

TOWARDS ALL INDIA PARTY CONGRESS

Karnataka State Conference

Pledges to be Equal to Task

From the South the Karnataka State Unit of the party has joined the streams from the East on way to the First Party Congress. The State Conference was held from January 16 to 19 last in Bangalore, the capital city. The walls in this garden city bear proclamation of the approaching Congress, drawing the citizens' attention to the historic occasion ahead.

So, when the massive and colourful rally began in the afternoon of 16th, the public stood on the roadsides to take note of the manner in which the disciples of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh marched down proclaiming their resolve to attain the goal—winning emancipation.

The rally had started at 3 P.M. from Chicklalbagh. Agricultural labours, poor peasants, students, teachers, youths and women had poured in from nine districts of the State. The procession wound its course, parading along a 3 km route, the marchers waving the party flag, raising slogans, holding aloft banners and festoons. Their road led to Mallaeswaram, the venue of the open session of the State Conference.

Earlier, in the morning, a 'Quotation Exhibition', with exhibits embodying excerpts from the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and other giant Marxist leaders and also photo-exhibits of the class and mass struggles conducted by the party and its mass fronts, was inaugurated at Malleswaram by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, a Central leader. Party literature were on display here and thousands of people from various walks of life had gathered on the premises, going through the exhibi-

tion, buying the party literature and asking the party comrades about the Party Congress and its significance. Throughout the day, till the conclusion of the open session, streams of people kept visiting the exhibition, studying the excerpts and appreciating the objective.

On this Malleswaram ground the open inaugural session of the Conference began at 5 P.M. with Comrade K. Radhakrishna presiding over the public meeting. Thousands of people had come to attend. After the DYO music squad, had sung mass songs, Comrade Pritish Chanda, Member, Central Committee of the party, and the main speaker on the occasion, garlanded a portrait of the departed most beloved leader and founder General Secretary of the party, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Volunteer squads of the AIDS, DYO and MSS then presented a guard of honour to the great leader of the proletariat when all present

stood up to pay respect to the memories of the great leader and the DYO music squad began to sing the song on him.

Com. Pritish Chanda delivered his speech, analysing brilliantly the prevailing features of the international and national situations. Reminding the audience of the dual tasks to fight the danger of modern revisionism and the menace of fascism in the country, Comrade Chanda recalled the painstaking struggle undertaken by Com. Ghosh and his handful compatriots to build up the SUCI as the genuine communist party on the Indian soil. Today the SUCI was going to hold its First All India Congress toward paving the path to the revolutionary goal. The people should realize the historic significance of this occasion, Comrade Chanda pointed out, and step out to make it a grand success in order to safeguard their own cause.

On the next day, January 17, the delegate sessions commenced with the garlanding of the martyrs' column. Homage was paid to the memories of Comrades A. N. R. Reddy & Md. Anser who passed away in 1981 and 1987 respectively. The delegate sessions, spreading over three days from 17 January to 19 January were conducted by

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee On Tripura Election

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our party has released the following statement on 6 February, referring to the heinous method resorted to by the Congress(I) at the just concluded Tripura elections to get saddled in the Government as a severe blow to democracy :

Pursuing what the Congress(I) has been doing so long at the Centre and in the States by way of total administrative rigging, the party, by deploying military in Tripura on the eve of the Assembly election there, has not only turned the entire election process into a farce, but has also struck at the very base of democracy.

We firmly hold that the non-Left anti-people policies of the CPI(M)-led Left Front Government in Tripura, its policies of total administrative rigging, of renouncing mass movements against the Central Government, its policy of following the foot-steps of the Central Congress(I) Government in coercing the people by deploying C.R.P., para-military forces, etc., instead of attempting to arrive at a just and political solution of the problems of the tribal people of Tripura and above all its virtual concurrence with the Central Government's stand to declare the State as Disturbed Area, and if necessary, to deploy military there—all these created suitable opportunity for the Central Congress(I) Government to install military just before the elections.

It is our firm opinion that these incidents are glaring instances of what the arch reactionary and out and out corrupt Congress(I), the most trusted representative of national and foreign capital, is prone to do for grabbing governmental power even by most heinous means. The Tripura situation, therefore, poses before all Left, democratic, opposition parties and forces a challenge, and to face it squarely it is incumbent to build up countrywide broadbased united democratic mass movements against each and every anti-people, anti-democratic and out and out autocratic policies of the Congress(I) Government, upholding the burning demands of the people's life. On it depends the only way to put an end to the Congress(I) misrule, paving in its wake the real path of survival of the people at large.

