

TOWARDS ALL INDIA PARTY CONGRESS

Revolutionary Fervour Marks Bihar, U. P. and Tamil Nadu State Conferences

Proletarian Era

The message of the All India Party Congress is being carried to the far flung states of India. The State Conferences are being held one after another with pledge to attain the lofty communist character on the one hand and build up class and mass struggles on the other. to be equal to the task of fighting fascism through upsurge of revolutionary movements. Bihar, U.P. and Tamil Nadu State Conferences carry the same message.

BIHAR

'Engage yourselves without relent in the struggle to grow into revolutionary soldiers. History behoves you to fulfil this task.' With these words Comrade Pritish Chanda, Member, Central Committee of the Party, reminded the delegates the behest of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The place was the premises of the Bidhayak Club Hall in Patna, the occasion—inauguration of the Bihar State Conference of the Party from February 20-22 last, Comrade Chanda had hoisted the Red Flag and the volunteer corps drawn from the AIDS, DYO and MSS presented the guard of honour. Flags were dipped as Comrade Chanda placed a wreath at the martyrs' column in homage to the memory of the martyrs of democratic and revolutionary movements in this country and abroad.

Garland was placed by Com. Chanda on the portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the song on the great leader of the proletariat was sung. Thereafter the delegate sessions began with Com. Chanda conducting the proceedings.

Silence for 2 minutes was observed in homage to the memory of all those party comrades who had been killed by the enemies of the people or died natural death. Com. Shankar Singh, Member, Central Committee, and Secretary, Bihar State Committee, placed his Report to the Conference which was deliberated on by the delegates and adopted unanimously with some minor amendments. A large number of delegates participated in the deliberations on the constitution and the draft theses on the international and national situations, seeking to clarify issues or improving upon the versions in the drafts. These drafts

were all adopted unanimously with minor amendments.

Delegates to the Party Congress were elected and a new State Committee of 11 members with Comrade Amriteshwar Chakraborti as the Secretary was elected. Other members are Com. Hem Chakraborti, Com. Nalini Ranjan Singh, Com. Amar Kumar Pande, Com. Shiv Shankar, Com. Anil Sarkar, Com. Ranjit Modak, Com. Dulal Sanyal, Com. Arun Kumar Singh, Com. Dhiraj Dhar and Com. Shukdev Yadav.

Comrade Chanda exhorted delegates to carry the message of the Party Congress to the masses and engage in the two-fold struggle to make the ensuing Party Congress a success in the true revolutionary sense. With the *Internationale* the Conference came to conclusion.

UTTAR PRADESH

Women in hundreds marched alongside peasants, workers, students, youths and teachers for the 10 km route from Kusaha, Bahripur, to join the massive rally on the Sattanat Bahadur Inter College ground, Badlapur, Jaunpur, on February 23. The march to Badlapur, urging people on the roadsides to join the inaugural open session of the first UP State Conference of the SUCI, swelled into a 10,000 strong rally on the meeting ground where Comrade Pritish Chanda, Member, Central Committee of the Party, hoisted the Red Flag and placed a wreath at the martyrs' column.

Com. Shankar Singh, Member, Central Committee, inaugurated the session, urging the people to strengthen the SUCI to advance the cause of revolution. Delivering the main speech, Comrade Chanda

recalled the glorious history of Badlapur where Sattanat Bahadur laid down his life in 1857 while fighting against the British army. He appealed to the Left, democratic and Opposition parties and forces to forge unity, to fight the fascist menace posed by the Congress(I) Governments at the Centre and the States. Com. Rajbal Tyagi presided over the meeting.

The delegate sessions were held on 24th and 25th February when the State Secretary's Report was placed and the draft Constitution and the draft theses on the international and national situations were deliberated on and adopted unanimously with some minor amendments. Com. Pritish Chanda conducted the sessions. In the concluding session delegates to the All India Party Congress were elected along with an 18-member State Committee with Com. V. N. Singh as the Secretary. Other members are Com. Rajbal Tyagi, Com. Jagdish Chandra Asthana, Com. Shyambahadur Singh, Com. Dinesh Kant Dubey, Com. Manishankar Singh, Com. Sripal Dubey, Com. Hiralal Maurya, Com. Binod Tiwari, Com. Jagannath Verma, Com. N. K. Sharma, Com. Bechan Ali, Com. Bipin Behari, Com. Ram Nakshatra, Com. Virendra Pratap Misra,

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

Strongly Condemns Central Budget

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the SUCI, has issued the following statement condemning the Central budget, 1988-89 :

"Coming on the heels of instalments of extra-budgetary massive taxation through administered price hike of core sector commodities like cereals, sugar, edible oils, coal, steel etc., and postal articles and railway freight and fare rise on an unprecedented scale, the Central budget of 1988-89 is a calculated attempt to deceive the common people and subserve the interest of the monopoly houses and the vested interests.

The deficit of Rs. 7484 crore which is sure to rise in future and the increase in military budget by Rs. 1000 crore will no doubt lead to inflationary spiral and further escalation of prices of all essential commodities to explode the myth of what has been claimed as benefits to the common people. Moreover the measure to spare the corporate sector of any additional taxes reveals the pro-monopoly character of this budget.

We call upon all Left, Democratic and Opposition parties and forces to raise their strong voice of protest against this deceptive anti-people, pro-monopoly budget of the Central Congress(I) Government."

SUCCESSFUL BHARAT BANDH

C.C. Congratulates the People

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, said in a statement on 15.3.88 :

We congratulate the people for making Bharat Bandh completely successful braving all repression and terror, and hope that it will act as a prelude to developing a sustained, militant, united movement by all Left, democratic and Opposition parties against anti-people policies of Rajiv Government, and in the process will oust it from power by forging unity of Left, democratic and secular forces.

First All India Party Congress of SUCI In Calcutta

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

Open Session : 4th April
Brigade Parade Ground 4-00 p.m.

Speakers : Comrade Nihar Mukherjee
& Other Leaders

President : Comrade Pritish Chanda



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 and proletarian democracy.

At an Enlarged Working Conference convened by 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 proletarian democracy and proletarian 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. This is the concluding one.

—Ed. Proletarian Era

III

Twelve-years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China. These twelve years can be divided into a first period of eight years and a second of four years. Nineteen-fifty to the end of 1957 constitute the first eight years, 1958 to the present is the second four years. In this conference of ours, we have made a first attempt at summing up the experience of our past work, mainly that of the last four years. This summing-up is reflected in the report to the conference. We have already formulated, or are formulating, or shall formulate, specific policies in various fields. Already formulated are such draft regulations as the 60 articles on rural people's communes, the 70 articles on industrial enterprises, the 60 articles on higher education and the 14 articles on scientific research, all of which have already come into force or are being carried out on a trial basis. They will be revised in future, some perhaps drastically. Among those which are already in the process of formulation are the regulations on commercial work. Among those which will be formulated in future are the regulations on middle-school and primary-school education. We should also formulate some regulations on the work of our Party and government organs and mass organizations. The army has already formulated some regulations. In short, we should do a good job in summing up our experience in industry, agriculture, commerce and culture and education, and in the army, the government and the Party, and work out a complete set of principles, policies and measures so that our work in these seven sectors will progress along the correct path.

