

## Towards All India Party Congress

# WEST BENGAL STATE CONFERENCE RESPLENDENT IN REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

Rearing all strength and purging itself of its weaknesses the party is set on course to its First Congress. The Central Committee has called upon the party bodies at all levels to prepare for the Congress, holding conferences from local through district to State levels, and to consolidate the ideological and organizational growth and development of the party in order to make it equal to the task history has charged it with in the present international and national situation.

At the grass roots of the organization, at the higher levels of the body, comrades are bending all energies to rise to the call, going to the masses with the party's analysis of the present situation, engaging themselves constantly in the struggle to raise their ideological standard, trying best to play effective roles through dialogues and discussions to attain the minimum standard for making critical analyses of theories and a higher cultural-ethical level. Standing on the threshold of a higher stage of development of the party, the SUCI, with which they are identifying their life more and more, the comrades are imbued with a revolutionary inspiration, steeling and rededicating themselves to the task adjured by the most beloved departed leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

The West Bengal State unit, the host of the All India Party Congress, has gone through the State level preparatory stages. Election of Local Committees at Local Conferences were followed by District Conferences to culminate into the State Conference on December 25 to 28, 1987, at Tamluk in Midnapur district of the State.

Comrade Rabi Basu Nagar, the venue of the conference christened so in homage to the memory of the departed member of the State Secretariat of the party, was the centre to which all roads led, as delegates numbering 832 started arriving from the morning of 24th. This Tamluk, aflame with anti-imperialist spirit of national independence struggle

in the early forties, rose with red arches, banners and flags to welcome the delegates and the leaders of a party whose roots are striking deeper every day in the hearts of the masses like a banyan tree's in soil. Word had gone round that the fighters for the people's cause had arrived. From dinghy houses, from roadside shacks, from shops, offices and balconies, the dwellers of the town greeted the delegates arriving in marching procession, raising slogans and singing the *Internationale*.

Arches were erected on the long route to Tamluk from the Mechada railway station to welcome respected Comrade Prithish Chanda, Member, Central Committee of the party. The statue of Saheed Kshudiram installed by the local people near the Mechada station premises was garlanded by Comrade Chanda in presence of a large gathering of people. Supporters, sympathisers and common people had gathered at Burari, Nonakuri Maniktala crossing and the Hospital crossing on the route  
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# Proletarian Era

Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (Fortnightly)  
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## Com. Nihar Mukherjee Condemns price-hike of Petrol

Com. Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary, SUCI issued the following statement to the Press on 9.1.88 :

"Following the price-hike of coal, steel and other items the latest price-increase of petroleum is a severe blow to the crisis-ridden people of our country. We strongly protest against this anti-people policy of the Central Government and appeal to the people to develop a country-wide resistance movement to compel the Central Government to withdraw its decision. We call upon all left, democratic and opposition parties to come forward to build up this movement."

## Delhi State Committee Protests P.M's Authoritarian Move

The Delhi State Committee, SUCI, issued the following statement to the Press on 18.12.87 :

The Delhi State Committee, SUCI, condemns the threat of dismissal of the opposition party led State Governments, arrogantly made by the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, on the supposed ground of anti-national activities.

Employing diversionary tactics, the Prime Minister is, in reality, trying to set up blinkers before the people's eyes to conceal his Government's activities encouraging chauvinist communal and casteist feelings  
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# 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 at 4-00 P.M.

Speakers : Comrade Nihar Mukherjee & Other Leaders

# PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

## II



### LEAD THE DAILY STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS

23. Communist agitation among the proletarian masses must be conducted in such a way that our Communist organisation appears as the courageous, intelligent, energetic and ever-faithful leader of their own labour movement.

In order to achieve this, the Communists must take part in all the elementary struggles and movements of the workers, and must defend the workers' cause in all conflicts between them and the capitalists over hours and conditions of labour, wages, etc. The Communists must also pay great attention to the concrete questions of working-class life. They must help the workers to come to a right understanding of these questions. They must draw their attention to the most flagrant abuses and must help them to formulate their demands in a practical and concise form. In this way they will awaken in the workers the spirit of solidarity, the consciousness of community of interests among all the workers of the country as a united working class, which in its turn is a section of the world army of proletarians.

It is only through an every day performance of such elementary duties and participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the Communist Party can develop into a real Communist Party. It is only by adopting such methods that it will be distinguished from the propagandists of the hackneyed, so-called pure socialist propaganda, consisting of recruiting new members and talking about reforms and the use of parliamentary possibilities or rather impossibilities. The self-sacrificing and conscious participation of all the Party members in the daily struggles and controversies of the exploited with the exploiters is essentially necessary not only for the conquest, but in a still higher degree for the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only through leading the working masses in the petty warfare against the onslaughts of capitalism that the Communist Party will be able to become the vanguard of the working class, acquiring the capacity for systematic leadership of the proletariat in its struggle for supremacy over the bourgeoisie.

