

Message of undaunting struggle lights million hearts afire

Revolution will rise and reaction will perish. History has taught mankind this lesson and mankind is to expedite this course. This is the very course that has been given a new thrust in the first All India Plenum of the SUCI, held at Cuttack, from 4th to 9th October, 1994.

The Plenum is a great historic event that our party has just passed through. Following the setback in socialist camp, the whole world stands almost helpless before imperialism, but let us reiterate that this is not a fatality and the end. The laws that govern society work inexorably, imperialism degenerates steadily and the working class remains the revolutionary class. The Plenum upholds this truth and urges the communists to take charge of advance posts in the battle to smash capitalism-imperialism, to fly high the victory flag of Socialism and raise the great slogan 'Long live communism'.

"Long live communism" roared a hundred and thousand of voices in a roll of thunder. It echoed from one end to the other of the vast flowing congregation of humanity. A deluge of procession was this, a torrent of fighters who, armed with the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, were marching along the roads of Cuttack to join the reception rally at Balijatra Maidan. Irresistibly they marched, a thousand hands raising to respond to the slogans, a thousand banners flashing the name of the party, a lightning, cutting through the surrounding darkness, while from an overcast sky rain poured torrentially. This was the 4th October afternoon when the people of Cuttack had overflowed to watch them. The heavy shower could not deter them. Drenching alike with the processionists, the people with wonder and with a strange feeling of oneness even shivering under big drops, stood still and felt the pulse of the toiling people, who were engaged in a grim battle against the capitalists and their subservient Biju Patnaik government. Thousands were marching and thousands, flanking on both sides, were watching them — the mine workers of Sukinda, leading, despite inhuman state-imposed torture, an indefatigable battle for years together against the Tatas, the agricultural workers fighting against rural and urban bourgeoisie, along with the struggling workers of steel, cement, engineering industries and spinning mills. And above all moving were the Adivasi people, who just the day



celebrate had held a mammoth protest rally at Bhubaneswar against eviction from their age-old forest habitat by the government and walked the entire 30 kms to Cuttack, and fight with honour, like Comrade Durga Hembram, their leader, a leading SUCI organiser, who was sordidly poisoned to death inside the Udala jail by the authorities only recently. From coastal Orissa, from deep jungle and hill areas, from industrial (Contd. on page 4)

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Speech at Reception Rally

Unite all anti-imperialist, pro-peace and patriotic forces the world over to thwart imperialist design

— Nihar Mukherjee

Comrade President, Delegates, Observers and Brothers and Sisters,

Ours is a vast country with people speaking different languages. To attend this Plenum comrades from 16 states and one Union Territory have come here as delegates and observers. Only the comrades of Gujarat could not come as they, by remaining with the people there, are fighting a grim battle against plague which, you know, has severely afflicted Gujarat, particularly Surat region. At the outset I, on behalf of myself and the Central Committee of the party, congratulate the toiling people of our country, more particularly of Orissa, to make the Plenum a success by extending their all sorts of help.

Why this Plenum? You know, after the first Congress of our party in 1988 some very vital changes have taken place in the international arena which have their bearing on the national situation too. We will have to analyse and assess the whole development in the Plenum on the anvil of historical and dialectical materialism, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, in order to decide our ideological, political and organisational policies and the lines in the changed international and national perspective and accordingly formulate our programme of class and mass struggles complementary to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in India.

Marxism is the only instrument with which we can find the truth. It is both philosophy and science — the comprehensive science which co-ordinates and integrates the general principles of all the branches of science. That is why Marxism is called the science of all sciences. Marx provided this invincible weapon to the exploited humanity and after Marx all the great Marxist thinkers from Lenin down to Comrade Shyamasunder Ghosh enriched its treasure-house and elevated its understanding to newer heights with the passage of time and thus helped the progress of civilization. So it is not a utopia nor a fancy of an individual. Had it been so it would have, like so many sweet imaginations of so many individuals, withered away and gone into

oblivion. Instead, it has attracted and been attracting the exploited world over to build a new society based on real freedom and equality. For its irresistible attraction and appeal of noble ethics people like us from middle class and lower middle class families have joined the struggle for the establishment of socialism which can pave the way for freeing the society from exploitation, deprivation, humiliation, hunger and poverty. That is why two-thirds people of the globe defeating the false, venomous and mischievous propaganda of the imperialist-capitalists and other reactionaries against this noble ideology could establish socialism in their respective countries but for the revisionists in collusion with the imperialists an unhappy misfortune befell socialism resulting in the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and other east European socialist states through counter-revolution.

This could be possible because of long practice of revisionism resulting in the usurpation of leadership of the state and the party by the revisionists. The imperialist-capitalists and other reactionaries are dancing with glee and unleashed a propaganda barrage against Marxism-Leninism and socialism. This is nothing new. Since Marxism showed the mankind the path of emancipation it is quite natural that the reactionaries of all shades would come down heavily on this noble ideology. But the attack this time has assumed an unprecedented proportion having no parallel in history of the communist movement. However severe it may be it cannot but be a temporary one and whatever be the degree of propaganda against socialism, it cannot but be short-lived. Because the inexorable law of development of society has proved that today capitalism can no more play any progressive role and hence other than aggravating it cannot provide any solution to the problems in the life of the people. It is only in communism that all the evil of the society can be done away with and to reach that stage socialism is the transitional phase. But as the revisionists shunned the path of Marxism-Leninism and violated the socialist economic laws the restoration of capitalism has

of forces.

This mighty socialist camp appeared parallel to the capitalist-imperialist camp after the Second World War. And it worked as the bastion of world communist movement, the bulwark of liberation struggles of the people of the colonial countries and guarantor of peace and sovereignty of weaker nations. And in between these two camps appeared the resurgent bourgeois nationalist countries breaking the shackles of colonial domination. The ruling bourgeoisie of these newly independent countries without joining any of the camps took the path of bargaining with the both in order to develop their respective capitalist economy as fast as possible. They also for the sake of growth and development of their economy in a relatively peaceful atmosphere acted against war and thus tilted the balance in favour of peace.

But now in the absence of the socialist camp the imperialists led by the USA raising the slogan of a 'unipolar world' and 'market economy' have on the one hand unleashed gangsterism anew throughout the world reducing the UNO to a mere rubber stamp. The intervention in Panama, Grenada and Haiti as also in Rwanda and Somalia on the plea of humanitarian aid, the attack on Libya, imposition of barbaric war on Iraq, economic sanctions against socialist Cuba and threat of war on socialist North Korea centring round the NPT are some of the recent instances. On the other hand, in order to resolve their conflict of economic interest the imperialist-capitalists are out to divide the world afresh among themselves through various agreements like the GATT. But instead of resolving these are accentuating their crisis and conflict more and more in spite of the expansion of market in the erstwhile socialist states. The attempt of Germany to unite all the leading capitalist states of Europe against the American domination and the recent economic threat to Japan by the USA are not unknown to the discerning public.

All these above factors have cumulatively
imperialist war, though it is also true that war is
not fundamentally inevitable. We, the communists,
(Contd. on page 3)



Part of the vast gathering in the Belpatna Maidan. Sitting on the chairs are the delegates and observers with Comrade Mukherjee addressing

Reception Rally**Marxism, the comprehensive science, is the invincible weapon in the hands of the exploited humanity**

(Contd. from page 2)

know it well that the highest development of capitalism is imperialism and imperialism generates war for its survival. But war only aggravates the crisis of imperialism. The whole American society is trembling under the impact of severe economic crisis. Look at the internal picture of the USA, the paradise of 'market economy' where the common people are being turned jobless, pauper and destitute. Millions live in roadside shanties and makeshift camps depending on food supplied through gruel kitchens. So also is the case with all the capitalist-imperialist countries, developed or underdeveloped, strong or weak which are treading the dangerous path of fascism. In order to survive the crisis almost all of them are resorting to militarisation of economy.

The working class and the exploited people of all the capitalist-imperialist countries with their burning demands are rising in protest. Even the people of Russia carrying the portraits of Lenin and Stalin, are marching on the streets of Moscow, Leningrad and other big cities demanding food, shelter and job etc., which the so-called democrats promised before and after the counter-revolution. And now the people are met with bullets. The myth of 'democracy' and 'individual freedom' has been totally shattered and the worshippers of so-called democracy are ruthlessly suppressing the democratic movements trampling the democratic rights of the people. Even Parliament which is so sacrosanct to the bourgeoisie has been shelled by these 'democrats'. A big question as to what for is this 'democracy' is now haunting the minds of the people who are very fast getting disillusioned of this 'free world', 'market economy' and 'individual freedom' and raising the demand of restoration of the Soviet system. The bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which is not the product of whims of anybody, appeared in the society at a certain stage of development of human civilisation and that stage is over now in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

I have already told you that the imperialist powers in order to extract advantage in the squeezed international market are making various agreements and forming economic blocs among themselves and even blocs inside the blocs. They, in order to resolve their conflict by sharing among themselves anew the world market, are coming to an understanding through the GATT accord, where resurgent bourgeois nationalist countries also are joining as junior partners. Attempts are there on the part of the stronger ones to get the better of other weaker countries. With the aim of all-out domination the most powerful among them, the USA, has extended the jurisdiction of the GATT to the service sector, intellectual property and the scientific innovations. But whatever be the attempt instead of solving, it has only aggravated their market crisis more and hence more conflict. Even the GATT Secretary-General Peter Sutherland admitted that 'it was not the end but the beginning of the conflict'. And we know that this economic conflict may lead to real war one day in the absence of the mighty socialist camp which worked as the great deterrent to the design of the imperialist warmongers.

