted with the very responsible task of rescuing our valued Adhikari from Bijapur where he was interned by the British. The main responsibility was Ajoy's and he fulfilled the assignment with great skill and successfully.

I got to know him still more intimately in 1938 during the Mantanavaripalim school conducted not only to teach the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, but also educate the Andhra cadres to effectively preach and effectively work for the United National Front line of the Party. This was an all-Andhra school.

Ajoy became very popular for his lucid lectures and the Andhra comrades got to know and respect him. Most of the present District and State leaders of the Party in Andhra were present in this school. Thus, our debt to Ajoy is old and limitless.

The Party was again driven underground with the outbreak of the Second World War. Bharadwaj and Ajoy were asked to conduct talks and negotiations with the Congress leaders at various levels to organise mass struggles to overthrow British domination. The official leadership of the Congress did not agree to our proposals but individual Congress leaders did.

P. C. Joshi, N. K. Krishnan and Ajoy used to live together at one place while underground. None of them knew any cooking and Joshi invented what he used to call "hotpot", i.e. vegetables, dal, some spices all put together and just boiled, eaten with some bread from the market or some dala or rice, added and boiled with the rest.

All the three of them had to cook by turn. Ajoy did not like cooking at all. He used to be so absorbed in the work of writing for the Party organ, the Communist, or some other Party assignment that he did not care to look into how the cooking was going.

Some times it used to get all burnt up, at others remain half-cooked. Once cockroaches fell into the pot and when the stuff was doled out on to the plates and the cockroaches were discovered, he tried to pass off the broth as "cockroach soup". This rollicking story was told to me when I visited the Party Centre to report on Andhra.

Ajoy used to defend his neglect on the ground that cooking was a nuisance. Joshi's stock answer was what about the necessity of eating. The quarrel was not resolved. I, however, contributed my bit to softening it. I found their food was not nutritious enough and fought for some meat being added. The addition of some mutton made the "hotpot" tastier as well and it was ceremoniously christened as "genuine stuff".

I have another good story about Ajoy of those days and it concerns his resistance to grow a moustache. The general rule was that the comrades who are normally clean-shaven had to grow a moustache when underground.

Ajoy hated having to sport a moustache. Krishnan and Joshi would tease and twit him that if he did not grow one, he would not be permitted to step out of his room.

He would howl back "I have enough experience of living underground. Why can't you trust me" and so on, and then

he would be ragged and there would be laughter all round. He was very proud of his well-built body. Through a long period of physical exercises he had built it up to endure the various hardships of a revolutionary life. I was likewise keen on physical culture and looked after my body. When alone and in lighter mood, we used to exchange our experiences.

While touring UP on organisational work, he got arrested and was confined in Deoli Detention Camp where he contacted T.B. Here again he went on another hunger-strike, the first one being in Lahore Central prison along with Bhagat Singh and Jatin Das. This time his colleagues in the hunger-strike, were Communist detenus from all over North India, fighting for the rights of political prisoners.

He came out in 1942 and went round, seeking cure, in the various TB sanatoriums of the country, Bhowali, Tambaram, Madanapalli, Poonam.

We Andhra comrades, came in closer touch with him after the 1948 Calcutta Party Congress, when as a PB member, he had to keep contact with the Andhra Party unit. Shortly afterwards, he was arrested and confined in Yerwada jail from 1948 to 1950.

In 1951 with the new Party Programme he was elected the General Secretary of the Party. His immediate job was to get in touch with Andhra where the Telengana land struggle was on, facing unprecedented terror and acute problems. The peasants had put up long and heroic re-

sistance and suffered very big losses.

There were sharp differences inside the Party over the tactics of withdrawal. We had repudiated some of the circulars issued by him. He was, however, able to rise above all this and helped to unify the Party over the affair. I remember his words very well: "It does not matter who repudiated whom, past mistakes don't matter, now unity really matters".

During 1955, discussions for a new programme began because we found that the old programme was not enough and did not answer some of the living questions facing the Party. Ajoy more than anybody else successfully led the campaign for reorientation inside a sharply divided Party.

His approach was to seek common points, make them the basis of achieving minimum agreement among various trends with a view to unify the Party.

In 1957, differences again sharpened inside Andhra. He came to our State Conference and was a decisive help. He stressed the minimum points of agreement and got the Andhra unit going again. He addressed a letter to the Party ranks which impressed and moved all.

What I would always remember him for is as the unifier of the Party. He was tireless in his efforts to help achieve minimum unification in the given circumstances and passionately argued for united, devoted, practical work on this basis and to leave it to time and experience to settle the rest of the differences.

I some times thought he was only trying "balancing" between the irreconcilable trends and told him so. His ready answer used to be that we have all made so many mistakes that it is best to find a commonly accepted compromise instead of insisting that what one says is the total truth and there is nothing in what the other comrade is arguing and equally passionately.

Looking back, one can see more easily now that then this was the only way forward for our Party. This made him trusted and respected by all and he became the unifying leader of the Party.

It was in 1954 that the first thrombosis attack came and he had to go to Moscow. He never really became well again and several times had to go abroad for cure and rest. Whenever he became a little better in health, he used to rush back home despite our pleas, resolutions and even mandates.

He got round the foreign comrades and the specialists and did not rest long enough and get completely cured because he was over-anxious to come back to Party work.

He used to feel very bad that he had to go to Moscow and other Socialist countries so often for reasons of health and others utilised it politically against the Party that he had gone abroad to seek "foreign instructions" about the affairs of our country, under cover of illness.

It was his all-consuming anxiety to come back to active work in the service of his Party that made him neglect what was once his very good health and ultimately we lost him, but the legacy of united work he leaves behind in the Party will take it always forward.

Towering Intellect

By S. V. GHATE

I first met Comrade Ajoy Ghosh in 1934 when he came as the representative of the workers of Kanpur to the All-India Textile Workers' Conference in Bombay. Of course, I heard about him earlier from the press as one of the colleagues of Bhagat Singh.

THE second time I saw him was in 1936 at Lucknow. It was at night and for a brief while. I remember his tall well-built body and the excitement on his face.

On the next occasion, 1938 I saw him bent over the editorial desk of our Party Weekly, National Front. He was a most jolly and happy-go-lucky person. He used to smoke enormously and drink gallons and gallons of tea. This time I spent more days

with him and our friendship dates from that period.

But it was in 1948 in the Yerwada jail that we got to know each other very well. I was with him for two years and we talked, discussed but became steadfast companions. Apart from political agreement a common factor was chess. Ajoy Ghosh was really very lovable person of simple habits.

He read a lot in jail with very deep concentration and took classes with his usual clarity on the Marxist classics. But his reading was extended to books on science, on literature—and Agatha Christie.