It is not enough to have a general line. In addition, under its guidance we must have a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures which are suited to our conditions in industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party. Only then can we persuade the masses and the cadres, using these as teaching materials to educate them so that they can have unity of understanding and of action. And only then can we achieve victory in revolution and construction. Otherwise it is impossible. On this point, we had a deep understanding even as far back as the War of Resistance Against Japan. At that time we did function in this way, so that the cadres and the masses achieved unity in their understanding of the complete set of specific principles, policies and measures for the period of the democratic revolution and therefore achieved unity in action, which led to victory in that revolution. This is something we all know. During the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction,

our revolutionary tasks in the first eight years were: in the countryside, to complete the reform of the feudal land system and then to achieve to co-operative transformation of agriculture, and in the cities, to achieve the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. In economic construction, our tasks were to rehabilitate the economy and carry out the First Five-Year Plan. Both in revolution and in construction we had a general line which was suited to the objective conditions and which was wholly convincing, as well as a complete set of principles, policies and measures under the guidance of the general line. Hence we could educate the cadres and the masses and unify their understanding, and the tasks were performed fairly well. This is also something we all know. But as things stood in those days, we had to copy the Soviet Union since we had no experience of our own in economic construction. In the field of heavy industry especially, we copied almost everything from the Soviet Union with very little creativeness on our part. It was absolutely necessary to do so at that time, and yet it was also a weakness—a lack of creativeness and of ability to stand on our own feet. Certainly this could not be our long-term policy. Beginning from 1958 we established the policy of relying mainly on our own efforts while seeking foreign aid by way of support. At the Second Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress in 1958, we adopted the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." In the same year the people's communes were established and the slogan of a "great leap forward" was raised. For a certain period after the general line for socialist construction was proclaimed, we hadn't the time to work out a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures suited to our conditions, nor did the possibility exist for us to do so because our experience was still insufficient. Under these circumstances, a complete set of teaching materials wasn't available to the cadres and the masses, who couldn't get any systematic education on policy and therefore couldn't conceivably have genuine unity in understanding and action. This possibility came into being only after a period of time, after we had suffered some setbacks and acquired both positive and negative experience. Now matters are better. We do have these things or are working them out. Thus we can better carry on socialist revolution and socialist construction. In order to work out a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures under the guidance of the general line, we must employ

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DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

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the methods of drawing on the masses and of making systematic, thorough investigation and study. And we must examine the successful and unsuccessful experience in our work historically. Only thus can we discover laws which are inherent in objective things and which are not subjectively concocted out of people's imaginations, and only thus can we formulate regulations which are suited to our conditions. This is a very important matter and I ask the comrades here to please pay attention to it.

On the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership. The Party must give leadership to industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army and the government. Generally speaking, our Party is good. Our Party is mainly composed of workers and poor peasants. The great majority of our cadres are good, and they are all working hard. But we must also realize that there are still some problems and we mustn't imagine that everything is just fine with our Party. At present we have over 17 million Party members, nearly 80 per cent of whom joined the Party after the founding of the People's Republic, that is, in the 50s. Those who joined the Party before our People's Republic was founded constitute only 20 per cent. Of this 20 per cent, those who joined before 1930, that is, in the 20s, totalled 800-odd people according to an estimate several years ago. Some have died in the last couple of years, so perhaps there are only 700-odd left. Among both old and new Party members—especially among the new members—there are some who are impure in character or work style. They are individualists, bureaucrats, subjectivists, or even degenerate elements. There are also some people who are Communists in name but do not represent the working class, on the contrary, they represent the bourgeoisie. All is not pure inside the Party. We must be aware of this fact, or we shall suffer.

This is my fourth point. In short, our understanding of the objective world necessarily involves a process. In the beginning we do not understand, or do not completely understand, and it is only through repeated practice which leads to achievements and victories, tumbles and setbacks, and through the comparison of successes and failures that it is possible to have gradually developed complete or relatively complete understanding. When that point is reached, we shall have more initiative, enjoy greater freedom and become somewhat wiser. Freedom is the recognition of necessity and the transformation of the objective world. Only on the basis of the recognition of necessity can people have freedom of action. This is the dialectics of freedom and necessity. Necessity as such is objectively existing law. Before we recognize it our action can never be conscious, it partakes of blindness. Under these conditions we are foolish people. Haven't we done many foolish things during the last few years?

The fifth point: The international communist movement. On this question I am only going to say a few words.

Whether in China or in other countries of the world, when all is said and done, over 90 per cent of the population will eventually support Marxism-Leninism. There are still many people in the world who have not awakened because of the deceptions of the social-democrats, revisionists, imperialists and reactionaries. But sooner or later they will gradually awaken and support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is irresistible. Sooner or later the masses of the people will rise in revolution. Sooner or later the world revolution will triumph. Sooner or later those who

forbid others to make revolution, such as the characters in Lu Hsun's book—Squire Chao, Squire Chien and the bogus foreign devil who bar Ah Q from revolution—will be defeated.

The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Soviet Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long. Whatever the time—now or in the future, in our generation or in the generations to come—we should learn from the Soviet Union and study its experience. If we don't learn from the Soviet Union, we'll make mistakes. People may ask, since the Soviet Union is under the rule of the revisionists, should we still learn from it? What we should study is the good people and good things of the Soviet Union, the good experience of the Soviet Party, the good experience of Soviet workers and peasants and of those intellectuals who have close ties with the labouring people. As for the bad people and bad things of the Soviet Union and the Soviet revisionists, we should treat them as teachers by negative example and draw lessons from them.

We should always uphold the principle of proletarian internationalist unity. We always maintain that the socialist countries and the world communist movement must unite firmly on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The revisionists of the world never stop abusing us. Our attitude is, let them do as they wish. We will duly reply when necessary. Our Party has become accustomed to being abused. Leaving aside those who attacked us in the past, what about the present? Abroad, the imperialists abuse us, the reactionary nationalists abuse us, the reactionaries of various countries abuse us, and the revisionists abuse us; at home, Chiang Kai-shek abuses us, and likewise the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. This has been the case for a long time and we're already used to it. But are we isolated? I for one don't feel isolated. Over seven thousand people are present here. How can more than seven thousand people be isolated? (*Laughter.*) Our country has over 600 million people. Our people are united. How can more than 600 million people be isolated? The masses of the people of all countries are already standing, or are going to stand, together with us. Is it possible for us to be isolated?

The sixth and last point: We must unite the whole Party and the whole people.