First All India Party Congress of SUCI In Calcutta

25th to 29th March
1988 : Delegate Session
at Mahajati Sadan

4th April 1988 :
Open Session at
Brigade Parade
Ground : 4-00 p.m.
Speakers :
Comrade Nihar Mukherjee
& Other Leaders

PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

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51. *The Party members are obliged to act always as disciplined members of a militant organisation in all their activities.* Should differences of opinion occur as to the proper mode of action, this should be determined as far as possible by previous discussions inside the Party organisation, and the action should be according to the decision thus arrived at. Even if the decision of the organisation or of the Party committee should appear faulty in the opinion of the rest of the members, these comrades in all their public activity should never lose sight of the fact, that it is the worst form of undisciplined conduct and greatest military error to hinder or to break entirely the unity of the common front.

It is the supreme duty of every Party member to defend the Communist Party, and above all, the Communist International, against all the enemies of Communism. He who forgets, on the contrary, and publicly assails the Party or the Communist International, is a bad Communist.

52. The statutes of the Party must be drawn in such a manner as not to become a hindrance but rather a helping force, to the leading Party organs in the Communist development of the general Party organisations and in the continuous improvement of the Party activity. The decisions of the Communist International must be promptly carried out by the affiliated Parties, even in the case when corresponding alterations in the existing statutes and Party decisions can be adopted only at a later date.

IX. LEGAL AND ILLEGAL ACTIVITY PREPAREDNESS

53. The party must be so organised that it shall always be in a position to adapt itself quickly to all the changes that may occur in the conditions of the struggles. The Communist Party must develop into a militant organisation capable of avoiding fight in the open against overwhelming forces of the enemy, concentrated upon a given point, but on the other hand, the very concentration of the enemy must be so utilised as to attack him on the spot where he least suspects it. It would be the greatest mistake for the Party organisation to stake everything upon rebellion and street-fighting or only upon condition of severe repression. *Communists perfect their preliminary revolutionary work in every situation on a basis of preparedness*, for it is frequently next to impossible to foresee the changeable wave of stormy and calm periods and even in cases it might be possible, this foresight cannot be made use of in many cases for reorganisation, because the change as a rule comes quickly and frequently quite suddenly.

COMBINATION OF LEGAL AND ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

54. The legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries usually fail to grasp all the importance of the



task before the Party to be properly prepared for the armed struggle, or the illegal fight in general. Communist organisations often commit the error of depending on a permanent legal basis for their existence and of conducting their work according to the needs of the legal task.

On the other hand, illegal parties often fail to make use of all the possibilities of legal activities towards the building up of a Party organisation which would have constant intercourse with the revolutionary masses. Underground organisations which ignore these vital truths run the risks of becoming merely groups of conspirators wasting their labours in futile tasks.

Both these tendencies are erroneous. Every legal Communist organisation must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks. Every illegal Communist organisation must, on the other hand, make the fullest use of the possibilities offered by the legal labour movement, in order to become, by means of intensive Party activity, the organised and real leader of the great revolutionary masses.

NO WATERTIGHT COMPARTMENT OF ILLEGAL FROM LEGAL

55. Both among legalised and underground Party circles there is a tendency for the unlegalised Communist organisational activity to evolve into the establishment and maintenance of a purely military organisation isolated from the rest of the party organisation and activity. This is absolutely erroneous. On the contrary, during the pre-revolutionary period, the formation of our militant organisations must be mainly accomplished through the general work of the Communist Party. *The entire Party must be developed into a militant organisation for the revolution.*

Isolated revolutionary military organisations, prematurely created in a pre-revolutionary period are apt to show tendencies towards dissolution because of the lack of direct and useful Party work.

56. It is of course imperative for an illegal party to protect its members and Party organs from being found out

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by the authorities and to avoid every possibility of facilitating such discovery by registration, careless collection, by contribution and injudicious distribution of revolutionary material. For these reasons, it cannot use frank organisational methods to the same extent as the legal Party. It can, nevertheless, through practice acquire more and more proficiency in this matter.

On the other hand, a legal mass Party must be fully prepared for illegal work and periods of struggle. It must never relax its preparations for any eventualities (viz. it must have safe hiding places for duplicates of members' files and must, in most cases, destroy correspondence, put important documents into safe keeping and must provide conspirative training for its messengers).

It is assumed in the circles of the legal as well as the illegal Parties, that the illegal organisations must be in the nature of a rather exclusive, entirely military institution, occupying within the Party a position of splendid isolation. This assumption is quite erroneous. The formation of our fighting organisation in the pre-revolutionary period must depend principally on the general Communist Party work. The entire Party must be made into a fighting organisation for the revolution.

PARTY ORGANISATION SHOULD BE ADEQUATE FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

57. Therefore, our general Party work must be apportioned in a manner which would ensure, already in the pre-revolutionary period, the foundation and consolidation of a fighting organisation commensurate with the needs of the revolution. It is of the greatest importance that the directing body of the Communist Party should be guided in its entire activity by the revolutionary requirement and that it should endeavour, as far as possible, to gain a clear idea of what these are likely to be. This is naturally not an easy matter, but that should not be a reason for leaving out of consideration this very important point of Communist organisational leadership.