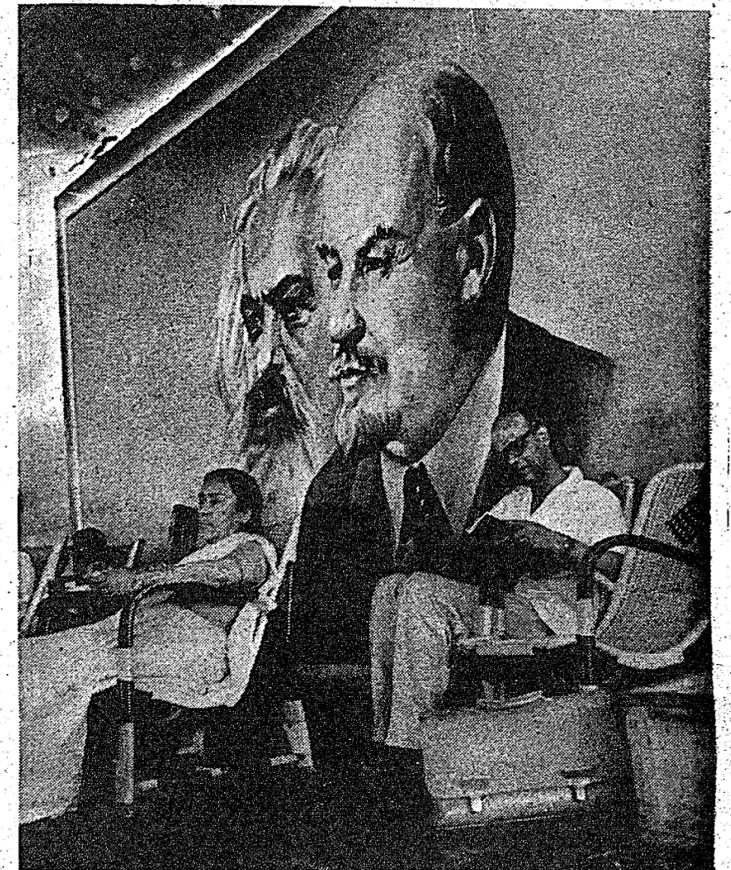
In 1950 July we came out of jail, and together with S.A. Dange started work on a political thesis. Ajoy prepared the draft. We discussed it, made

changes and then issued it to the Party. Ever since then we have always worked closely together.

I wished to state that Ajoy Ghosh played a very big role in unifying our Party and for 12 years he kept us together and on the right path. This role he could play, above all, because of his extraordinary high intellectual capacities. Together with this he combined an ability to listen to others and to adjust and modify his own views, should they proved to be in need of correction.

I think that we all owe him a deep debt which we can best fulfil by strengthening the unity of the Party and pushing forward in the service of our people.

A GREAT LIFE



Ajoy reading his notes prior to delivering the main report to the Vijayawada Party Congress, April 1961.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

By SHIV VERMA

The New Age trunk-called Shiv Verma who was Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's comrade-in-arms in the old days, when they both were members of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA). During the brief telephonic conversation he said:

I first met Comrade Ajoy in 1927 in his home town, Kanpur. At that time, he was a student in the Allahabad University. I was the organiser of the HSRA for U.P. and appointed Ajoy as the organiser for Allahabad. His room in the Hindu Hostel became the rendezvous of Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad and other comrades. Ajoy was invited to our discussions and helped us to plan various operations.

After Bhagat Singh threw the bomb in the Legislative Assembly, large-scale arrests took place in the first week of April 1929. It was a general round-up of all the suspected. Ajoy was betrayed by an approver from Bihar.

Soon after inside the Lahore Central Jail we began the epic hunger-strike which won the political prisoners human conditions

Singh was hanged and became immortal in our national annals. Ajoy, myself and most of the Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners joined the Party.

During the Lahore Conspiracy case trial, the police could not prove the case against Ajoy and he was released in 1930.

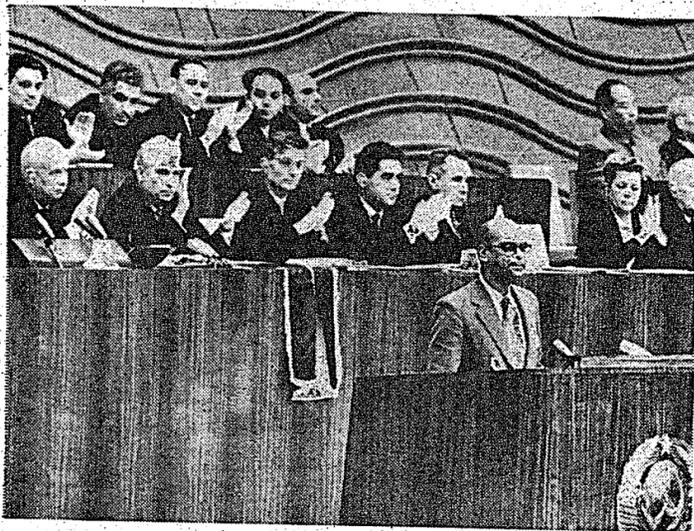
He went back to Kanpur and immediately joined the Mazdoor Sabha and began to work with the famous patriot the late Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, who also died a martyr's death during the communal holocaust.

The rest of his life was spent in the service of the Party which not only nursed him but raised him to its highest office, as the General Secretary of the Party.

He has now joined the company of his long-lost comrades. The national revolutionary and the progressive tradition of the HSRA lives in and through the Communist Party of India to-day. Our dear comrade Ajoy was its living embodiment.



Ajoy being garlanded by a young daughter of the Punjab as he arrives for the Amritsar Party Congress, April 1958.



Applause greets Ajoy as he begins his greetings to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

Poland

DEAR Comrades,

The news of the sudden death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has been a painful shock to us.

Comrade Ghosh by his implacable stand in the struggle against imperialism, his indefatigable activities in the service of the Indian people, his consistent struggle for the victory of peace and socialism, won for himself the sympathy of wide masses of working people of India and deep respect and appreciation of the international working class movement, one of whose outstanding leaders he was.

Please accept, dear Comrades, expressions of our heartfelt sympathy on the occasion of this grievous loss suffered by your party and the working people of your country.

Central Committee Polish United Workers Party.

Rumania

THE Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers Party extends to you and to all Indian Communists the most sincere condolences and shares the great grief you are experiencing at the passing away of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, outstanding militant fighter of the Indian working class movement, who devoted his whole life to the struggle for the independence of your country for peace, democracy and socialism.

Central Committee, Rumanian Workers Party.

Bulgaria

DEAR Comrades,

With immeasurable sorrow we learnt of the premature

death of the Secretary General of the National Council of the Communist Party of India and prominent functionary of the international Communist movement Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

The untiring persistent struggle of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh for the freedom and independence of India, for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism are widely known to the communists and all progressive people all over the world.

During the last days of his life Comrade Ajoy Ghosh devoted all his forces and energy for the organisational and ideological consolidation of the Communist Party of India on the unshakable Marxist-Leninist basis, for the unity of the international Communist movement and the triumph of the great ideals of communism.

The Communists and working people in our country express the deepest condolences on occasion of heavy loss of the Indian Communist Party and how to the bright memory of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, which they will cherish for ever in their hearts.

—Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party.

Mongolia

WE express our deep sorrow and sincere condolences at the sudden passing away of our dear Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, an outstanding worker of the international Communist movement. His demise was a great, inestimable loss to both the Communist Party and the working people of India.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was a man who by his unshakable fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism, unwearingly fought for the happy future of the Indian people, Socialism-Communism, as well as for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

The bright image of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the beloved son of the Indian people, will remain for ever in our hearts.

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

China

WE are shocked to learn that Comrade Ajoy Ghosh unfortunately passed away. We express our profound sorrow and please convey our condolence to his family.

—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Cuba

MOST profoundly felt condolences on the passing away of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, veteran fighter for the freedom and progress of his country and great friend of the Cuban revolution, fraternally

—Fidel Castro Ruz, on behalf of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations (ORI).