We must unite the advanced elements and the activists inside and outside the Party, and unite the middle elements in order to bring along those who lag behind. In this way, we can unite the whole Party and the whole people. Only by relying on such unity can we do our work well, overcome difficulties and build up China. To unite the whole Party and the whole people does not mean that we do not have our own position. Some people say that the Communist Party is a "party of the whole people," but we do not view things in this way. Our Party is the political party of the proletariat, its vanguard, a fighting force armed with Marxism-Leninism. We are on the side of the masses who comprise over 95 per cent of the total population. In no case do we stand on the side of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who make up 4 to 5 per cent of the population. The same is true in the international sphere; we advocate unity with all

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Clarion Call

Act As Herbinger To Carry Message Of Revolution, Ideology Of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts To The People

(On 19th November, 1987 our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee while inaugurating a five-day school of politics in the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts at Ghatsila delivered, in the context of preparation for the ensuing First Party Congress, a penetrating speech on the celebrated book of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader and teacher of the proletariat—'Code of Conduct of the Communist Revolutionaries'. We publish the speech in this issue. For any lapses, mistakes or inadequacies in reproducing the speech the Editorial Board, P. Era is to be held responsible.

—Ed. Board, P. Era.)

Comrades,

You have come from different states to attend this five-day school in the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts—which is commencing today and will continue up to 23rd November. You know, here one of the valuable works of Comrade Ghosh—"The Code of Conduct of the Communist Revolutionaries" and the Central Committee document—"Make the Historic All India Party Congress a Grand Success", will be taken up for study in this camp.

Comrades, this camp is being held at a time when, as you all know, we are in the midst of preparation for a momentous event—the communist code of conduct as well as its relevance to the Party Congress. I think, comrades, all of you have gone through the celebrated work of Comrade Ghosh on—"Code of Conduct of the Communist Revolutionaries" dealing with many important aspects of the communist code of conduct. You have also seen therein Comrade Ghosh

himself to have made it particularly clear that it is not possible in a single discussion to cover all the details of code of conduct which embraces our whole life, all minutest aspects of our life. There are other speeches and discussions too where Comrade Ghosh has made further clarifications, further elucidation, further elaboration on many other aspects of the subject.

WHY DO WE REQUIRE A CODE OF CONDUCT

Why did Comrade Ghosh take so much pain to provide us with a code of conduct on different aspects as far as practicable? Because, he felt it indispensable for all of us who are in the midst of the struggle to build up our life as revolutionary communist, who are engaged in the struggle to become communist and to elevate ourselves from the stage of a communist to that of a good communist, that is, professional revolutionary. That is why he stressed so much on the acceptance of and abiding by a communist code of conduct. As far as I have been able to grasp Comrade Ghosh's teachings on this question, I would like to place it before you. The first question is that those who are engaged in the struggle to become communist, those who accept communism as the noblest ideology of life in the history of mankind and those who consider Marxism-Leninism, dialectical materialism the invincible weapon for emancipation must first of all realise what it demands of us, how far have we been able to implement what we profess in our life. In other words, for all of us who are trying to develop themselves as communists and then as good communists it is a matter of paramount importance that our mode of life, mode of existence should be in conformity with the ideology we believe in. Because, to be more precise, it is well known to the Marxists that the successful realisation of the object and goal of this noblest ideology, communism, Marxism-Leninism or dialectical materialism in a particular soil depends on us, on all of us who have engaged themselves in the task to develop communist movement in that soil, on all those who have joined it from its



very inception or in course of its development, that is to say, it depends on all of us,—starting from the members of the Central Committee down to the leaders, cadres, organisers, members of different levels,—who are working under the guidance of a genuine revolutionary proletarian party. For the fulfilment of this historic responsibility all of us will have to act as the vehicle, the herbinger to carry the message of revolution, the ideas of communism, Marxism-Leninism Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts to the toiling people in general and proletariat in particular. The task to carry out this mission is the object of our life and it is inseparably connected with our life-struggle, with how far are we being able, first of all to implement throughout our life this very ideology we profess. Our own life must serve as a model so as to inspire others.

TRANSFORM YOUR DESIRE TO BE A COMMUNIST INTO THE CORRECT PROCESS TO BE A COMMUNIST

A bit clarification of this aspect would help you to understand it better. I think, most of the comrades present here, if not all, know it very well that it was Comrade Lenin who said that as soon as an individual joins the party signing the membership form and accepting Marxism as well as the party programme he does not immediately become a communist. This is only the starting point wherefrom he starts the struggle. As Lenin showed, a comrade, who joins the party, signs the pledge form, accepts Marxism, agrees to abide by the rules, regulations and discipline of the party, pay party subscriptions regularly and work under any party body he is assigned to, thereby simply expresses his desire to be a communist. On this score, elaborating the point further Comrade Ghosh taught us that the desire of the comrade who joins the party to be a communist is only the subjective practice of that comrade, and along with this subjective practice, as soon as he joins and engages himself in the struggle—whatever his span of work, whatever his responsibility in the initial

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Call

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stage—he starts the objective practice. These two are interwoven—they go side by side. And a comrade through test and trial, by combining his subjective practices with objective practices, transforms his desire to be a communist into an active process to be a communist.

Our Party constitution, as you know, provides for three categories of membership. First, those who join the party may become applicant members. Secondly, among them, those who reaches, through test and trial, the stage where they can make their personal interest secondary to that of the party and revolution—both in the context of class struggle and in day to day behaviour — become eligible for membership. And thirdly, going further ahead from this stage when a comrade elevates himself to the still higher stage at which he places himself completely — and happily — under the disposal of the party, keeps nothing concealed but opens everything to the party leadership and thus starts the struggle for identification of his self with the cause of the party and revolution — that is the stage of staff membership or professional revolutionary, as defined by Comrade Ghosh. So these are the three categories of membership in our Party as deemed essential by Comrade Ghosh. The entire process of development from an applicant member to member and then to the stage of staff member signifies the course of struggle through which a comrade joining the party with the desire to be a communist actually becomes a communist and then a good Communist. Again, at every stage of membership, for every comrade, there is a starting point, a beginning and a course of development. For a staff member also there is a starting point as well as the highest stage of attainment of the model communist character, one which is completely identified with class, party and revolution,—which has not only been placed before us by Comrade Ghosh theoretically but at the same time exemplified by his own unparallel life and struggle. This is the height we all must strive to reach. And in order that we may have before all of us a general guideline as to how to conduct the struggle to become a communist, then a good communist and ultimately to acquire a model communist character, how can we develop ourselves as worthy of the task, as the vehicle of the message of communism and revolution—it is for this purpose that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh provided us with a communist code of conduct and asked us to pursue it perseveringly.