Even the best organised Party would be faced with very difficult and complicated tasks if it had to undergo great functionary changes in a period of open revolutionary risings. It is quite possible that our political Party will be called upon to mobilise in a few days its forces for the revolutionary struggle. Probably it will have to mobilise, in addition to the Party forces their reserves, the sympathising organisations, viz. the unorganised revolutionary masses. The formation of a regular Red Army is as yet out of the question. We must conquer without a previously organised army through the masses under the leadership of the Party. For this reason even the most determined effort would not succeed should our Party not be well-prepared and organised for such an eventuality.

BUILD SPECIAL SECRET APPARATUS

58. One has probably seen that the revolutionary central directive bodies have proved unable to cope with

revolutionary situations. The proletariat has generally been able to achieve great revolutionary organisation as far as minor tasks are concerned, but there has nearly always been disorder, confusion and chaos at headquarters. Sometimes there has been a lack of even the most elementary "apportioning" of work. The intelligence department is often so badly organised that it does more harm than good. There is no reliance on postal and other communications. All secret postal and transport arrangements, secret quarters and printing works are generally at the mercy of lucky or unlucky circumstances and afford fine opportunities for the "agent provocateurs" of the enemy forces.

These defects cannot be remedied unless the Party organises a special branch in its administration for this particular work. The military intelligence service requires practice and special training and knowledge. The same may be said of the secret work directed against the political police. It is only through long practice that the satisfactory secret department can be created. For all these specialised revolutionary work, every legal Communist Party must make preparations, no matter how small. In most cases such a secret apparatus may be created by means of perfectly legal activity.

For instance it is quite possible to establish secret postal and transport communications by a code system through the judiciously arranged distribution of legal leaflets and through correspondence in the press.

DEVELOP EVERY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER FOR REVOLUTIONARY TASKS

59. The Communist organiser must look upon every member of the Party and every revolutionary worker as a prospective soldier in the future revolutionary army. For this reason he must allot him a place which will fit him for his future role. His present activity must take the form of useful service, necessary for present Party work and not more drilling which the practical worker of today rejects. One must also not forget that this kind of activity is for every Communist the best preparation for the exigencies of the final struggle.

(Concluded)

JUST OUT

PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

Organisation and structure of the Communist Parties, adopted at the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921, drafted under guidance of Lenin.

Price : Rs. 3/-

Military Build-up in India : What for ?

Newspaper uproar over issues like "American AWACS sold to Pakistan", "US military aids to Pakistan" and Indian Defence Minister's time to time assurances to the anxious MPs—of both sides, ruling as well as opposition—that "India is quite prepared to meet any threat on her borders"—have become something like regular weather reports on radio or TV. Similar grumbles and growls are heard in Pakistan too — of course, about and against India. The press on both sides, however, remain silent about what their own rulers are doing. A war psychosis is maintained across the border of the two countries by continuously harping such music. But what has been the outcome? Who has gained by this?

The answer to the first question is obvious. The outcome—or, properly speaking, the background—is a huge military build up in both countries. Large chunks of the budgets in both are gobbled up by the military expenditure. Let us look at the budget in India. The defence budget which stood at Rs. 248 crores in 1960 has soared up to Rs. 12,512 crores in 1987. Even if the fall of money value owing to inflation is considered the rise and the amount are colossal. And this too without taking into account the expenditures incurred on central and state para-military forces like CRPF, BSF, EFR, Assam Rifles, RPF, SAP, etc. etc. To meet this huge expenditure on defence, various welfare and developmental programmes are neglected or thrown to the ground in the name of curtailing budget deficit. Flood and drought visit different parts of the country as perennial and scourge, people remain illiterate, health facilities do not reach the common millions. And whenever the Government is indicted, it pleads paucity of fund. Here we see where the paucity comes from or where the fund goes. Recently in a meeting with the army in a UP base camp. Mr. K. C. Pant, the Defence Minister made the point still clearer: "We know, the country is suffering from problems of flood, drought, illiteracy, ill health etc. for shortage of money while we are spending lots of money for the army. But this cannot be otherwise, for, nothing

is prior to country's defence." (Amar Ujala, a Hindi daily published from Muradabad, UP — 18 January, 1988).

This is the catch phrase—"defence of the country!" But from whom? They say — "Pakistan may attack us any moment. It is acquiring arms from Washington". The opposition in the parliament also forgets their "opposition" on this issue and urges upon the government to act promptly to meet the challenge of US-Pakistan axis. The CPI and the CPI(M) MPs, just like the Second International social - chauvinists, have joined the chorus, and not only supported the sky high military budgets every year but also criticised the Congress Govt., for not taking due care of the US-Pakistan threat to India's security. A criticism which justifies will further rise of the defence budget.

Let us scrutinise the import of the "threat" and "defence".

