

FIRST ALL INDIA CONGRESS OF THE SUCI

LEAD MASS LIFE, ORGANISE CLASS AND MASS STRUGGLES FULFIL BEHEST OF COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Call to Delegates



Inaugural ceremony on 25th March, Mahajati Sadan. On rostrum (from left): Com. Shankar Singh, Com. Pritish Chanda, Com. Nihar Mukherjee. Music squad presents the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

STANDING on a historic threshold now is the advanced post of the proletariat of India, tempered in struggles through 40 years to be the vanguard detachment of the class and realize the dream of emancipation of the toiling people. Onward through this arduous course, from the Founding Convention of 1948 to this First Congress in 1988, *the Party*, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, reared and trained by the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has brought itself to the fore of class and mass struggles to be equal to the task history has adjured it to carry out.

Marxist-Leninists are seekers of truth. The beginning may be humble for them, but the power of truth is the force with which they grow. They know: "If one's line is correct and even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained." Proclaiming its emergence 40 years back at a little known locality in South Bengal, the organizing activity has today spread across the country, following the unique course adopted by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to build up *the Party*. This Congress is reflection of consummation of that party building process, when now *the Party* has reached a higher stage to cope with its task, purging itself continuously of looseness, casual approach and stereotyped pattern of work and imbibing proletarian ethics and culture.

Responding to the historic call of the Central Committee headed by beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, intense ideological - political activity began in the party bodies in different States to prepare for the All India Congress. Inside the party the comrades plunged into the struggle to uplift themselves to the standard of good communists, that is professional revolutionaries. On the other, they devoted themselves to organising, conducting and leading class and mass struggles conducive to the base political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and to establishing the correct revolutionary party leadership over the masses of the people, and, in the process of this two-fold struggle further strengthening democratic centralism and consolidating *the Party* organisation. Local,

District and State Conferences were held in a large number of States, and delegates were elected for the All India Congress. What was once a nucleus of pioneers has today grown into an organically combined striking force, drawing into its ranks people speaking diverse languages in diverse parts of the country—all who proclaim themselves as the disciples of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and are engaged in a painstaking and re-

lentless ideological-political - cultural struggle covering every field of social activity and every aspect of day-to-day life.

Delegates and observers started arriving in Calcutta from far-off States, from neighbouring States and districts, from the city itself. For the five days of the delegate session, 25th to 29th March, they camped together, engaged in common constant discussion, common constant associa-

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee On The First Party Congress And Our Tasks



In the earlier issue of the Proletarian Era dated 16 March 1988 we had published in full the introductory speech of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI and our beloved leader, at the School of Politics held in the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts at Ghatsila, Bihar, on 19-23 November, 1987. In this issue we are publishing some portions of the concluding address of Comrade Mukherjee in that school — portions pertaining to the questions concerning the first Party Congress and our tasks. We hope, this discussion of Comrade Mukherjee will help all to grasp the perspective and significance of the Party Congress in the present international and national situation.

If in course of selecting portions and publication, any error or inaccuracy has crept in, the responsibility lies with us.

—Editorial Board

COMRADES,

This is the last session of this school. Since 19th evening, so far you had been participating in the separate classes divided into three linguistic groups and the conductors of these classes have reported to me that many comrades took active part and raised many important questions and the discussions were very lively and inspiring. I know that because of shortage of time all comrades could not take part in the deliberation. But generally speaking, as I have been told, the discussions were living, comrades who have raised different questions from different angles tried their best to place before the leadership whatever were in their mind. Though most of the questions that came up in the different classes have been answered by the respective conductors they have requested me to deal with some of them here in my concluding discussion. For two reasons: first of all, there are questions on which, they feel, I should further elaborate before this house, and secondly, there are some other questions which were raised in one group and not in others but require a general treatment before all the comrades of this school. This being the last general assembly of this school, the leaders feel it necessary that I should deal with them here so that they can have a correct and common understanding about those aspects.

HOW THE STRUGGLE TO BUILD UP SUCI STARTED

.... I shall start my discussion with how the emergence of our party as the only genuine working class party in our soil took place. It is not possible here to discuss the history of our party at length. So I shall speak about some of the important aspects of this history. It is now known to you all that before the foundation of the party SUCI, there was a stage of the Platform of Action from 1946 to 1948. It was a platform of all those socialist minded people who felt that there was no genuine communist party in our soil and so wanted to give birth to such a party in the

country. It was a platform with a party content. During the stage of this Platform of Action. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh initiated a historic but arduous struggle for the growth and development of a genuine working class party by releasing an intensive socialist ideological movement together with his handful of compatriots covering all aspects of their life...

In those days, although there was then the undivided CPI, a party by name only and recognised by the international authorities as a communist party but actually, as its activities and political lines convinced us, it developed as a petty bourgeois party,—Comrade Ghosh undertook the historic mission to build up a genuine working class party in our soil, taking into cognisance the mistakes and failure of the CPI and the other parties and groups going by the label of communism, socialism etc., the peculiarities and particularities of the concrete situation of this country and the historic urge of the working class to give birth to its own party and leadership. For this purpose, from the very beginning he started the process of party formation following the correct Leninist methodology, first, inside the Platform of Action, and later in the party formed in 1948.

THE LENINIST METHODOLOGY OF PARTY BUILDING

What is this Leninist methodology? How was it applied by Comrade Ghosh? I want to discuss this aspect at some length here. You all know that in carrying out the first proletarian revolution in Russia Comrade Lenin had set up a model before us of how to give organisational shape to a communist party. Under his direct guidance the Communist International had drafted a model framework about the principles of party organisation. What did Lenin teach us? He said that for the success of revolution what was first required was to have a correct theory. And when Lenin said this, he did not mean only the strategy and tactics of revolution, the programme and policy of the party or some resolutions on day to day political questions.

By this "correct theory", he wanted to imply, as Comrade Ghosh elucidated before us, a total category of knowledge, an epistemological category covering all aspects of life with which to approach all phenomena of the revolutionary movements. Secondly, Lenin taught us to build up the party as a centralised and disciplined organisation on the basis of firm ideological unity and democratic centralism. By democratic centralism Lenin meant centralism on the basis of proletarian democracy inside the party. This is a mechanism that has to be developed and practised within the party with conscious and constant effort—it does not take shape in a communist party automatically, simply by virtue of a clause in the Constitution, nor does it operate on its own. Thirdly, another very important teaching of Lenin's was that a revolutionary party must give birth to a batch of professional revolutionary "who will devote their whole life for the revolution" and the leadership of the party must come from among them. It is not the ability of one's writing or speaking or mobilising forces but one's devotion and degree of involvement into the cause of revolution that should be the criterion for one's being a leader. So by the term "professional revolutionary" Lenin did not mean paid wholtimeer—which has become the situation with the CPI, CPI(M) etc. in our country — but the leading staff of the party who will completely dedicate their life for the growth and development, consolidation and defence of revolution. These are some of the basic tenets of Leninism on the building of a communist party in any country.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and his compatriots also started with these same concepts. But, as you know, Comrade Ghosh, in course of applying them in our soil, further elaborated and developed them and applied these basic Leninist concepts of party building in a creative manner. During the stage of the Platform of Action he released an intense socialist ideological struggle covering all aspects of

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life, including the minutest details of personal life—sparing nothing, not a single aspect of life—in order to develop, first of all, among those who were engaged in the process of party building, uniformity of thinking, one process of thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose; secondly to give birth to the correct theory, strategy and tactics on the basis of correct evaluation of the present international and national situations and a concrete understanding of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of an epistemological category covering all aspects of life and lastly, to create a band of professional revolutionaries from among them. To achieve these ends Comrade Ghosh strove hard through painstaking, arduous and strenuous efforts, by organising innumerable study circles, study classes, schools of politics, meetings and discussions among different sections of the toiling people starting from the industrial and urban workers to the poor peasants, agricultural labourers as well as intellectuals. In its course when it was felt that the three minimum pre-requisites as underscored by Leninist concept, for the building up of a new and genuine communist party had been fulfilled in the main among those who were engaged in this process the first or Founding Convention of the party was held on 22-24 April, 1948 in Joynagar of West Bengal to give birth to the SUCI.