### IN THE FOREFRONT OF EVERY STRUGGLE

24. Communists must be mobilised in full force, especially in times of strikes, lock-outs and other mass dismissals of workers in order to take part in the workers' movement.

It would be a great mistake for Communists to treat with contempt the present struggles of workers for slight

improvements in their working conditions, even to maintain a passive attitude to them on the plea of the Communist programme and the need of armed revolutionary struggle for final aims. No matter how small and modest the demands of the workers may be, for which they are ready and willing to fight today with the capitalist, the Communists must never make the smallness of the demands an excuse at the same time for non-participation in the struggle. Our agitational activity should not lay itself bare to the accusation of stirring up and inciting the workers to nonsensical strikes and other inconsiderate actions. *The Communist must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participator in their struggles.*

### LEARN TO WAGE FIGHT FOR PARTIAL DEMANDS

25. The Communist cells (or fractions) within the trade union movement have proved themselves in practice rather helpless before some of the most ordinary questions of everyday life. It is easy, but not fruitful, to keep on preaching the general principles of Communism and then fall into the negative attitude of commonplace syndicalism when faced with concrete questions. Such practices only play into the hands of the Yellow Amsterdam International.

Communists should, on the contrary, be guided in their actions by a careful study of every aspect of the question.

For instance, instead of contenting themselves with resisting theoretically and on principle all working agreements (over wages and working conditions), they should rather take the lead in the struggle over the specific nature of the tariffs (wage agreements) recommended by the Amsterdam leaders. It is, of course, necessary to condemn and resist any kind of impediment to the revolutionary preparedness of the proletariat, and it is a well-known fact that it is the aim of the capitalists and their Amsterdam myrmidons to tie the hands of the workers by all manners of working agreements. Therefore, it behoves the Communist to open the eyes of the workers to the nature of the aims. This the Communists can best attain by advocating agreements which would not hamper the workers.

The same should be done in connection with the unemployment, sickness and other benefits of the trade union organisations. The creation of fighting funds and the granting of strike pay are measures which in themselves are to be commended.

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# PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

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Therefore the opposition on principle against such activities would be ill-advised. But Communists should point out to the workers that the manner of collection of these funds and their use as advocated by the Amsterdam leaders is against all the interests of the working class. In connection with the sickness benefit, etc., Communists should insist on the abolition of the contributory system, and of all binding conditions in connection with all volunteer funds. If some of the trade union members are still anxious to secure sickness benefit by paying contributions, it would not do for us to simply prohibit such payments, for fear of not being understood by them. It will be necessary to win over such workers from their small bourgeois conceptions by an intensive personal propaganda.

## MAKE

### CONCRETE EXPOSURES OF REFORMIST LEADERS

26. In the struggle against Social-Democratic and petty-bourgeois trade union leaders, as well as against the leaders of various labour parties one cannot hope to achieve much by persuasion. The struggle against them should be conducted in most energetic fashion and the best way to do this is by depriving them of their following, showing up to the workers the true character of these treacherous socialist leaders who are only playing into the hands of capitalism. The Communists should endeavour to unmask these so-called leaders, and subsequently, attack them in the most energetic fashion.

It is by no means sufficient to call Amsterdam leaders (i.e., leaders of the reformist trade unions) yellow. Their yellowness must be proved by continual, and practical illustrations. Their activities in the trade unions, in the International Labour Bureau of the League of Nations, in the bourgeois ministries and administration, their treacherous speeches at Conferences and Parliaments, the exhortations contained in many of their written messages and in the Press, and above all, their vacillations and hesitating attitude in all struggles even for the most modest rise in wages, offer constant opportunities for exposing the treacherous behaviour of the Amsterdam leaders in simple-worded speeches and resolutions.

The fraction must conduct practical vanguard movement in a systematic fashion. The Communists must not at all allow the excuses of the minor trade union officials—who, notwithstanding good intentions, often take refuge, through sheer weakness, behind statutes, union decisions and instructions from their superiors to hamper their march forward. On the contrary, they must insist on getting satisfaction from the minor officials in the matter of removal of all real or imaginary obstacles put in the way of the workers by the bureaucratic machine.

## HOW FRACTIONS MUST WORK

27. The fractions must carefully prepare the participation of the Communists in conferences and meetings of the trade union organisations. For instance, they must elaborate proposals, select lecturers and counsels and put up candidates for elections capable, experienced and energetic comrades. The Communist organisations must, through their fractions, also make careful preparations in connection with all workers' meetings, election meetings, demonstrations, political festivals and such like arranged by the

hostile organisations. *Wherever Communists convene their own workers' meetings, they must arrange to have considerable groups of Communists distributed among the audience and they must make all the preparations for the assurance of satisfactory propaganda result.*

## WORK IN ALL WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS

28. Communists must also learn how to draw unorganised and backward workers permanently into the ranks of the Party. With the help of our fractions, we must induce the workers to join the trade unions and to read our Party organs. Other organisations, as for instance, educational boards, study circles, sporting clubs, dramatic societies, co-operative societies, consumers' associations, war victims' organisation, etc., may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers. Where the Communist Party is working illegally, such workers' association may be formed outside the Party through the initiative of Party members and with the consent and under the control of the leading Party organs (unions of sympathisers).