All these developments in the international arena have also brought about some significant changes in the national situation. As the junior partner of the world capitalist market the Indian bourgeoisie for sharing a bit in the world market in collaboration with the foreign capital are introducing new economic and industrial policy, liberalisation and exit policy and opened the door to the foreign multinationals to exploit the cheap raw materials and cheap labour power of our country all in the interest of the Indian monopolists. They, joining in the chorus of 'market economy' of their big brothers in the international field, are deducing newer and newer policies, privatising the public sectors, squeezing the field of service sectors, abolishing the system of subsidy, all aimed at filling the coffers of the big business by fleecing the people.

What is the shape of this 'market economy' in our country? The exploitation will go on unabated with increasing degree; the capitalists will produce in order to satisfy their greed of super profit; the jotedars, the landed gentry, i.e. the rural bourgeoisie and the usurers will fleece the landless labourers, the share-croppers and the small peasants; the profiteers, blackmarketeers, the price manipulators and dishonest businessmen will squeeze out blood of the common man and all the people will live in peace and harmony. Is it true? And they call it democracy! Can the people really enjoy democratic rights where money, mafia, muscle power rule supreme? Look at the elections every five years. Can it reflect the people's verdict when it is dominated by money, mafia and muscle power? And the propaganda media of the exploiters will rend the sky calling it the exercise of franchise in the 'largest democracy'! Can this system bring peace and harmony to the life of the people, the exploited? It is the paradise of the parasites and exploiters who thrive on the blood and sweat and loot and plunder of the working class, peasantry and other exploited section of the population.

In this situation, the only way left before the people is to shatter the myth of this democracy, peace and harmony and destroy this exploitative

system. And to do that you will have to study the inherent laws of social development. This law stipulates that all the exploited section of the population will have to forge the unity under the leadership of the working class, because their emancipation is inseparably linked up with the emancipation of the working class — the most revolutionary class of today.

The ruling class of India today is taking every step to disrupt the unity of the people in order to perpetuate this rule of capital. That is why we see them fomenting and instigating the communal, fundamental, parochial, divisive and separatist trends and tendencies and aiding and abetting these forces directly or indirectly in an attempt to extend the lease of life of this moribund capitalism. Keeping the facade of parliamentary democracy the Indian monopolists are trying to foist fascism through two-party parliamentary system like in Western countries. The Janata experiment having failed utterly the monopolists are taking every care to strengthen the rabid communal force like the BJP. And the victim of this machinations have been the common people of India who have been pushed into a fratricidal bloodbath on the question of religion, race, casteism, ethnicity and provinciality. Almost all the parliamentary parties including even the social democratic forces like the CPI(M) and the CPI are playing the deceptive game to serve this establishment using these sentiments directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly, in the interest of winning elections.

To do away with all this evil the exploited must bring about anti-capitalist socialist revolution in Indian soil. And for revolution you will have to fulfil three pre-requisites. First, a revolutionary party of the proletariat built on the Leninist model ideologically and organisationally capable enough to bring about revolution; second, a correct strategy of revolution; and third, to chalk out a programme of class and mass struggles complementary to the growth and development of revolutionary struggle.

(Contd. on page 11)



The leaders on the dais at the Reception Rally while the music squad singing the Internationale

First All India Plenum Calls**Consolidate International Communist Movement against imperialism and build up countrywide left-democratic struggle**

(Contd. from page 1)

locations, from chromite mine stretches, from towns and villages, barring a few thousands of Sundergarh, who could not come due to train derailment, they all had come taking tremendous hardship and undertaking long journey of even 3-5 days. And now on their way to the reception rally of the Plenum, they saw the dais of the meeting from a distance, towering in majestic simplicity and on its rising expanse were set the portraits, one after another, of the great leaders and teachers of the proletariat Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Shibdas Ghosh. With slogans to fight unitedly the new economic and industrial policy, the GATT, the monopoly anti-people state government policies and with the slogans "Down with imperialism-revisionism-counter-revolution", "Long live proletarian Internationalism", "Long live All India Plenum" the procession entered the maidan and converged with the people already waiting there, making it a teeming gathering of about 40,000.

Decorative pillars erected around the former Orissa capital, the attractive wall writings at important street junctions, large festoons hanging at the important places of the town, chains of posters in the entire area all declared the Plenum, urging the people to make it successful, strengthen the party and join and develop mass movements. While the Plenum preparation was made throughout India, preparation for organising the Plenum started throughout Orissa 3 months back, including wall writings and collections, from July onwards, when devastating floods repeatedly inundated many parts of the state necessitating organisers and activists, supporters and sympathisers to jump into extensive relief work, side by side with activities centring the Plenum. In Orissa, the SUCI which has a long history of mass movements for over four decades on burning issues at the cost of blood and

*Front portion of the delegates' procession on the way to Balijatra Maidan*

life, the party which always remains with the people in natural calamities, had acquired more a place of respect and love in the minds of millions for its relief activities during pre-Plenum period.

So, expectant people had come to the Balijatra Maidan to listen to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI and to give reception to the delegates of the Plenum. The people already had come to know the arrival of Comrade Mukherjee on 1st October at Cuttack when he and other Central Committee members were given a befitting reception at Cuttack station by the SUCI Orissa State Committee.

As everybody was waiting at the Balijatra Maidan, the procession of the delegates and observers, who too were drenched to the skin, entered the ground. They represented 16 States and 1 Union territory embodying a mini India. They, numbering 731, who came from northern, north-eastern, southern and western Indian states, started at about 1 pm their procession from Barabati Stadium and going through Gopabandhu Bag, Buxibazar Manisahu Chhak, Howrah Motors, Cantonment Road, finally reached Balijatra Maidan amidst pitched

slogans in different Indian languages.

The delegates to the Plenum excluded Gujarat comrades for in that state they were deeply engaged in organising and implementing relief work among the plague victims in Surat area.

Plague also had its dark impact on Orissa. A plague phobia was haunting this state also, centring the predicament of over 2 lakh Oriya workers returning here from Surat. This situation beside floods and, last but not the least, the imposition of 144 CrPC in Cuttack from 30th September to 4th October noon centring a local disturbance caused grievous difficulty in holding the Plenum smoothly.

Yet the gigantic task had been accomplished which would have been impossible without the selfless sustained activities of the Orissa comrades and without all-out help from people at large.

The 4th October had come at last and when the meeting of the reception rally started, the sky was still overhanging with clouds.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, with an upright gait, climbed the dais amidst slogan-shouting and took his seat. The Central Committee members Comrade Prithish Chanda, Comrade

Shankar Singh, Comrade Tapas Dutta, Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, Comrade Anil Sen, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta, Comrade Provash Ghosh, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty and Comrade Asit Bhattacharya all took their seat.

Comrade Tapas Dutta, also the Secretary, Orissa State Committee, SUCI, took the chair as the President after Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta proposed his name in that capacity, seconded by Comrade Binapani Dash, member, Secretariat, Orissa State Committee, SUCI.

At the outset, with the entire gathering standing up, one-minute silence was

martyr Comrade Durga Hembram.

Then Comrade Shantilata Hembram, widow of martyr Durga Hembram, who also participated in the Bhubaneswar rally, presented a bouquet to Comrade Nihar Mukherjee.

Following it a resolution on plague situation, moved by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty and seconded by Comrade Asit Bhattacharya was adopted unanimously.

Then started the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The leaders on the dais and the entire gathering stood up in respect to the great leader.

Thereafter Comrade Tapas Dutta in his presidential address briefly recounted the 1000-year old history of Cuttack city and greeted the people of Orissa for the co-operation and help that they extended, despite severe repeated floods and plague phobia, to make the Plenum a grand success.