EVOLVING CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE THROUGH CONVENTIONAL PRACTICE

Note that we called it Convention and not Congress. Why? Some comrades, in spite of there being many discussions in several party forums are, it seems to me, not so clear on this question. So, I am deliberately taking it up for discussion here. We said that it was a Convention and not a Congress for two reasons; first, because the delegates were not elected by holding lower level conferences; those who had agreed within the Platform of Action to build up the new party in a uniform way of thinking attended it as delegates. Secondly, no Constitution was adopted and enforced by it. A model of Leninist Party Constitution was drafted and circulated among the comrades. All inner-party struggles and practices were conducted in a conventional manner, the draft constitution serving as a guide. Comrade Ghosh then suggested that it would be better if the constitutional norms and practices evolve within the party in a habitual way with an ethical sense of binding through the conventional method instead of it being enforced from above by its immediate adoption. It was a novel experiment and a daring experiment too, undertaken by Com. Ghosh, and today, you all know how immensely we have been benefited by this. Today when through the holding of our First Party Congress we are going to adopt the Constitution and give constitutional shape to all the levels and bodies of organisation, it has almost been incorporated into the daily conduct of the comrades and the organisation and no clause, no rule will appear to the comrades

as imposed from above. That is why during the long forty years last our party worked in a conventional manner with all constitutional norms operating informally. However, you should not confuse when I say we are going to switch over from the conventional practice to constitutional practice, that till now we had no constitution for our party, or that so far whatever we have done were unconstitutional. No! comrades, this is not the correct concept of Constitution and constitutional practice. Maybe it is a limitation of language to express the thing through suitable terms. But to grasp the real issue that is involved here you will have to probe deeper than mere terms and expressions, then you will see that although the constitution was not formally adopted and had therefore no formal status within our organisation, it was very much in operation in the sense that all inner-party mechanism, practices and procedures were always actually guided by the draft constitution we had before us. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in course of his life-long struggle endeavoured to evolve the constitution as an habitual practice among the leaders and cadres as a whole, enriched and constantly improved upon the draft constitution with the experiences the party gathered in course of the conventional practice. So nothing there was done that could be called unconstitutional, for no leader, no member in our party has the scope to do anything that violates party norms—which are understood by all comrades of whatever level, no matter whether they can refer to any relevant clause of the constitution or not.

Now, as I was saying, in course of the struggle and practices within the Platform of Action when Comrade Ghosh and his close associates felt the moment had come for final shaping out of the party, the task was fulfilled through the Founding Convention of 1948. The Convention adopted the theses on International and National Situations—defining the strategy and tactics of revolution, and elected the Central Committee with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as the General Secretary. From that Convention the party embarked on a new course of development towards holding the Congress. And during this long period, the party organisation has been gradually developed from the embryonic stage, step by step, by Comrade Ghosh. We had started then as a propaganda nucleus only, with just a handful of cadres—but no fame, no shelter, no money. From that stage he created in course of time, through organising and conducting innumerable study classes and schools of politics among different sections of the toiling people as well as developing and leading their class and mass struggles, not only large number of cadres and a good batch of professional revolutionaries but also party organisations in different states starting from the urban areas to the remotest villages. He recruited party cadres from among all strata of the toiling people—industrial workers, urban middle class, intelligentsia, agricultural labourers, poor peasants etc. He was the first in our country to build up an independent organisation of the agricultural labourers*—the rural proletariat who are, according to the strategic line of anti-capitalist socialist re-

* The KMF, later renamed KKMF, was afterwards given the organisational shape of AIKKMS through the All India Kishan-O-Khetmazdoor Conference, 1983.

volution, the most dependable ally of the proletariat. Under his guidance all the different class and mass organisations among the workers, students, youths, women and even the cultural wings guided by the party ideology were built up one by one. He proved himself as a giant communist leader not only as a thinker but also as an outstanding organiser in whatever sphere he laid his hand upon. In this way the party has today spread into no less than 22 states of the country and the Central Committee now feels that we should go ahead for holding the first Party Congress....

THE CONDITIONS FOR GIVING CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE TO THE PARTY

Now a question has come: why did we not hold our Party Congress much earlier? Why did Comrade Ghosh who had led this party since 1948 till his last breath wait so long and why didn't he call for the Congress? To understand the reason for not going to the Party Congress so far, you will have to realise certain very important aspects of party organisation. All of you know and it has also been clearly stated in the Central Committee document—"Make Historic Party Congress of SUCI A Grand Success"—that for the genuine Marxist-Leninists the party congress is not a ritual, it is not a periodic exercise that a communist party must undergo from time to time. A genuine communist party convenes its Congress when it comes as a recognition of an objective necessity. This objective necessity may appear before the party in respect of any or all of the following three cases: determination of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement at a given stage, re-evaluation of the national or international situation or even both because of some vital changes or developments, and lastly questions of organisation concerning some of its vital aspects—each of which is of such importance that it requires the involvement of the entire party to come to a decision. Only when any, some or all of the three aspects arise as an objective necessity the party must go to hold its Congress. That is why we say that for a genuine working class party, holding of the Congress should not be a ritual, a periodic exercise, a routine exercise. We must understand this correctly, scientifically. Otherwise, if Party Congress becomes a routine business it will lose its very purpose, its decisiveness.

But when I say that the Party Congress should be held only on questions that require the involvement of the entire party does it mean that since our party went through no Congress so far, there was no collective discussion and decision within our party? Our enemies, our opponents often propagate: "The SUCI does not hold its Congress. So there is no inner-party democracy in it. Whatever its leaders say become the party line. How can it claim to be a communist party?" They have however failed to grasp the real essence of the process of inner-party democracy in a genuine working class party. It is known to you all that since the Thesis on International and National Situation was adopted in 1948 Convention, there have been many new developments on both the international and national arena requiring further elaborate

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Call of Party Congress

Keep Aflame The Torch Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Lit Within Us



*The Presidium : Com. Nihar Mukherjee addressing
Com. Pritish Chanda (right) and Com. Shankar Singh (left).*

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tion, common constant activity and struggle' — true to the behest of the great departed leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

On the morning of 25th, as the hub of the day had just begun, people thronged on the pavement adjoining the Mahajati Sadan, the venue of the delegate session of the Congress. The delegates had started arriving. On the road-side was erected a column draped in red with red flags at its four top corners and bronze coloured images

of a working man on its flanks, calling all working men to join. On the premises in front was a rostrum with its backdrop in red and a curtain hung across its top edge. On the right was a martyrs' column in immaculate white, its front face sloping gently forward with the words "IN MEMORY OF THE MARTYRS" inscribed on. On the left was a flag stand. Facing the rostrum stood in attention members of the Komsomol wing of the Party, young boys and girls dressed in white shorts or skirts and white shirts

with a red ribbon slung diagonally on their chest. They wore white cap with golden 5 pointed star and each held a red flag in right hand. Behind them stood in rows volunteers from the mass organizations. Volunteers stood on guard on either side of the flag stand and the martyrs' column. This Mahajati Sadan is associated with the memories of renowned leaders of the freedom struggle against the alien imperialist rule. Now it was witnessing another historic occasion, an occasion destined to open a new vista before the

revolutionary struggle in this country.

"Who was he, the leader of the world,

The guide of the people's sovereign will".

Strains rose high as the DYO music squad began singing in tribute to the memory of the great architect of October Revolution, Great Lenin. Then mass songs in Hindi were sung and a solo voice filled the air with a stirring note :

"Awaken those who are asleep."

The musical rhythm changed into bursts of slogans hailing beloved General Secretary, as Com. Nihar Mukherjee entered the premises. And the singers sang :

Banks of Volga echo
with songs
In glory of the
proletariat
O liberating sun of
working people
Our tribute to thee in
Red Salute.

As the strains subsided, Com. Ranjit Dhar, Central Office Secretary, announced the programme of the inaugural

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A view of the Delegates and Observers in session.