WAGE RELENTLESS STRUGGLE TO FREE YOURSELVES FROM THE BOURGEOIS DECADENT CULTURE

Comrades, there are so many different aspects, so many features in our life. That is quite natural since we are all social beings, and we come from different strata of the present class divided society — some from among the industrial workers, some from the agricultural workers, poor, lower middle or upper middle peasants, some others from the ranks of the urban middle class and middle

class intelligentsia. And every one of us, whatever section of the people we have come from, and to whatever extent we are able to grasp the process, is trying with his best efforts to develop himself as a communist. But at the same time, we are under constant impact and influence of the decadent bourgeois culture of the society we live in,—and not only bourgeois culture, but even the outmoded feudal culture many hamgovers of which still persist in our soil. We cannot shut our eyes, close our sight even for a moment to this fact. And since we have accepted Marxism-Leninism, we are equipped with its understanding as concretised, elaborated and brought to a new height by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and since communism is the noblest ideology in the annals of human civilisation showing the correct scientific path to emancipation and the historic destiny of the entire mankind—we must not think that all these make us immune, if I am permitted the use of this expression, to all the attacks of the vile and filthy bourgeois and feudal culture. Just as our human body is constantly affected by the germs of diseases, whether we know it or not, so also are we being constantly affected by the filths of the bourgeois culture and the remnants of feudal culture. We cannot insulate ourselves from the existing society. Even the working class, the most advanced and revolutionary class in history is also affected by and thoroughly steeped in all the vulgarism of the decadent bourgeois culture. Other sections of the toiling people are also affected by this. So unless we keep the struggle alive against this evil influence, unless we continuously, consistently and perseveringly fight against all impacts of bourgeois and feudal culture with all vigilance and constantly and consciously engage ourselves in the struggle to transform ourselves, we cannot resist degeneration and degradation. Because, without eliminating the fads, the ideas, the ideological influences of the bourgeoisie, their cultural impact from our life we cannot emancipate our mind for the conquest of scientific truth, for learning the experimented truths, basing on which we will have to carry out social revolution. That is why the Marxists say that transform yourselves so that you can grasp truths, acquire an invincible strength and conquer and change the world.

READ, STUDY AND LEARN NOT FOR ACADEMIC EXERCISES OR INTELLEC- TUAL SATISFACTION BUT TO ACQUIRE KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH, COMMUNIST CHARACTER AND TO CHANGE THE SOCIETY

But this is a thing that cannot be acquired simply by academic exercises, only by reading classics of Marxism—although it is very essential for the purpose to go through and meticulously study classics. Our object of studying Marxist classics, or anything at that is not for acquiring the ability to give ready references, quote at length at will, commit to memory everything whatever is written there, or for writing academic articles. We want to change ourselves, our mind, our outlook, our life style, our character so that we can change the world. So not only our object of study as well as the subject matter of

study are different, our method of study is also completely different from the academicians' or pendants' method. That is why Comrade Ghosh, from the very inception of the process of building up this party, practised both positive and negative dialectical methodology for educating us, developing our consciousness; positive — when he himself discussed something first, initiated further discussion among the comrades on it and then concluded the discussion; negative — when he asked the comrades to start discussion on a question involved, encouraged and conducted them to argue and counter-argue among themselves and finally conclusions were drawn through discussion. That is to say, the negative dialectical method means to come from a specific point to question and then to the main subject while conducting the study circle. It is, in fact, the inductive method of generalisation in arriving at truths from particular to general. Positive dialectical method is a necessary thing which should be practised in party bodies to shorten the process of discussion and arriving at decisions. Since the inception of our party we are following both these processes. We are also following the same, that is, both positive and negative dialectical methods in this Study Centre of Marxism - Leninism - Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts, right from the inaugural camp held last year. We are trying to follow this method carefully and assiduously so as not to reduce our classes into academic exercises. Because if you slip into academic discourses, even through unknowingly, then the very purpose of our education — fostering communist character — will be seriously hampered. We need to be conceptually firm in our political line, and gather ever higher ability of understanding about Marxism - Leninism - Comrade Ghosh's thoughts, by reading and re-reading the works. But along with this conceptual knowledge what is more important is, precisely speaking, to learn the very process of knowing things,—how to read and study, how to master the science so that you can apply it concretely. Comrades, don't fought this when reading books, studying classics, or attending study classes or schools of politics. When the Central Committee of our Party decided to organise this Study Centre it was with the very object of developing this as the nerve centre for educating all leader, cadres and organisers of the party, to be equipped—both physically and mentally—to play their due role as communists. It is known to you all that when Comrade Ghosh undertook the historic responsibility to build up this revolutionary party on our soil, he unleashed an intensive socialist ideological movement involving all of us together covering all aspects of our life so as to create a band of professional revolutionaries, and throughout his life he continued to stress most on this point so that our comrades—leaders, cadres, organisers, even those working in the remotest corners of the country far away from the headquarter — acquire the party tuning, develop themselves in such a way that uniformity of thinking, one process of thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose work from top to bottom in the party. How can we develop it and ensure it? This requires a

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constant struggle, continuous struggle, lifelong struggle in every aspect of our life. We cannot cease this struggle even for a single moment. There is nothing, no point as such where we can put off the struggle if we want to acquire communist character, if we want to be good communists.

RELEASE A TWO-FOLD STRUGGLE: ONE FOR SELF-CULTIVATION, ANOTHER TO BUILD UP CLASS STRUGGLES

Why do I say that this is a lifelong struggle? Because, you know, we are living in an ever-changing society and everything is in motion in this world as all the branches of both natural science and social science inform us. This is also the philosophical understanding provided by Marxism. So our grasping of the ideology, grasping of revolution also cannot be static, cannot remain fixed at a level. We have to constantly improve our understanding, raise the level of our understanding so that it may be adequate in a given historical stage. Otherwise what is perfect and adequate today will become imperfect and inadequate tomorrow. Our understanding of revolution and ideology cannot develop, cannot be adequate and perfect in the present historical context, unless and until we translate our understanding into practice, integrate our conceptual knowledge with concrete practice of struggle—struggles to develop ourselves as communists as well as class struggle outside—without which we cannot advance our cause. That is why, as you know, our Central Committee has urged upon all of us to release a two-fold struggle, — on the one hand, for acquiring more and more adequacy with respect to our understanding and character, and on the other, for organising, conducting and leading class and mass struggles. This means, while striving to build up ourselves as good communists, all of us will have to release individual initiative in our own spheres, wherever we belong to. This is what Comrade Ghosh meant when he taught us to take up political initiative. Because whatever knowledge we learn, whatever grasping we acquire, this can never be perfect unless we put it into practice simultaneously. We cannot be sure whether, whatever knowledge we have gathered, whatever understanding we have acquired, are correct or not, we cannot test and verify them, without integrating them with concrete struggles. This is what is described in Marxist classics as the integration of theory and practice. We cannot uplift ourselves to that level without a constant process of self-cultivation — simply through academic exercises divorced from practice and struggle. We can advance in this important aspect of self-cultivation only through the methods being adopted in our party life. The Central Committee as well as different State Committees are adopting, you know, various measures, as far as practicable for the education of each and every individual comrade, for, this is a task of utmost importance to enhance our allout efforts to expand, strengthen and consolidate organisation steadily. That is why the party leadership is organising study classes or schools of politics in different spheres. I don't say that we are able to do

this everywhere and regularly keeping pace with the growth and expansion of the party. We will have to regularise it at all levels, as far as possible. But what I am trying to bring home is that while the party will unsparingly strive to educate and elevate all comrades — all the leaders, organisers and cadres; you will also have to release your individual initiative and effort to strengthen the effort of the leadership.