First of all, if US arms aid to Pakistan is meant as a threat to India how is it that the same USA is also coming forward to arm India too—and just as generously—in recent years? And further, how could the Indian rulers, in addition to arms import from the Soviet Union, go with begging bowls to the same American rulers for arms aid? The US imperialists have real interests—economic as well as political—in supplying arms to both India and Pakistan, and advising each to fight against the other. But what is the justification then behind

India's decrying US arms aid to Pakistan?

Secondly, India is not only importing and producing but even exporting weapons. According to a UN sponsored study in 1985 India stands first in the export of middle order arms among the developing countries. What is the relation, may we ask, of exporting weapons abroad with defence of the land?

Thirdly, — and this is the most important point—does the defence of a country depend on arms and ammunitions alone? And upon a mercenary army? Are not the millions and millions of people the real and ultimate defender of the country's independence? But what is the condition of the Indian population at large? Among the 214 countries of the world, India ranks 196th in terms of people's standard of living. How can on unfed, unclad, illiterate, emaciated people stand up for the defence of the country when the occasion will really arise? Had Mr. Pant been true to his words to give priority to country's defence against foreign attack over everything else, his Government should have strengthened the rear of country's sovereignty by improving the people's standard of living in terms of food, health, education etc. instead of feeding the already too overfed army.

On the other hand, the recent reports on purchase of defective weapons from German and Swedish companies on payment of kickbacks show that the Indian Government is the least concerned about the security interest of the country. Rather, in the name of defence and security of the country, a racket of high officials, business houses, ex-army men and government personnels is earning fabulous amount of profits and plundering the people through arms deal and imports every year.

This background compels a question: Why this huge military build

up? Why this exorbitant expenditure?

The answer was provided by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our most beloved leader and teacher, and a great Marxist thinker of the era. Analysing the characteristics of world capitalism of which India appeared as a younger and junior partner, in the post-Second World War period, he showed a new feature in the militarisation of economy. Whereas earlier, under capitalism, economy was geared to war production for the sake of wars the imperialists engineered for capturing newer market, today the capitalist economy requires wars and war production for the very sake of the economy itself — to give artificial booster to industrial production which otherwise suffers from periodic recession in absence of market. Indian capitalism too took to heavy militarisation of the economy to fulfil the same design. Not only public sector, but the private sector also are being given large quantum of orders for direct military wares. In fact, one representative of the big monopoly families, Mr. B. M. Khaitan could not suppress his glee to this Government scheme while reacting to last year's military budget: "...in view of the increased defence spending, domestic industry is likely to receive a share of defence orders." (The Statesman, 1 March 1987). Looking at similar trends in the USA, once Mr. John Kenneth Galbraith, a renowned economist commented that "defence budgets and procurements were being influenced not by national need but by what served the economic interests of the suppliers." (Peace and Laughter; 1972). The interest is obvious! Ruthless exploitation has robbed the toiling people of their purchasing power. So there is no large market to absorb production. Hence the Government comes in and orders huge purchase for military. The people will be more and more fleeced through taxation and

price rise to meet the expenditure of the Government in the name of "defence of the country" and to fill the coffers of the capital class!

Now there is an additional dimension. The Central Committee of our party has been observing for quite a some time past that Indian capitalism, after reaching the stage of imperialism, has become aspirant enough to appear as a regional superpower in the Hindukush - Himalayan peninsula. Its grabbing and forcible annexation of Sikkim, military invasion in Srilanka in the name of taming the Tigers in Jaffna—all these are the palpable signs of expansionist desire of Indian capitalism - imperialism. It requires an everincreasing military might with which it can dictate terms to its neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Srilanka, Burma etc. To that end, what it gets from the Soviet Union by using the lever of anti-US Pakistan stance is far from sufficient, and hence, it has stretched its hands towards the USA although never ceasing to shout the pro-format anti-US jargons to satisfy the Soviet ally outside and the "left" allies like CPI-CPI(M) inside. The US imperialist rulers also find it quite expedient to extend military aids not only to Pakistan, their decades-old ally, but also to India offering a big and growing market for military wares. Moreover, the US rulers feel it better to back up and put up India as a new imperialist regional big power rather than leaving the region to growing Soviet influence. Hence their spokesmen like Richard Armitage, the US Assistant Secretary of Defence for Internal Security Affairs are openly saying: "We recognise India, as a regional power and a coming world power." (Asian Survey; Vol. 27, No. 6, June 1987). In airforce strength India is already five times mightier than Pakistan. (Asian Affairs;

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Karnataka State Conference

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Comrade Pritish Chanda on behalf of the Central Committee.

The delegates deliberated on the Organisational Report delivered by the Secretary, the Draft Theses on the International and National Situation, and the Draft Constitution.

With commendable thoroughness and seriousness they expressed their understandings of various issues, moved amendments with the object of improving the documents in certain respects and exchanged opinions on the various suggestions offered. For the 3 days they attended the delegate sessions, they shared with each other their political experience in conducting class and mass struggles, lived together and moved closer in practice of democratic centralism in the party. The Draft Theses, Draft Constitution and the Secretary's Report were adopted unanimously with minor amendments.