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evaluation and analysis. And on each and every such occasion centring round the questions on international as well as national issues, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, as long as he was alive, evaluated them correctly applying Marxist-Leninist methodology, made deep and penetrating analysis and provided the guideline to understand as also resolve the problems that appeared. But, as you know, this was not done in a bureaucratic fashion issuing some resolutions or declarations from above. We carried out such evaluations conducting a thorough and collective inner-party struggle, dialectical interaction within the entire party. I think most of the comrades are acquainted with those meetings of leading organisers from different states which the Central Committee of our party convened since the time of Comrade Ghosh till today. We have not called such meetings the Party Plenums—as they are technically called—but we have practised it as the broadest-possible dialectical interaction to evaluate the important aspects of international and national situations and determine our line, approach as well as course of action. It is therefore necessary to realise that although we did not go for holding Party Congress so far, the process of collective discussion and collective decision has been strictly practised and maintained all through in a living and purposive manner.

However, the point I was discussing is, why we did not hold Party Congress so far. As Comrade Ghosh taught us—in his work "Why SUCI is the only Genuine Communist Party in India" he reiterated what he had told a section of the CPI in Calcutta who met him immediately before forming the CPI(M) about party building — there are three prerequisites to be fulfilled before giving a permanent constitutional foundation to party organisation. First of all, ideological centralism, that is, uniformity of thinking, one process of thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose—should be established throughout the entire party, not only among the leaders but among the rank and file too—on the basis of which organisational centralism should be introduced, so that democratic centralism, the living soul of inner-party mechanism of a real communist party, can effectively operate within the party. Secondly, a good number of professional revolutionaries are to be created from among the total membership of the party—who can shoulder the responsibility of leadership at different levels and in different wings of the party. Thirdly, the party will not only give birth to collective leadership which is, according to Lenin, collective knowledge of the entire party, but also have to give concrete expression to the collective leadership through a person, a leader of the Central Committee. Without fulfilling all these pre-conditions, if the party is given constitutional foundation hastily, it will simply lead to bureaucratic functioning, mechanical centralism, and foster individualism, factionalism and all other vices of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties of today.

HIGHER LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PARTY MEMBERS THE BASIS OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Let me explain these points in some detail. The first question is how to ensure that a

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party will work on the basis of democratic centralism? Comrade Ghosh showed us that democratic centralism cannot operate within a party simply by virtue of some relevant clauses in the Party Constitution however model and ideal it may be. For that the most important thing is the constant uplifting of the standard of the comrades—not only the leaders and organisers, but all party workers in general down to the grassroots level. By this standard he did not mean political standard only, but political, ideological, cultural and organisational standard as a whole. All comrades, or if not all, at least a considerable number of comrades must be elevated and developed to such a stage, such a standard that they can express their mind articulately, they can represent party line in all cases whenever required and they acquire the ability to confront leadership at different levels on philosophical, theoretical, political and organisational questions. Without this minimum standard being acquired by a good number of comrades, there cannot be dialectical interaction, constant exchanges in dialogues, constant debates and discussions between the leadership and rank and file. And in absence of this dialectical interaction there is the danger that the leadership will act on the basis of bureaucratism, the rank and file will move on the basis of blind and mechanical submission to the leadership and the party will become a mechanically centralised party. If the standard of the rank and file remains low, it will gradually lower the standard of the leadership too, and then nothing can check the degeneration of such a party. In such a condition, if the party is given constitutional footing, it will simply formalise this mechanical functioning. That is why Comrade Ghosh, taking lessons with pain from the failures of the CPI in our soil and from some of the negative features of the international communist movement, took so long a time and undertook a painstaking struggle to rear, educate and elevate the party comrades so that they can acquire this minimum standard necessary to ensure constant dialectical interaction between the leadership and the rank, so that the party bodies work on the basis of "unity-struggle-unity" principle. On the basis of unity based on ideology and programme of the party we conduct a relentless struggle within the party and among ourselves—to acquire communist character, to acquire higher and still higher standard and thereby to develop the standard of the party as a whole — and thus we reach greater unity, further cement the unity of the party, the understanding between the leadership and the rank at different levels develops more and more.

Here is a house—where you have come from different states and taken part in the deliberation. In this school, it is your experience and I think all of you will agree with me that a good number of comrades in all these states has acquired that minimum standard with which they can participate in the discussion in dialogue in a party forum and

confront the leaders on any philosophical, theoretical, political and organisational matter. This is a very vital aspect, because, on this depends how far ideological centralism has taken root and developed inside the party—and whether organisational centralism is based on this ideological centralism. Without this we cannot conceive of democratic centralism, we cannot conceive of the very cementing ground of all the leaders, cadres and organisers of the party.

But, of course, this did not develop within the party overnight. When we started the organisation, we had certainly achieved a stage of ideological centralism among us. But that was only the beginning. Since then the party has expanded, many new people have joined the party, many organisations have been created under the leadership of the party. So the important question is whether we could ensure ideological centralism and on its basis organisational centralism at every stage of growth, expansion and development; without this we could not go to hold the first Party Congress.

COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP — HOW IT EMERGES AND OPERATES WITHIN THE PARTY

The next question is that of leadership. When we founded the party we started with the Leninist concept of collective leadership of the party. Lenin taught us that collective leadership is the collective knowledge of all the leaders, cadres, organisers and rank and file of the entire party. Why did Lenin say so? He wanted to demarcate between the concepts of leadership of a bourgeois-petty-bourgeois party and a genuine communist party. From our common knowledge we know—every class, every revolution has produced its leaders. Bourgeois revolutions also produced leaders in different countries. The renaissance movement in history also gave birth to so many leaders and thinkers in political, cultural, philosophical spheres. And Lenin said—like all classes in history the proletariat will also, to achieve its aim, produce its own leaders. Then what is the difference in the concept of leadership between the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and the working class parties? Lenin answered that in a genuine working class party the leadership represents not the individual knowledge and ability of the leader but the collective knowledge, collective wisdom of the party as a whole.....

Be that as it may, comrades, it was still necessary to explain, if we say that a working class party moves with collective leadership which is collective knowledge of the entire party, why we hail Lenin as a great leader, Stalin as a great leader, Mao Tse-tung as a great leader! It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who provided us with this explanation. He said that the collective leadership of the party is no doubt the collective experience and knowledge of the entire party. But this collective leadership cannot be an abstract entity nor can each and every leader or member of the party express this collective knowledge equally, with equal magnitude, for their grasping and understanding of this collective know-

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ledge cannot be equal. So the leader who best understands and represents this collective knowledge of the party in all aspects is the concrete expression, personified expression of the collective leadership of the party. And unless the collective leadership of the party is thus concretised through a leader in the highest organism of the party, the Central Committee, the party cannot be said to have given birth to collective leadership nor can democratic centralism operate inside it. It will be vitiated by individualism of the leaders, groupism and factionalism centring round the individual leaders, and the party will work as a mechanically centralised and formally united whole. A communist party cannot develop in that way. So the struggle for the emergence of collective leadership in the concrete and personified form is in one sense the fundamental struggle for party building. From this analysis of Comrade Ghosh we can easily understand that Lenin, and after him, Stalin were the concretised expression of the emergence of collective leadership in the CPSU(B), Mao Tse-tung was the concretised expression of collective leadership in the CPC. Similarly we can say that in our soil it was Comrade Ghosh who emerged as the concrete and personified expression of the collective leadership of our party, the only party of the Indian proletariat.....

