

# State Conference in Orissa and Assam Holds Aloft Revolutionary Spirit

Like rivers join in a confluence of ocean, so are the State units of the party on way to the All India Party Congress, going through respective conferences one after another: deliberating the party's draft constitution and the draft theses on the international and national situations and consolidating democratic centralism more and more in the party organisation; steeling themselves with revolutionary discipline, practising proletarian norms and values in their struggle to attain the communist character, and rededicating themselves to the task of carrying out the behest of the most beloved departed leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

## ORISSA

The Orissa State body of the party held its State level conference at Cuttack from December 30 to January 1 last. Earlier, local and district level conferences were held throughout the State, culminating into this State Conference held at Fatechand Bhavan. Com. Shankar Singh, Member, Central Committee of the party, conducted the conference, and on January 6 an open session was held at Gourishankar Park of the town where thousands of people from all walks of life gathered

to know the party's analysis of the present situation and the tasks enjoining them.

The delegates' session began on December 30 at 10 AM on the ground adjoining the Fatechand Bhavan. Com. Shankar Singh hoisted the Red Flag and placed a wreath of flowers at the martyrs' column erected on the occasion in memory of all who died fighting for the cause of the proletariat in this country and abroad. Thereafter, Com. Singh placed a wreath at the portrait of Com. Shibdas

Ghosh which was hung inside the hall and the entire house of delegates stood up to sing the song on the great leader of the proletariat.

Inaugurating the conference, Com. Shankar Singh laid down the tasks of the Congress and reminded that the Central Committee had taken the historic decision of holding the Party Congress taking all aspects into consideration and had engaged the entire party bodies to fulfil those tasks. On the basis of the three draft documents an intensive ideological campaign had been conducted from the grass root to higher levels.

The delegates had a great responsibility to bear, Comrade Singh reminded. The party was going to switch over from conventional to constitutional practice. Comrades were, therefore, to work with all energies for both  
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# Proletarian Era

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## C.C. supports Bharat Bandh and urges for protracted movement

The Central Committee of the SUCI at an emergency meeting held in Calcutta on 29th January, 1988 has extended its full support to the proposed *Bharat Bandh* on 15th March, 1988 called by different left, democratic and opposition parties. The Central Committee has adjured all the State Units of the party to seriously strive to build up, in course of successfully observing the *Bharat Bandh* on 15th March, 1988, a protracted, broad-based, united mass movement throughout the country against the arch reactionary and corrupt Congress(I) Government's policy of safeguarding the interest of both foreign and Indian capitalists and its anti-people tax-price-language-education and other policies, so that the overthrow of Rajiv Gandhi Government and forging of a secular, left and democratic alternative in the country can be ensured.

## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee pays homage to Late Ghaffar Khan

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, paid his deep respect to revered freedom fighter, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, at his passing away:

"An undaunted pioneer in our freedom movement, a valiant fighter against injustice, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan not only stood, till his last, for secularism, people's unity, amity of all communities but, was above all, a man of rare mettle, honesty and integrity, with his unbound love for the exploited and oppressed people and raising always his head high. His brave voice of protest against the military rulers of Pakistan, at whose hands he had to suffer imprisonment and indignities, is exemplary indeed. It is a great loss to all of us—our country and the people—bringing as it does an end to a generation of which he was a symbolic expression.

We pay our deepest respect and homage to the memory of this great freedom fighter of the undivided India."

Dated 21.1.88

## First All India Party Congress of SUCI

### In Calcutta

25th to 29th March 1988

Delegate Session at Mahajati Sadan

4th April 1988—Open Session

Brigade Parade Ground 4-00 p.m.

Speakers: Comrade Nihar Mukherjee & Other Leaders

# PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

## III

This movement must then draw up elementary demands entirely apart from the particular craft interests, and then attempt to obtain the fulfilment of these demands by utilising the united forces of all organisations in the district. In such movement the Communist Party will then prove to be the leader of the proletarians prepared for struggle, whereas the trade union bureaucracy and the socialist party who would oppose such a united, organised struggle, would then be exposed in their true colours, not only politically, but also from a practical organisational point of view.