From the Conference, at the concluding session, the first State Committee of Karnataka was elected unanimously

with Com. K. Radhakrishna as Secretary. The State Committee comprised, besides Com. K. Radhakrishna, Comrade Venkatesh, Comrade S. Javed, Comrade Man Mohan, Com. B. R. Manjunath, Com. K. Uma, Com. B. V. Nagarathna, Com. S. Simhadri, Com. H. V. Divakar and Com. Suneet Kumar. 18 delegates to the All India Party Congress to be held in Calcutta were also elected. On the next day, the State Committee met to elect its State Secretariat comprising Comrades K. Radhakrishna, Venkatesh, S. Javed and Man Mohan with Com. Javed as State Office Secretary-cum-Treasurer.

At the end of the Conference, Com. Pritish Chanda drew the attention of the delegates to the tasks ahead for the First All India Party Congress, urging them to spare no efforts to be equal to the occasion and carry the message of the Congress and its significance to the masses of the people in all corners. The delegates, on behalf of all the members of the State, pledge to accomplish this task. The Conference ended with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Military Build-up

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Vol. 14, No. 1, Spring 1987). Simultaneously, "India is gradually acquiring a capability to project its power beyond its shores... India already has the largest navy among the Indian Ocean littoral states." (Asian Survey — *ibid*). "India's overall arms build-up", some US military experts feel, justifies "India's claims of middle power status in the context of global interaction." (Air University Review; Nos. 35-36, September - October 1984). Thus much to the dislike of the Pakistani rulers, the USA looks upon India as an emerging ally in its overall global policy, as stated by the undersecretary of Defence for Policy: "India could be a power that contributes to world stability as the United States will see it... and a power with which we could work together much as we try to work together with other major powers now to enhance our long-term national security aims." (Washington Post; 4 May 1985). To translate this attitude into action the US National Security Council had already issued a Decision Directive (Officially known as NSDD-147) on

11 October 1984 clearing herewith all obstacles in the way of arms and technology transfer to India. (Asian Survey — *ibid*). Thus, in spite of there being many points of contradiction between the Indian bourgeoisie and American imperialists they seem to have come closer enough so that the latter agrees to concede to India the guardianship of this sub-continental region on behalf of the world imperialist camp.

Srilanka was the most recent victim of this growing expansionist drive of Indian capitalism. Accepting India's military invasion in Jaffna followed by a most humiliating treaty Mr. Jayewardene, the President frankly admitted their helplessness before a big power like India. And Indian people is paying Rs. 8 crore per day for this military expansionism of Indian ruling clique in Srilanka.

Thirdly, there is a far-fetched aspect of this heavy militarisation. Like all other capitalist countries, the ruling class of India also is afraid of the growing thrust of the democratic movements against exploitation and oppression and the potential danger of proletarian revolution. So it cannot depend upon the police force alone and is, therefore, anxious to create a giant military power inside the country — to be ready at hand to crush any movement, any possibility of revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed people. Already they are trying to condition the people with growing use of the army in civil and normal law and order affairs. As Com. Ghosh pointed out, the more Indian capitalism will lead the country towards fascism flouting all democratic norms, the more it will drive for militarisation.

It is in this background that the swelling defence budget has to be seen. The necessity of the bourgeoisie to save economy from recession, even if for the time being, the aspiration for a big power status in the region as well as the urge to turn the body politic into a

military or para-military regime have drawn India into a fierce craze for rabid and rapid military build-up, — no matter. What happens to people's life, how much inflation is boosted up in the economy. And it is in order to create public sanction behind this colossal military expenditures as well as to dissuade exploited masses from organising any movement against injustice and oppression that the Indian ruling class always keep on beating the trumpet and piping the bugle at the borders from time to time—as if a war is in the offing, the nation is in danger!

Pakistan, on the other hand, pointing out India's military might, Soviet backing to India and the Soviet army's presence in Afghanistan is similarly trying to persuade the USA for ever more arms aid. The Pakistani rulers also, in total disregard to the Pakistani people's burning problems of life, are channelling ever larger portion of the country's revenues to a similar creation of a military might inside the country. Pakistani bourgeoisie too play upon the people's patriotic feelings to back up the heavy militarisation drive. It is high time that the people of Pakistan see through this game and understand that the US arms aid to Pakistan has nothing to do with their country's security interests. The USA is arming both Pakistan and India, provoking both against each other only to enhance its arms trade in this region.

Another point. When Indian rulers raise the bogey of Pakistan's threat of attack upon India, the Pakistani rulers accuse the Indian rulers of diverting people's attention from their burning problems to a fake danger. Similarly, when Pakistani rulers cry hoarse over India's aggressive design against Pakistan, the Indian rulers accuse them of the same devilry. We think, both of them are correct in their accusation. Because the rulers on the two sides of the border have been singing the same old song for long enough!