Ajoy on the rostrum at Tien An Men, Peking, October 1959. On his right is the Japanese Communist leader, Nosaka.



WORLD'S

SOVIET UNION

DEAR Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have learned with grief of the untimely demise of our dear Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh and express their deep condolence to the National Council of the Communist Party on this heavy loss.

Comrade Ghosh devoted his whole life to the cause of the national liberation of his much-suffering Motherland from the yoke of imperialism, to the struggle for the interests of the working class and all the working people of India, for the triumph of the ideas of socialism.

Neither his grave illness nor prison could break the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Ghosh and to the last of his days he was fighting and died on the militant post of leader of the Communist Party of India.

Comrade Ghosh gave his strength to the consolidation of the Communist Party of India organisationally and ideologically on the inviolable basis of Marxism-Leninism. Under his leadership as the General Secretary of the National Council, the Communist Party has achieved great successes and become an influential political force in the country and a militant vanguard of the working class and all progressive forces of India.

Attaching great importance to the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, Comrade Ghosh contributed much to its strengthening and development.

Ajoy Kumar Ghosh was one of the outstanding leaders of the international Communist movement. He tirelessly fought for its unity and cohesion on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

The life of Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh was an example of devotion and dedicated service to the great ideals of Communism. The contribution he made to the Communist movement in India, to the struggle for the happiness of the Indian people and to the cause of Soviet-Indian friendship will remain forever in the hearts of the Communists and all the Soviet people.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

SORROW

G. D. R.

DEAR Comrades,

With profound grief we received the news of the passing away of the courageous son of the Indian people, consistent defender of Marxism-Leninism, the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of India, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

We feel with you the heavy loss your Party and the Indian working class have suffered in his death. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was an ardent patriot and intrepid fighter against colonialism, for the freedom and independence of the Indian people.

Since his earliest youth he stood in the front rank of the organised working class of India and its Party. As a steadfast Communist he suffered heavy persecution and repression by the colonialists.

The long years of imprisonment though they could not break the will of the untiring fighter and revolutionary, they did undermine his health. In 1933 he was elected member of the Central Committee and in 1951 General-Secretary of the CPI.

Up to his death he stood up determinedly for the unity and purity of the Communist Party of India.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was a consistent upholder of proletarian internationalism and faith-

ful friend of the German working class. With all his energy he stood for the strengthening of the friendly relations between India and the German Democratic Republic and for the conclusion of a peace treaty and transformation of West Berlin into a demilitarised, neutral free city.

Dear Comrades, we are convinced that the CPI will close its ranks still further and will struggle together with all Communist and Workers Parties for the safeguarding and upholding of peace.

The working people of the GDR and their vanguard the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, will cherish always the honoured memory of the great son of the Indian people, courageous and tireless fighter for peace, democracy and socialism.

With socialist greetings,
Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
Signed Walter Ulbricht,
First Secretary.

Yugoslavia

ACCEPT expressions of our deepest condolences at premature death of Ajoy Ghosh, Secretary-General of your Party, prominent revolutionary, labour and national fighter of India.—Central Committee, League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Czechoslovakia

PLEASE accept deep comradely condolences of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and all Czechoslovak people at the decease of the faithful son of the peoples of India, prominent representative of the international Communist movement, Secretary General of the Communist Party of India.

Communists and the whole international working class movement lose a valiant champion of the national and democratic interests of the Indian people, a prominent fighter for the victory of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The person and activity of comrade Ghosh will remain forever in the memory of the fighters for the great ideals of Communism and peace.

—Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Hungary

IT was with deep emotion and pain that we received news of the passing away of Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India. Comrade Ghosh was an outstanding standard-bearer of your Party. In spite of illness, hard struggles and persecution he fought without sparing his strength for the liberation of the Indian people from colonial oppression and later to eliminate the

burdensome remnants of the colonial system.

He fought for the freedom of peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke, for peace and socialism.

Your Party has attained wonderful results in these heroic struggles, under the leadership of Comrade Ghosh, who stands as an example to be followed by communists everywhere for the love he showed the people, for his spirit of self-sacrifice and his unrelenting stand against the enemy.

We are deeply conscious of the great loss the death of Comrade Ghosh must mean to the Indian as to the international working class movement and we express our sincere sympathy with the National Council of the Communist Party of India, with every member of your Party.

—Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

Vietnam

WE learnt with profound grief of the death on January 13, 1962 in New Delhi of Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, Secretary-General of National Council Communist Party of India.

Comrade Ghosh's life is one of ceaseless struggle for the revolutionary cause of Indian working class and people.

Under the leadership of National Council, headed by Comrade Ghosh, the Communist Party of India has become an important force in the political life in India, in the struggle for peace, national independence, de-

mocracy and socialism.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Vietnam workers party, Vietnamese working class and people, we send to you, to Communist Party of India, Indian working class and people our sincere condolences.