### HOW TO SHAPE DEVELOPMENTS DURING AN ACUTE CRISIS

34. During acute political and economic crisis causing as they do new movements, the Communist Party should attempt to gain control of the masses. It may be better to forego any specific demands and rather appeal directly to the members of the Socialist parties and the trade unions pointing out how distress and oppression have driven them into the unavoidable fights with their employers in spite of the attempts of their bureaucratic leaders to avoid a decisive struggle. The organs of the Party, particularly the daily newspapers, must emphasise day by day, that the Communists are ready to take the lead in the impending and actual struggle of the distressed workers, that their fighting organisation is ready to lend a helping hand wherever possible to all the oppressed in the given acute situation. It must be pointed out daily that without these struggles there is no possibility of increasing tolerable living conditions for the workers in spite of the efforts of the old organisations to avoid and to obstruct those struggles. The Communist fractions within the trade unions and industrial organisations must lay stress continually upon the self-sacrificing readiness of the Communists and make it clear to their fellow workers that the fight is not to be avoided. The main task, however, is to unify and consolidate all the struggles and movements arising out of the situation. The various nuclei and fractions of the industries and crafts which have been drawn into the struggle must not only maintain the closest ties among themselves, but also assume the leadership of all the movements that may break out, through the district committees as well as through the central committees furnishing promptly such officials and responsible workers as will be able to lead a movement, hand in hand, with those engaged in the struggle, to broaden and deepen that struggle and make it widespread. It is the main duty of the organisation everywhere to point out and emphasise the common character of all the various struggles, in order to foster the idea of the general solution of the question by political means, if necessary. As the struggles become more intensified and general in character, it becomes necessary to create uniform organs for the leadership of the struggles. Wherever the bureaucratic strike leaders have failed, the Communists must come in at once and ensure a determined



organisation of action—the common preliminary organisation—which can be achieved, under capable militant leadership, by persistent advocacy at the meeting of the fractions and industrial councils as well as mass meetings of the industries concerned.

When the movement becomes widespread and owing to the onslaughts of the employers' organisations and government interference it assumes a political character, preliminary propaganda and organisation work must be started for the elections of workers' councils which may become possible and even necessary.

It is here that all Party organs should emphasise the idea that only by *forging their own weapons of the struggle can the working-class achieve its own emancipation*. In this propaganda not the slightest consideration should be shown to the trade union bureaucracy or to the old socialist parties.

35. The Communist Parties which have already grown strong and particularly the big mass parties, must be equipped for mass action. All political demonstrations and economic mass movements, as well as local actions, must always tend to organise the experiences of those movements in order to bring about a close union with the wide masses. The experience gained by all great movements must be discussed at broad conferences of the leading officials and responsible Party workers, with the trusted (trade union) representatives of large and middle industries, and in this manner the network of communication will be constantly increased and strengthened and the trusted representatives of industries will become increasingly permeated with the fighting spirit. The ties of mutual confidence between the leading officials and responsible Party workers, with the shop delegates, are the best guarantee that there will be no premature political mass action, in keeping with the circumstances and the actual strength of the Party.

Without building closest ties between the Party organisations and the proletarian masses employed in the big mass actions, a really revolutionary movement cannot be developed. The untimely collapse of the undoubtedly revolutionary upheaval in Italy last year which found its strong expression in the seizing of factories was certainly due to a great extent to the treachery of the trade unionist bureaucracy, unreliability of the political party leaders, but partly also to the total lack of intimacies of organisation between the Party and the industries through politically informed shop delegates interested in the welfare of the Party. Also the English coal-miners' strike of the present year (1921) has undoubtedly suffered through this lack to an extraordinary degree.

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# PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

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## VII. ON THE PARTY PRESS

### DOS AND DON'TS FOR A COMMUNIST PAPER

36. The Communist Press must be developed by the Party with indefatigable energy. No paper may be recognised as a Communist organ if it does not submit to the directions of the Party.

The Party must pay more attention to having good papers than to having many of them. Every Communist Party must have a good, and if possible, daily central organ.

37. A Communist newspaper must never be a capitalist undertaking as are the bourgeois, frequently also the socialist papers. Our paper must be independent of all the capitalist credit institutions. A skilful organisation of the advertisement, which render possible the existence of our paper for lawful mass parties, must never lead to its being dependent on the large advertisers. On the contrary its attitude on all proletarian social questions will create the greater respect for it in all our mass Parties.

Our papers must not serve for the satisfaction of the desire for sensation or as a pastime for the general public. They must not yield to the criticism of the petty-bourgeois writers or journalist experts in the striving to become "respectable".

38. The Communist paper must in the first place take care of the interests of the oppressed and fighting workers. It must be our best agitator and the leading propagator of the proletarian revolution.