Communist youth and women's organisations may also be helpful in rousing the interests of many politically indifferent proletarians, and in drawing them eventually inside the Communist Party through the intermediary of their educational courses, reading circles, excursions, festivals, Sunday rambles, etc., distributing of leaflets, increasing the circulation of the Party organ, etc. Through participation in the general movement, the workers will free themselves from their small bourgeois inclinations.

## WIN OVER THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS SECTIONS

29. In order to win the semi-proletarian sections of the workers as sympathisers of the revolutionary proletariat, the Communists must make use of their special antagonism to the landowners, the capitalists and the capitalist state in order to win those intermediary groups from their mistrust of the proletariat. This may require prolonged negotiations with them, or intelligent sympathy with their needs, free help and advice in any difficulties, also opportunities to improve their education, etc., all of which will give them confidence in the Communist movement. The Communist must also endeavour to counteract the pernicious influence of hostile organisations which occupy authoritative positions in the respective districts or may have influence over the petty-bourgeois working peasants, over those who work in the home industries and other semi-proletarian classes. These are known by the exploited, from their own bitter experience, to be the representatives and embodiment of the entire criminal capitalist system, and must be unmasked. All every day occurrences which bring the state bureaucracy into conflict with the ideals of petty-bourgeois democracy and jurisdiction, must be made use of in a judicious and energetic manner in the course of Communist agitation. Each local country organisation must carefully apportion among its members the duties of house to house canvassing in order to spread Communist propaganda in all the villages, farmsteads and isolated dwellings in their district.

## WORK AMONG THE ARMED FORCES

30. The methods of propaganda in the armies and navies of capitalist states must be adaptable to the peculiar

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## West Bengal State Conference

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to the venue of the Conference to greet Comrade Chanda. Enthusiasm had spread among the masses. In the delegates they could identify the party which alone today was upholding their cause amidst treachery and corruption of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties. The people had stepped out to extend all help and support to make the conference of this party a grand success. They donated money, food stuff and labour. Their sympathy and involvement made the local administrator and partners of the ruling 'Left Front' afraid of the growing influence of the SUCI to the extent that some of these parties tried means to create trouble for the Conference. The support of the common people foiled their bid.

the corners and at entry points, keeping vigil round the clock.

At the centre was erected a martyrs' column in immaculate white. Nearby stood a flag staff. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary of the State Committee, hoisted the Red Flag and volunteers drawn from the Kom-somol and the party's mass organizations—the DSO, DYO, KKMS, UTUC (LS), MSS, Teachers' Front and Medical unit gave the flag salute. Com. Anil Sen, Member, Secretariat of the State Committee, placed a wreath at the foot of the martyrs' column. Inside the pandal, on the left of the dais, a portrait of the departed leader, teacher, guide, founder General Secretary of the party and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, Com. Shibdas

by Congress, CPI(M) and jotedar hoodlums, and in homage to the memory of those comrades of the party who died natural deaths was read out by Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta. The house stood in silence for 2 minutes to pay respects to their

ments in the State, its performance as a partner in the UF Governments of 1967 and 1969, its struggle for developing mass movements under the leadership of beloved Comrade Nihar Mukherjee after the demise of the great leader Com. Shibdas Ghosh, and the tasks facing it in the present international and national situation, especially on the eve of the Party Congress,

showed how meticulously, attentively and critically the comrades had studied and reflected on these drafts. Participants included agricultural labours and industrial workers having hardly any formal education. The critical understanding, their articulate expressions was worthy of the party of the proletariat they belong to, worthy of the teachings of



Com. Pritish Chanda at the quotation exhibition inauguration.



Volunteers giving Flag Salute.

Comrade Chanda was led to the site where an exhibition of quotations from the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and photographs on his revolutionary life was arranged. Inaugurating this exhibition, Comrade Chanda urged party workers and common people to apply teachings of Comrade Ghosh in their own life.

The Conference began on the morning of 25th on the grounds of the Tamralipta Mahavidyalaya, the old college of the town. A huge pandal was erected to house the delegates during the Conference sessions. Fences were set up round the ground and volunteers stood guard at

Ghosh, was hung. Comrade Pritish Chanda, Member, Central Committee, placed a wreath of roses at the portrait. The song on the great leader of the proletariat was sung. Thereafter the Conference began with respected Comrade Pritish Chanda, the accredited representative of the Central Committee, conducting the proceedings.

A condolence resolution in homage to the martyrs of democratic mass movements in the country and abroad and in the anti-imperialist struggles in different countries, including those comrades of the party who were murdered

memory.