Here I want to draw your attention to a shortcoming, a very serious one — about which, if I am mistaken, I will be the happiest man to correct myself. But what I observe is that, among other limitations, we lack the habit of regular reading — individually and collectively, and I would say, this shortcoming must be overcome without any further delay. We should make it a permanent habit of regular reading Marxist classics — works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao as well as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, reading party organs and other literatures, reading other parties' publications too and meticulously studying whatever we read, so that our grasping of the party line become increasingly sharper, more and more decisive. This is why and how should we read. We are in quest of truth. How can we reach truths, at least go nearer to truths, scientifically experimented and verified, without acquiring the power of critical investigation into and analysis of anything, without having the power to extract necessary knowledge from all branches of natural and social sciences? This is not meant for mere intellectual satisfaction. This is required, very much required of us in order that we should have a clear and scientific conception on all questions, and a power to investigate, to analyse, to probe into any question so that we can read facts and find out truths inherent in them. And this is a power we cannot attain without, — I am again emphasising, — without self-cultivation. Another thing that is of paramount importance along with this self-cultivation is that whatever you learn through your struggle, you must assert and reassert your ideas in dialectical interaction with the party leadership to test whether your concepts, your grasping of the things are correct, whether you have been able to reach newer truths, and thereby you can also enrich the collective knowledge of the party. You must remember, comrades, that just as our mode of life, our working method are collective process so also is our method of learning. You cannot learn anything individually, you cannot attain truth alone without coming into interaction with the party as a whole through the leadership. Whatever you think you have learnt, if it is correct, if it is reflecting truth, will be incorporated in the collective knowledge of the party, and if not, will be rejected through collective struggle. This is the only way to save ourselves from subjectivism, individualism and ego-centrism in the field of reading and learning.

STRIVE TO ACQUIRE INCREASING HIGHER POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL CULTURAL AND ORGANISATIONAL STANDARD

But this is only one aspect of the two-fold struggle I was talking about. The other aspect, the second aspect is : with whatever

you have learnt, whatever you have grasped through the process I was discussing above, you must engage yourselves, along with self-cultivation, into organising class and mass struggles constantly and continuously; you must take active part in such struggles in your spheres of life and fields of activity; you must build up democratic mass movements as conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution—which is another vital aspect for steeling your character. We cannot acquire culture or communist character without participating in and conducting class and mass struggles. We cannot transform ourselves without at the same time taking active part in the struggles for transformation of the society.

So comrades, in order to develop ourselves as communists and then good communists it is of utmost importance to continuously engage into self-cultivation on the one hand and strive for building up class and mass struggles with the revolutionary ideology on the other. In the process the more your character will be steeled and tempered the more you will learn, you will realise yourselves an essential aspect—whatever you say, whatever you profess, whatever way you work, whether these are in conformity with the ideology, the object of your life. This is a lifelong struggle to elevate ourselves, to acquire higher and still higher standard.

But this higher standard does not mean only political standard, it implies the standard in political, ideological, cultural, ethical, moral—in a word, in all aspects of our life, and whether we are being able to constantly upgrade ourselves, our standard covering all aspects of life. Because we are social beings. Even when we are in the midst of struggle trying our best to become communists and from that stage to develop ourselves as good communists, the society, the environment we live in constantly acts upon us, influences us. Its vices may penetrate not only the rank and file, but even the life of the leaders who have passed through many tests and trials. There is no end of this test and trial for a communist. Till the last breath we have to give the test whether we could remain communist. Even a top ranking communist leader of one day has been seen to fall, to degenerate into renegade. Why? There is a practice very much prevalent in the international communist movement, to brand anybody who has degenerated as a traitor, conspirator, enemy agent from the very beginning of his political life. But, as you know, Comrade Ghosh had never agreed with such oversimplified explanation. His pointer was : if a leader, however great, ceases the struggle to constantly develop himself, compromises on any question, however minor, knowingly or unknowingly, does not take into cognisance with due seriousness any negative feature in his own life or the party life, or does not wage a struggle involving the leaders and workers of the party to rectify it in time, or, if he does not conduct this struggle methodically — he is sure to fall. Because the guarantee against his downfall is not his pious wishes, it does not depend simply on sincerity and honesty of a comrade. These are just elementary analities without which we cannot go a single step

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Call

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ahead. What is of far greater importance, utmost importance is whether we are continuing the struggle for acquiring higher and still higher standard of communist character and whether we are following the correct methodology in conducting this struggle. Don't forget—we are all products of a process. We do not become what we want to be, but what the process we follow in our life style make us. So the guarantee that we will develop as communist and then as good communists is whether we follow the correct process, the Marxist-Leninist process, the dialectical process in our life, whether we keep it alive inside the party.

That is why, comrades, while studying the 'Code of Conduct of Communist Revolutionaries', you have to keep in view the other speeches and discussions of Comrade Ghosh too, so that you can learn all the aspects he has dealt with in these works and placed before the entire leadership and rank and file. This is an imperative for us. Behind all these works underlie the lessons Comrade Ghosh took with much pain from the history of the world communist movement, from the shortcomings and failures of the leading communist parties of the world, from the experiences of how the CPSU reared and led by leaders like Lenin and Stalin, the CPC led by a leader like Mao Tse-tung degenerated into revisionism soon after the demise of these leaders. Why did it happen? Was there any lacking in sincerity, honesty, dedication? Did the leaders who led these parties toward revisionism lack those qualities? They fought in the revolution, conducted tortuous struggle and placed before the world many instances of exemplary sacrifice and dedication. Yet why did they bring in revisionism when power fell into their hands? Why could not the entire party protect itself from the revisionist attacks of these leaders? Again those people who had come forward sincerely to build up communist party and communist movement in our country also failed to fulfil their objective and while some of them turned into arch opportunist social democratic forces others became frustrated and lost all faith in revolution and communist movement. Why? Summing up all these experiences in the international as well as national arena, their shortcomings, limitations, and — what is more important — their lack of correct method, lacking in following the correct dialectical methodology for the growth and development of the party as well as for inculcating communist culture and character among the leaders and members, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh stressed before us time and again that we cannot shut our eyes to these facts, and to ensure that we may follow the correct methodology in our life and inside the party he developed the code of conduct for us, and for all communist parties and communist revolutionaries of the world at this present historical juncture.

In this code of conduct which Comrade Ghosh has developed through his lifelong struggles and experiences in building up this party and leading its activities in course of dialectical interactions and intercourse within

the party, taking into cognisance both the positive as well as negative aspects of the international communist movement, he has provided all the salient points, all the essential teachings to us. Now it rests upon us whether and how far we shall be able to learn them, grasp them—every sentence, every word, the letter and spirit both—how far we shall be able to apply them in our own life and thereby acquire communist character.