It will be the object of our paper to collect all the valuable experience from the activity of the Party members and to demonstrate the same to our comrades as a guide for the continual revision and improvement of Communist working methods, in this way it will be the best organiser of our revolutionary work.

It is only by this all-embracing organisational work of the Communist paper and particularly our principal paper that with this definite object in view, we will be able to establish democratic centralism and lead to the efficient distribution of work in the Communist Party, thus enable it to perform its historic mission.

### ORGANISATION OF A COMMUNIST PAPER

39. The Communist paper must strive to become a Communist undertaking, i.e., it must be a proletarian fighting organisation, a working community of the revolutionary workers, of all writers who regularly contribute to the paper, editors, type-setters, printers and distributors, those who collect local material and discuss the same in the paper, those who are daily active in propagating it, etc. A number of practical measures are required to turn the paper into a real fighting organ and a strong working community of the Communists.

A Communist should be in closest connection with his paper when he has to work and make sacrifices for it. It is his daily weapon which must be newly hardened and sharpened every day in order to be fit for use. Heavy

material and financial sacrifice will continually be required for the existence of the Communist paper. The means for its development and inner improvement will constantly have to be supplied from the ranks of Party members until it will have reached a position of such firm organisation and such a wide circulation among a legal mass Party, that it will itself become a strong support of the Communist movement.

It is not sufficient to be an active canvasser and propagator for the paper, it is necessary to be a contributor to it as well.

Every occurrence of any social or economic interest happening in the workshop—from an accident to a general workers' meeting, from the ill-treatment of an apprentice to the financial report of the concern—must be immediately reported to the paper. The trade union fraction must communicate all important decisions and resolutions of its meetings and secretariats, as well as any characteristic actions of our enemies. Public life in the street and at the meetings will often give an opportunity to the attentive Party member to exercise social criticism, on details which, published in our paper, will demonstrate even to indifferent readers how already we follow the daily needs of life.

### WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

Such communications from the life of workers and working-class organisations must be handled by the board of editors with particular care and affection; they must be used as short notices that will help to convey the feeling of an intimate connection existing between our paper and workers' lives; or they may be used as practical examples from the daily life of workers that help to explain the doctrine of Communism. Wherever possible, the board of editors should have fixed hours at a convenient time of the day when they would be ready to see any worker coming to them and listen to his wishes or complaints on the troubles of life, which they sought to note and use for the enlightenment of the Party.

### EXAMPLE OF 'PRAVDA'

Under the capitalist system it will of course be impossible for our papers to become a perfect Communist workers' community. However, even under most difficult conditions it might be possible to obtain a certain success in the organisation of such a revolutionary paper. This has been proved by the 'Pravda' of our Russian comrades during the period of 1912-13. It actually represented a permanent and active organisation of the conscious revolutionary workers of the most important Russian centres. The comrades used their collective forces for editing, publishing, distributing the paper, and many of them doing that alongside with their work and sparing the money required from their earnings. The newspaper in its turn furnished them with the best things they desired, with what they needed for the moment and what they can still use today in their work and struggle. Such a newspaper should really and truly be called by the Party members and by other revolutionary workers "our newspaper".

### INSTRUMENT OF RUNNING MASS CAMPAIGNS

40. The proper element for the militant Communist Press is direct participation in the campaigns conducted by the Party. If the activity of the Party at a given time

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## State Conferences create mighty Revolutionary urge

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quantitative and qualitative lift of the party organisation.

Comrade Singh also observed that the Secretary's Report should reflect the reality. The delegates should raise any necessary points for proper and correct understanding of all the issues under discussion and at every stage they were to reflect the proletarian values and norms to strengthen the party.

Com. Tapas Dutta, Secretary of the State Committee, placed the Report of the Secretary, which was then discussed at length and adopted unanimously along with some minor amendments. In the next sessions, the Draft Thesis on International Situation, the Draft Thesis on National Situation and the Draft Constitution of the party were placed one after another. Comrades took part in the deliberations with great enthusiasm and they expressed their understanding of the different issues. All the draft documents were adopted unanimously along with a number of amendments.

Comrade Shankar Singh, in his illuminating concluding speech stressed the importance and urgencies of releasing a two-fold struggle to build up a high standard of communist character on the one hand and the class and mass struggles

on the other and to be equal to the task history had bequeathed to the party.