Delegates drawn from industrial workers, agricultural labours, poor peasants, lower-middle and middle class people sat in wide rows facing the dais on which Comrade Chanda and members of the State Secretariat were seated. The hosts, the Midnapur District Committee, had presented them with roses as a token of comradely love' and greetings. The Secretary of the State Committee, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, then read out his report.

Tracing the inception, growth and development of the party, its role in the democratic mass move-

Comrade Dasgupta urged the members to overcome their weaknesses, inadequacies and limitations and to rise to the call of the Central Committee to release a two-fold struggle to raise the struggle in individual life to develop into worthy communists and to lead the 'mass life' and build up democratic mass movements against the fascist onslaughts of the ruling bourgeoisie. The Statement of Accounts was next placed before the house.

In the afternoon session deliberations began on the Report. Comrades of different districts took part enthusiastically in the discussions, expressing their understandings of the political developments and organizational sense. With some amendments the Report was adopted unanimously and the Statement of Accounts was also adopted unanimously.

From 26th December to the morning session of 28th, deliberations went on on the Draft Constitution and the two draft theses on the international and the national situations. Delegate after delegate took the floor, making critical analyses of the various aspects of the drafts. Their discussions, prolonged at times on some major issues,

its great teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Discussions centred on issues like why leading posts of the party should be held by its staff members only; how did the proletarian sense of right and proletarian democracy differ from the bourgeois sense of right and bourgeois democracy; whether the two-fold contradiction of the newly independent bourgeois national states with both the imperialist countries and the socialist countries should be understood to be the fifth major contradiction playing its role along with the four other contradictions as summed up and explained by Lenin to be the major contradictions governing all developments in the international situation; by which features one could say that the Indian bourgeoisie had become a homogeneous class, more so with attainment of the country's independence; and why the programme of isolating the social democratic forces in the stage of preparation for revolution should be considered a strategic line.

After these enthusiastic deliberations, the Draft Constitution, the Draft Thesis on the International Situation and the Draft Thesis on the National Si-

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## West Bengal State Conference

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tuation were all adopted by the house unanimously with some amendments.

While deliberations had been going on inside the pandal, comrades of the Midnapur district were busy carrying out their tasks—themselves preparing and serving food to the delegates, looking after the needs of the delegates and guarding the venue day and night braving the wintry climate.

tary was next elected by the house. The panel of the Committee was moved by Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta.

After the elections were over, Comrade Pritish Chanda addressed the house, calling upon the members to engage themselves in the two-fold struggle urged by the Central Committee. Comrades ought to free themselves from the forces of old habits. They ought to raise their ideological-cultural-

First Congress. Comrades must now plunge into these tasks. At the same time, Comrade Chanda pointed out, they were to launch and develop democratic mass movements on the burning issues in the people's life, build up people's struggle committees and try to unite all forces that could be united against the fascist onslaughts of the ruling bourgeoisie. Moreover, huge funds were needed for holding this historic Party Congress. So comra-

mass movement—the only way out before the people for their emancipation from the capitalist exploitation, oppression and humiliation. In that way the All India Party Congress of the SUCI had become synonymous with lifting the people's struggle for emancipation to a higher and newer phase—a big stride toward the cherished goal of emancipation.

Thereafter the Conference ended, following singing of the *Internationale*.

On the next day the newly elected State Committee met to draw up a programme of movement and elect its new Secretariat which included, besides Comrade Provas Ghosh, Com. Anil Sen, Com. Iqub Pailan, Com. Fatick Ghosh, Com. Manik Mukherjee, Com. Protiva Mukherjee, Com. Sanat Dutta, Com. K. Mukherjee, Com. Gopal Kundu, Com. Subrata Choudhury, and Com. Soumen Basu. Com. Swapan Bose was elected the State Office Secretary and Treasurer. Besides these members, the new State Committee includes Com. Prangaur Basak, Com. Ziad Ali Baxi, Com. Amir Ali Haldar, Com. Gayatri Dasgupta, Com. Aminuddin Akhand, Com. Sankar Roychoudhury, Com. Kenaram Mondal, Com. Sadananda Bagal, Com. Sali Chakrabarti, Com. Tapan Roychoudhuri, Com. Achintya Sinha, Com. Prasanta Ghatak, Com. Sanjit Biswas, Com. Bidhan Chatterjee, Com. Bhaskar Gupta, Com. Dilip Bhattacharya, Com. Swapan Mallick, Com. Sujit Bhattachali and Com. Kartick Saha.

## Delhi State Committee

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resulting in the growth of separatist tendencies, weakening the national unity, on the one hand, and protecting the economic offenders indulging in anti-national activities by swindling away money to foreign countries, on the other. The State Committee also condemns the decision of the Prime Minister to establish links with Magistrates, encroaching upon the rights of the States, and accumulating more power in the hands of the Union Government. The State Committee regrets that due to the absence of the unity of all the opposition parties and absence of united mass movements on the above mentioned issues, the Prime Minister, with virtual impunity, could arrogate to himself the power to pose threats to State Governments and to accelerate the growth of administrative fascism, by establishing links with the magistracy. The Delhi State Committee urges upon all the opposition parties to take note of it and to initiate forthwith the process to develop all-out unity and united mass movements.