Why is the question of leadership so important for a working class party? Because, as Comrade Ghosh has shown us, without the concretised expression of collective leadership, not only it is impossible to successfully carryout revolution, but even socialism cannot be consolidated, dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated and protected after revolution—as it is seen after the emergence of revisionism. The very foundation of the Leninist concept of authority has been shattered by the Khrushchev-Breznev clique in the Soviet Union and by the Deng clique in China in the name of fighting personality cult. It opened the floodgate of revisionism in those countries. We must take very serious note of it. Emergence and concretised expression of collective leadership in a party and submission to this authority have nothing to do with personality cult—which is a product of blindness. Blindness means blind submission or blind opposition to leadership. But collective leadership appears and operates only through conscious and living dialectical interaction of the rank and file with the leadership and is therefore alien to blindness of whatever kind. If there develops any tendency of blindness and blind submission to the leadership, fight the blindness. Don't fight the concept of authority, don't weaken it. Remember that the concrete expression of collective leadership is not merely a fancy, a play with concepts but a historical and objective necessity for proletarian revolution. That is why long before Com. Shibdas Ghosh gave an explicit theoretical formulation to the concept of concretised expression of collective leadership, the leadership of Lenin and Stalin in Russia and that of Mao in China had appeared as an objective necessity, as a fact, as the authority in those parties—without which revolution and its consolidation could not have been pos-

sible in either country. Now we have got from Comrade Ghosh its theoretical explanation. Without this sound theoretical understanding a comrade, knowingly or unknowingly, will be pushed either to blind submission to the leadership or to an ultra-democratic, liberal or anarchic attitude: everybody is equal, no one should be viewed as an Authority. While blind submission to and acceptance of the leadership lower the standard of the comrades as also of the leaders and thereby weaken the party from one direction, these ultra-democratic, liberal or anarchic tendencies also destroy the centralism of the party—both ideological and organisational—and thus weaken the party from another direction. In order to strengthen the party and its leadership we have to fight both these tendencies.

In this connection, I want to touch a point. For a party, neither the concept nor the actual concrete expression of collective leadership appears overnight. Lenin did not become the authority of the party as soon as he occupied the topmost position. It took time, it required a struggle, a process for his emergence as the concrete expression of collective leadership. Similarly Stalin also took time to emerge as the concretised expression of leadership after the demise of Lenin. Mao Tse-tung too appeared as the personified expression of the collective leadership in the CPC through a process. So also was the case with our party. Com. Shibdas Ghosh also did not emerge as the concretised and personified expression of collective leadership in a day as soon as he formed the Platform of Action together with his few compatriots, started the all round socialist ideological struggle, completed certain pre-requisites to hold the first Convention of the party and built up the party in 1948. That was not a stage where Comrade Ghosh could be historically said to have already emerged as the personified and concretised expression of collective leadership. At that time we used to say that the Central Committee is the collective leadership of the party. So in our party too, the concretised expression of collective leadership appeared gradually, after the Founding Convention, through an intense ideological, political and organisational struggle covering all aspects of life and involving all the leaders, cadres, organisers and workers of the party. His character, his life-struggle, his wisdom and ability in all theoretical and practical questions conclusively emerged before the party as the best and highest embodiment of the collective struggle, experience, knowledge and wisdom of the entire party. Thus he became the leader, the teacher, the guide of us all.

Here you must remember a point. Leadership in a genuine communist party is a responsibility and not merely a post. This is true for all levels of leadership including even a Cell-in-Charge. A leader of any partybody cannot be a leader simply because he is deputed or elected to that post. He must become the natural leader of that body by being the best expression of collective leadership in that body, that is, bearing the maximum responsi-

bility, acquiring highest qualities among all the comrades he will lead. In a word, I would say, he would not only be accepted as a leader, but respected and loved with emotion as a leader among his fellow comrades in the body and would act as a cementing ground of unity. It is only when the leadership of the party at all levels of the organisation develops and functions in this way that the collective leadership of the party as a whole becomes meaningful, and effective. In such a condition only, the constitutional formalisation of the party becomes purposive, does not hinder but helps to conduct inner-party struggle and dialectical interaction of the leaders with the rank and file. We had to prepare so long the ground for the fulfilment of this condition before going to hold the first Congress of the party.

CREATION OF PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES AT DIFFERENT LEVELS

But there was a third condition to be satisfied. Although at the time of the Founding Convention of our party we started with creating a handful of professional revolutionaries, for giving the party a permanent constitutional shape we required a larger number of such cadres from among whom the executives and party functionaries at different levels of organisations would come. With years passing as the party has expanded into different districts of West Bengal and then in different states recruiting newer and newer cadres, the number of professional revolutionaries has also increased. But there was the question of test and trial of all those who had been entrusted with responsibilities of leadership at different levels. Also there was the question of scrutiny and evaluation of all comrades on the basis of objective reports of their performance, character, life-struggle. For, unless the party leaders and executives understand their job—understand, not in the technical sense of performing routine work, but politically, ethically, what is their responsibility,—and until such a large number of leading personnel can be trained within the party organisation it is not proper to give constitutional structure of the party. The most important task of test and trial, particularly of the leading comrades, can be undertaken more effectively in the formative stage of the party free from constitutional rigidity laying utmost stress on the actual struggle conducted by them—in attaining communist character more and more. This is also a reason why Comrade Ghosh did not go to hold the first Party Congress earlier and even after his untimely death, we also had to wait till now.

But in the interest of consolidating the party organisation from the grassroots levels, conducting class and mass struggles more effectively by the party playing the role of a supreme commander and for discharging the historic responsibility bestowed on our party—both in the national and international sphere—the leadership of the party strongly feels that the time has now come to switch over from conventional to constitutional practice not leaving the question of abiding by party discipline to individual discretion but strictly adhering to it both in letter and spirit by the comrades.

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COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE'S SPEECH

(Contd. from page 6)

You all know that in a communist party the style of work or the points to stress at a particular stage of organisation depends solely on the necessity of the organisation i.e. what suits best the organisational need at a given situation. So comrades, you should understand that as the method of conducting party activities in a conventional way and attaining the constitutional practices habitually and ethically was a unique experiment undertaken by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh since the inception of the party—so also after fulfilling the necessary conditions already discussed, though not ideally but to their minimum—it is time that we should proceed to holding the first Congress; of course, it should be kept in mind that the inner-party struggle should be kept in a living condition inside the party with a view to constantly upgrading the standard of the comrades where highest form of proletarian democracy and highest form of centralism—ideological centralism leading to organisational centralism may be in full play to ensure democratic centralism in the party.

So, in December 1985, through an extensive exchange with the leading members of different states for seven days at a stretch the Central Committee felt anew that the organisation has reached such a stage that it can be said to have fulfilled in the main the three above mentioned preconditions for switching over from the conventional practice to constitutional shape and along with this, also felt the necessity to re-evaluate the national and international situations in a comprehensive manner by involving the entire party, it decided to hold the first Party Congress. This is the background of this momentous decision.....

THE PARTY CONGRESS DEMANDS OF US HIGHER LEVEL OF CHARACTER

But comrades, you must bear it in mind that for us the first All India Party Congress will not be an end-in-itself. It is going to open a new chapter in our party life, the beginning of a new stage of the party. In this new stage there will appear before us newer problems, newer difficulties in handling organisational problems, in rearing and educating the comrades of different levels for their uplift and development. In that sense also, in view of the historic Party Congress, you will have to release a new struggle to develop yourselves, to elevate your standard. As I had said in my introductory speech on the first day of this school, this is a lifelong struggle, this is a struggle which will continue till the last day of our life when we shall breath last. There is no such stage in the life of a comrade when this struggle for elevating and upgrading himself will end. So, comrades, try to grasp the code of conduct as you have gone through the discourses in this school and try to adapt your life, pattern your life in accordance with the teachings of Comrade Ghosh on the communist code of conduct.....

OBJECTIVE REPORTING AND PERIODIC REVIEW FOR ASSESSMENT AND GUIDANCE

However, comrades, I shall utter a note of caution here for the leaders, for those, who are in the leadership in different bodies. Although the development of every comrade depends, mainly and ultimately, on his own effort, his own struggle, the first and foremost duty of the leaders is to give all comrades the necessary guidance, help and care so as to ensure their elevation. Stalin said—cadres are the most valuable asset of the party. So it is the most vital, most important task of the leaders to rear and educate them with parent-like care, love and affection to produce the best out of them. For this, the leadership will have to review their cases objectively, not with their subjective reading. We must not leave any room for subjective reading about any comrade. Nothing should be entertained unless it is verified by facts, concrete facts. 'I think he is so and so'—this kind of report cannot be allowed while reviewing a case or evaluating a comrade. But since the tendency or habit of subjective reading is a legacy we inherit from the present society, Comrade Ghosh has taught us to conduct an arduous struggle to counteract it, to free ourselves from this habit. This is also a prolonged, stubborn and conscious struggle for the leaders. As you have seen in our Draft Constitution, in the case of electing a comrade nothing other than his merit or worth as a communist, his ability for the post, should be taken into account. But how can we judge the merit of a comrade without getting objective reports about him? So the leaders must learn to gather and submit objective reports.