He said, the Plenum was being held in the backdrop of a vital change in the international situation. Now, the USSR was no more existent. In the erstwhile socialist countries of east Europe also capitalism had been restored. The imperialists were jubilant causing panic among the common people the world over. The imperialists headed by the USA, taking advantage of the changed situation, were con-

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*Comrade Santilata Hembram, wife of Martyr Durga Hembram, presenting the bouquet to the beloved General Secretary on the dais of the Reception Rally*

Wage class and mass struggle to fight all fissiparous and communal forces and tendencies

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 continuously threatening the whole world. During the existence of Soviet Union, it had been possible in many cases to thwart imperialists' war conspiracy and their policy of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign

over were shocked at the way the so-called champions of democracy were trampling down the democratic rights of the people. These democrats were ruling in Russia. They did not hesitate to shell even Parliament being backed by the imperialists.

struggles on the basis of correct base political line. The meeting ended with the *Internationale*.

After the meeting all the comrades coming from different corners of Orissa started returning to their own places, while the delegates and observers went to the

delegate camp was a scene of enormous bustling activity. At the gate volunteers strictly scrutinising every entrant, the office helping to run the entire camp smoothly, volunteers with motor cycles and bicycles ready to run very many errands, volunteers engaged in

methodology the path in the present particular situation to guide onward the march of socialism, and ultimately communism giving final defeat to capitalism-imperialism. A great unity, built on the nobility of communism, bound all comrade in one tune.

The camp life had many aspects and above every detail of the camp life was stressed the examination and reexamination of the several documents circulated by the Central Committee — Draft on the International Situation, Resolution on National Situation, Amendments to The Constitution and Report of the General Secretary. Following the debacle of the socialist camp, the debacle that proved once again, although through great pain, how invincible is the teaching of Marxism, reminding once again the teaching of the great Marxist teachers that in socialism which is only a transitional phase, class struggle exists in ever greater intensity, and slackening in enforcing the dictatorship of the proletariat, or replacing proletarian democracy, socialist ideas and socialist economic laws with bourgeois democracy, bourgeois ideas and capitalist economic laws, replacing socialist ethics with the decadent bourgeois culture, etc., will in the long run bring about restoration of capitalism in socialist countries. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh all his life, upheld this Marxist tenet, and true to his teaching, giving full play to proletarian democracy, the document on international situation was circulated by



Comrade Shankar Singh

Look at these democrats in our country and what they were doing. Take the case of Durga Hembram whose only fault was that he was organising the tribal people against the torture, exploitation and eviction of the tribal people by the contractor-out-police nexus. And he was arrested and tortured and poisoned to death in the jail. Everywhere these democrats were resorting to torture, terrorisation and brutally crushing the most legitimate democratic movements of the people. And they claimed themselves to be the worshipers of democracy and were slandering against socialism because according to them there was no democracy in socialism. Now every downtrodden man was realising what was the truth.

Comrade Dutta said although capitalism in our country was weak in relation to the traditional imperialist countries, it had already acquired clear imperialist features. So the capitalist class in our country saw in GATT the scopes to fulfill their own interest, for which they accepted it. They were inviting multinationals and foreign capital in the country. They were running joint ventures too. Only the people would have to suffer more for it. So, Comrade Dutta appealed, people must rise against this menace and build up united resistance movement.

After Comrade Tapas Dutta Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered his speech. Comrade Mukherjee explained the world situation in the wake of setback of socialism in which imperialism, the US imperialism in particular, had taken a very belligerent stance. But, that was not the last word.

Comrade Mukherjee finally urged the people to strengthen class and mass

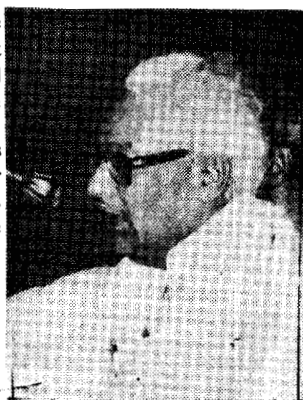


Beloved General Secretary placing wreath at the Martyrs' Column

Barabati Stadium. Comprising the central office, shelter for delegates, medical camp, a huge kitchen and

the huge task of cooking, doctor and nurse comrades attending on the sick, delegates and observers getting ready for the sessions — these and everything else related to the camp life was a sign of discipline and determination, revolutionary purpose working as the guiding spirit.

All seriousness existed in the camp. The delegates were engaged in a task of deep-going significance, the task related to proletarian revolution on national and international plane. Comrades of different provinces, speaking varied languages, steeped in different atmosphere were deeply engaged in the single task of ascertaining by means of Marxist



Comrade Pritish Chanda

two dining halls, all within one compact system at Barabati Stadium, the



Comrade Nihar Mukherjee hoisting the Red Flag

countries because of a mighty socialist camp and worldwide peace movement. Today, no control was working over it. Imperialists at present, through GATT, were bringing down unprecedented attack on the relatively weaker countries. They had virtually reduced the UN to a mere rubber stamp. In the name of UNO the US imperialists in particular were deploying army in many countries on various pleas. People now must ponder who gained after the setback of socialism.

Comrade Dutta said the true democrats the world

Delegates and Observers plunge into Lively Deliberations

(Contd. from page 5)

the Central Committee at the earliest ensuring its scrutiny individually and collectively right from the grassroots level. This international document, to be finalised in the Plenum is of supreme importance in the background of the changed international situation and so taking into account the countless amendments that reached CC from all over India a new draft was prepared and circulated likewise, in all the states from the grassroots to the highest level. Valuable amendments to it also came in the Plenum.

Within the compound of the Barabati Stadium a little beyond the delegate camp,



Comrade Tapas Dutta

was erected the huge plenum hall, named Saheed Durga Hembram Mandap. On 5th October, at 10 in the morning comrades gathered in front of it in a green expanse broken by a stately line of deodar trees with a clear blue sky above. In that solemn surrounding, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee hoisted the Red Flag accompanied by a burst of slogans from among the comrades. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee then paid floral tribute in memory of the martyrs at the white Martyrs Column. Thereafter Orissa comrades sang a song on Comrade Durga Hembram, a song, that touched every heart, lighting a silent oath in every comrade.

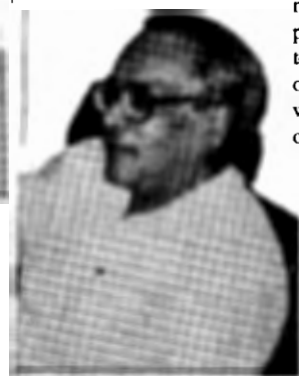
Now, the delegates and observers entered the Saheed Durga Hembram Mandap, took their respective seats and waited for the session to start. All eyes were on the dais at the back of which was a red wall with a wavy surface. At the middle of the wall was cut a dark red niche

acting as the background of a soft grey bust of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh placed on a white pedestal. A wreath of roses in the mid of the pedestal embodied our deep regard for the great leader. Above the red wall were set the portraits of the great leaders of the proletariat Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong-Shibdas Ghosh.

Comrade Pritish Chanda proposed the name of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee to preside over the Plenum and Comrade Shankar Singh seconded it.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the President, now took his chair on the dais. The proceeding started with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

On behalf of the General Secretary Comrade Anil Sen read out the Homage to the martyrs and those who have passed away, the inter-



Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee

national leaders who, till their last moments, fought bravely the counter-revolution and imperialism; freedom fighters; the leaders and activists of our party who were either killed by police or the anti-socials or died of long hardship or disease, great examples to make us feel the true meaning of revolution and revolutionary life. One minute silence was observed following it.

Then Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta placed the Resolution on Socialist Cuba highlighting its unflinching battle against US imperialism. Comrade Provash Ghosh seconded it.

Following it started the very important task of placing the Draft on International Situation and amend-



Comrade Anil Sen

ments to it. Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee placed them for consideration.

Altogether 52 comrades deliberated on international document for long four sessions; i.e., the entire 5th and 6th October and even including the lunch and dinner breaks and at nights exchanges went on over the all important document. Brilliant points came as amendments necessary to make a correct Marxist appraisal of the particular international situation obtaining, basing on which socialist movements on national levels would



Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta

acquire one victory after another.

Finally, the draft with the necessary amendments was put to the vote and was passed unanimously.

The Resolution on National Situation was placed by Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta. After critical and lively deliberations participated in by 45 comrades it was also adopted unanimously with amendments to be incorporated as finalised by the scrutiny committee.

Then amendments to the party constitution were tabled by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty. Party constitu-

tion is the embodiment of communist code of conduct evolved through long practice of communist values in party life under the direct guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. After deliberations by 20 comrades necessary amendments to the constitution were accepted unanimously.

Finally, the General Secretary's Report was



Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta

placed by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee. The report stressed with deepest urgency the role of the leadership in the present condition of calamity in the communist movement and upheld the supreme necessity of the leadership and the rank and file to wage an ever bitter uncompromising relentless battle against all shades of ego centricism, bureaucratism, aversion to criticism and to practise proletarian democracy and organisational centralism in its fullest. And on it depend how quickly would we march ahead towards fulfilling the dream of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and in fulfilling our international obligation. As many as 56 comrades took part in the deliberations.