## Movement against NPE at Jabalpur

Under the auspices of the Jabalpur District Committee of the AIDSO a students' meeting was organised on the 11th December '87 last at Jabalpur against the NPE. More than 200 students representing 12 institutions participated. Nilima Roy, Headmistress of local Bengalee Girls' High School presided over the meeting. Com. Debasis Roy, member, All India Council of AIDSO, as the main speaker in the meeting, dealt at length the most anti-education aspects of the N.P.E. and appealed for strengthening the students' movement initiated by the AIDSO against this fascist education policy of the ruling class in our country. Com. Jitendra Yadav, Com. Biplab Chowdhury and Com. Tanushri Roy also addressed the gathering.



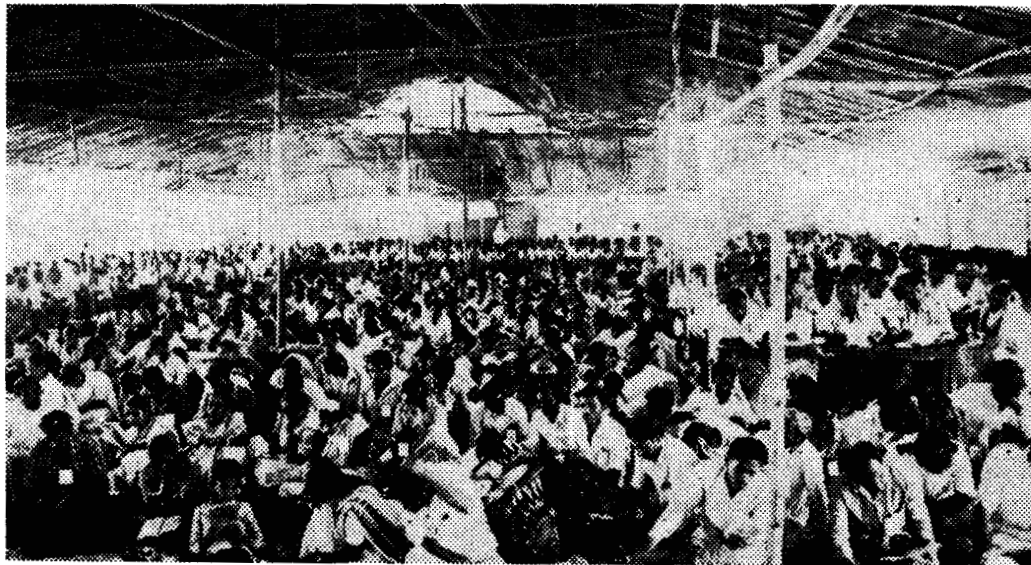
Com. Pritish Chanda addressing the delegates.

In the concluding session on the evening of 28th December, in recognition of this exemplary sense of duty and responsibility of the comrades of the Midnapur District Unit, Comrade Pritish Chanda presented to the District Secretary a Red Flag. To the members of the district unit of Komsomol he presented a Red Flag and a portrait of the great leader, Com. Shibdas Ghosh. Greeting the District Committee on behalf of the State Committee and State Secretariat, Com. Sukomal Dasgupta presented it with the portrait of the most beloved leader which was there hung on the left of the dais.

Thereafter, the house elected unanimously a panel of 434 delegates moved by Comrade Ranjit Dhar for the All India Party Congress to be held in Calcutta from March 25 to 29, 1988. A new State Committee of 31 members with Comrade Provas Ghosh as its Secre-

ethical standard and rise like one man to carry out the vast task of political and organizational preparations for the impending Congress, Comrade Chanda reminded that every party member, supporter and sympathiser in West Bengal had a special role to play, for West Bengal was the birth place and the cradle of the party. And now it was to play host the party's

des were to plan and conduct intensive and extensive fund raising drives. Comrades must go to the people, carrying to them the party's political line and making them aware of their task at this hour. What the people needed was their own alternative against the bourgeois alternative. Today, the SUCI alone was holding aloft the banner of democratic



A view of Delegate Session.

# PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

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conditions in each country. Anti-militarist agitation of a pacifist nature is extremely detrimental and only assists the bourgeoisie in its efforts to disarm the proletariat. The proletariat rejects on principle and combats with the utmost energy every kind of military institution of the bourgeois state, and of the bourgeois class in general. Nevertheless, it utilises these institutions (army, rifle-clubs, citizens' guard organisation, etc.) for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must therefore be directed, not against the military training of the youth and workers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons should most eagerly be taken advantage of.