Here you should bear in mind that the objective report must involve two aspects which go together, which go side by side. One thing is a comrade's ideological, political and cultural standard and the other thing is his organising ability, his efficiencies in different spheres. If a comrade can write well, speak well, educate others, take classes, quote from classics whenever needed—it is well and good. But the essential thing is whether he is engaged in the struggle to acquire communist character, to develop himself relentlessly, whether he stands for, respects and defends the party line in the midst of any eventuality, whether he inspires whoever comes into his contact with party ideology. This is what we call an allround evaluation.

The objective and allround assessment includes in its purview not only ordinary cadres, not only the applicant members and members but also the cases of the staff members and even the leaders. The Central Committee has stressed this point and all the leading comrades must take note of it. Because once the leaders have acquired a standard and so become leader does not mean that they can maintain the standard for ever. Even they will also have to prove whether they can keep their standard, in order to occupy the leading positions. And the leaders will not be able to maintain their

standard unless they try to upgrade themselves ceaselessly and continuously. For the leaders this struggle is all the more important. Leadership is a powerful ingredient. Just as a leader can do much good to positively advance the party so also, if fallen, he can cause much greater danger to the party. No one of us, whatever our standard, for whatever a long period we are in the party and leadership, no leader is foolproof against fall, degradation, degeneration. We are living and moving in a crisis-ridden capitalist society. The entire society is rotting, its main current is making everything rotten, decadent, polluted—every aspects of life. Even a leader cannot be automatically free from its impact, simply because he is a leader. So we have to create a powerful countrywide counter-current in all aspects of our life—political, ideological, cultural, social and moral, and even in the field of physical culture which the party has introduced—an all-round battle to counteract every evil impact of the decadent bourgeois society. This is also the socialist struggle with which Comrade Ghosh started the process of party building—but it did not stop with the formation of the party and creation of a band of professional revolutionaries. It is still continuing and we have to conduct it all along our life. If for a moment we cease this struggle, this intensive socialist ideological struggle covering all aspects of our life including the minutest details of our personal life, then nothing can save us from the miserable lot, from the failure which others, the CPI or those in the world communist movement have met. Only plous wish cannot save us. That is why we emphasise the necessity to subject to review each and every case—an applicant member, a member, a staff member, as well as a leader.

Now, as I was telling, this objective report and review is necessary not only for assessment of the comrades but also for helping them. Objective report means, the record will speak for itself how a comrade—an applicant, a member or a staff member—is advancing, how and where he is facing difficulties, how he is fighting out the impact of the bourgeois society and where he is failing to overcome, knowingly or unknowingly, certain difficulties being victim of some negative traits. Accordingly the concerned leadership will have to extend its helping hand to the comrade, guide him to overcome the difficulties and show him the way out. The task of the leadership is not only to point it out but to educate the comrade too. Education and persuasion is a constant method and the only means to help and develop the comrades. In this respect, Comrade Ghosh has taught us a very important lesson. In order to help a comrade to fight out his negative features, it is better to encourage and develop his positive features, rather than hammer at those negative aspects. For, the more the positive sides of his character will be strengthened, the more these will gradually eliminate his negative aspects. He will himself be able to recognise and eliminate his negative aspects.

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COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE'S SPEECH

(Contd. from page 7)

However, I would like to dispel a misconception here. It is said for the leadership to see that they will help to develop the positive aspects of the comrades in order to eliminate the negative aspects. But you must remember that the leaders' effort, the effort of the party is an external factor. Everything evolves and develops through both internal and external contradictions and among them internal contradiction plays the most important role. So the external effort only cannot eliminate the negative aspects until and unless a comrade himself strives to fight them out and releases a struggle for that. If we are aware of our own defects and try to fight them out—it is all right. But suppose, if I do not know what are my shortcomings, and a leader or a colleague points it out to me, brings it into my knowledge — “see comrade, here lies your shortcomings, here lies your errors, here are certain things which are obstacles to your further, development” — I should take serious note of that, I should then and there take it into cognisance and start the struggle to eradicate them. If I do not know the method of fighting them back, I should waste no time and straight go to the leadership, ask them for help and guidance and thus fight these negative aspects out. Without releasing this struggle inside me, I cannot eliminate the negative features from my life, from my character and from my mental process. The enemy is not only outside, it is inside us too. It not only attacks us with arms and weapons from outside, it simultaneously attacks from inside through our weaknesses, our shortcomings, our negative traits. That is why this internal struggle, this individual effort is so important.....

HOW TO CONDUCT INNER PARTY STRUGGLE TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCE

Now, as you know, one idea has been given in our Party constitution how to conduct this inner party struggle, what should be its course and method, why has it been incorporated in the Constitution? Because, after adopting constitution and introducing constitutional practice also we shall have to conduct and continue this inner-party struggle — in order to elevate ourselves, fight out our negative aspects, develop our positive sides and eliminate whatever vile influences, alien thoughts tend to penetrate us. The inner-party struggle will ensure this.....

However, we must clearly understand what is the nature of this inner-party struggle in a genuine working class party. Its character is non-antagonistic. Because, this struggle is governed by the principle of unity-struggle-unity. All of us, whatever may be the level of our understanding have joined this party accepting Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts. That is the basis of our unity. But at the same time we cannot forget that we have come from different strata of the society with different mental make-up, different bent of mind, different traits and tendencies. So we have to conduct inner-party struggle to eliminate all the alien class

thoughts, ideas, ideologies, superstitions, forces of habit,—in an word, each and every aspect alien to the cause of revolution. This struggle further strengthens our unity. Our differences are gradually resolved from one sphere to another and we become more solidly united with the party.

In this connection I shall point out one thing. In the inner-party struggle when we have to resolve difference over a theoretical or ideological question, its nature is uncompromising, antagonistic so far as the question is involved. For, it is a struggle between right and wrong, correct and incorrect. It goes on inside the party until and unless the correct thing, the correct answer evolves from its resolution in appropriate forum or level. And When I speak of “appropriate forum” don't mistake it for that discussions among comrades on theoretical questions are being restricted or prohibited. No comrades, there is no restriction on discussing theoretical or ideological questions among the comrades, of whatever level. What I am trying to bring home by this is that you cannot clinch the issue by bilateral talks, group discussions among yourselves. You must confront the leadership, raise the issue in appropriate forum to come to a conclusion. What is in your mind you will speak out. Whatever you discuss among yourselves, bring it to the leadership and clinch the issue. Don't give up your struggle, don't resign till you are convinced or you convince the leadership. But remember—you may be right and you may be wrong on the question. So keep your mind open. For, all of us are in quest of truth. Our object is not to establish my own viewpoint, but to establish truth. So you should take an impersonal attitude to your own personal viewpoint also. There is a general tendency that comes from this bourgeois society—to stick to one's own opinion in any circumstances, to listen to others if they support but to pay no attention or less attention if they oppose that opinion. This is a particular manifestation of individualism or egoism in us. I shall not go into a detailed discussion on this. My point is—if what you have said is correct, is proved to be correct, it must be upheld by the party. But don't take an attitude that since you think what you have said is correct, the matter is settled. If you do not keep your eyes open, if you do not have a receptive mind, to know from others, to listen to others' arguments which go to oppose you, you will not be able to find the merit, the truth in others' views and so the main object—to find out and establish truth—will be defeated. That is why I say that to clinch the issue confront the leadership in appropriate forum — through dialectical interaction. If it is a question of right and wrong, it cannot be the concern of X and Y, — this or that comrade. It is the concern of the entire party. How can some individuals, or a lower level body resolve such a question? That is why the question must be settled by raising it in appropriate forum. Whenever you discuss on something of such importance, you may discuss it freely among yourselves but you must not forget to bring the issue before the leadership before concluding.