Comrade Provash Ghosh

Numerous other written suggestions and amendments also came on all the four documents, to be considered by the Scrutiny Committee.

Comrades who deliberated included V. N. Singh (UP), Aminder Pal Singh (Punjab), Satyawan and Rajinder Singh (Haryana), Ramesh (Delhi), K. D. Sharma (MP), Mandola (Rajasthan), P. R. Harne (Maharashtra), Radhakrishna (Karnataka), Lukose (Kerala), Narayansamy (Tamilnadu), Sridhar (AP), Arun Singh (Bihar), Mayadhar Nayak (Orissa), Kalyan Chowdhury (Assam), Sadhana Chowdhury (West Bengal), K. Uma and Jayalakshmi (Karnataka) Chitrarekha (Haryana) and Chhaya Mukherjee.

After the General Secretary's Report was finally adopted on 9th



Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

evening, in the last session, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered his concluding speech.

Comrade Mukherjee in course of his speech dealt on certain specific aspects which were of supreme importance. Referring to the General Secretary's Report at the First Congress of the party he urged the comrades to grasp deeply the guidelines and organisational principles together with the kernel of the party ideology as contained therein. Comrade Mukherjee stressed the necessity of nurturing and developing the party's rank and file which constitute the wealth of the party. He then gave in some detail the endeavour of the party in developing close

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Concluding speech at the All India Plenum

Party is at a historic threshold — Elevate communist character, rectify style of work and be equal to the task

— Nihar Mukherjee

Comrades,

I am now to speak in conclusion of this plenum. But the time on hand is short for it, as comrades will have to leave for their respective states. So, I had better deal with certain specific aspects, as far as possible, which I consider to be of supreme importance. Firstly, this is our first experience of organizing, conducting and carrying out the programme of a plenum. Naturally, there have been lapses. Due to inexperience the nature of deliberations, too, left at times something to be desired. We are not practised in all these. But surely this plenum has brought the party a very rich experience. Whatever the lapses at the time of preparation and during the deliberations on the documents, participation by comrades has been, in the main, very lively and effective: So many well-conceived suggestions have been put forward and amendments moved to enrich each document! In my consideration, this is the first achievement.

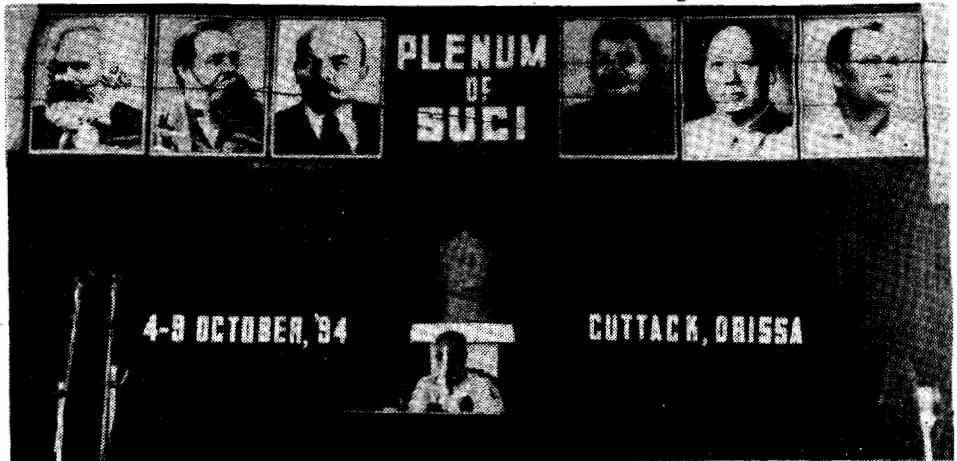
Secondly, as I said, due to inexperience there have been lapses, naturally though, in the mode of expression of views when the documents were taken up for deliberation and comrades invited to speak, offer suggestions or move amendments. We should simultaneously take note of the achievements and the lapses. This experience will help us in the future when we will be going for a congress, a special conference, or a plenum. I seek to draw attention of all delegates, observers and the members of the Central Committee also to note this point.

Thirdly, all the proceedings, beginning from the deliberations on the international situation, the national situation, Constitution and the Report of the General Secretary, the number and volume of amendments moved and accepted, including their nature and quality, are also to be noted down as all this will help us while finalising the four important documents. We shall have to make these four documents the guiding principle not only in our national sphere of activity but also to help advance the cause of proletarian internationalism and the nobility of communism. When these documents will go into circulation, both within the country and abroad, this plenum, I am sure, will go down in the history of the revolutionary struggle as a landmark.

At this stage I wish to draw your attention to certain aspects which together constitute a new experience in our party life. In the party congress, too, particularly in the document of the General Secretary's Report placed there, the organizational aspect of the party was dealt in a chapter. The guideline was taken from the teachings of Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh, who founded, trained and steered this party on the Indian soil, building it on the Leninist model of party organization. You know how through his lifelong, painstaking struggle Comrade Shibdas Ghosh built this party inch by inch and in the course enriched the concept and heightened the understanding of what makes the core of a party organization. The teachings of these giant communist leaders on the party organization of a monolithic type and the experience in this regard of the Soviet Communist Party led by Lenin, subsequently by

Stalin, as are revealed from scrutinizing and critical studies of the Reports to the 15th to 18th Congresses of the CPSU, are embodied in the General Secretary's Report to the first Congress of our party. Alongside are also the teachings of Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh. All these have been absorbed in what we adopted at the first Congress to be the organizational guiding principles and teachings to lead the party, its functioning and the relation between the cadres and the leaders in every sphere of party life. But

peasants or lower middle class, and a few also from the middle and upper middle class. This is the general composition of the party. The best sons and daughters of all the toiling section of the people join here with the mission of growing into communist revolutionaries and developing from communists to good communists by merging their personal life with the party and revolutionary life. Generally speaking, we are alive to our shortcomings and limitations. And we



Comrade Nihar Mukherjee addressing the delegates and observers in the Saheed Durga Hembram Mundap

it is important to point out, and I am constrained to do it, though not meaning it to be a general case, that the Report was not only not studied thoroughly and meticulously during the sessions of the congress and after the congress, its realization and implementation were not attempted adequately. Such is our experience. We lacked in this respect, too. After the congress was over, English and Hindi versions of the Report were made available by the Central Committee within quite a short time. Some state committees undertook to translate it into their respective state or regional languages. But it is a tragedy that all the States have not yet translated the Report into their state or regional languages to help comrades who do not follow English or Hindi get to study deeper the teachings on which the party organization has been based right since when the party began functioning through conventional practice, all through the lifetime of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and also after his demise till the party switched over to constitutional practice from the first congress. Comrades must grasp deeply these guidelines and organizational principles, together with the kernel of the party ideology.

We, who have joined this party, have come from different social strata. It is natural that in a backward country like ours a good number of the best sons and daughters have come from the middle class or intelligentsia, being imbued with the nobility of communism, Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism, as elaborated, enriched and given the highest understanding of the post-Lenin epoch by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. And many others have come from other strata — industrial workers, agricultural workers, poor peasants, lower middle

know that it is the treasure of the party's rank and file which constitutes the wealth of the party. This wealth requires to be nurtured and advanced.

From 1952, when Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had gone to China as a member of a trade union delegation and had met an accredited representative of the Central Committee of the CPC with whom he had long discussions, all through the rest period of life he guided a specifically important campaign work among others, setting the ball rolling in that direction. Whenever a delegation went abroad, on each and every occasion comrade members took party literature along containing the political, ideological, economic and social evaluation of the international and national situations. After the demise of Comrade Ghosh, the Central Committee of our party has been consistently pursuing this line of effort, so that in whatsoever frontal organization may they work our comrades carry on this ideological literary campaign whenever they go abroad in delegations, whether from the trade union front, peace front, teachers' front, women's front or they go to attend conferences of the WFTU, ILO, etc. And that has helped us. You know, after the dismantling of the Soviet Union and the debacle of socialism due to prolonged revisionist practice in the erstwhile Soviet Union and the east European socialist countries, when confusion gripped the ranks of the communist parties in different countries, there was no wavering in our party, no question raised.

Because, after the Tito incident, Comrade Ghosh had taught the party, rather he had tuned the entire party, the rank and file and the leaders, to the essence of communism, the proletarian culture.