In the concluding session the delegates elected unanimously a 19-member State Committee with Com. Tapas Dutta as Secretary. Other members of the new State Committee are: Com. Sitesh Dasgupta, Com. Bina Dash, Com. Bishnu Das, Com. Shankar Dasgupta, Com. Mayadhar Nayak, Com. Balaram Sahoo, Com. Seikh Quasim, Com. Raghunath Das, Com. Uddhab Jana, Com. Dhurjati Das, Com. Gobinda Maharana, Com. Jagabandhu Boral, Com. Bijoy Shahoo, Com. Devendra Sahoo, Com. Dinabandhu Sahoo, Com. Shambhunath Nayak, Com. Chhabi Mohanti, and Com. Sadasiva Das.

The Conference also elected delegates to the Party Congress. The elections were unanimous. With the singing of *Internationale* the Conference concluded.

More than 10,000 workers, peasants agricultural labours, students, youths, women and intellectuals from different districts of the State attended the open session on January 6 at Gourishankar Park. They marched in a procession from the railway station, holding flags and banners and raising slogans. Volunteer squads of the UTUC (LS) and AIKKMS and AIDS0 marched in uniform at the front of the procession. Thousands of

dwellers of the town attended the session. Com. Raghunath Das, Member, State Committee, presided over the session which began with the song on Com. Shibdas Ghosh, followed by presentation of the guard of honour by volunteers of different mass organisations of the party. Then the gathering adopted a resolution which called upon the opposition parties and all Left and democratic forces to join in a united movement to fight against communalism, parochialism, separatism and the fascist menace. Another resolution against the proposed Baliapal missile base was also adopted unanimously.

Recalling the struggle led by Com. Shibdas Ghosh to form the SUCI, Com. Tapas Dutta, the main speaker at the open session, observed that in all these forty years the party had grown from strength to strength, waging very many complex ideological struggles and legitimate democratic mass movements.

Referring to the international situation he said that the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit had not eliminated the danger of nuclear wars and Star Wars; rather the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union had helped create a false picture of peace, as if the danger of war was no more. Referring to the abysmal economic distress and the cultural degeneration into which the people of India

were plunged by the crisis-ridden ruling capitalist class of India, Comrade Dutta pointed out that while the situation called for united struggle against the fascist menace posed by the bourgeoisie both the Rightist and the Leftist parties, including the CPI(M), were giving cheap stunts in the name of launching movements against the Central Government and were deceiving and misleading the common people in a bid to come to governmental power at the Centre. The only way to compel these parties to unite on a common platform with the SUCI for building up democratic mass movements against the fascist menace was to strengthen the SUCI.

Comrade Mayadhar Nayak, Com. Binapani Dash, Com. Bishnu Das and Comrade Jagabandhu Boral also addressed the gathering. Thereafter Com. Raghunath Dash addressed the session which came to conclusion with the singing of the *Internationale*.

A folk drama based on a theme of movement against the proposed Baliapal Missile Base was staged in the end.

### ASSAM

The State Conference of the party was held in Guwahati from January 4 to 6 last, following completion of local and district conferences. Delegates from the districts had arrived in the State capital to participate in

the State level conference making it memorable for its revolutionary purposefulness and discipline in preparation for the approaching Party Congress. Comrade Prithish Chanda, Member, Central Committee, was present to conduct the conference.

On the morning of January 4, before the Conference began, the Red Flag was hoisted by Com. Asit Bhattacharjee, Secretary of the State Committee. Thereafter, Com. Bhattacharjee placed a wreath of flowers at the martyrs' column erected for the occasion. Com. Prithish Chanda and Com. Bhattacharjee placed wreaths at a portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Then the song on the great leader of the proletariat was sung.

Introducing the agenda for the conference Com. Chanda urged the delegates to keep in mind the object of the Conference and raise any points during discussion from the Marxist-Leninist approach and conduct themselves in a manner befitting the disciples of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Com. Asit Bhattacharjee read out the Report of the State Secretary and this was discussed in detail and accepted unanimously with some minor amendments. The Draft Constitution and the two Draft Theses were placed in the next sessions along with the

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A view of open session of Orissa State Conference.

## Elections in Tripura And Present Political situation

After a decade of Left front misrule, Tripura goes to the polls on February 2. One can well imagine the fate of the democratic process in a situation when the Central Congress(I) Government declared entire Tripura as disturbed area on 29th January last. The elections though going to be held in one or two states, have an all-India perspective in all the relevant aspects—the fundamental problems in the people's life as also for sending the people's real representatives to the bourgeois parliamentary forums. The problem also relates to integrating this forum with extra-parliamentary battles outside. The bourgeois design, on the other hand, aims at forcing the people's choice to be restricted to their chosen representatives on the model of two-party parliamentary system. The class motive is ominous: to channelise the growing wrath and discontent of exploited and oppressed people into the blind alley of parliamentarism-reformism-legalism.