DON'T NEGLECT OR COMPROMISE WITH ANY NEGATIVE ASPECT— HOWEVER MINOR

You know, one of the important teachings of Comrade Ghosh is that if we want to develop as communist and good communist we must never neglect even a minor thing, we must not overlook the minutest detail of our life. Why did he say so? Because, he pointed out, if even a very minor aspect, negative in character, appears in our character today and if we overlook it, this minor feature will not remain minor or negligible later. It may grow and develop into a major one, cast its shadow or evil influences upon our character as a whole, and even vitiate our entire life, if we approach it casually, consider it a trifling matter, rationalise that it will not disturb me, there is nothing in it to bother about and so, if we do not fight it at the very beginning as soon as it is detected. That is why if it is a negative trait, if it is harmful, then however little, however minor it is, eradicate it immediately. And moreover if it is really a little thing it will be very easy to fight it out at its initial stage and eliminate it. There is no room for a casual approach. Otherwise, there is a danger of unknowingly slipping into the habit of rationalisation, which will further corrode the character from within. One compromise will beget another compromise, then another and so on till ultimately the revolutionary of one day is transformed into an arch opportunist, a reactionary, an enemy of the people the other day. So if we want to develop ourselves, free ourselves from all sorts of vile influences of the bourgeois society, we should not allow any negative aspect to creep into our life however minor, however trifle it may appear.

There is another aspect too. If you do not fight a negative trait at the early stage when it was really a minor problem, and if it gets entrenched, makes deep inroad in your character and therefore takes the shape of a major problem with deep and far-fetched imprint in your life and character, — whether you know it or not — then it becomes very difficult, both for the party and for you too, to eradicate the trait. Because by that time it has become stabilised and appeared as a definite and grounded type in your character. So it is very essential to detect the negative aspect when it is still a minor one, it is just raising its ugly head, and combat it immediately, eradicate it at the first instance. And any of you, any individual comrade cannot do this with the personal effort only, you should take the help of the party leadership. That is the process Comrade Ghosh introdu-

will fall victim to the vile influences of the decadent bourgeois culture, vulgar individualism — consciously or unconsciously. So, comrades, don't take even a minor defect in a casual way, don't rationalise your shortcomings whatever these may be, when you are trying to achieve perfection more and more in all respects. To achieve this goal, these teachings, this guidance of Comrade Ghosh are of supreme importance in our life. Because rationalising a bad trait is in other words conciliatory attitude towards it and this casts its shadow in our mind and gradually corrupts the character from within. So if you yourself can identify the defect, fight it yourself. If you cannot, don't lose a single moment; bring it to the notice of the appropriate party leadership, seek help, assistance and guidance of the leadership as Comrade Ghosh has taught us. Throughout his life he himself attended to such problems of the party comrades of all levels with great care and affection, to read and develop them as good cadres, good organisers, good leaders. In this connection I want to emphasise that if you find any defect in the behaviour of a leader even, of whatever stature, — even if he is a member of our Central Committee, even if it is myself, Nihar Mukherjee, — don't hesitate to raise the point, point it out, boldly, firmly. We are none free of mistakes. If you point out one, you will also help us. It is not disrespect to a leader. It is rather the expression of the junior comrade's genuine respect for and confidence in the leader. Of course, you must raise it at appropriate forums, not here and there. For discussing these things here and there, before everybody irrespective of his standard, behind the back of the leader in question in a clandestine manner will not help us. But don't spare anybody if you find any mistake, any bad thing at any level. Ours is a collective struggle involving all—starting from the top-most level, to different units down to the grass root levels—in which we cannot take an attitude of rationalisation or conciliatory approach towards our deficiencies and shortcomings. Applying Comrade Ghosh's teachings we must overcome them, collectively help one another to overcome them.

HOW DO THE MATERIALISTS DIFFER FROM THE IDEALISTS IN THEIR APPROACH TO CODE OF CONDUCT?

In this connection I would like to discuss another aspect of the question. We are to follow or to be guided by the code of conduct as materialists, dialectical materialists, not like the idealists. The idealists also, you know, follow certain codes. The religious people also practise some codes of behaviour. What is the basic difference between the two? Where lies the difference between the idealists, those who believe in the existence of some supernatural entity and ourselves, the dialectical materialists? We have 'different forms, sometimes in different

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Marxist-Leninists, with all revolutionary people, with the people in general. In no case do we want unity with the anti-Communist and anti-popular imperialists and reactionaries. Whenever possible we'll establish diplomatic relations with them too and strive for peaceful coexistence with them on the basis of Five Principles. But this is in a category different from our unity with the people of all countries.

If unity is to prevail throughout the Party and the nation, we must give full play to democracy and let people speak up. This holds both inside and outside the Party. Comrades from provincial, prefectural and county Party committees, when you return, you must let people speak out. All comrades, absent or present, must act in this way. All leading members of the Party must promote inner-Party democracy and let people speak out. What are the limits? One is that Party discipline must be observed, the minority being subordinate to the majority and the entire membership to the Central Committee. Another limit is that no secret faction must be organized. We are not afraid of open opponents, we are only afraid of secret opponents. Such people do not speak the truth to your face, what they say is only lies and deceit. They don't express their real intention. As long as a person doesn't violate discipline and doesn't engage in secret factional activities, we should allow him to speak out and shouldn't punish him if he says wrong things. If people say wrong things, they can be criticized, but we should convince them with reason. What if they are still not convinced? They can be allowed to reserve their opinions. As long they abide by the resolutions and the decisions taken by the majority, the minority can reserve their opinions. It is advantageous to allow the minority both inside and outside the Party to do so. If they are allowed to reserve their incorrect opinions for the time being, they can correct them in future. Quite often the ideas of the minority turn out to be correct. Such cases are common in history. In the beginning, truth is not in the hands of the majority of people, but in those of a minority. Marx and Engels held the truth in their hands, but in the beginning they were in the minority. For a long period Lenin was also in the minority. We've had similar experience in our own Party. When our Party was ruled by Chen Tu-hsiu and also when the "Left" opportunist lines prevailed, truth was not in the hands of the majority in the leading organs but on the contrary in the hands of the minority. Historically, the doctrines of natural scientists such as Copernicus, Galileo and Darwin were not recognized by the majority of people for a very long time, but on the contrary were considered incorrect. In their time they were in the minority. When our party was founded in 1921, we only had a few dozen members; we were also in the minority, but those few dozen people represented the truth and represented China's destiny.