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Left: Comrade Pritish Chanda addressing the open session public meeting.

Below: Mass rally marching towards the venue of the open session.

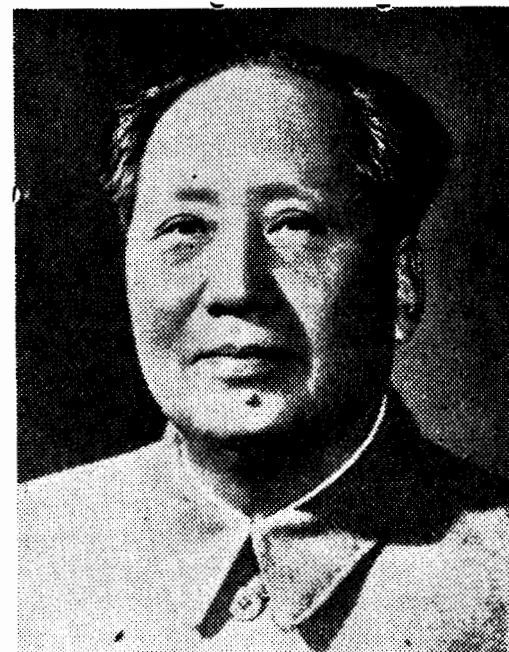


DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Democratic Centralism is the soul, the kernel of the living organisational unity in a communist party. Lenin taught us, democratic centralism is the fusion of centralism with democracy.

At an extended meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on January 30, 1962, Mao Zedong, brilliantly discussed how democratic centralism should be operated within the party; how centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy on the basis of centralism should be built up; the role of criticism and self-criticism in this connection and the great necessity of conducting this struggle involving the masses. The Communist Party of China published the speech in English in the form of a booklet in 1978.

Considering the importance of this illuminating speech on the understanding of democratic centralism we are reprinting the same in instalments.



—Ed. Proletarian Era

COMRADES!

I'm now going to put forward a few ideas. (*Warm applause*) Altogether I'll deal with six points, focussing on the question of democratic centralism while also touching on other questions.

The first point: The way the present conference is being held.

More than seven thousand people have come to this Enlarged Central Working Conference. At the outset, several comrades prepared a draft report. Before the draft could be discussed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, I suggested to them that rather than first holding a meeting of the Political Bureau to discuss it, we should immediately issue it to the comrades attending the conference for their comments and opinions. Comrades, there are among you people from various fields and localities—from provincial, prefectural and county committees, from the Party committees of various enterprises and from central departments. Most of you are closer to the lower levels and should know the situation and problems better than us comrades on the Standing Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Besides, since you occupy different posts, you can raise questions from different angles. That is why we should ask for your opinions. As expected, after the draft report was issued to you, it brought about lively discussion. While agreeing with the basic policy of the Central Committee, you also put forward many ideas. Later, a drafting committee of twenty-one was set up, which included responsible members from regional bureaus of the Central Committee. After eight days of discussion it produced the second draft of the report. It should be said that this second draft is the Central Committee's concentration of a discussion by over seven thousand people. Without your ideas it could not have been written. Both the first and second parts have undergone very substantial revision in the second draft, and for this you should be given the credit. I hear that you have all commented on the second draft quite favourably and consider it to be fairly good. If we hadn't used this method but had run the conference in the usual manner—that is, hearing a report first, then discussing it and approving it with a show of hands—we wouldn't have done as well.

This is a question of how to hold meetings. Distribute the draft, invite comments from those present and make amendments accordingly before giving a report. When

making a report one shouldn't just read it out, but should offer some supplementary ideas and explanations. By following this method we can promote democracy more fully, pool wisdom from all quarters and compare different points of view, and our meetings will become more lively. It has been advisable to use this method for the present conference which is being held to sum up the working experience of twelve years, and particularly that of the past four years, for there are many questions and consequently many opinions. But can all conferences adopt this method? No, not all. To use this method we must have plenty of time. It may sometimes be used at sessions of our people's congress. Comrades from provincial, prefectural and county Party committees, when you call meetings in future, you too can adopt this method if conditions permit. Of course, you are busy and cannot usually spend a lot of time on conferences. But there's no harm in having a try when you find the conditions right.

What sort of method is this? It's the method of democratic centralism, the method of the mass line: first democracy, then centralism; from the masses, to the masses; integration of the leadership with the masses. This is the first point I wanted to discuss.

The second point: The question of democratic centralism.