The class antagonisms revealing themselves as they do in the materially favoured positions of the officers as against the bad treatment and social insecurity of life of the common soldiers, must be made very clear to the soldiers. Besides, the agitation must bring home the fact to the rank and file that its future is inextricably bound up with the fate of the exploited classes. In a more advanced period of incipient revolutionary fermentation, agitation for the democratic election of all commanders by the privates and sailors and for the formation of soldiers' councils, may prove very advantageous in undermining the foundations of capitalist rule.

The closest attention and the greatest care are always required when agitating the picked troops used by the bourgeoisie in the class-war, and especially against its volunteer bands.

Moreover the social composition and corrupt conduct of these troops and bands make it possible every favourable moment for agitation should be made use of for creating disruption. Wherever it possesses a distinct bourgeois class character, as for example in the officer corps, it must be unmasked before the entire population and made so despicable and repulsive that they will be disrupted from within by virtue of their very isolation.

## V. THE ORGANISATION OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE

### HOW POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS MUST BE RUN

31. For the Communist Party, there can be no period in which its Party organisation cannot exercise political activity. For the purpose of utilising every political and economic situation, as well as the changes in these situations, organisational strategy and tactics must be developed. No matter how weak the Party may be, it can nevertheless take advantage of exciting political events or of extensive strikes, affecting the entire economic system, by radical propaganda systematically and efficiently organised. Once a Party has decided to thus make use of a particular situation, it must concentrate the energy of all its members and Party in this campaign.

Furthermore all the connections which the Party possesses through the work of its nuclei and its workers' groups, must be used for organising mass meetings in the centres of political importance and following up a strike. The speakers for the Party must do their utmost to convince the audience that only Communism can bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. Special commissions must pre-

pare these meetings very thoroughly. If the Party cannot for some reasons hold meetings of its own, suitable comrades should address the strikers at the general meetings organised by the strikers or any other sections of the struggling proletariat.

Wherever there is a possibility of inducing the majority or a large part of any meeting to support our demand, these must be well-formulated and properly argued in motions and resolutions being passed, attempts must be made to have similar resolutions or motions adopted in ever-increasing numbers, at any rate supported by strong minorities at all the meetings held on the same question at the same place or in other localities. In this way, we shall be able to consolidate the working masses in the movement, put them under our moral influence, and have them recognise our leadership.

After all such meetings, the committees which participated in the organisational preparations and utilised its opportunities, must hold a conference to make a report to be submitted to the leading committees of the Party and draw the proper conclusion from the experience or possible mistakes, made for the future. In accordance with each particular situation, the practical demands of the workers involved must be made public by means of posters and handbills or leaflets distributed among the workers proving to them by means of their own demands how the Communist policies are in agreement with and applicable to the situation. Specially organised groups are required for the proper distribution of posters, the choice of suitable spots, as well as the proper time for such pasting. The distributing of handbills should be carried out in and before the factories and in the halls where the workers concerned want to gather, also at important points in the town, employment offices and stations, such distribution of leaflets should be accompanied by attractive discussions and slogans, readily permeating all the ranks of the working masses. Detailed leaflets should, if possible, be distributed only in halls, factories, dwellings or other places where proper attention to the printed matter may be expected.

Such propaganda must be supported by parallel activity at all the trade unions and factory meetings held during the conflict and at such meetings, whether organised by our comrades or only favoured by us, suitable speakers and debators must seize the opportunity of convincing the masses of our point of view. Our Party newspapers must place at the disposal of such a special movement greater part of their space as well as their best arguments. In fact, the active Party organisations must, for the time being, be made to serve the general purpose of such a movement whereby our comrades may work with unabated energy.

### MOBILE LEADERSHIP AND ORGANISATION BASED ON FACTORY CELLS IS THE GUARANTEE OF SUCCESSFUL DEMONSTRATION

32. Demonstrations require very mobile and self-sacrificing leadership closely intent upon the aim of a particular action, and able to discern at any given moment whether a demonstration has reached its highest possible effectiveness, or whether during that particular situation a further intensification is possible by inducing an extension of the movement into an action of the masses by means of demonstration, strikes and eventually general strikes. The demonstrations in favour of peace during the war have taught us, that even after dispersal of such demonstration, a really

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proletarian fighting Party must **neither** deviate nor stand still, no matter how small or illegal it may be, if the question at issue is of real importance, and is bound to become of ever greater interest for the large masses. Street demonstrations attain greatest effectiveness when their organisation is based on the large factories. When efficient preparations by our nuclei and groups by means of verbal and handbill propaganda has succeeded in bringing about a certain unity of thought and action in a particular situation, the managing committee must call the confidential Party members in the factories and the leaders of the nuclei and groups to a conference, to discuss and fix the time and business of the meeting on the day planned, as well as the determination of slogans, the prospects of intensification and the moment of cessation and dispersal of the demonstration. The backbone of the demonstration must be formed by a well-instructed and experienced group of diligent officials, mingling among the masses from the moment of departure from the factories up to the time of the dispersal of demonstration. Responsible Party workers must be systematically distributed among the masses, for the purpose of enabling the officials to maintain active contact with each other and keeping them provided with the requisite political instructions. Such a mobile, politically organised leadership of a demonstration permits most effectively of constant renewal and eventual intensification into greater mass actions.