There is also the question of arrests and executions on which I want to say something. At present, only a dozen or so years after victory in the revolution, as long as elements of the overthrown reactionary classes have not been reformed and, what is more, as long as some of them are still plotting restoration, a few must be arrested and executed; otherwise the people's anger cannot be placated and the people's dictatorship consolidated. But we must not arrest people lightly, and especially we must not execute people lightly. Some bad people, some bad elements who have infiltrated into our ranks, and some degenerate elements ride on the backs of the people, piss and shit on them, behaving in a vicious and unrestrained way, and seriously violate laws and discipline. They are petty Chiang Kai-sheks. We must have a way of dealing

with this type of people. The worst among them who have committed heinous crimes have to be arrested and some executed. For if we don't arrest or execute any of them, we won't be able to placate the people's anger. This is what we mean when we say, "We can't avoid arrests, and we can't avoid executions." But we absolutely must not arrest too many or execute too many. As for those whose arrest is optional or whose execution is optional, we must definitely not arrest or execute them. There was a fellow called Pan Han-nien who once served as vice-mayor of Shanghai. Previously he had secretly capitulated to the Kuomintang and had become a member of the C.C. clique. He is now in jail, and we haven't executed him. If we kill one fellow like Pan Han-nien, thereby relaxing the restraints on execution, then all those like him would have to be executed. There was another fellow called Wang Shih-wei who was a secret Kuomintang agent. While in Yen-an, he wrote an article entitled "The Wild Lily," in which he attacked the revolution and vilified the Communist Party. He was later arrested and killed. The execution was carried out by the security organs themselves while they were on the march; the decision was not made by the Central Committee. We have often made criticisms on this incident and we hold that he shouldn't have been killed. True, he was a secret agent, he wrote articles to attack us and simply refused to mend his ways. Still we could have just spared him and let him do labour. It wasn't good to kill him. We should arrest and execute as few people as possible. If we arrest and execute people at will, everybody will fear for himself and nobody will dare to speak. In such an atmosphere there can't be much democracy.

Neither should we put hats on people indiscriminately. Some comrades are addicted to using hats to put pressure on people. The moment they start speaking, hats start flying around everywhere and people are so frightened they daren't speak. Of course hats there will always be. Aren't there many hats in the report to the conference? Isn't "decentralism" a hat? But we mustn't put hats on people at will, calling this one a decentralist and that one a decentralist, until everybody is a decentralist. It would be better for the people concerned to put on the hats themselves—and moreover the right hats — rather than have them put on by others. If people put on hats themselves and wear them for a while, they should be removed when everybody agrees that they no longer fit. This will create a good democratic atmosphere. We advocate not seizing on other's faults, not putting hats on people and not wielding the big stick, so that people will be free from fear and will dare to speak out.

Good will and a helpful attitude should be shown towards those who have made mistakes and those who do not allow people to speak out. We mustn't create the kind of atmosphere in which people feel that they can't afford to make any mistakes or that once they have made mistakes, the consequences will be terrible and they will never be able to raise their heads again. As long as a person who has made mistakes really wants to mend his ways and has made a genuine self-criticism, we should express our welcome. We must not make too high demands on a person when he makes a self-criticism the first or second time. It doesn't matter if his self-criticism is not thorough yet. We should let him think again and give him well-intentioned help. A man needs help from others. We must help an erring comrade to realize his mistakes. If people sincerely make self-criticism and are willing to correct mistakes, we should forgive them

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to probe into it. The difference lies precisely in the fact that like the idealists we don't accept any absolute and eternal concept of morality and so our code of conduct does not spring from some such absolute values. Since everything in the society is undergoing constant change—this is not correct to assume that the sense of values, morals etc. are unchangeable and hence absolute. It is for this reason that the dialectical materialists consider the code of conduct or behaviour as something changeable which should conform to the changing needs of the society. The communist code of conduct that we want to follow has developed out of the practical experiences and actual needs of the working class revolutionary movement at the present moment of history and is aimed at serving the concrete struggles that we are to conduct in advancing our cause, the cause of communism.

I shall explain this point. You all know that the ruling capitalist class is launching constant attack upon the revolutionary movements in different forms, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly. Attacks come in the form of decadent culture, obscenity, moral depravity, of outmoded ideas and values, or obscurantist ideas and concepts in the field of knowledge. We have to recognise the attacks in all the varieties. We have to guard against these attacks constantly. Otherwise, if we slacken our vigilance we may be affected by them, we may fall victim to the vile impact of these things, even though unconsciously and unintentionally, we may slip into and commit errors. So ours is a conscious struggle taking into cognizance all these aspects, in precision, in concrete terms, not in some vague general and abstract phrases. We have to study what is the actual nature of the phenomenon in concretised form, what is its character, with what dimension and bearing it is coming in my life. If you cannot understand all these things rush to the leadership, seek their help. Don't take a casual attitude to matters that are inimical to the process of your development as communists, that come from the superstructure of the present society having class origin in the existing capitalist system or outmoded feudal system. Whatever may be the class origin, whatever diverse forms these may appear in, we must determine their character, their power of penetrability, the concrete manifestations of their impact with the help of the correct methodology, scientific and dialectical materialist methodology and accordingly fight them to finish. It is not sufficient to know and learn these aspects. You will have to take them to the next higher stage, the stage of realisation, which means, what you have learnt has become part of yourself, your character, your mode of existence. Here upon depends how far we shall be able to eliminate negative aspects from our character. But remember, while we are trying to fight and even actually fighting out some negative aspects, some other negative aspects may inflict harm in other forms, infiltrate our life from another direction. So what is required is constant vigilance, constant and relent-

less struggle following correct methodology to combat all the attacks of the bourgeoisie and eliminate all vile influences whatsoever. This is a matter of prime importance for a party like ours, the genuine communist party. And as our standard will grow, we shall be increasingly able to grasp the problems in their correct perspective and fight them out by ourselves, and still then, wherever we shall fail, we shall take immediate help from the party leadership.

There is another teaching of Comrade Ghosh which I want to highlight here. He taught us that no problem appearing in any comrade's life should be looked upon as his personal or individual problem. Though personal in nature, it is a problem of the party as a whole. If the comrade concerned suffers, if he is not freed of the problem, the entire party will also suffer. That is why the party leadership has to provide a guidance to that comrade, first of all to save him and help to develop him and secondly to guard against the possibility that the problem which is a single individual's problem may not turn into a major problem and a general phenomenon within the party. Here is the role of leadership. The leaders must not only provide guidance to a comrade who is suffering from a problem and has come to them for help and guidance, but also be able to sense the problem even before the comrade has reported it, and win the confidence of the comrades by love and affection so that they don't feel any hesitation to come. Side by side the comrade concerned will also have to conduct a struggle to free himself from the problem. All these struggles inside the party form what we call inner-party struggle the object of which is to free all comrades from all vices and corrupting influences of the society, combat all negative aspects in any comrade and encourage their positive aspects and thereby develop the standard of each and every comrade, strengthen the unity and cohesion inside the party and constantly improve the relation and dialectical interaction between the leadership and the rank and file. The more the inner-party struggle will be conducted in this way, all the party committees at different levels will move with greater cohesion, with inner-party democracy based on higher form of proletarian democracy on the one hand and higher form of centralism based on dialectical interaction of ideas on the other diametrically opposed to mechanical centralism—that is democratic centralism, the basis of a genuine communist party—living inside the party. We can keep it living only by constantly upgrading our standard—ideological, political and cultural—and acquiring better organisational ability.