—For Central Committee, Vietnam Workers Party,
First Secretary,
Lea Duan

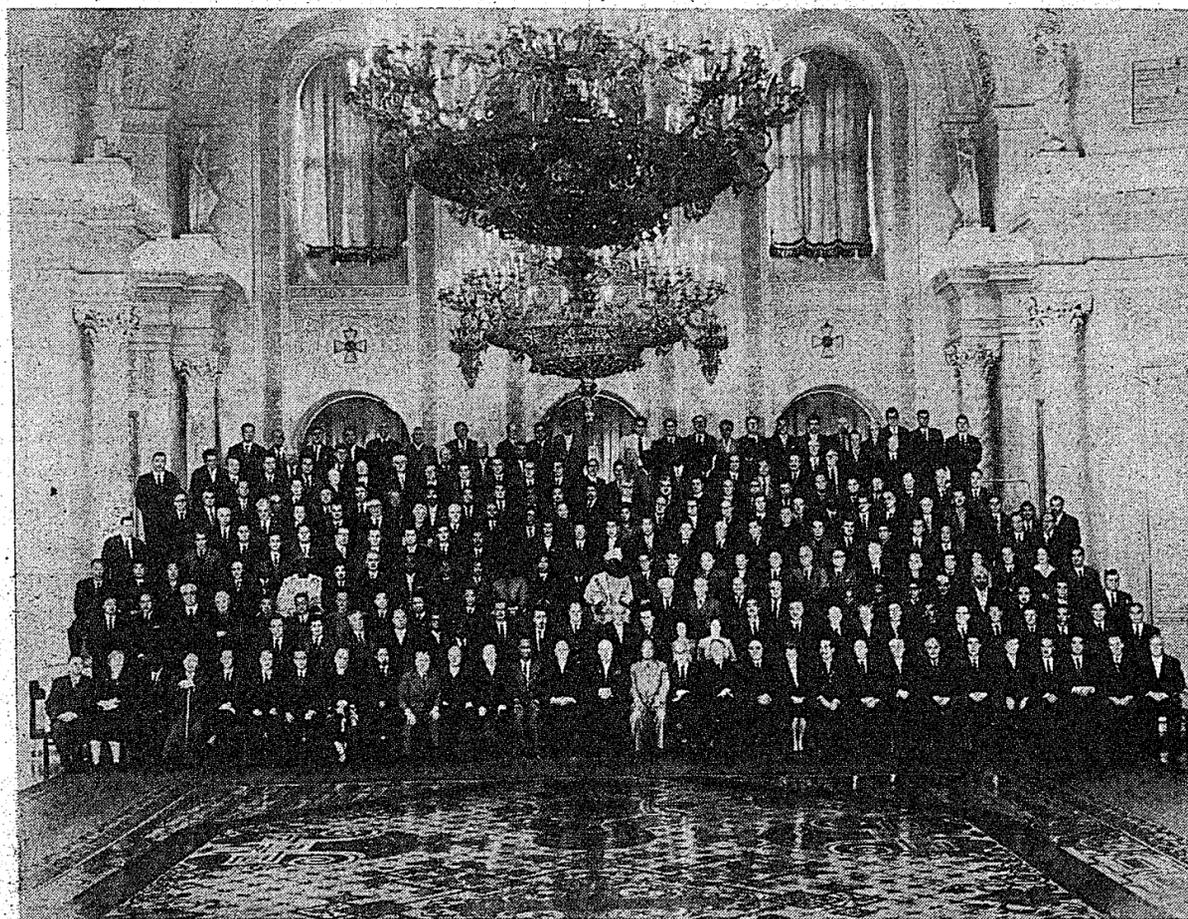
Korea

UPON learning the news of the passing away of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea expresses its sorrow and deep condolence to the National Council of the Communist Party of India and his family.

As a leader of the Indian working class, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh has devoted all his life to the struggle for national independence of India and for the cause of the working class. His death is a loss to the Communist Party of India as well as to the International Communist Movement.

We are convinced that your Party will, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, achieve new successes in the struggle for further strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks, for consolidating the national independence of the country and for social progress.

—Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.



With the leaders of the world Communist movement at the 22nd CPSU Congress. Ajoy is seated in the front row, thirteenth from left.

WORLD'S TRIBUTE

FRANCE

DEAR Comrades,

It is with deep emotions that the French workers and democrats have learnt of the death of the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of India, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

The sudden and tragic death of our eminent comrade will be deeply mourned not only by the working class and people of India for the decisive part which he played in the noble struggle for independence and for peace; but it will be so equally deeply mourned by Communists of all countries who know the great role that was his for the preservation of the unity of the International Communist movement in fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France addresses to your National Council, to all Communists and workers of India and to the family of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh our deeply felt condolences in this sad loss and expresses to you its complete solidarity in the blow which has struck you.

Waldeck Rochet, J. Secretary-General, Communist Party of France.

INDONESIA

GRATEFULLY stunned we heard news of the death of Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh. Many among leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia knew Comrade Ghosh personally.

Many comrades of the Communist Party of Indonesia know him from his writings.

On this sad occasion, comrades, allow me on behalf of the working people of Indonesia and my own behalf to convey profoundest condolences to communists and working people of India on

the death of one of the best sons of India and one of the leaders of the world communist movement.

May this event strengthen more the unity of the Communists of India under the leadership of their National Council, firmly united in raising banner of Marxism-Leninism.

— Chairman, Communist Party of Indonesia, Aidit.

ITALY

ITALIAN Communists express their sincere and fraternal condolences to the Communist Party and all working people of India on the great loss of Comrade Ghosh, brilliant and devoted militant for the cause of India's independence and efficient organiser and leader of the communist party in its fight for democracy, socialism and peace. His name will live long in our memory.

— Palmiro Togliatti.

GREAT BRITAIN

EXECUTIVE Committee of Communist Party of Great Britain expresses deep sorrow death Ajoy Ghosh. Staunch Marxist-Leninist, fearless fighter for national liberation, peace and socialism, outstanding people's leader, his death great loss to Indian and international working class movement.—John Gollan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain.

JAPAN

INFORMED Indian Communist Party General Secretary, distinguished Indian working class leader, Ajoy Ghosh's sudden death. We on behalf of entire membership hereby express deep condolences to you.—Central Committee, Communist Party, Japan.



Ajoy with members of the CPI delegation to the 22nd CPSU Congress and Titov.

CEYLON

CENTRAL Committee and all members of the Ceylon Communist Party express to you and all Indian Communists their deepest sympathies in the tragic loss to you and the international working class movement by the untimely death of Ajoy Ghosh.

His devoted services to the Communist Party and working people of India, his patriotism and great loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, his friendship and solidarity with the national liberation and Communist movements of Ceylon will remain evergreen in our memories.

Pieter Keeneman, General Secretary, Communist Party of Ceylon.

GERMANY

DEAR Comrades, On behalf of the Communist Party of Germany we convey to you on the occasion of the sudden demise of the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of India, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh our deeply felt condolences.

The death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh is a grievous loss not only for our cause and your people but for the entire international Communist and workers' movement, as well as for the peace-loving forces all over the world.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh will always remain in our memory as an outstanding fighter for the cause of peace, of national and social liberation of the people. In mourning the great loss we assure you of our solidarity and determination to fight in his spirit for peace, freedom and socialism.

With socialist greetings, Communist Party of Germany, Central Committee, Max Reimann, First Secretary.

SPAIN

ON behalf of the Communist Party of Spain and on my own behalf we extend to you, dear comrades, our most profound condolences on the premature demise of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General-Secretary of your Party.

We join in the deep grief of the Communist Party and the working class of India and of the International Communist movement. Please convey our condolences to the widow of Comrade Ghosh.

Dolores Ibaruri, President, Communist Party of Spain.

ISRAEL

DEAR Comrades,

Deeply shocked to hear of the untimely death of Ajoy Ghosh, valiant General Secretary of your great Party. The death of Comrade Ghosh is an irreparable loss to the Indian working class, the entire Indian people, the international working class movement and the world Communist movement.

Comrade Ghosh will always be remembered as a revolutionary fighter for the lofty ideals of national and social liberation of peace and Communism.

On the behalf of all Israeli Communists we beg you to accept our sincere condolences at your grievous loss on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel.

S. Mikunis.

FINLAND

WE express our deep condolence due to the great loss of your party the death of the General-Secretary Ajoy Ghosh.

— Communist Party of Finland, Central Committee

AUSTRALIA

COMMUNIST Party Australia expresses deepest sympathy in your tragic loss of Party leader Ajoy Ghosh.

— L. Sharkey

NETHERLANDS

DEEPLY grieved sudden death of Comrade Ghosh. Offer condolences.

— Central Committee, Communist Party of Netherlands

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

DEAR Comrades,

The Editorial Board of World Marxist Review, (Problems of Peace and Socialism) has learnt with deep sorrow of the untimely death of Ajoy Kumar Ghosh and extends condolences on this heavy loss.

Ajoy Ghosh was an outstanding leader of the international Communist movement and indefatigable fighter for its unity and cohesion on Marxist-Leninist principles. The life and activities of Comrade Ghosh will always be for us all, an example of devotion and selfless service to the great cause of Communism.

For Editorial Board, Romyantsev.

UNITED STATES

THE death of Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh in the prime of his life is a great loss to working class and peoples of India and all lands. His leadership and dedication to Marxist-Leninist principles gave strength to democratic struggles and advanced socialism. His outstanding contribution to the unity of all communists strengthened people's movements against imperialism and for peace.

May ever greater unity and devotion to these struggles be a tribute to his memory. I express the deepest sorrow and condolences of thousands of Americans to his family, his party and his comrades.

— Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party of USA.