### ORGANISATION OF UNITED WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLES AND THE ISOLATION OF THE REFORMISTS

33. Communist Parties already possessing internal firmness, a tried corps of officials and a considerable number of adherents among the masses, must exert every effort to completely overcome the influence of the treacherous socialist leaders of the working class by means of extensive campaign, and to rally the majority of the working masses to the Communist banner. Campaigns must be organised in various ways depending upon whether the situation favours actual fighting, in which case they become active and put themselves at the head of the proletarian movement, or whether it is a period of temporary stagnation.

The make-up of the Party is also one of the determining factors for selection of the organisational methods for such actions.

For example, the method of publishing a so-called "open letter" was used in order to win over the socially decisive sections of the proletariat in Germany to a greater extent than had been possible in other countries. In order to unmask the treacherous socialist leaders, the Communist Party of Germany addressed itself to the other mass organisations of the proletariat at a moment of increasing desolation and intensification of class conflicts, for the purpose of demanding from them, before the eyes of proletariat, whether they, with their alleged powerful organisations, were prepared to take up the struggle in co-operation with the Communist Party, against the obvious destitution of the proletariat and for the slightest demands even for a pitiful piece of bread.

Wherever the Communist Party initiates a similar campaign, it must make complete organisational preparations for the purpose of making such an action reach among the broad masses of the working class.

All the factory groups and trade union officials of the Party must bring the demand made by the Party, representing the embodiment of the most vital demands of the proletariat to a discussion at their next factory and trade union

meetings, as well as at all public meetings, after having thoroughly prepared for such meetings. For the purpose of taking advantage of the temper of the masses, leaflets, handbills and posters must be distributed everywhere and effectively at all places where our nuclei or groups intend to make an attempt to influence the masses to support our demands. Our Party press must engage in constant elucidation of the problems of the movement during the entire period of such a campaign, by means of short, or detailed daily articles, treating the various phases of the question from every possible point of view. The organisation must continually supply the press with the material for such articles and pay close attention that the editors do not let up in their exertions for the furtherance of the Party campaign. The parliamentary groups and municipal representatives of the Party must also work systematically for the promotion of such struggles. They must bring the movement into discussion according to the direction of the Party leadership of the various parliamentary bodies by means of resolutions or motions. These representatives must consider themselves as conscious members of the struggling masses, their exponents in the camp of the class enemy, and as the responsible officials and Party workers.

In case the united, organisationally consolidated activities of all the forces of the Party succeed, within a few weeks in including the adoption of large and ever increasing numbers of resolutions supporting our demands, it will be the serious organisational task of our Party to consolidate the masses thus shown to be in favour of our demands. In the event of the movement having assumed a particular trade union character it must be attempted, above all, to increase our organisational influence in the trade unions.

To this end our groups in the trade unions must proceed to well-prepared direct action against the local trade union leaders in order either to overcome their influence, or else to compel them to wage an organised struggle on the basis of the demand of our Party. Wherever factory councils, industrial committees or similar institution exist, our groups must exert influence through plenary meetings of these industrial committees or factory councils also to decide in favour of supporting the struggle. If a number of local organisations have thus been influenced to support the movement for the bare living interests of the proletariat under Communist leadership, they must be called together to general conferences, which should also be attended by the special delegates of the factory meetings at which favourable resolutions were adopted.

### VI. THE NEW LEADERSHIP

#### FROM PARTIAL STRUGGLES TO CO-ORDINATED STRUGGLES

The new leadership consolidated under Communist influence in this manner, gains new power by means of such concentration of the active groups of the organised workers, and this power must be utilised to give an impetus to the leadership of the Socialist parties and trade unions or else to fully unmask it.

In those industrial regions where our Party possesses its best organisations and has obtained the greatest support for its demands, they must succeed by means of organised pressure on the local trade unions and industrial councils, in uniting all the evident economic isolated struggles in these regions, as well as the developing movement of other groups, into one co-ordinated struggle.

( To be concluded )



## Red Salute Comrade Shankar Dayal Modi

Comrade Shankar Dayal Modi, Secretary, Bhagalpur District Committee, Bihar, met with martyr's death on December 10 last when bullets fired by anti-socials hit him on his way to the local party office alongwith some other members of the party. Before his death, Comrade Shankar Dayal was engaged in repulsing organisedly the onslaughts of the police-anti-socials-combine on the common people of Shambhugunge area of Bhagalpur district. In our last issue dated January 1, '88, we had reported only the death of Comrade Shankar Dayal. Below, we narrate the ghastly circumstances under which he was brutally murdered.