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Build up united mass and class struggle against anti-people policies of the bourgeois government and resist imperialist inroads

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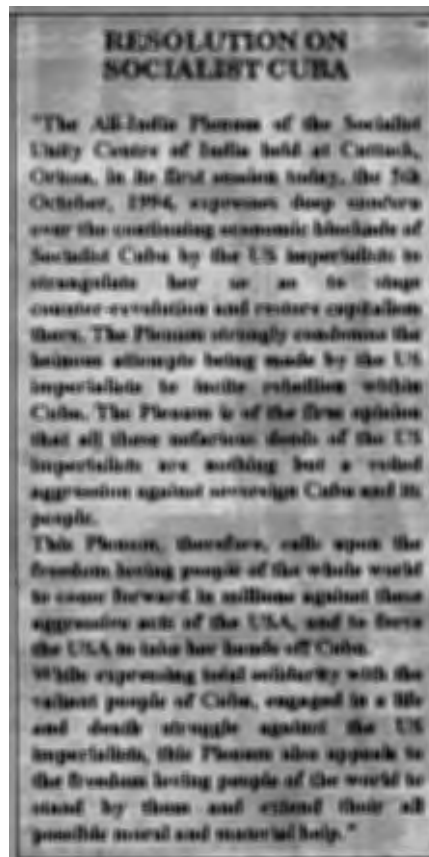
Guided by his teachings, we are carrying out explorations abroad. In the year 1992, at our initiative primarily, an international meet was organized under the auspices of the International Marxist Convention in London in May and another later in that very month in Delhi where Justice Krishna Iyer presided. Therefrom, keeping in view the mounting imperialist onslaughts particularly by US imperialism on the peoples of the developing countries in general and communism in particular, we have been trying both within the country and abroad, for exchange of views and close cooperation among the communist and workers' parties on this score. In the course of this effort by our Central Committee to build a united anti-imperialist struggle, we have had connections and links with some communist and workers' parties abroad, not many, but crucial and important ones, and also have had party to party talks.

I don't know whether you know of one development in this area. London and Brussels are two nerve centres of revolutionary politics long since. You know, Lenin, while he was in exile, worked in London, Brussels and also in Paris. There are many parties who, unable to work freely and openly in their respective countries because they have been declared illegal there, have their centres of activity either in London or in Brussels. Apart from our contact with different sections of the Communist Party of Great Britain we have established direct link with many of those parties who work from London. Some Irish comrades have also been contacted. One of them contacted us from the jail, now he has come out. On the eve of the May Day this year, when an international meet was again held in London, he came to attend it. And you know that the Belgian Party is another one with which we have links now. It is a party playing a significantly important role. Some parties of the Latin American countries, too, are having their bases in Brussels from where they work in other different parts of Europe. We have had opportunity to have direct dialogues with some of them. You also know that Comrade Ghosh's thoughts have not only travelled to Bangladesh but to Nepal also, where a part of his address at Muzaffarpur school, dealing with philosophy, has been brought out in a Nepali journal entitled *Mulyankan* with portraits of Marx on one side and Shibdas Ghosh's on the other side and under the title 'Darshan-Digdarshan'. You should also know that we have now a link with Comrade Nina Andreyeva, General Secretary of the All Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks.

A few days back a Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Cuba, who is also an Executive of the Foreign Department, came to Delhi and had discussions with some central level leaders of our party and also with state level leaders of Delhi and Haryana. He apprised us of the effects of the US embargo on Cuba and appreciated our role in organizing anti-imperialist movements in general and, in particular, our role in regard to socialist Cuba, socialist Korea, etc. He also expected us to play a pivotal role in the coming Havana Meet in November this year. It came out during the discussions that they have translated the first volume of the *Selected Works* of Comrade Ghosh, although it has not been ascertained whether the translated version has already been

brought out or not. I will try to fill in this gap in information. We do not know the position in regard to the effect of the literary campaign of our party in many other countries because still we have not been able to make direct contact with all of them.

At the London meet this year on the eve of the May Day, which was attended by several parties from different countries, my address was read out by Comrade Manik Mukherjee. I need not go into detail of it since a report has already appeared in the *Proletarian Era*. After the meet, these parties chalked out a programme to consolidate and strengthen anti-imperialist struggles in different countries of different continents. Our Central Committee has decided that side by side with this effort our party's links with the communist and workers' parties of different countries would have to be strengthened in the course of thrashing out differences on the political-ideological issues. Efforts have to be made to close the ranks of the communist and workers' parties of different countries to pave the way for consolidation of international communist unity.



All this I am referring to because our comrades, while they go on carrying out the task of building anti-imperialist struggles and fighting out the ruling bourgeoisie within the country, be also able to uphold the lofty banner of proletarian internationalism, being aware of the efforts of our Central Committee towards closing the ranks of the genuine communist and workers' parties of different countries engaged in the task of building revolutionary struggles on their soils.

I now come to other aspects. From the deliberations on the General Secretary's Report and what some comrades have told me I gather that an idea has somewhat gained ground that

there has been overemphasis on the negative aspects in the Report. Is it really so? No, not at all. Why have I mentioned the negative aspects in particular? Of course, if there has been any imbalance we should correct it. That is why I said that we should give due consideration to the amendments moved. Comrades, considering the need of the hour, I say, we must make every effort to make the party equal to the task of carrying on the class and mass struggles within the country and upholding proletarian internationalism, organizing anti-imperialist militant mass movements, building a militant peace movement as one conducive to the struggle for emancipation of the people across the world. So, comrades will have to assume greater responsibilities. To fulfil this historic mission is no doubt an uphill task. Just think, what type of leaders, organisers and cadres are required for it! We are communists, the disciples of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Shibdas Ghosh, from whom we have learned Marxism-Leninism. Nay, I should say we are trying to learn. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, learning from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, particularly in regard to building the party on the Leninist model, tried to train and rear up, through conventional practice, the leaders, organizers, cadres and to give shape to the cell as the primary unit and the local, district and state committees — all provisional. Only the Central Committee had been elected at the first convention of the party. There was no other elected body. Today, with bourgeois humanism thoroughly reactionary, moribund and corrupt to the core, and individualism degraded into narrow sectarianism and self-centredness, we shall have to bend all energies to fight these odds and develop step by step the party workers from the applicant member level to the staff member level. I urge you here to grasp Lenin's teaching that communism comes from without, it comes through socialist struggle covering all aspects of life. It is Lenin's observation that in backward and relatively underdeveloped countries the middle class intelligentsia would play a very definite role, but for that they would have to be declassed. Following these teachings, when Comrade Shibdas Ghosh undertook to build the party here, he conducted an intense ideological-political-organizational-social struggle covering every aspect of life in the minutest detail including love and sex in the period leading to the first convention of the party, paving the way for the emergence of a genuine communist party on this soil. This he continued all through life, keeping it living every moment. That is why you see in the party so many comrades educated and reared directly by Comrade Ghosh, all who developed along with the party itself. Comrade Ghosh himself emphasized the Leninist teaching and our Central Committee has been trying to inculcate its significance in comrades that in trying to develop ourselves from communists to good communists we should bear in mind that 'better fewer, but better'. Elaborating the essence Comrade Ghosh explained that when one joined the party and signed the pledge form, by that, as Lenin said, one simply expressed one's desire to be a communist. Mao Zedong had also said that when one joined the party it meant he joined it both ideologically and organizationally. So, for

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SUCI and communist parties of different countries coming closer to build up anti-imperialist platform

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elevation, development and advancement of comrades, a very vital role has to be played by the leadership from the Central Committee down to the cell bodies so that those who joined the party could develop into cadres. Now, who is a cadre? He is a cadre who in the course of struggle has acquired a certain ideological-political organizational standard. How many of us have acquired this standard?

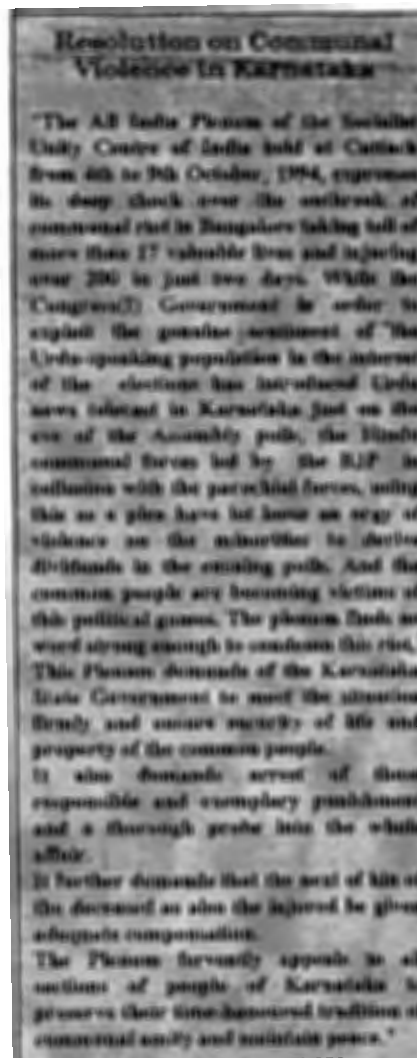
In the General Secretary's Report to the first congress I had categorically observed that in general membership had been granted liberally. In some cases, however, some stringency had been observed. What was required to be done as the follow-up measure was defined in the form of caution. There has been lack also in putting this into practice. This lack concerns adequate measures needed to be taken for their upgrading ideologically, politically, culturally and along with it to involve comrades in class and mass struggles. Constant vigilance, constant coordination and constant checks were needed.