THE LAST REPORT

Ajoy's death is still so unreal to all of us who had the rare privilege of working under him at the Central Office of our Party. We can all see so vividly his tall, straight form, his shy smile. And his loud, simple laughter resounds yet in our ears. There is so much to remember, so much to be grateful for.

YET, perhaps, we shall all remember most the sharp clarity of his mind, the rigorous logic of his thought and the classical terseness of his utterance. The General Body meetings that he addressed so often will live in the memory as long as breath lasts.

And, to our sorrow, it is the General Body meeting of January 3 that will be for many of us the last glimpse of Ajoy in action—body bent forward, the taut eyes and the excited tone, Plato's ideal of philosopher-politician.

With characteristic humility he apologised for not having addressed us after his return from the 22nd Congress of the CPSU—he had always reported to us on the Congresses he attended. This, he said, was due to the National Council not having had the time to meet, since the elections were in the offing.

But after the elections the National Council would meet and discuss the very basic and serious ideological issues that were the themes of the 22nd Congress. Following that meeting of the National Council a discussion would have to take place at all levels of the Party.

He felt, however, that three basic ideas needed to be stated at this juncture.

Independent Stand

FIRST, that the international Communist movement had entered upon a new phase, following the 20th CPSU Congress. This phase had among its most important characteristics the fact that there could be no replacing of the cult of Stalin by the cult of any Communist Party, no replacing of the infallibility of one person by the infallibility of any one Party.

No Communist Party anywhere could any longer advance on the basis of unqualified support of the policies and ideological stand of any other Party. Each Communist Party would have to take up its own position and come to its own conclusions on the very various problems that confronted it in its own country and the entire world movement.

SECOND, after stating this, he said that it had to be realised that the CPSU occupies a special position in the international Communist movement—the position of its vanguard. This vanguard position was not due only to the Soviet Union being the most powerful socialist country but to the entire history, policy and experience of the CPSU. No other Communist Party could take that position.

Moreover, Ajoy said, it has to be stressed that the pre-

We, too, had our criticism of Nehru and the Government's foreign policy but we certainly do not hold that the Nehru Government is going over to imperialism or that its foreign policy was dictated by the U.S. imperialists. Ajoy felt that he had made this point quite clear in his Press Conference of December 16.

And very soon afterwards, he said, had come the liberation of Goa and the savage outcry against this action of the Government of India by the imperialists. This single event had in a flash shown the correctness of the CPI's understanding and the totally wrong understanding of the People's Daily.

However, Ajoy added, the incorrectness of the People's Daily article was not the only reason why he had publicly repudiated it. Something else was involved.

Incorrect Attitude

The point was that the People's Daily, the official central organ of our fraternal Chinese Party, had publicly come out with an assessment of the Indian situation which was not only different from that of the Communist Party of India but known to the Chinese comrades to be different. This was interference in the internal affairs of another Party and impermissible.

He recalled, in this connection, that shortly after the 1956 Palghat Congress of our Party, in the Soviet magazine New Times an article had appeared (written by Rubinshtein) which was at variance with the Political Resolution of that Congress. He had immediately written an article repudiating Rubinshtein.

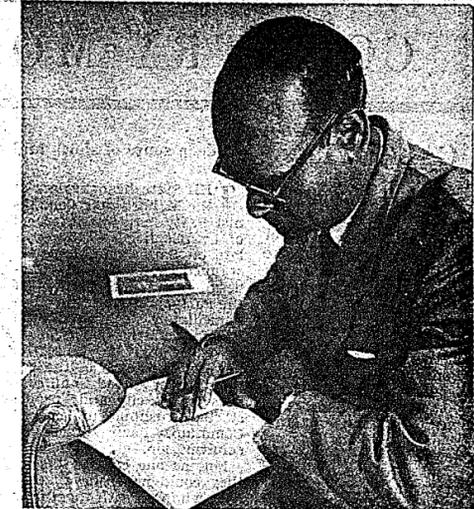
This was a matter of principle, a matter concerning fundamental tenets of the relations between Communist Parties. And it was this—each Communist Party is the best judge of the situation in its own country and it was its assessment of that situation that had to be respected by every other Communist Party.

Ajoy firmly stated that if any Communist Party publicly makes an assessment of the Indian situation which was contrary to that made by us in our Political Resolution, we shall publicly repudiate and criticise it. This was fully in consonance with the principles of proletarian internationalism. This matter would have to be gone into by the National Council.

After this, Ajoy said he would make some preliminary remarks about the coming elections.

He said that the present pre-election situation differed in some respects from that obtaining prior to the Second General Elections. Certain changes had taken place, though not of a qualitative character.

First, prior to the Second Elections the Second Plan had been published and roused big



Ajoy in his study.

expectations and a public stir. But the publication of the bigger Third Plan had scarcely stirred a ripple. This was due to the live experience of the people.

It also indicated that popular discontent against the Congress was much more widespread today than at any other period.

Moreover, the internal situation of the Congress was worse than at the time of the Second Elections. The factional squabbles were more bitter, prolonged and unseemly.

Second, the challenge from the forces of the Right was far more serious this time. Moreover, throughout these five years the PSP had shifted continuously to the Right, not merely in relation to broad issues of policy but specifically in relation to mass struggles.

Third, the CPI was going into the election battle after a period of serious differences. After the Second Elections and the Amritsar Party Congress the position of the Party had registered considerable improvement.

This was vividly illustrated by the magnificent manner in which the Party had conducted itself in Kerala and all over India at the time of the "liberation struggle" in July 1959 and the tremendous mass mobilisation at that time.

Then had erupted the serious India-China border dispute which resulted in a serious setback for our Party. No other single factor had given us such a setback.

Voting Pattern

Ajoy said that it was too early to predict the pattern of the voting. But he felt that the possible result of the elections would be that the Congress would lose in seats and votes both to the Communist Party and to the Right.

He pointed out that the Congress and the Right parties were united in one aim—that the Communist Party should be removed from the position of the first opposition party. Yet it was essential in the interests of India that the Communist Party retain this position.

The next five years, he stated, would be crucial. Pan-

dit Nehru was an old man and nobody could predict what could happen to him. And it is admitted by everybody that his personality was a big force for stability.

It was also clear that the implementation of the Third Plan would impose colossal burdens on the people. Inevitably popular struggles would grow in sweep and intensity. The crisis in the Congress would deepen. In such a situation it was essential that the Communist Party should be in a strong position in the Lok Sabha and in the State Legislatures.

Firm Confidence

He went on to give a preliminary picture of the electoral position in each State but stressed that all estimates would have to be very tentative. But from the reports he had received and his personal observations in the States he had visited, he felt that there was every likelihood of our position registering improvement.

He praised the election material that the Party Centre was producing and said that it was larger in quantity and superior in quality to that of any other party.

He mentioned the confidence of comrades everywhere that the Party would retain and improve its present position and added that he himself shared this confidence.

Then as he rose to close the meeting he said that he would meet us again after his tour of the South and give us a still more concrete picture of the all-India position.

But that was not to be. We had heard our last report from our leader.

—MOHIT SEN

Acknowledgement

Except for the photographs of Ajoy abroad, at the Palghat Congress (taken by Anand Gupta), at the Vijayawada Congress (taken by Suraj Joshi), the rest are by our photographer, Virendra Kumar.



Ajoy with Palmiro Togliatti, Moscow, November 1957.



Ajoy with Aidit and E. M. S. in Moscow, January 1959.