It seems that some of our comrades still don't understand democratic centralism as described by Marx and Lenin. Some of these comrades are already veteran revolutionaries, of the 1938 mould or some other mould—anyway, they've been members of the Communist Party for several decades and still don't understand this question. They are afraid of the masses, afraid of the masses speaking out, afraid of mass criticism. What possible reason is there for Marxist-Leninists to be afraid of the masses? While they avoid mentioning their own mistakes, these comrades are likewise afraid of having their mistakes mentioned by the masses. The more they're afraid, the more they're going to be haunted by ghosts. In my opinion, one shouldn't be afraid. What is there to be afraid of? Our attitude is, uphold the truth and readily correct mistakes. The question of what is right or wrong, what is correct or incorrect, in our work falls under contradictions among the people. Contradictions among the people can't be resolved by curses or fists, still less by knives or guns. They can be resolved only by discussion and reasoning, criticism and self-criticism. In a word, they can be

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DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

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resolved only by the democratic method, by letting the masses speak out.

There should be full democracy both inside and outside the Party, that is, democratic centralism should be practised in earnest in both spheres. Problems should be brought out into the open frankly and the masses allowed to speak out, speak out even if we are going to be abused. The worst that can come out of this abuse is that we will be toppled and thus be unable to continue in our current jobs—demotion to lower organizations or transfer to other localities. What's so impossible about that? Why should a person go only up and not down? Why should one work only in one place and not be transferred to another? I think that, whether they are justified or not, both demotion and transfer have advantages. They help to temper people's revolutionary will, enable them to investigate and study many new situations, and acquire more useful knowledge. I myself had experience in this respect and benefited a great deal from it. If you don't believe my point, you might give it a try. Szuma Chien said:

When King Wen was detained, he produced the *Book of Changes*; when Confucius was in distress, he compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Chu Yuan was exiled and so composed the *Li Sao*. Tsochiu Ming lost his sight and the *Kuo Yu* followed. Sun Tzu was mutilated before he wrote his book on military science. Lu Pu-wei was transferred to the Shu region and so the world inherited his *Lu Lan*. Han Fei was imprisoned in the Kingdom of Chin and he wrote "Shui Nan" and "Ku Fen", two chapters of his great work. Of the three hundred poems in the *Book of Odes* most were written by sages to vent their pent-up indignation

In modern times, people have had doubts about whether in fact King Wen produced the *Book of Changes* or Confucius compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and we can leave these examples aside and let the specialists solve these problems. But Szuma Chien believed these things to be true. And it is a fact that King Wen was detained and that Confucius was in distress. Except for the one about Tsochiu Ming's going blind, the events related by Szuma Chien all refer to the incorrect handling of people by their superiors in ancient times. There were cases where we too handled some cadres incorrectly, and no matter whether their handling was completely incorrect or only partially so, after re-examination they should be rehabilitated according to the merits of each case. But, generally speaking, such incorrect treatment—demotion or transfer—tempers their revolutionary will and enables them to absorb much new knowledge from the masses. Here I must make it clear that I am not advocating indiscriminate incorrect treatment of our cadres, our comrades, or anybody else, in the way the ancients detained King Wen, harassed Confucius, exiled Chu Yuan and removed Sun Tzu's kneecaps. I am not advocating this way of doing things, I am opposed to it. What I mean is that at every stage of human history there have always been such cases of mishandling. In class societies such cases are numerous. In a socialist society such things cannot be entirely avoided either. They are unavoidable whether in periods of leadership with a correct or with an incorrect line. There is one distinction, however. Under a correct line, as soon as cases which have been mishandled are discovered, after re-examination the people concerned will be rehabilitated and apologies will be made to them, so that they will enjoy ease of mind and lift up their heads again. But under an incorrect

line, this becomes impossible, and the mistakes can be corrected at a suitable occasion only by those who represent the correct line through the method of democratic centralism. As for those who have actually made mistakes and who, after criticism by comrades and review at a higher level, have been correctly demoted or transferred, it goes without saying that such demotion or transfer will help them correct their mistakes and acquire new knowledge.

At present, there are some comrades who are very afraid of the masses initiating discussion and putting forward ideas which differ from those of the leading organs or the leaders. Whenever a problem is being discussed, they suppress the initiative of the masses and don't allow them to speak out. This attitude is abominable. Democratic centralism is written into our Party Constitution and state Constitution, but they don't apply it. Comrades, we are revolutionaries. If we have really made mistakes, mistakes which are harmful to the cause of the Party and the people, we should seek the opinions of the masses and of comrades and criticize ourselves. Such self-criticism should sometimes be repeated several time over. If once is not enough and people are not satisfied, it should be done a second time; if they are still not satisfied, then it should be done a third time; it should go on until nobody has any more criticisms. Some provincial Party committees have done just this. A few provinces have shown some initiative and let people speak out. The early ones started self-criticism in 1959, the late starters began in 1961. Some provinces, such as Honan, Kansu and Chinghai, were forced to carry out self-criticism. Some people say there are other provinces which seem to be starting self-criticism only now. But no matter whether they carry out self-criticism on their own initiative or are forced to do so, no matter whether they do so early or late, provided they look squarely at their mistakes and are willing to admit and correct them and let the masses criticize them—provided they adopt this attitude, we should always welcome it.