Ours is a three-tier party organization. It is like a human body with the Central Committee in control of the entire party body functioning like the human brain in control of the nervous system. The entire party body functioning, the ideological-political-organizational struggles, the class and mass struggles, the international obligations, the creation of an ideological category — everything in fact is geared to fulfilling what Lenin defined as the three prerequisites for revolution, namely the correct theory, the correct party and the united front. Comrade Ghosh explained that by the correct theory Lenin did not mean just a strategy or political programme of revolution. It means much more, it means a complete epistemological category developed by the central leadership of the party by dialectically coordinating, integrating and generalising the understanding and experience of different branches of knowledge and covering all aspects of life. And revolution cannot be accomplished without a correct theory or correct base political line.

You know, dialectical materialism is the science which, by coordinating, integrating and generalising upon the different disciplines of science has developed into the science of all sciences. Through his lifelong struggle, pursuing the scientific course, Comrade Ghosh elaborated, enriched and developed it. Our Central Committee also has been consistently trying, following his path, to coordinate and generalise upon whatsoever development is taking place on the different disciplines of science along with fighting the confusions created by a section of the scientists. Now-a-days it is the technological development in the main, that is taking place. Still, the task of analysing whatsoever theoretical propositions are being made and coordinating and generalising whatever advancement is taking place, enriching Marxism-Leninism thereby, lies with the communists who are engaged in the task of winning emancipation of civilization and mankind from the clutches of capitalist exploitation. To accomplish this revolutionary task is needed the forging of the united front. That is a complex and painstaking task as the so-called left and democratic parties of our country are

mostly plunged in the quagmire of parliamentary politics. The leadership of these parties have taken a position of gradually leaving the arena of class and mass struggles. Yet there is historical compulsion in the ranks of these parties who desire and expect a genuine communist or genuine left party to grow and work. We should, therefore, constantly bear in mind that the party as a whole has to forge ahead to the fore at the all-India level.

You have heard some reports on the party organization and you have your personal and statewide experience. In West Bengal, these parties have dissociated from us, but in some



other states the very same CPI(M) and CPI, even the Forward Bloc and the RSP, are coming with us. Bihar and Orissa are examples. In Haryana, the CPI(M), CPI, SJP and such other left-democratic parties are joining hands with us. In MP also the CPI is coming with us. The point is that we have to organize and develop class and mass struggles all over the country. From this plenum we will go to our respective places of work with the mission of fulfilling both our international obligations and building the party stronger in the course of conducting class and mass struggles, taking care as to how best we can overcome our weaknesses in the party and the frontal organizations through which the party works.

We should admit that we are lacking in mass contact. It is our task to develop the frontal organizations as schools of communism and as a force to build militant character of these organizations. The only way to achieve this object is to release an ideological-political-cultural struggle to fight the present stagnation and give the fronts a mass orientation. The only recourse is to build a broadbased united mass movement on the burning problems in the people's life, keeping in view the present national situation which has got a new dimension in the present problems of the people's life.

Only that way we will also be able to draw the scheduled caste people, tribal people and other economically and socially backward people into the mainstream of democratic mass movement. The party has provided you with a general guideline on this task, but it has to be concretised and elaborated further. Here, too, we are lagging behind.

From 1980 our Central Committee has been striving towards this end, but not to the extent, I should say, which is required of us to meet the need of the hour. I say, the responsibility is mine, because by giving out a directive it is not possible to achieve the desired end. The Central Committee ought to keep constant vigilance over whether the state leaders and organizers, moving through different frontal organizations, go to the masses, stay with them and move together with them. Very clear guidelines were given, but the task has not been carried out to the extent required. We have to rectify it and for that we should learn from past mistakes and try always to lead a life so that we can indeed penetrate all sections of the toiling people — industrial workers, agricultural workers, poor peasants, students, youths, teachers, women and middle class intelligentsia, in a word, among people of all walks of life, stressing particularly the growth and development of the cultural front. No stone should be left unturned to fulfil this task.

At the same time, to make the party really monolithic, it is required that all the state committees, whether elected or nominated, even in those cases where we have not been able to develop a state committee level organization but where very good and dedicated comrades are working hard, must adopt all means to uplift the ideological, political and cultural standard of comrades. What we lack is cohesion with the masses. We lack in forging integration with them and in keeping constant organic link with them. In the General Secretary's Report, you will note, this deficiency has been pointed out as lacking of the Central Committee. I own the main responsibility myself for that as its chief executive. I must also point out that elected or nominated state bodies, or state organizers who have given up or are giving up their career at the call of the party sometimes suffer from a sense of being in disarray and they approach the party-assigned works in a way that betrays lack of cohesion, coordination and constant check. This is not unnatural to grow if proper attention, guidance and assistance are not given to them in time. I don't blame the comrades, I don't blame the lower bodies. Whenever the party gives a call, they readily plunge into struggle, unhesitant to

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Be steeled ideologically-culturally-organisationally, shoulder greater responsibilities and make headway towards victory

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face police torture, assaults by CPI(M), BJP or Congress hoodlums. Our women comrades, too, are not afraid of these. This is the steeling of character attained by our comrades. But even with this we will not be able to rise to the occasion. In the General Secretary's Report to the plenum a pointed and critical appraisal of this aspect has been sought to be made. This will have to be explained to the comrades more concretely and elaborately, pointing out where lie the shortcomings, limitations, inadequacies and mistakes whether in the individual style of work or elsewhere. For everything that has been achieved, I say, the credit goes first to the comrades and to the Central Committee. For the shortcomings and limitations the moral responsibility is mine in the first place.

At the enlarged meeting of the state executives at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatsila on the eve of the plenum some comrades wondered whether there were two lines in the party. Comrades, a genuine working class party which has been trained and steeled by none other than Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, cannot and does not allow two lines to work inside it. But there is a struggle. We do not hide anything from the comrades, because they have to clearly understand all basic questions. I am not discussing about other bodies. I am telling you about the Central Committee. Yes, comrades, there is struggle in it. The nature of the struggle is one between the right and the wrong. It is there, and it will be there. If it is not there then the life of the party is doomed. Why do I say like that? Because, we, the communists, who are in quest of truth, the full truth, should know that we cannot realize it without dialectical interaction. No, we cannot. So, this struggle will be going on, and in our party it is very much a living struggle. To dispel any confusion in the minds of comrades I tried to bring home a point at Ghatsila and am now placing it here before you. In this struggle in quest of truth, or to reach a decision in our party, though I am the General Secretary I was in the minority on two occasions. Some senior comrades insisted that it could not be allowed and that my proposal should be carried through. I humbly opposed it, saying to do so would be a departure from the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thoughts.¹ When I have not been able to carry the majority with the line proposed then I must submit to the majority decision happily. Not only happily, it was a test of mine as to whether I can carry out the decision no less efficiently than the proponent comrades. Without this, without putting into practice the principle of four-fold submission in the party, we will step into deviation, knowingly or unknowingly.

So difference of opinion may appear even within the Central Committee, and in that case according to the party principle the minority will submit to the majority. If this is not followed, it would not be possible to be free from the harmful influence of individualism. Not only that, in this process, even a revolutionary leader under the influence of individualism might even degenerate into a capitalist roader by gradually deviating from the main revolutionary line. Keeping this in mind, in the Central Committee meeting of the

CPC did not Mao Zedong said once, what was to be done if any one among the Central Committee members was found to be a revisionist, a capitalist roader? This means that such a phenomenon might happen within a revolutionary party. But, by that the party does not deviate from the main revolutionary line or everything is not lost. So, we find, as long as the main leadership of the Chinese party remained revolutionary, the party did not deviate, and the socialist construction was also not hampered. This has got obstructed only when the leadership of the party was usurped by the revisionists. That is why Mao unleashed the great proletarian cultural revolution.

If you go through the history of the international communist movement you will find that in the Central Committee headed by Lenin there was a spy. But revolution is not a conspiratorial movement. Revolution is a science and an art at the same time as taught by Lenin. It is not such a movement that can be penetrated by a spy to foil the entire revolutionary course. Revolution is consummated when the revolutionary line is carried forward to its logical culmination by stipulating the intrinsic law of social development.