COUNTRY MOURNS

CALCUTTA

Calcutta was plunged in grief as the news of the sudden passing away of Ajoy Ghosh reached the city in the afternoon of January 13. To hundreds of thousands of people it was a stunning blow.

At the call of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party, a silent procession to pay homage to the memory of the outstanding leader of the Indian people was taken out on January 14.

Carrying a huge picture of Ajoy, flanked by black-bordered Red flags the two-mile long procession marched silently along one of the main streets of the city. Thousands of people stood on the streets and on the balconies and roofs of houses along the entire route. Grief was writ large on their faces.

Led by the leaders of the Communist Party, Marxist F.B. RSP, RCPI and Bolshevik Party, the procession was joined by Dr. Amiya Basu, famous cardiologist, Communist legislators, members of civic bodies and workers, trade union leaders, teachers, youth, teachers, rural people, intellectuals, writers, poets, journalists, scientists, Bengalis and non-Bengalis, Hindi and Oriya-speaking people, Punjabis, Assamese, South Indians, Nepalese, and others.

Forward Bloc leader Hemanta Basu, M.L.A., who could not participate in the procession, sent a letter expressing his deep sense of grief at the irreparable loss due to the sudden demise of Ajoy Ghosh at this critical juncture in the life of the nation.

There were thousands in the procession, who are not members of the Communist Party but believe in the ideal of socialism.

Before the procession started, the citizens of Calcutta held a brief meeting to adopt a resolution, recounting in glowing terms the invaluable services rendered by Ajoy Ghosh to the cause of the Indian people and the international Communist movement.

Before his death, the resolution said, he had undertaken a strenuous programme of touring different States in connection with the elections. He had, therefore, the coveted honour of dying at his post of duty like a true soldier of the Communist army.

The meeting pledged to carry forward the work for the realisation of the ideal, which Comrade Ajoy Ghosh loved so dearly and for which he had lived and died.

BOMBAY

The news of the sudden death of Ajoy Ghosh was received with shock here. Election meetings organised by the State branch of CPI and other political parties in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti were converted to express their

"deep sense of shock and grief".

The State headquarters of the Maharashtra Communist Party here was informed of the death of the news late on Saturday. Completely stunned, Adhikari and Sardesai, prominent leaders of the Party, present in the office immediately contacted the PTI for confirmation.

Within an hour had the news of the death of the beloved leader spread to all corners of the city and people started rushing to nearby Communist Party offices for confirmation.

For, as one comrade said, they could not believe that Ajoy who was with them only a few days back on his way to Belgaum, was no more. Ajoy had come here in connection with the campaign for liberation of Goa last month.

An all-party public meeting to mourn Ajoy's death was held at Kamgar maidan here on January 14. Prominent leaders of the Praja Socialist Party, Hindu Mahasabha, Revolutionary Communist Party of India, Lal Nishan, Maharashtra Ekakaran Samiti, well-known literateurs and trade unionists paid homage to the departed leader.

Sardesai, Secretary of the Maharashtra Communist Party paying homage as "a friend and on behalf of the Maharashtra Communist Party and Central Committee of the Party", said Ajoy's role in the making of the Party was important.

"As a staunch believer in Marxism, Ajoy always put the Party above petty and selfish interests", Sardesai said. He said that death had come to the beloved leader so unexpectedly that it was a great shock to him.

Addressing the gathering, Sardesai said that by fulfilling the tasks taken up by Ajoy they could pay him real homage. "Next four months—before and after the General Elections—are going to be most critical in the life of the Party", he added.

Peter Alvarez, the P. S. P. leader said that the sudden death of Ajoy Ghosh was not only a loss to the CPI but also to the country. From his childhood Ghosh had taken to the cause of the people in the country and, Sri Alvarez continued, when his presence was most needed he has left us. "I am sure the working people in the country will carry on his work successfully", Sri Alvarez concluded.

S. S. Mirajkar paying homage to the departed leader gave an account of his life. He said that as an associate of Bhagat Singh, as a trade unionist and as a Communist Ajoy was great "in every sense of the word".

V. B. Gogate, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, said that he always admired the gentlemanly way Ajoy Ghosh used in dealing with other politicians and parties in the country. Gogate on behalf of the Mahasabha paid homage to the departed leader.

S. K. Limaye leader of the Lal Nishan Party said that Ajoy Ghosh was not only the leader and the General Secretary of the CPI but also was "our (Lal Nishan) leader and guide". They

were resolved, he said, that the torch lit by Ghosh would be carried forward "with utmost resoluteness at our disposal".

Earlier, P. V. Vaidya, Secretary, Bombay unit of the Party read out condolence messages received from M. R. Dandavate, Secretary, Maharashtra Pradesh P.S.P., from the Central Committee of the RCPI (Maharashtra unit), and Bombay Grlal Kamgar Union. He also narrated the life history of Ajoy.

Krishna Desai (RCPI), Krishna Pandse (Maharashtra Ekakaran Samiti), Sardar Jaffri (well-known Urdu poet), Surjeet Singh (a trade unionist from Kanpur), K. L. Desai (P. & W. P.), D. G. More (RPI), M. G. Desai, and Appa Saheb Pandsey also paid homages to Ajoy Ghosh. A two-minute silence was observed at the end of the meeting.

On January 15 the Bombay Corporation, on the motion of a Congress councillor, adjourned as a mark of homage to Ajoy Ghosh.

LUCKNOW

As dusk fell, Lucknow's citizens collected today in the Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall to pay their last tribute to the great patriot and revolutionary who had some twenty-four hours earlier passed away in Delhi. A tempest raged in the hearts and many eyelids were still wet with tears. A leaden silence prevailed, silence appearing to be the language of deepest sorrow, and nobody seemed to know how to break that silence.

In the hushed hall, A. G. Kher, Speaker of the U. P. State Assembly, went up the rostrum to pay his homage to "my younger brother", who had left us at such a young age.

Kher said he had known of him since 1928-29, when he was in touch with that other revolutionary, Chandra Shekhar Azad. He was overcome with emotion as he struggled to tell the audience how Ajoy Ghosh had fought for India's independence, and later for strengthening her freedom and for increasing her prosperity.

Against heavy odds, against ill health and against all the privations and repressions to which a revolutionary is subjected, for over 30 years he had given every ounce of his energy for the fight to improve the condition of our people.

Kher said that it is known that the C.P.I. decides its programme and policies after deep study. Only a very firm and capable person could be the General Secretary of such a Party for so many years.

But, he added, Ajoy Ghosh was not only a Communist, he was a great Indian. He looked at the national problems from the national point of view and not from a party's point of view. He worked for unity, not only the unity of his Party, but for the unity of all the patriotic parties for



Ajoy taking the salute at the concluding rally of the Palghat Party Congress.

the good of India. In his premature death, the motherland has lost one of its great sons.

P.S.P. leader, Triloki Singh said that he found no words to tell how he was stunned with grief when he knew of Ajoy's death. But, he said, it was not only a question of personal sorrow, Ajoy's death is a great loss to our society and country. In his death the country has lost a great pillar of support. He was a first-rank scholar, an indefatigable social reformer and a tireless worker in India's cause.

Ajoy Ghosh, Singh said, did not belong to only one family, he did not belong to one party, he belonged to the whole society, he belonged to the whole of our country and this is why the whole of our society and the whole of our country feels poorer and so sad today. Singh said that when the country needed such men the most, Ajoy Ghosh has left us at such a young age. Singh said that he could never imagine that he would leave us so soon.