True, through this election there will have little effect in bringing about any tangible change in the state government, but still to a revolutionary party like ours, election is also a political battle. At the existing level of public consciousness, it still acts as a means to mobilise the people under the leadership of a genuine revolutionary party, a means to bring home to them the correct understanding of the socio-political-economic situation of the country and their tasks ahead by unmasking the anti-people role of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties. Hence it is our bounden duty to analyse the present situation obtaining in our country though in brief, and outline the tasks of the people.

The common people are groaning under the grinding wheel of capita-

list exploitation and the ruthless fiscal onslaughts of the governments both at the centre and at the states. Unemployment soars to staggering dimensions not only because of stagnant industrial growth but also due to intense crisis. More than a lakh of industrial units have gone 'sick'. Closure, lock-out, lay-off have become a familiar means to throw off lakhs of working people to the streets as beggars. Some ten to fifteen crore of working people are totally unemployed in addition to the number of 'semi-unemployed or disguised unemployed' which runs more than the numbers officially thrown out of employment.

The prices of essential commodities including foodstuffs are increasing at an alarming rate and are going beyond the means of purchasing power of the common people. Blackmarketeers, hoarders and profiteers have full sway in the market, while the reign of black money are becoming entrenched over the masses; the real income of the people is fast falling. Destitution of the rural people is beyond description. The number of landless farmers is fast increasing and the rural 'kulaks' are getting rich day by day. There is no sign of increase in wages of rural daily earners and their numbers are getting inflated daily.

In the midst of this unbearable economic exploitation, the ruling capitalist class, the Congress(I) and other survivors to the vested interests are very much active in hatching grand designs one after another so that the people do not get united to unleash any democratic movement centring round people's burning problems. To break the backbone of the working class, like their despotic predecessors of the history, the ruling clique are busy to mobilise the young force of the country into unethical means of liveli-

hood. As a corollary to it, instead of giving birth to higher sense of democratic values, which is the essence of any worthy education system, they are after killing the rational bent of mind and are encouraging an out and out callous and apathetic attitude towards any social problems, which the people today are confronted with. On the other hand, rampant corruption has percolated into every level so much so that following the recent exposure of high corruptions in the Bofors guns and West German submarine deals and the illegal draining out of the country blackmoney running to thousands of crores, the confidence of the people has totally been shattered and as the head of the government Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has lost his moral right to stay any more in the government. And last, but not the least, fascist onslaughts are being mounted one after another to take away the freedom of the press including host of other draconian measures. Foisting the so-called National Education policy, a blueprint of fascism, Congress (I) government led by Rajiv Gandhi has come down with yet another fascist measure and are thus bent on driving the country toward all out fascism.

Needless to say, in such a gloomy situation now obtaining in the country it was quite natural to build up united struggle and develop people's struggle committees from the grass roots level as the only means to advance and safeguard the people's cause and interest. Even if elections come as a sequel incidental to the movements so released, it is the power of the movement that can alone ensure pro-people measures, provide some relief to the people and a breathing space for providing growth and broader movements of high pitch in phases. In the face of impending danger of all-out fascism,

it should be borne in mind, it is not enough to develop united movement with only left and democratic forces of the country.

Instead, even those parliamentary parties and forces, willing to fight against the fascist policies and measures of the Congress(I) government should be brought forth in the vortex of country-wide united movement. But unfortunately the CPI and the CPI(M) claiming to be the 'lefts' and 'communists' and their fellow travellers even are not showing any sign of interest in discharging this historic task. As against this principled course of action, their greed to anyhow come to governmental power through ballot boxes are working today as hurdles to developing country-wide united movement of all left, democratic and parliamentary opposition parties and forces. Thus forsaking the path of mass movement they are now busy in reaping rich dividends in parliamentary politics. In its wake, both the CPI and the CPI(M) are vying with their bourgeois counterparts to emerge as the champion and in defence of moribund capitalism in the country.