Another point in this context. So far as a theoretical or ideological question is concerned, it must be resolved, no matter how many days it may require, through exhaustive discussion in different levels. As we have said in the Central Committee document—“Make Historic Party Congress of SUCI A Grand Success”—sometimes there may appear certain questions on ideological theoretical matters concerning international or national situations as well as on organisational aspects which may require the involvement of the entire party. Then the necessity to hold Party Congress arises. Again, if the particular question is resolved within the party, it is alright; otherwise, those who differ, those who hold a different opinion with the rest of the party even after such a thorough exercise, will have to form a separate party.

There is another type of struggle—with a different character—the struggle to resolve differences on day to day questions. Although tactical lines are deduced on the day to day issues on the basis of the strategic line of revolution, there may also appear difference of opinion among the comrades. The inner-party struggle that we have to conduct continuously to resolve these differences is of a different kind—not of uncompromising character. Here also you will conduct struggles in different levels, but you must be able to distinguish what is a basic question, fundamental question and what are tactical or day to day questions. Here also we should try, for the very interest of advancing the cause of revolution, to reach truth unanimously, uphold the correct line following the same method of struggle. But our attitude should be such that even after conducting exhaustive discussions and debates permissible within the time at hand if we cannot reach unanimity then decision will be taken on majority-minority basis, and if my opinion is rejected by the majority I must submit to the majority. Here is an important teaching of our party life. All of us—including myself, the General Secretary of the Party—as individuals, are subordinated to the whole and the Central Committee in particular. Isn't it so comrades? Subordination of the individual to the whole, that is, concretely speaking, subordination of an individual member to the party body he belongs to; subordination of minority to majority—all these are part of organisational centralism and you know these. Whenever a conclusion is reached on a question, I must submit to it, I must accept it as my own decision and act accordingly—no matter whether my personal opinion is accepted or rejected. I shall not regard my opinion non-seriously—there is no question about it. I shall fight, argue and counterargue till I am convinced or I can convince. But if even then I cannot convince others—discussions on these sort of questions cannot continue indefinitely and we have to decide within a limited time in order to work—in that case I must rethink and reexamine my views, I must have the mental frame, I must acquire the revolutionary aptitude to submit to the majority. The attitude of those in majority will also be to try to understand the minority opinion, even if it is the opinion of a

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CALL OF THE PARTY CONGRESS

Hold High the Banner of Revolution And Proletarian Internationalism

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ceremony of the First Congress of the SUCI.

On the dais sat Com. Nihar Mukherjee, beloved General Secretary and Com. Pritish Chanda and Com. Shankar Singh, Members, Central Committee of the Party. The song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was sung. Delegate badges and files were presented to them. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee went to the flag stand and hoisted the Red Flag. On command the Komsomol guards gave Flag salute and the band began to play. The Flag rose to the top of the pole and Komsomol guards rested their flags on shoulder.

Com. Mukherjee went to the martyrs' column and placed a wreath of red roses on it. Komsomol guards dipped their flags in homage to the memory of the martyrs.

Com. Mukherjee now unveiled the row of portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh at the top of the backdrop of the rostrum. Slogans rent the air, paying red salute to the great leaders of the international communist movement, and Komsomol guards held to the fore their flags.

The delegate session began inside the auditorium. The presidium consisting of Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Com. Pritish Chanda and Com. Shankar Singh sat on the stage facing the audience of 738 delegates and 34 observers from 17 States. Portraits of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh were hung across the huge red backdrop. Roses were presented by 2 little Komsomol volunteers to the members of the Presidium. Comrade Mukherjee announced the commencement of the

delegate session and Com. Pritish Chanda read a 'H o m a g e' to the departed leaders, J. V. Stalin, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Zedong, Enver Hoxha, Shibdas Ghosh, and to the senior departed Members of the Central Committee, Com. Sachin Banerjee, Com. Hiren Sarkar and Com. Subodh Banerjee, and to countless martyrs in India and abroad who laid down their lives in the struggles against capitalism-imperialism and in democratic mass movements and class struggles. Two minutes' silence was observed by the whole House.

Introducing the agenda, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee pointed out that the 3 drafts on the Constitution, International Situation and National Situation were circulated and conferences were held in different States where these were discussed exhaustively and adopted with minor amendments. Now this Congress was to deliberate on the 3 drafts along with the amendments and on the General Secretary's Political and Organisational Report and adopt them with amendments, if necessary. 'The mode of functioning of the party machinery has now to be transferred from the conventional to the constitutional structure of the party bodies at all levels', Com. Mukherjee pointed out. 'During these 5 days you should try to enrich the 3 drafts. Maximum number of delegates should be given scope for speaking their views. And they should do it following the communist code and practice. Remember, a stupendous task is ahead of us, we must try to be equal to it. The challenge posed by history has to be accepted to develop revolutionary movement in India and uphold the noble banner of communism and of Marxism - Leninism - Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts in the world communist movement. We must

forge ahead on our mission and fulfil the behest of Com. Shibdas Ghosh. I am confident, the delegates would discharge their responsibilities in a befitting manner.'

Thereafter, Comrade Ranjit Dhar placed the Report of the General Secretary on behalf of Comrade Mukherjee.

The Report and the 3 drafts were deliberated on by the delegates and

finally adopted unanimously with some amendments and additions.

In the concluding session on the evening of 29th, the Congress elected unanimously the new 11 member Central Committee and General Secretary, the 5 member Editorial Board of the Central Organ with the general Secretary to head the Editorial Board as *ex-officio* member and the 5 member Control Commission.

Thunderous cheers and slogans greeted Com. Nihar Mukherjee as the General Secretary of the Party. The whole House

stood up beaming in emotion as flood lights lit up the stage. Comrade Mukherjee was presented with a Red Flag which he held erect in his hand. Members of the new Central Committee, Central Editorial Board and Control Commission were called to the stage. Members of the volunteer corps came up on the stage one by one and offered red roses to each of the newly elected members of the Central Committee, the Central Editorial Board and the Control Commission.

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Inaugural Ceremony : Com. Nihar Mukherjee hoisting the Red Flag (above), placing wreaths on Martyrs' Column (below).



Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Speech

(Contd. from page 8)

single individual. For, sometimes even the minority, even a single person may uphold truth. So the majority will not move with an over-jubilation that 'we are in the majority, so you should submit.' No comrades, that cannot be the attitude. Always try to take things on their merits, on their correctness or otherwise, don't judge any thing by who speaks so but by its merit. Then it will be easier for each side to understand the other and to work together. This requires a tuning of special type. And following the Congress, the more we shall try to develop body functioning on the basis of constitutional practice, the more this type of tuning of the character will be called for.

While conducting inner-party struggles in this way, you must bear in mind a warning of Comrade Ghosh. A comrade should always place whatever is in his mind before the party, give all arguments he has in its favour and fight for its being accepted,—but never lay too much emphasis on his own thinking, own arguments. Why did he teach it? Because, from the bourgeois society we usually inherit the mentality and habit to emphasise on what I feel, what I think as correct, and this, in turn, destroys the receptivity of mind, carries me away in a direction no matter whether I am conscious of it or not and thus eventually creates hindrance in the process of my development as a revolutionary, as a communist. Hence this balanced judgement, the ability to distinguish between the two types of struggles on two types of differences—where to compromise and when to carry on struggle up to the end,—this is very much required. And the more we shall acquire the ethical-cultural level as a communist and then as a good communist, the more we shall be able to develop in us this impersonal attitude even to our own personal opinion; this attitude that I am happy if truth is established, I am not concerned over whether my own argument is accepted. And in fact, if my opinion reflects truth but is for the time being rejected by the majority and if I can still accept and implement the majority opinion happily without any reservation as my own opinion—it will rather help to clarify the mistake in no time and the truth will be revealed to all, and it will be easier for those who could not earlier see the truth, now to rectify themselves. So this is the correct methodology and the correct approach to acquire and establish truth.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND OUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION

Comrades, there are many other things which I would like to discuss here. But as it is already late noon,* I shall have to conclude my address and this school without taking much more time. So there may remain many questions unanswered or partially answered, that is, not up to the satisfaction of the comrades concerned. I would ask them to seek further clarifications from their respective State leaders hereafter as soon as they find the scope. But the basic question is: you must understand that stormy days are lying ahead

of us, stormy days not only in our country but throughout the world. Indian capitalism is taking an ugly turn every day towards fascism destroying all civil and democratic rights, all democratic norms and values, destroying the moral and ethical backbone of the people in general and the young generations in particular. Politics is becoming in the hands of the bourgeois politicians and the leaders of the so-called big left parties, the profession of the scoundrels. People are becoming frustrated and apathetic to politics. Democratic movements are being attacked from all sides—police atrocities, state coercion on the one hand; economism, opportunism, ruling-party fascination on the other. As the only revolutionary party of the soil ours is the biggest responsibility to resist these fascist attacks of the capitalist class, to organise mass movement and thereby pave the way for revolutionary movement at all costs. On the other hand, as communists we are also internationalists. Proletarian internationalism demands of us that we cannot shut our eyes to the fresh attacks of world imperialism on the revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles in different countries as well as to the rise and growth of revisionism, neo-revisionism in countries like Soviet Russia, China, Vietnam—the countries which were the sources of inspiration to all communists the world over. It cannot but make us gravely worried to see how revisionism-neo-revisionism is eating into the very vitals of the international communist movement from inside. The revolutionary struggle we want to build up in our country is inseparably linked up with the struggle for emancipation of the people of the entire world, the struggles of the workers, peasants and toiling people of all countries whatever be their stage of revolution. We are an inseparable part of the international working class struggle. There lies our international tie, international obligation. This is also a test how far we are able to elevate ourselves as communists to fulfil this obligation. The successes and defeats of the communist movement—not only in our country, but in any country whatsoever, should be of deep concern for us. A communist must feel really deep concern, equal concern, no less than his concern for his own people's struggle, about the struggle for emancipation of other countries. How will it be judged whether we have acquired this minimum standard of internationalism as part of the communist character? It will be proved by whether we share the joy, the glory of the other peoples in their success and victories just as we are worried at their failure and defeats, whether we adore their qualities frankly and honestly just as we feel merciless anger and indignation against their enemy. This is, comrades, another barometer to assess our character. An ancient Chinese proverb goes like this: "A really wise man is he who is worried before the rest of the world has worried and rejoices

after the rest of the world has rejoiced." This is also true of communists, more so of the good communists. They will be the first to share the wail and woes, the burden of defeats and setbacks of the communist movement in any part of the globe, in their own country or in others, but they will follow others to rejoice at the happiness of the people, the victories and successful advance of revolutionary movement in any country. Even when we have to point out some weakness, shortcoming, mistake or failure of another communist party, we do not feel happy that they committed a mistake and we are teaching them. We do not point it out and show the correct solution just to demonstrate our superiority to them. We do it with a spirit of fraternal criticism and self-criticism, to help the communist movement in that country in particular and in the world in general, and also to learn for ourselves from their mistakes. Similarly, if any other communist party says or points out something to us, we are ready to accept them, review them with the same spirit. You know—our most beloved leader Comrade Ghosh not only taught us all this, but provided many examples throughout his life how to reflect this attitude in character. Whatever positive lesson, whatever new thing he found in the activity of any other party in other countries, he gave it unstinted recognition and tried to highlight it before us in all possible ways. Again when he was compelled to make some criticism of those parties, or even of the international authorities like Stalin and Mao, he did it with utmost regard and emotion for them and always took the caution that in so criticising, their importance, their authority is not undermined in any way. Time will not allow me to give instances. But such examples are galore in our party life. We all have to learn this attitude from him....

IMPROVE BODY FUNCTIONING

Anyway, the point I was discussing is that in both international and national arena stormy days are ahead of us and we have to be prepared for that. The historic first Party Congress is going to open a new vista in that direction. You will, therefore, have to fulfil all the necessary tasks for making this Congress a grand success. I think, you all have gone through the theses on international and national situations and the draft Constitution, and if not, go through these documents immediately. I shall urge upon you all to study them meticulously, critically and through the Local, District & State Conferences where you will attend, make them further enriched. It is this process on which depends whether and how far we shall be able to correctly evaluate the international and national situations and whether our Party Congress will be able to open up a new vista before the world communist movement, on the basis of the teachings of Comrade Ghosh who has elaborated, developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism and brought it to a newer height. It is only then that we shall be able to discharge our internationalist responsibilities, we shall be able to illumine the path of the revolutionary struggles—not only of our country, but of all countries as also provide the correct line to

* Comrade Nihar Mukherjee had already spoken for three hours at a stretch and considering this long discussion too heavy an exertion to be borne by his health, other leaders on the dais requested him not to undertake more exertion.

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Speech

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fight world capitalism-imperialism-fascism and reaction on the one hand, revisionism, neo-revisionism, reformism and social-democracy on the other. To make a breakthrough in all respects at the present historical juncture, you can easily understand, comrades, what a gigantic historic responsibility is bestowed upon us!

The tasks that we shall have to carry out have been concretely pointed out in the instructions issued by the Central Committee from time to time since when the decision to hold the Party Congress was taken....

We know, we cannot fulfil these tasks by a single stroke, overnight. There are right now many gaps, many limitations, there will be many still remaining even after giving constitutional structure. So we must try to overcome these gaps and limitations starting from the grassroots level continuously by improving our individual and collective abilities. Note it comrades, that the functioning of the party organism right from the grassroots level upto the Central Committee depends in the final analysis how far and how best we can work out the highest form of centralism integrated with the highest form of proletarian democracy at every level. Conversely, whether and how far we are able to integrate proletarian democracy and centralism is reflected in the functioning of the party bodies of all levels—from the cell to the Central Committee. According to our constitution, the Cell is the primary unit of the party composed of three to five comrades. No organism can function in the best manner, not even a cell until and unless a leader emerges out of the comrades involved—a natural leader, and not one deputed or elected as a leader. So, as long as no natural leader will be created in a party body, there will be some gaps. That is why it is necessary to constantly upgrade and elevate ourselves, develop each and every comrade at different levels, so that leadership is assumed at each level by worthy comrades, deserving comrades and every party body becomes living, potential, dynamic and resourceful. Secondly, every party body—a Cell, a Local Committee, a District Committee, a State Committee or the Central Committee, whatever it is—must work collectively. For us body functioning means collective functioning—collective discussion, collective decision, collective implementation and collective review. In course of your collective works many difficulties will appear. Don't be afraid of that. We are here ready to help you to eradicate the irregularities and mistakes, overcome the limitations and difficulties. But as you have seen in our draft constitution—in every district not only do we want to shape out the three-tier organisational structure: Cell, Local Committee and District Committee; all bodies must function democratically. Leaders will not impose any decision. They will help comrades to evolve the decision through discussion, deliberation and dialectical intercourse in the body.

In order to make the three-tier system effective two things must be kept in view.

First, for all comrades who are working directly within the party and those who are deputed in the various class and mass organisations, the party is the supreme commander. Because, the party not only provides the ideological as well as organisational leadership but also co-ordinates the activities of all comrades in the three-tier system. Secondly, regular checking by the respective upper bodies of the activities of the individual comrades and lower bodies is very much required—the checking of the Cells is the responsibility of the Local Committees, in case of Local Committees it is the responsibility of the District Committees, in case of the District Committees the responsibility lies with the State Committees and for the State Committees and for all organisations under the Party the responsibility is of the Central Committee. If this process is not maintained and upper bodies depend exclusively on the reports of the lower committees, bureaucratic tendency will crop up—you want it or not—the tendency to issue circular and instruction from above and ask and wait for reports from below. Report is necessary, but it must be verified and scrutinised by the upper bodies before depending upon it. A lower body may or may not report correctly and objectively. If it cannot, for whatever reason—some limitations, shortcomings, immaturities, inexperience of the members of the body—the upper body must make it a responsibility to go deep into it, verify and scrutinise the reports in course of checking and co-ordinating the activities of the individual members and the body as a whole, point out the limitation or shortcoming to them and thereby help them develop body functioning, collective functioning. The upper body must not act in any manner that cripples or squeezes the initiative a mobility of the lower body but as a leader and guide. Otherwise body functioning and democratic centralism cannot be maintained and constantly developed.