Ajoy Ghosh was also an international leader, Sri Singh said, and just as we are grieving his irreparable loss here, thousands and millions of people would be grieving his loss in almost every other country of the world.

But, Singh added, Ajoy Ghosh has left a flame behind him, a light behind him, which will go on burning and lighting people's path not for a day or two, but for many many years to come and when India's true history comes to be written, Ajoy Ghosh's name will be written in it in indelible letters of gold.

Abdul Halim, Secretary of the City Socialist Party said that a great leader of the country's poor, a farsighted statesman of the working classes, a great democrat and a pillar of the Opposition parties in the country had left us and the gap created by his passing away will con-

tinue to haunt us for a long time to come.

Sri Balak Ram Vaish, President of the City Congress Committee eulogised Ajoy's unforgettable services to the State and the country and paid homage on behalf of the Congress organisation in the city.

Amrit Lal Nagar, President of the U.P. Working Journalists' Federation, Raj Vallabh Ojha, famous barrister of Lucknow, B. K. Dhawan and ex-President of the University Union, Jagdish Gandhi also paid their tributes to the beloved departed leader.

Shankar Daya Tewari spoke to pay the homage of the U.P. State Council of the Communist Party. Leader of many workers' Unions in the city, Babu Khan also spoke in the meeting.

It lessened, at least temporarily, some of our sorrow to see how sincerely and deeply our sense of loss and desolation was shared by so many people.

The man who had struggled all his life to bring about unity, unity in the Party, unity among the Leftists, unity among the democratic opposition, and unity in the country for the patriotic tasks of building up an invincibly strong, united and independent India, has, it appears, brought about even greater unity of our people by his death, unity of sorrow over the motherland's loss and unity of unflinching patriotic fervour to bend all our energies to fulfil the uncompleted tasks he has left behind him.

APOLOGIES

We deeply regret that we were able to use only a fraction of the messages and news of meetings that poured into our office.

— Editor.

CAPITAL'S CONDOLENCE

From Ziaul Haq

Jan. 16

Sombre grief pervaded Delhi Corporation's Durbar Hall on Tuesday evening when a cross-section of citizens came together to mourn the death of Ajoy Ghosh and pay respectful homage to his memory. The meeting had been called jointly by Deputy Mayor R. C. Agrawala, Delhi Council Secretary of the Communist Party M. Farooqi, Pradesh Congress President Shri Brij Mohan, Delhi PSP Chairman Mir Mush-taq Ahmad, as well as Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, Pandit Sundaral and Smt. Rameshwari Nehru.

The meeting was opened by Mayor Sham Nath, who presided. He recalled how Ajoy Ghosh had spent several of the best years of his life in British jails.

He had played a great role in building the Communist Party of India and whenever a balanced view was needed in critical moments in the affairs of the country it was provided by him. Despite his intermittent and prolonged illness, Ajoy Ghosh carried out his responsibilities with supreme devotion.

Paying his reverent homage on behalf of Delhi citizens Sham Nath said one could not grieve enough on the death of a person so devoted to the service of the country.

Next to speak was S. A. Dange, closest colleague and collaborator of Ajoy Ghosh. "What can I say on this occasion", said Dange and in his clear manner brought out brilliantly the greatness and individuality of Comrade Ajoy. Overwhelmed with emotion Dange could not complete his speech and had to end it abruptly.

Speaking next Mir Mush-taq Ahmad of the Praja Socialist Party declared that Ajoy Ghosh had played a great part not only in building the Communist Party but had also participated in the liberation and revolutionary movements.

In his death not the Communist Party alone but the entire democratic, secular and

socialist forces of the country had suffered a grave loss. Aruna Asaf Ali said that for her it was the loss of a close comrade and the emotion was choking. The lamps that lit the path of the freedom struggle were going out one by one and darkness seemed creeping all around.

They had followed different paths but had the same objective. What tied them together, Aruna said, was anti-imperialism, democracy and socialism. The sudden untimely death of Ajoy Ghosh which had brought us together today, she said, taught us that we should stand together.

Aruna Asaf Ali said it was during the last ten years and during last several months particularly that she had had the opportunity of knowing Ajoy Ghosh very closely. It was in connection with the movement for the liberation of Goa. She often went to him for consultation and advice and profited from his wise counsel.

Ajoy Ghosh, said Aruna Asaf Ali, chose the more difficult path and never tired of it. He prized work more than life. He never lost faith in the victory of the cause. Actually the faith in the cause made it dearer to him than life itself.

Our society and revolutionary organisations need such people, she said. India and the Indian working people had suffered a great loss in his death.

Brij Mohan, Delhi Pradesh

Delhi Resolution

This meeting of the citizens of Delhi expresses its deep grief and sorrow at the untimely demise of Sri Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India. The meeting conveys heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

The death of Sri Ajoy Ghosh is not only a great loss to his Party, but to the Indian people as a whole, whose worthy son he was. Sri Ghosh's life was one of dedication to the service of the Indian people.

Starting his political career while still a student about 35 years ago, he joined the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army, a revolutionary detachment in the struggle against British imperialism. He was one of the co-accused with

the great Martyr, Bhagat Singh, in the famous Lahore Conspiracy case. Ever since he remained a staunch fighter in the struggle for the freedom of his motherland, during which he suffered imprisonment several times.

Though stricken by T.B. and subsequently by a heart ailment, because of the rigours of jail and underground life during the days of the British rule, Sri Ghosh continued to work with untiring zeal for the great causes he held dear—the freedom and independence of his motherland, the happiness of the masses and the building of a Socialist India. He died at the post of his duty.

This meeting pays homage to the memory of the departed leader.



Presidium of Delhi meeting. Mayor Sham Nath moving the Resolution.

Congress Committee President speaking next said that whenever he had met him he had felt that Ajoy Ghosh was a very simple man, like an ordinary worker. He never behaved like a big leader and one always found in him a personal friend.

His death had created a void which could not be filled, for his was a grand personality, which combined in itself the old and new values.

Brij Mohan said that Ajoy Ghosh was a pillar of strength to the Communist Party, carrying all together. True, he said, the Communist Party was a great Party and it would manage to bear the loss. Still it was a great loss that the Party and the country had suffered.

In a society like ours, Brij Mohan said, it was difficult for a person belonging to the class in which Ajoy Ghosh was born to rise to the heights to which he did. Ajoy Ghosh struggled all along and ultimately gave his life for the cause he held dear. He had set an example to workers of all political parties. "On my own behalf and on behalf of the Pradesh Congress Committee I pay respectful homage to the memory of Ajoy Ghosh," concluded Brij Mohan.

After the Deputy Mayor Shri Ram Charan Agrawala had paid his homage Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI, in a brief speech declared that it was our duty to preserve the correct principles, the national principles laid down by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

Y. D. Sharma, National Council member from Delhi, recalled the statement made by Ajoy in Bihar a few days before the Goa action that if the Congress Party won all seats in the forthcoming General Elections by taking action to liberate Goa, the Communist Party would prefer that any day to the continued enslavement of Goa.

It was this lofty spirit that moved Ajoy Ghosh. Y. D. Sharma declared and it is the path shown by him on which we should continue.