Criticism and self-criticism is a method; it is a method of resolving contradictions among the people and indeed the only method. There is no other method. But if we don't have full democracy and don't truly practise democratic centralism, this method of criticism and self-criticism cannot be applied.

Don't we have many difficulties right now? It is impossible to overcome these difficulties unless we rely on the masses and arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and the cadres. But if you don't explain the situation to the masses and the cadres, open your hearts to them and let them voice their opinions, if they are still afraid of you and don't dare speak, it will be impossible to arouse their enthusiasm. I said in 1957 that we should create "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." We should create such a political situation both inside and outside the Party. Otherwise it will be impossible to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. We cannot overcome difficulties without democracy. Of course, it's even more impossible to do so without centralism. But if there's no democracy there won't be any centralism,

(To be concluded)

Victorious Movement against Ban on Recruitment in Karnataka

Janata government in Karnataka state led by Mr. Hegde who had promised at least one job for every family in the election manifesto, has not only broken its promise, but instead, came down recently with a executive fiat to put a blanket ban on fresh recruitments in the government departments including placing moratorium on creation of new vacancies for the next three years. It was the students and youths of the state led by the joint leadership of AIDS O and D Y O who took up the responsibility of forestalling the governments challenge.

On 17th December, the students and youths of the Mandya burst forth in a movement. Soon it spread to all the taluks of the district and later on to other districts. Channapatna taluk of Bangalore district also witnessed protest of students and youths. In all these places meetings, processions and road

blockades were organised in which students, youths and common people alike took active part against the anti-people policy of Karnataka government. Responding to the call of the AIDS O State Committee and D Y O State Unit, "All Karnataka Anti-Unemployment Day" was organised in twelve districts including Bangalore, Bellary, Gulbarga, Raichur, Mysore and Shimoga districts.

A protest rally was held in Bangalore on 2nd January last jointly by AIDS O and D Y O Units as part of "Anti-unemployment day", demanding immediate withdrawal of the government ban. A procession was also taken out from the Mysore Bank Square to Vidhana Soudha as part of the rally and a memorandum addressed to the Chief Minister containing 3-point demand was submitted in his absence to his Secretary in a mass deputation.

Besides withdrawal of the Govt order declaring ban on recruitment, the memorandum demanded of the government to declare the number of vacancies and fill them up in three months' time and check corruption and wasteful expenditure. The rally was addressed by Com. Cenugopal on behalf of DYO, Comrade M. N. Sriram on behalf of AIDS O, Com. Shivram of Mysore University Students' Committee and Dr. Gangadhar of Ayrvedic Post-Graduate Association.

Under the tremendous pressure of the students' movement bursting forth throughout the Karnataka state, the government ultimately had to succumb and withdraw the said black order and instead had to guarantee fresh recruitment into regular vacancies.

In a press release, the AIDS O and DYO jointly called upon the

Massive Rally in Calcutta against Price-Hike



Nearly a ten thousand strong mass demonstration in protest against the recent price-hike of some vital and essential commodities by the Central Govt. and of milk by the State Govt. and urging interalia, immediate reopening of closed mills and factories, job for the Agricultural labourers and living wage to them marched towards Rajbhawan in Calcutta on 3rd February last and sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister through the Governor. It was the first and biggest ever anti-price rise rally in the state since the recent price-hike. (Above) Part of gathering at Subodh Mallick Sqr. before the demonstration started. (Below) Part of gathering on Rani Rashmoni Road, Esplanade.

Military Buildup

(Contd. from page 5)

In this situation, the common people of these two countries have to rise up and protest against this continuous military might building, arms race and war tension, quite negligence of and detrimental to the people's long standing and fundamental problems, serving only the profit hunger and power aspiration of the capitalist class. The Indian people in particular will have to fight back all bourgeois characteristic propaganda and condemn in unequivocal terms the big power expansionist imperialist games of the Indian bourgeois state. "No more Arms race, No expansionism — Solve the problems of people's life". Let this be the cry of the hour.

Tamilnadu State Committee on Present Political Situation in State

The Tamil Nadu State Unit of our party, after its meeting on February 2, 1988, issued the following statement on the present political development of the State:

students and youths of Karnataka to remain vigilant till the government takes the above mentioned steps so that the victory and gains of the movement are consolidated.

"No doubt the greed for power of the leaders of both factions of the AIDMK was responsible for the growing uncertainty of the political situation of the State, but the way the Central Congress(I) leadership handled the situation and ultimately created a pandemonium in the State Assembly with the ulterior motive of having an alibi for taking over the

State administration which it lost 20 years back and, more particularly, where its Srilankan Policy has been strongly resented by its people is nothing but fascistic.

"We appeal to the people to unite to protect their democratic rights and demand for immediate elections to the State Assembly to install a popular government."

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