PREPARE YOURSELVES IDEOLOGICALLY AND ORGANISATIONALLY FOR THE STRUGGLES AHEAD

This is all the more important so that every party body may acquire a preparedness for any consequence, any development in the political situation. If a revolutionary party fails to anticipate what is in the offing, what sort of offensive may be unleashed by the ruling class upon the mass movement and revolutionary struggle, and, if it does not prepare the entire organisation in time to face the situation it will not be able to lead revolution, to meet the challenge of history. Comrades, we must not be caught unawares. When we are studying the international and national situations we should be able to see where the situation is leading to. We should prepare the entire organisation in such a way that all comrades moving in the Cells, Local or District bodies and in different class and mass organisations as well as all party bodies at all levels, must be able to grasp the situation, anticipate the quick turn of events, take deci-

sion and face any eventuality. Their political-ideological-cultural standard, their organisational sense, their initiative, style of work—everything should be developed with this necessity in view.

Comrades! You know, during the last years of his life Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to repeatedly say: 'Our party has assumed such characteristics that people are admiring it, appreciating it. A day is coming, not so long away, when people will not only admire us but look upon us as their only saviour in the present critical situation. But for that we shall have to make ourselves worthy of it, fill up the gaps between our responsibility and our present state of organisational capacity and quickly prepare ourselves so that the people may have the confidence that—yes, this is the party which can lead us in the struggle for emancipation from all sorts of exploitation, oppression and humiliation. You have to prove that you can lead.' Now that time has come! Today people—the exploited masses, the workers-peasants and urban middle class—ask us whether we can organise and lead revolution. They are expecting that we shall be able to do it. To fulfil their desire, their expectation what we require is to make all party bodies equal to, worthy of this task. On the eve of the historic first Party Congress, your slogan should be—develop and elevate your standard of character, make the party bodies at all levels potential, dynamic and resourceful, develop your political ideological standard, power of contemplation, thinking, release political initiative—both individual and collective and make up all gaps, overcome all limitations in various layers of the organisation. For this read, study, learn and master Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts, integrate what you learn with your life-practice to transform yourselves, constantly cultivate Comrade Ghosh's teachings—individually as well as collectively, go to the masses and stay with them in whatever sphere you exist and work, organise meetings, discussions, study circles among them, build up, participate in and lead their struggles on day to day basis and try to form their committees. It is then and only then that whatever you have learnt in this school, in this Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts will be fruitful, purposeful and meaningful.

This is all. I convey my revolutionary greetings to you.

Inquilab Zindabad

Long Live SUCI

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism

Red Salute to Our Beloved Leader,
Teacher and Guide
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

HOMAGE

PAID AT

FIRST ALL INDIA CONGRESS OF SUCI

This Delegate Session of the First Congress of our Party, commencing from this 25th March, 1988, solemnly remembers all those communist leaders and workers who departed us during the 40 years of our Party's life.

Towering among them all was the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade J. V. Stalin, the close comrade-in-arms and the most worthy continuer of Lenin, who defended, concretised and elaborated Marxism-Leninism in the post-Lenin period, provided the most effective and in general correct guidance to the international communist movement and the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples in the face of severe odds and threats posed combinedly by the imperialists, reactionary forces and resisted and defeated the naked aggression of Hitlerite fascism. In the demise of Comrade Stalin the world communist movement lost its most trusted helmsman, who symbolised the strength and nobility of communism, and the serious setback suffered by the world communist movement in his demise is yet to be overcome.

Remembering the great revolutionary contributions of Comrade Stalin to the cause of communism we sing all glory to the departed great leader.

Departing next, a luminous star of the world communist movement, was Comrade Ho Chi Minh, who, by rousing the people of Vietnam and conducting their struggle magnificently for liberation became an undying source of inspiration and indomitable courage for the oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism for national independence, democracy and socialism.

When, after the demise of Comrade Stalin, taking advantage of the void created by his departure, the modern revisionists usurped power in the USSR, the leading centre of world communist movement, gradually holding sway over the great majority of the communist parties the world over, Chairman Mao Zedong, as the most outstanding communist leader, took upon himself the great task of upholding the banner of revolution, defending Marxism-Leninism against the many-pronged attacks of modern revisionism. Organising and leading successfully to victory the liberation struggle of the people of China, conducting magnificently the gigantic tasks of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Mao did champion the cause of not only anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people's democratic revolution but of continuing revolution under socialism, instilling confidence and revolutionary audacity in the people to initiate the battle to become masters of their own destiny.

In the demise of Comrade Mao Zedong the world communist movement lost one of the most powerful pillars to fight against imperialism on the one hand and modern revisionism on the other.

Remembering the contributions of Chairman Mao Zedong in advancing the cause of revolution we sing all glory for the departed great leader.

Another foreranking communist leader to depart us was Comrade Enver Hoxha of the Party of Labour of Albania, who held aloft all through his life the banner of socialism and proletarian internationalism. In

his demise the international communist movement suffered a loss of no mean dimension, being deprived of his stewardship.

In remembrance of Comrade Enver Hoxha this Congress pays its respectful homage.

When, during the Emergency clamped on this country, our party was in the midst of struggle in an extremely difficult situation under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the sudden demise of our most beloved leader, teacher and guide struck us like the rudest shock of thunderbolt. It was the most trying time for the party, for all its comrades, for all people with it, when, on the 5th of August, 1976, the founder leader of our Party, the eminent Marxist-Leninist thinker of this era, the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, breathed his last. The whole party, all its comrades, stood as one man, waging a relentless struggle, as taught by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, to withstand this most severe shock and to be engaged, as now, in an endeavour, under the leadership of our beloved General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, to be equal to the task history has entrusted us with and make this historic First Party Congress a grand success.

Let us recall once again, on this occasion, the great teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh with all our emotion for the great teacher and reaffirm our pledge to engage ourselves unreservedly, unflinchingly and without relent in the struggle to fulfil all his behests and to bend all energies to keep aflame the torch he lit within us,

Long Live Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!
Long Live Revolution!!

In the demise of Comrade Sachin Banerjee, Comrade Hiren Sarkar and Comrade Subodh Banerjee, all senior Members of our Party's Central Committee and compatriots of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in the struggle to build up our Party, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed people of this country lost three of its finest sons, who, inspired by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts, devoted their life to the cause of the working class and the toiling people.

In remembrance of the struggle, sacrifice and dedication of these comrades for the cause of the working class and the toiling people we pay our respectful homage.

To the memory of all those comrades who had been with us in the struggle of 40 years past and laid down their lives on the way fighting bravely and smilingly amidst terrible odds and sufferings, either from illness or dying martyrs' death in the hands of the class enemies, this Congress pays its respectful homage.

This Congress remembers with respect the countless martyrs of democratic mass movements and class struggles in this country during the past four decades who died for the cause of the toiling people and the advancement of revolution.

This Congress also pays homage to those who laid down their lives in neighbouring countries of Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal in their battles for restoration of democracy and for people's rule.

In remembrance of all those martyrs who laid down their lives in different countries of the world in their struggles against capitalism-imperialism this Congress pays its homage.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTION!

Report of Delegate Sessions

(Contd. from page 9)

Stirring up the emotion charged atmosphere of the House, Comrade Mukherjee, urged the Party Congress: 'Returning to your locality, take stock of your organizational activity and consolidate the organization. The Party is growing stronger every day, basing itself on the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and today it works in 22 States and union territories. History behoves us to carry aloft the noble banner of Revolution and Proletarian Internationalism. Remember this and rise to the occasion'.

The DYO music squad sang the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and the *Internationale*. The delegate session concluded.

NEWLY ELECTED CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Com. Nihar Mukherjee,
General Secretary
Com. Pritish Chanda
Com. Shankar Singh
Com. Anil Sen
Com. Ashutosh Banerjee
Com. Sukomal Dasgupta
Com. Tapas Dutta
Com. Sitesh Dasgupta
Com. Provash Ghosh
Com. Krishna Chakraborty
Com. Asit Bhattacharya

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Com. Shankar Singh
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Com. Ranjit Dhar
Com. Provash Ghosh
Com. James Joseph
Comrade Nihar Mukherjee,
General Secretary, will head
the EDITORIAL BOARD
as ex-officio member.

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