RSP leader, Ajit Das Gupta said he had first met Comrade Ajoy Ghosh in 1937 and had ever since

found in him a comrade and friend. Paying homage on behalf of his party he declared that Ajoy Ghosh's contribution was great and would live for ever.

After Ram Chandra Sharma had paid homage on behalf of the trade unions of Delhi Pandit Sunderlal recalled how he had met, over thirty years ago in Kanpur, a young fiery revolutionary who engaged with him in a heated debate. That was Ajoy Ghosh. Combining the highest idealism with down-to-earth realism Ajoy Ghosh had acted as unifier all along both inside and outside his party. His untimely death, Pandit Sunderlal said, was a great loss even internationally.

Rameshwari Nehru who could not be present personally had sent a message for the meeting. After the speeches were over Mayor Sham Nath moved the resolution. The audience stood in two minutes' reverent silence to adopt it.

JAMSHEDPUR

The grief-stricken members and friends of the Party joined in silent procession in honour of Ajoy Ghosh with dipped hammer and sickle Red Flag, starting from the District Communist Party Headquarters in Sarkar Building here Sunday, 14th morning. The procession terminated at the Golmuri office where wreaths were offered to a portrait of Ajoy Ghosh.

A condolence meeting was organised by the Singhbhum District Communist Party on January 15 in Bari, Maldan and presided by Barin Dey. They offered respects to departed soul.

Sunil Mukherjee, Bihar Communist leader, spoke at length on the revolutionary life of Ajoy Ghosh and exhorted all to emulate his self-sacrificing character.

They all recalled that in this very Bari Maldan, Ajoy Ghosh addressed the inaugural rally of the Communist Party's election campaign in this District only last month.

AHMEDABAD

The shocking news of Ajoy Ghosh's sudden demise reached Ahmedabad on the 13th evening. Dinkar Mehta issued a press statement, saying Ajoy's death was a great loss not only to the Communist Party, but to the whole country.

Ajoy, despite his delicate health, continued to work hard for our country, for which we had now to pay the heavy price, in his untimely death.

On the 14th afternoon, at a largely attended public meeting homage was paid to the memory of the departed leader. Ajoy had participated in the great textile strike of Ahmedabad in 1937 and the first Gujarat provincial conference of the Communist Party was held under his presidentship in 1939.

Ajoy had led the Communist Party through difficult days in 1950-51, had brought the Communist Party of India out as the leading opposition party in the First General Elections of 1952 as well as second elections in 1957.

He had taken continuous interest in the development of democratic and working class movement in Gujarat, including the great Maha Gujarat movement. Under his guidance the CPI made big advance during the last ten years.

Several speakers, including writers like Chandra Bhai Bhatt and Dharmant Oza, Jaweed Husain and Abdul Razak, spoke at the meeting.

Large meetings at many places in Gujarat, like Baroda, Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Surat, Broach, etc., were also held to pay homage to Ajoy's memory.

REGRETS

We regret that the messages from the Parties of Albania, Portugal, Turkey, Iraq, Chile and Algeria reached us too late for inclusion.

— Editor.

U.S. Information Agency

THE LAST JOURNEY

The terrible news spread like wild fire that late afternoon: Our dearest comrade, wise leader of our Party, who had taken ill only the previous evening had suddenly expired within less than 24 hours of his present illness. To each and all who heard the news it came as a shock and a most cruel blow.

Within minutes a sizeable crowd of stunned mourners had gathered at the Nursing Home where he had breathed his last and where his body still lay with his face uncovered, serene and calm, only more pale than in life.

Among them were his closest colleagues, members of the Secretariat and National Council of the Communist Party and the venerable Baba Gurmukh Singh as also Aruna Asaf Ali, several friends and just ordinary people.

Soon after they put his dead body in a vehicle, as many of his colleagues as could be accommodated sitting on the two sides, while others followed in other vehicles. They brought him to the Party's Parliamentary Office, 2 Windsor Place, and there in the room where he had several times addressed the Party MPs, laid him on a cot.

Within minutes we who had taken position as a sort of guard to stand there by rotation noticed the first of the callers. It was the President of the Indian National Congress, Sanjiva Reddy. Deeply moved, with eyes moist, he stood there before our departed leader.

The endless stream which was to continue till the next day even after the body had

started on its last journey, was now on.

Among them were ordinary members and friends of the Communist Party from all over Delhi, prominent leaders and Ministers like Lal Bahadur Shastri and Jagjivan Ram, Pandit Sunderlal and Rameshwari Nehru, Kashmir Minister G. M. Sadiq, Members of Parliament A. M. Tariq, Dewan Chaman Lal and others, writers and poets like Nagarjun and Niaz Haider, the staff of the Central Office of the PSP and innumerable other people.

The Ambassadors and heads of missions of all Socialist countries came to pay their homage. First to arrive in a group were the Ambassadors of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. The Trade Representative of the German Democratic Republic, the Charge d'Affaires of People's China, as well as the Charge d'Affaires of Cuba paid their homage.

Meanwhile messages from all over the country and outside, starting with those from the President and the Vice-President, were coming in and continued the whole night and after.

The stream of mourners which subsided late at night resumed in strength in the

morning. Several leaders of the Party including Muzaffar Ahmad, S. V. Ghate, G. Adhikari, B. T. Ranadive, K. S. Shukla, H. S. Surjeet, many ordinary members of the Party from the nearby districts of U. P. and Punjab had arrived.

Wreaths were placed on behalf of the President and the Vice-President, Indira Gandhi and AICC Secretary Sadiq Ali came and paid their homage.

Wreaths were personally laid by Ambassadors of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, the charge d'Affaires of Poland, Hungary, People's China, and Cuba, the Trade Representative of the German Democratic Republic, the Vice-Counsel of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, representative of the Embassy of Yugoslavia and the head of the Mission of the Arab League.

Members of the staff of many of these embassies accompanied the heads of missions in paying homage to the great son of India.

At about 10-30 a.m. on January 14 the funeral procession started from 2 Windsor Place. The body was kept in a carrier covered with wreaths and flowers and the red flag dipped and carried in front.

The mile-long, thousands strong procession passing through Connaught Place stopped for a short while at the Party's Central Headquarters at Asaf Ali Road and then wended its way through Daryaganj and along the Red Fort.

Some five thousand people gathered at the Nigambodh Ghat for the cremation. Among them were also the mayor of Delhi, the Delhi Congress President and the

chairman of the Delhi PSP, besides many of those mentioned earlier. Besides the Ambassadors and heads of missions of socialist countries, the Ambassador of the United Arab Republic had sent a representative on his behalf. The representatives of the Algerian Government and Arab League were also present.

The last rites were performed as Party leaders stood in mourning round the funeral pyre.

Litto Ghosh, Ajoy's wife, assailed by overwhelming grief since the moment when he breathed his last while she was beside him, trying most courageously to stand the blow, could not help breaking down. Ajoy's brother who had arrived from Kanpur that morning fainted and had to be carried out.

A heroic life had come to end but its great mission had to be carried forward. Amidst slogans of "Communist Party Zindabad", "Ajoy Ghosh Zindabad", Communists and others took leave of their departed leader whose memory and whose ideas shall ever inspire them.

-ZIAUL HAQ



Thousands file past to pay their last respects at Nigambodh Ghat.



TOP: The cortege turns the last corner before Nigambodh Ghat. BELOW: A brief halt in front of the Central Office of the CPI.