Comrades, the present objective condition is well-nigh prepared, but until and unless we prepare the subjective condition, that is the party and all frontal organisations top to bottom, following the correct revolutionary methodology we cannot advance the revolutionary struggle to its logical culmination. Without treading this course, howsoever correct the theory, howsoever correct the strategy, howsoever strong the sacrificing spirit, dedication and sincerity, it will not suffice, nor carry us through until and unless can we draw the toiling masses into the vortex of class and mass struggles, build their own instrument of struggle, a strong volunteer corps and, in the wake of this, can give birth to the people's alternative political power. With this aim we are to organize class and mass struggles throughout the length and breadth of the country.

As pointed out in the national resolution the main class disposition has not changed. But due to the impact of the capitalist-imperialist crisis, India being an inseparable part of the capitalist crisis, the crisis of Indian capitalism is getting reflected in the social-political-cultural-moral spheres, and the victims are the masses of the people in general, the greatest casualty being the unity of the people. We have to fight against all fissiparous and communal forces and tendencies by waging class and mass struggles. To meet this situation the party should be nurtured in a way that we can fight out our weaknesses and keep the struggle living in the party.

How can we do it? Can we do it without critically examining and locating the weaknesses, shortcomings and defects in all of us — right from me and the Central Committee members sitting here?

No one is infallible. Comrades respect the leaders because they deserve it, but at the same time all of us shall have to set examples by critically examining what stage of identification have we reached. It is here, in regard to this aspect, that confusion exists in the minds of some comrades. It concerns the staff membership. The staff membership is to be accorded with great

caution and stringency. All party members must have acquired through ceaseless struggle a standard of communist character whereupon they can make their individual interest secondary to the interest and necessity of the class, party and revolution. When a member, by continually uplifting the communist standard of his character through such struggle, has not only been able to make his individual interest really secondary to the interest of the class, party and revolution but has been able to engage himself in the struggle to identify himself completely with the class, party and revolution by placing himself voluntarily and happily at the total disposal of the party, only then can he be considered a staff member. Those who have got staff membership *should try to uplift themselves constantly and help the leaders and all members of the party for their elevation and upgradation and for greater identification with the class, party and revolution.*

But maybe, notwithstanding all efforts by the Central Committee and the whole party, some among us fail. This phenomenon should be understood correctly. The party's effort in this case plays the role of external contradiction. But if the comrade concerned, even one who has reached the position of a staff member through the struggle, slackens and then ceases this struggle to constantly uplift himself, he will degrade. He will fall. Can we stand this position? No. So, to redeem this struggle, that socialist struggle covering all aspects of life and identification more and more with the class, party and revolution, if the Central Committee decides to withdraw staff membership from the comrade concerned, he will again have to come back through the struggle. This is one category of the phenomenon where the Central Committee has been compelled to expel one from the party and to drop another.

There is another, a second category. As regards the four other comrades whose staff membership has been withdrawn, the Central Committee desires and expects that they will again become staff members struggling hard their way back and setting examples in this respect. When one is promoted, one feels glad. But when one goes down owing to weaknesses, naturally one is shocked. We are also pained. So, comrades, try to understand this phenomenon, otherwise, instead of helping those comrades, you may be knowingly or unknowingly blocking their way back to regain their staff membership. The Central Committee cannot allow it. We desire that if a comrade is demoted, expelled or declared renegade, he may again come back and join the party. He will not only be given the opportunity to do it, his responsible position will be restored, if he, following the correct methodology tries to come back. By his struggle he can prove that although he defaulted once but that is not the final word about him. If one strives and struggles hard in the correct way he can achieve this. I may cite the example of Comrade Robi Bose, who through his struggle proved his firm commitment to the revolutionary life. We should take lessons from the exemplary characters of these comrades.

The main question is whether the struggle for rectification is going on or not inside the party. Keep this struggle living, comrades, that is the only guarantee for elevation, advancement,

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Concluding Speech of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

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progress and stepping ahead. Take more and more responsibilities, not only in your local and district bodies, but also at the higher levels. Remember, it is the dearth of efficient organisers and efficient leaders who can not only shoulder greater and greater responsibility but can carry out the tasks assigned, breaking all obstacles for that, which is the main deficiency of the party. It is the task of the leadership to train up comrades ideologically, politically, culturally and organizationally and entrust them with responsibilities and help them develop their revolutionary communist character, so that this dearth can be met in the shortest possible time.

I urge you, everybody of you from the Central Committee to the cell bodies and comrades moving in all frontal organisations, to constantly study and consult the Report of the General Secretary to the first congress and along with it the Report laid down at this plenum. The party is the Supreme Command, but how can it play this role until and unless we raise ourselves to be equal to the task which is the supreme need of the hour? Comrades, in view of the possibilities before us in the background of the present international and national situations, we shall return from this plenum with the firm resolve to keep this struggle living constantly in us. With these words I conclude. Future is yours.

Long Live Revolution!

Long Live SUCI!

Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!

Resolution on Plague taken at the Reception Rally at Cuttack on 4th October, 1994.

"This Reception Rally held at Cuttack on 4th October, 1994, on the occasion of the First All-India Plenum of the Socialist Unity Centre of India deeply mourns the death of hundreds of victims of Plague which broke out in Surat of Gujarat and then spread almost all over the country. The outbreak of this epidemic totally nullifies the claim of the government that Plague had been eradicated long back while its rapid spread to other parts of the country reveals the utter failure of the administration to control the situation. This rally cannot but note with indignation that the response to the epidemic showed by the governments both at the Centre and in the States was criminally negligent while their handling of the situation was highly irresponsible. This rally demands of the governments to at once give up their callous attitude, meet the situation on war footing and take all necessary steps that can really control the situation and instil confidence in the people. The rally also demands of the governments to give adequate compensation to the next of kins of all Plague victims."

First All India Plenum

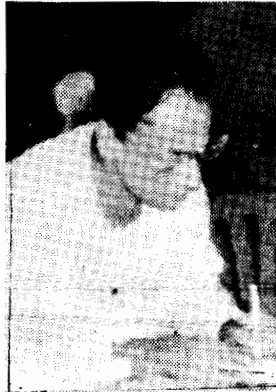
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links with fraternal communist and workers' parties in different countries for building up a powerful and militant anti-imperialist movement conducive to the struggle for emancipation of the people the world over. Comrade Mukherjee stressed the need, for developing step by step the applicant members of the party to the staff member level. He mentioned in this connection how Comrade Shibdas Ghosh conducted intense ideological, political, organisational, social struggles covering all aspects of life in the minutest details for building the party as the real revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Comrade Mukherjee pointed out how our party had been striving hard for building up a broad based united mass movement on the burning problems in the people's life, keeping in view the present national situation.

Comrade Mukherjee stressed the necessity of

keeping alive the inner party struggle for building a monolithic party organisation. Condition for proletarian revolution was well nigh prepared and what was the need of the hour was



Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

the subjective preparation. He said, until and unless we could raise ourselves to be equal to the tasks, the objective would remain unfulfilled. So he urged all from the Central Committee to cell bodies and frontal organisations to constantly study and consult the Report of the General Secretary to the First Congress of the

party along with the Report placed in the Plenum for being equipped to discharge the great responsibility the present national and international situation.

(Both the speeches of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee are printed separately in this issue)

The speech of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was now over. Comrades were filled with deep emotion and imbued with new determination. Now the strains of the Internationale reverberated through the Saheed Durga Hembram Mandap and reached the core of every heart where rolled on an oath taken anew to fulfill the behest the party had entrusted with. All the disciples of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh now were on their way to their own states poised to take up the historic responsibility. The Plenum became a milestone of the history of the party. The party was now at a new threshold when communists all over the world were coming together on a common platform to fight capitalism imperialism to the last and establish socialism.

Reception Rally Speech

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On the international plane to thwart the danger of imperialist war the exploited people all over the globe will have to forge an iron unity of all anti-imperialist, anti-war and pro-peace and patriotic forces with the communists at the core and to build up a militant peace movement which can effectively stall the imperialist war manoeuvre and belligerency.

With this aim we will march on.

Here, I conclude.

Long Live Revolution!

Long Live SUCI!

Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!

— SUCI's letter to Left-Democratic parties

To

The General Secretary/President

We hope, you know that our party held its All-India Plenum in Cuttack, Orissa, from 4 to 9 October last, where the present international and national situations were evaluated and the tasks decided. The Plenum expressed the Party's deep concern over the growing imperialist assault, armed attack, intrigue, intervention, gangsterism, nuclear blackmailing and overlordism by the imperialist powers, US imperialism in particular, consequent upon the dismantling of the socialist camp and weakening of the socialist system. The savage attack on Iraq, and now continued sanctions on her, threat of attack on Libya, intrigue in Somalia and Rwanda, intervention in

Panama, Grenada and Haiti, blockade of Socialist Cuba, and bullying of Socialist Korea reveal this all-out conspiracy and machinations headed by the US imperialist clique. Such attacks, albeit in the name of peace-keeping mission, are now being launched under the banner of the UNO whose Security Council has been virtually reduced to a rubber stamp to endorse the heinous designs of US imperialism. The GATT Accord, on the lines of the Dunkel Proposals, is no doubt a concerted thrust of the imperialist assault on the peoples of the weaker countries on the economic front. It is not the end, but the beginning of a bitter trade war which may anytime flare up into a bloody war. It was decided at the Plenum, in view of this looming imperialist menace, to try to develop the broadest possible anti-imperialist movement, and through it, launch a mighty and militant peace movement conducive to the struggles for emancipation of the people across the world.