Report goes that for quite long time, Govind Singh, Sakur Mia, Bijay Shah etc., notorious local criminals of Shambhugunge, were engaged in criminal activities in league with police zamadar Deb Singh of Shambhugunge police station. The Shambhugunge Party Unit of the SUCI, under the leadership of Comrade Shankar Dayal Modi, was engaged in organising people's resistance movement against these anti-social activities. Comrade Shankar

people's cause made Com. Shankar Dayal a beloved friend of the people and, needless to say, the common people were increasingly rallying round him. The vested interests got panicky at this which made them to conspire a grand design of physically eliminating him.

On 10th December last, in the afternoon, police zamadar Deb Singh in league with a number of hoodlums opened fire on Comrade Shankar Dayal in

two of the culprits succumbed to the people's wrath. The people then organisedly rushed to Shambhugunge police station in search of the main culprit of the murder, police zamadar Deb Singh, who by then had fled away.

The death news of Comrade Shankar Dayal spread out like wild fire. Defying biting cold of night, common people of all walks of life—from ordinary rickshaw pullers to labourers, poor peasants, students, youths, teachers and shopkeepers of the local bazaar gheraoed the police station carrying the dead body with them and demanded taking all the culprits into custody. At 3 A.M. at dead of night, Comrade Sukhdev Yadav, a member of the Bihar AIKKMS and a distinguished mass leader of Munghyr district, reached the place and called on the

kar Dayal. Starting in the small hours of the morning and trekking 35 km long distance on feet, the mammoth procession ultimately came to an end in the evening at the crematorium ground.

Being attracted to the revolutionary thoughts of the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Shankar Dayal Modi associated himself with the SUCI in 1982. From the moment he accepted the SUCI as the genuine communist party on the Indian soil, he never stopped to look back and pause, and with missionary zeal, he went to village after village carrying the thoughts of Com. Shibdas Ghosh to the exploited, oppressed and humiliated village-folks, rousing them to free themselves from their shackles of bondage and to develop the organised instrument of struggles. Indomitable crusader as he was, Comrade Shankar Dayal, became the beloved leader of the people of the area and on marching ahead, he became the Secretary of the Bhagalpur District Committee of the SUCI.

At the premature demise of Comrade Shankar Dayal, Comrade Shankar Singh, Member of the Central Committee, and Bihar State Secretary SUCI, in a press statement on December 15 last, demanded immediate arrest of the culprits, severe punishment to them and adequate compensation to the poor family of Comrade Shankar Dayal.

In commemoration of martyr's death of Comrade Shankar Dayal Modi, a mass memorial meeting was held on 25th December last where Comrade N. R. Singh, Member of the Bihar State Committee of the SUCI and member of Bihar State Legislature was present as the main speaker. Others who paid revolutionary tribute to the departed comrade included Comrades A. Chakraborty and Shukdev Yadav.

Red Salute to Martyr Comrade Shankar Dayal Modi!

## AIDSO's Victorious Movement in UP.

Following the black New Policy on Education UGC issued a fiat to all universities of UP to at once extend two years degree course to three years. Students in general and the present students of two years course in particular, who are already overburdened, are to suffer very much. This has triggered wide students' movements specially in West UP, where road blockades, torch processions, railway obstructions are staged. The Students' Struggle Committee, formed at the AIDSO's initiative, are conducting these. And SFI and NSU (I), following their tradition are trying every bit to foil this movement. In spite of this obstruction and the obstruction laid by the authority the Students' Struggle Committee has built up remarkable movements in Rohilakhand University. About 1500 Students gheraoed the Office of the V.C. at Baireilli on 10th December. On 16th December Black Day was observed with enthusiasm in all colleges of Moradabad, Baireilli, Rampur, Meerut etc. And on 23rd December, entire Rohilakhand University was paralysed at a strike call given by the Students' Struggle Committee.

While meeting in preparation for the strike call was in progress in the campus of the university, vested interests in league with anti-social rogues pounced upon the AIDSO leader Com. Bir Singh and made a good escape after leaving Comrade Singh critically knife injured.

As a result of the movement Agra University and Garwal University authorities are compelled to withdraw three years degree course.



Comrade Shankar Dayal Modi.

Dayal had posted the appropriate police authority with a number of reports against the criminal activities of the anti-social and police combine. Under his able leadership the common people of the area laid sieges on the local police station and staged 'dharnas' as well demanding stoppage of such criminal activities under police protection. The fighting zeal and the courage to meet any eventuality for

full view of the police station on his way to Shambhugunge party office. The accompanying comrades immediately rushed to the hospital with the injured Comrade Dayal where the doctor pronounced him dead.

Meanwhile, the people present at the spot of this ghastly murder, chased the culprits and succeeded to capture two of the fleeing culprits and in no time,

D.M., S.P., Circle Inspector etc. After the demand for taking the culprits into custody being conceded, the gherao was lifted and the dead body handed over to the police for post-mortem.

The following day, on 11th December, more than 10 thousand people took part in the last journey of their beloved departed leader, paying revolutionary homage to Comrade Shan-

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