PREPARE YOURSELVES TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF HISTORY

Comrades, we have to meet a challenge history has posed before us. We are passing through a phase when the entire country is in the midst of severe crisis—economic, political, educational, social, cultural, moral—in

a word, an all out unprecedented crisis. The ruling class is trying to bring in all out dark fascism in the country to stem the tide of revolutionary movement, to save the moribund capitalism. In such a situation we must come forward and shoulder the responsibility to build up a countrywide mass movement. We are trying to develop united movement together with all the opposition forces against the Congress(I) Government in the Centre. It is good if they come. But if they do not respond, we cannot sit idle. We shall have to go ahead with whatever strength we have. For that purpose the entire party has to be prepared in that direction. All comrades must be so trained that even the cell members can appreciate the party line, contemplate actions, detail out programmes and translate each and every party programme into action, build up class and mass struggles whenever there is scope, necessity and opportunity. In a word, we can meet this challenge only if the entire party can stand like one man. And we shall be able to stand like one man only if we follow the correct method of inner-party struggle, struggle for greater unity, greater cohesion among the entire membership of the party. We have to establish our party authority over the common exploited masses. And the party authority means the party's ideological hegemony over the masses. Along with the ideological hegemony we have also to establish organisational hegemony of the party over the masses. The organisation of the party must take deep root among all sections of the toiling people of our country, it must make deep inroad in every sphere, in every cross-section of the exploited masses. Herein lies the main strength on which we have to depend for every democratic movement, as also for the ultimate struggle for radical transformation of society. I know, this is a gigantic task, a stupendous task. But I firmly believe, we can carry it out. We belong to a genuine proletarian revolutionary party. We have a correct line, correct theory and correct methodology of struggle. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, our beloved leader and teacher and guide, has provided us with all these invincible weapons. This is the main strength—and I should say, the bulwark for accomplishing the historic task of advancing the cause of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. So, comrades, this is high time that we must realise our responsibility and prepare ourselves in all respects. This school should be viewed in that light.

I will not go into further detail. With these words I would conclude here today. Revolutionary greetings to you all.

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and adopt a lenient policy towards them. As long as their achievements are still primary and they are reasonably competent, let them continue in their posts.

In my speech I have criticized certain phenomena and criticized certain comrades, but I haven't named them, I haven't pointed out who this one or that one actually is. You know what I mean. (*Laughter.*) For shortcomings and mistakes in our work in the last few years, the responsibility rests first with the Central Committee and, in the Central Committee, primarily with me; second, the responsibility rests with the Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions; third, with the prefectural Party committees; fourth, with the county Party committees; and fifth, with the Party committees of enterprises and people's communes. In short, each has his share of responsibility.

Comrades, when you return, you must revitalize democratic centralism. The comrades of the county Party committees should lead the commune Party committees in revitalizing democratic centralism. First of all, collective leadership must be built or strengthened. You must no longer practise the method of leadership which prolongs the fixed "division of spheres of work and exclusive responsibility." Under that method the secretaries and members of Party committees each work on their own, and there can be no real collective discussion or real collective leadership. It is necessary to promote democracy, encourage others to make criticism and listen to their criticisms. We must be able to face criticism. We must take the initiative and carry out self-criticism first. We must examine whatever needs examining for one or at most two hours, getting it all out

lock, stock and barrel—that'll be the lot. If others consider it insufficient, let them go on. And if what they say is right, we'll accept their criticism. In the matter of letting people speak out, should we be active or passive? Of course it's better to be active. But what if we're already in a passive position? If we were undemocratic in the past and so find ourselves in this passive position now, it doesn't matter. Let everybody criticize us. Let them pour out their grievances all day, and instead of going to the theatre in the evening too. Please come and criticize me day and night. (*Laughter.*) Then I'll sit down and think about it coolly, forgoing sleep for two or three nights. After thinking it through and understanding it, I'll write a sincere self-criticism. Isn't that the way? In short, if you let others speak out, the heavens won't fall and you won't be toppled. And if you don't? Then the day will inevitably come when you are toppled.

So much for my speech today. The central point I have discussed is the question of how to realize democratic centralism and how to promote democracy inside and outside the Party. I recommend that comrades consider this question carefully. Some comrades still lack the democratic centralist way of thinking. Now is the time they should begin to acquire this way of thinking and begin to understand this question. If we give full play to democracy, we can mobilize the enthusiasm of the broad masses inside and outside the Party and unite the broad masses who comprise more than 95 per cent of the whole population. When we have achieved this, we will be able to do our work better and better and overcome the difficulties we meet all the more quickly. Our cause will then develop much more smoothly. (*Enthusiastic applause*)

(Concluded)

State Conferences

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Com. Mukesh Tyagi, Com. Ramphal Singh and Com. Raghavendra.

The conference concluded with the singing of the *Internationale*.

TAMIL NADU

A massive rally marked the inauguration of the State Conference on February 15 in Madras. A long winding procession passed through Anna Salai, the city's main thoroughfare, to reach the meeting ground where people from all walks of life had assembled.

The open session began with the song on the great leader of the proletariat. Com. Jagannathan, who presided over the meeting, highlighted the significance of the first All India Party Congress. Recalling the history of formation and growth of the SUCI as the only genuine communist party in this

country, Comrade Tapas Dutta, accredited representative of the Central Committee, emphasised the role to be played by the party in the present international and national situations.

Delegate sessions, held from 16 to 18 February at Airswarya Kalyana Mandapam, began with a welcome address by Com. M. R. Pattabiraman. Silence was observed, after Com. Jagannathan had garlanded the martyrs' column, to pay homage to the martyrs. Comrade Tapas Dutta garlanded a portrait of Com. Shibdas Ghosh.

The Secretary's Report, placed by Comrade Jagannathan, was deliberated on by the comrades and adopted unanimously with a few amendments.

The draft Constitution and the two draft theses on the international and national situations were placed and comrades parti-

ipated in the deliberations with full revolutionary concern and purposiveness. These draft theses were adopted together with some minor amendments with all the delegates agreeing.

A 11-member State Committee with Comrade Jagannathan as Secretary was elected unanimously. Other members elected are: Com. Pattabiraman, Com. Anandan, Com. Narayanaswamy, Com. Jayapal, Com. Rangaswamy, Com. Valliappan, Com. Baskaran, Com. Palaniswamy, Com. P. Mohan, Com. Surendra and Com. Rajan. Delegates to the Party Congress were also elected unanimously. Later, the newly elected State Committee elected from among itself a State Secretariat with five members. Com. Rangaswamy was elected office Secretary-cum-Treasurer.

The Conference concluded with singing of the *Internationale*.

EMERGENCY IN PUNJAB

Constitution Amendment Condemned

Condemning the Central Govt.'s move to amend the Constitution, proclaiming emergency, suspending fundamental rights with draconian provisions, which would be operative, as specified, only in Punjab and for two years, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, said in a statement on 14.3.88 that as in the past such undemocratic powers might be used indiscriminately throughout the country at slightest pretext. Once again SUCI demanded political solution and not by arms of Punjab problem. Com. Mukhereje appealed to all Left, democratic, Opposition parties as also the common people to build up broad based united movement and stall this butchery of democracy.

EXHIBITION OF QUOTATIONS

*From works of
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh*

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(Near Territorial Army Institute)
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