Evaluating the national situation the Plenum took note that Indian capitalism, being part and parcel of the crisis-ridden moribund world capitalism, has its deepening crisis reflected in the body politic, social life and cultural-moral spheres. In a bid to overcome this situation, the Central Government, as the caretaker of the Indian bourgeois state, has taken recourse to the new economic policy with measures of liberalisation, privatisation and collaboration with foreign multinational corporations to plunder the home market and secure for the Indian monopoly capitalists every bit of opportunity to exploit markets abroad, whereas, our people yell under the burden of increasing taxes, price-rise, inflation, unemployment, layoffs, lockouts and

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Cuban Communist Party Leader Meets SUCI

Ramon Hernandez Vazquez, member, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, and also a member of its Foreign Relations Committee, came to India recently. The purpose of his visit was to explain (i) the present situation in Cuba, (ii) its present relation with the USA, (iii) the problem of migration from Cuba, and to discuss (iv) the participation of Indian representatives at the forthcoming International Solidarity Meet at Havana.

The Cuban leader met Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, member, Central Committee, SUCI, and Comrade Ranjit Dhar, member, Central Editorial Board and a central staff of the SUCI, on 20th September last at the SUCI office in Delhi. A meeting was arranged for the next day, 21st September, with a broader house of selected state level party comrades of Delhi and Haryana. A synopsis of the discussion Comrade Vazquez had at this meeting is given below.

Comrade Ramon Hernandez Vazquez expressed his firm conviction that both the Communist Party of Cuba and the Socialist Unity Centre of India had the common objective of fighting against imperialism and defending the interest of the working class. He emphasized that the guiding principle of the Cuban Revolution, in conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, had been the unity of communists all over the world against imperialism. The imperative need of cementing this anti-imperialist unity had increased manifold at the present hour.

Comrade Vazquez also observed that the 'prophecy' of the bourgeois ideologues that the Cuban Revolution would crumble in six months, or that the other socialist countries, following dismantling of socialism in the USSR and the socialist states of east Europe would fall like a pack of cards has proved to be absolutely wrong. These ideologues did not take into account the objective reality that the Cuban Revolution was firmly entrenched among the masses, being closely linked with their life. The leaders and the masses shared the meagre resources they had.

Comrade Vazquez mentioned that it was hard to get membership of the Communist Party of Cuba. However, the mass organizations were open to all. Nobody in the party had life membership. If certain requisites were not fulfilled, membership was withdrawn. Although there was a single party, namely the Communist Party of Cuba, people enjoyed full democracy. Prior to the last party congress, the document containing the call of the party was discussed by 3.5 million members who came up with millions of suggestions that were analysed and computerised. Even the minority suggestions were considered and weighed. The entire proceedings of the congress were telecast live.

Cuba has a brilliant record on health and education. At the time of Revolution the country had only 6000 doctors, now it has more than 1,50,000. Child mortality is 9.4 per thousand against 61 in the pre-Revolution period. Life expectancy has risen from 61 years to 75 years at present. For the working class education is compulsory up to a minimum of 8th standard. Every 15th candidate is a graduate. The country has now half a million graduates and 30,000 scientists. Women are no exception. Now 48% of the scientists and 23-28% of the MPs (528) are

women. There has been much progress in the field of bio-technology, in sophisticated medicines like antibiotics, etc. The credit for all this is the credit of the party, a party having its strength in ideology. Political-ideological training has been stepped up. This, however, does not mean that there do not exist different groups with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. The genuine communists are behind the Cuban struggle.

But consequent upon dismantling of socialism in the USSR and east European countries and the continued economic blockade of the country, its economy is faced with serious difficulty. The Cuban people are struggling hard against a host of odds. The USA has tightened the blockade despite the fact that the blockade has been condemned twice in the UNO. But Cuba is determined to continue its fight, along with the other peoples of the world, against the US imperialists.

Cuba's trade relation with the USSR was mutually beneficial. 40% of the USSR's sugar requirement came from Cuba, whereas the USSR provided Cuba with nickel and citrus fruits. The virtual disintegration of the socialist camp and the blockade have been heavily telling upon the Cuban economy. The country's import capacity has dwindled to 1.7 billion US dollars from the previous 8 billion dollars.

Comrade Vazquez pointed out that the blockade was a violation of the principle of sovereignty. The US rulers boasted of championing human rights, but the fact was that every now and then they trampled upon the same. Clearly, the object of tightening the blockade was to incite the Cuban people in the most heinous way against the socialist system. In fact, the US policy of blockade was a policy to exterminate Cuba. A non-stop subversive propaganda was being carried out by 30 US radio stations who called upon the Cuban people to leave their homeland.

Cuba pursues a policy that those who do not want to participate in the building of socialism have the right to leave Cuba. There is nothing to object this. Whereas, the US policy of inciting people to leave Cuba is only a propaganda ploy. What underlies the US policy is to pull down Cuba militarily. That is precisely why the US Embassy in Cuba instigated a group of people to cause riots in Havana last August. The intention was to provoke the police and enforcement agencies to arrest and shoot people and this way create a situation where a furore could be created over human rights in Cuba and sanction obtained from the UN to intervene, as has been done in Haiti. But Cuba is not Haiti or Panama or Grenada. The Cuban people are trained in arms and war and have developed a strategy to defend homeland in case of invasion. They are not armed with nuclear weapons, but it is a fact that war with Cuba, will be war to finish. The US imperialists should know that the first Cuban to die on the battle front will be the Cuban tiger, Fidel Castro.

Comrade Vazquez recalled that Comrade Fidel Castro had played the leading role in the Cuban Revolution, but he did so on the basis of collective leadership practised by the party. The Communist Party of Cuba adhering to the principle of developing able leaders of different age groups, had brought into practice an

arrangement thus : the present politburo of 25 members is a balanced combination of 3 generations — the old generation of Castro, a middle generation and the present generation. The latter constituted one-third of the members and there were three women members also. Those from the present generation were receiving training, education and strength from the old generation. It was like a relay race at a right time. There is a phrase of Fidel — men are mortals, but the party is immortal.

In the sphere of economy certain measures have been taken under compulsion of the situation. Cuba has now allowed foreign capital for investment, which they never wanted otherwise. But even then the industries have not been privatised. There is lack of raw materials, dearth of capital, no credits. The changes brought about have the singular object of allowing the Revolution to survive, strengthening socialism not abandoning it. The foremost task is to save socialism and survive in the context of Cuban conditions of today. Some measures of mechanisation of agriculture have been taken off late. Another change has been in the balance of rural and urban population. Rural population is only 20%. Tourism has been opened to foreigners. Foreign exchange is required very much.

Comrade Vazquez expressed his confidence that the SUCI comrades would be able to dispel the slanderous campaign launched by the US rulers against Cuba and make the Indian people conscious of the reality of the Cuban Revolution and the Cuban people.

In the end Comrade Ramon Hernandez Vazquez appealed to the comrades present at the meeting to send a delegation to the forthcoming meet in Havana in November, 1994, to help strengthen further the united movement against the US blockade of Cuba and to compel the US imperialist rulers to take their hands off Cuba.

SUCI's Letter

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closures. Further, to disrupt the people's unity in the common struggle to fight the government's anti-people policies and measures, the communal, parochial, fissiparous and divisive forces are being aided and abetted to entangle the masses in fratricidal bloodbath. The Plenum felt that it was the crying need of the hour that all the Left democratic parties and secular forces joined strength to launch and develop a countrywide broadbased united democratic mass movement on a minimum agreed programme and code of conduct. Only this way could we draw the scheduled caste, tribal and all other socially and economically backward sections of the people into the mainstream of the struggle and simultaneously fight both the anti-people policies and moves of the government and the imperialist inroads.

We, therefore, approach you with request to give serious thought to this proposal and take initiative to convene in Delhi in a month's time a meeting of all Left democratic parties and secular forces to chalk out the programme and course of movement. Should you feel so, our party can also take the initiative in this regard.

Expecting an early reply,

With revolutionary greetings,

Comradely yours,

Sd/ Nihar Mukherjee,

General Secretary,

1.11.94

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