In Tripura, as in West Bengal, now under the rule of the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' government, people have experienced no basic difference with the previous Congress(I) governments. While their misery stemming from the crisis-ridden capitalism multiplied corruption in administration, nepotism and misuse of administrative power in petty party interests have surpassed all previous limits. The role of survivor to the cause and interest of the ruling bourgeoisie and compromising attitude and approach to Congress(I) government at the centre has made the last vestiges of the fighting character of the CPI(M) tarnished in the eyes of the people. Despite its tall talk and jugglery of words to pose itself as the saviour of the working people, the CPI(M) could not hide its falling image from the people during its decade-old mis-

and assistance of the par- rule in Tripura. While it was incumbent to encourage the people of the state to the growth and development of legitimate democratic movement against the vested interest and the anti-people role and policy of the Central Government centring round the people's burning issues, it, on the contrary, is putting hurdles to develop it, much to the detriment of the people's cause. In order to hide their abject failure in the field of growth and development in the industrial sector and other welfare measures of the people, they are harping on the theme: 'Centre is blocking financial assistance'. If really the CPI (M) meant business, they ought to have come out with an all round development plan and programmes like enhancement of financial aids and assistance necessary for industrial growth and development, and above all, for extension of railway line upto Agartala, considered to be the vital artery in the state. And since the Central government refused to accede to the genuine demands of the people of Tripura, the Left Front should have called upon the people to rise in revolt and develop mighty mass movements so that it became possible to clinch the demands from the unwilling hands of the Central government. But the CPI(M) did not take this correct path.

As a result, the CPI (M) is fast loosing its image as left party before the common masses of the people. And more it is losing its sway over the toiling people in general and the government employees in particular, the more it is trying to hold its sway over them through intimidation and threats. Murder and killings of political opponents as well as individual killings have become a daily affair. Consequently, a sense of insecurity and terror has gripped the people in the state. Despite claiming itself to be the champion of civil liberty, these murders and killings are going on unabated mostly perpetrated by the aids

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happens to be concentrated upon a definite campaign it is the duty of the organ to place all its departments, not the editorial pages alone, at the service of this particular campaign. The editorial board must draw material and sources to feed this campaign, which must be incorporated throughout the paper both in substance and in form.

41. The matter of canvassing subscriptions for "our newspaper" must be made into a system. The first thing is to make use of every occasion stirring up workers and of every situation in which the political and social consciousness of the worker has been aroused by some special occurrence. Thus, following each big strike movement or lockout, during which the paper openly and energetically defended the interests of the workers, a canvassing activity should be organised and carried on among the participants. Subscription lists and subscription orders for the paper should be distributed not only in the industries where the Communists are engaged and among the trade union fractions of those industries that had taken part in the strikes, but also whenever possible, subscription orders should be distributed from house to house by special groups of workers doing propaganda for the paper.

Likewise following each election campaign that aroused the workers, special groups appointed for the purpose should visit the houses of the workers carrying on systematic propaganda for the workers' newspaper.

At times of latent political and economic crises manifesting themselves in the rise of prices, unemployment and other hardships affecting great numbers of workers, all possible efforts should be exerted to win over the professionally organised workers of the various industries and organise them into working groups for carrying on systematic house to house propaganda for newspaper. Experience has shown that the most appropriate time for canvassing work is the last week of each month. Any local group that would allow even one of these last week of the month to pass by without making use of it for propaganda work for the newspaper will be committing a grave omission with regard to the spread of the Communist movement. The working group conducting propaganda for the newspaper must not leave out any public meeting or any demonstration without being there at the opening, during the intervals, and at the close with the subscription list for the paper. The same duties are imposed upon every trade union fraction at each separate meeting of the union, as well as upon the group and fraction at shop meetings.

## DEFEND THE PARTY PRESS

42. Every Party member must constantly defend our paper against all its opponents and carry on energetic campaign against the capitalist press. He must expose and brand-mark the venality, the falsehoods, the suppression of information and all the double-dealings of the press.

The social-democratic and independent press must be overcome by constant and aggressive criticism, without falling into petty factional polemising, but by persistent unmasking of their treacherous attitude in veiling the most flagrant class conflicts day by day. The trade union and other fractions must seek by organised means to wean away the members of trade unions and other workers' organisations

from the misleading and crippling influence of these social-democratic papers. Also the canvassing by means of house to house campaign for our press, notably among industrial workers, must be judiciously directed against the social-democratic press.

## VIII. ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY ORGANISM

43. The Party organisation spreading out and fortifying itself must not be organised upon a scheme of mere geographical divisions, but in accordance with the real economic, political and transport conditions of the given district. The centre of gravity is to be placed in the main cities, and the centres of large industries.

In the building up of a new Party, there usually manifests itself a tendency to have the Party organisation spread out at once all over the country. Thus disregarding the fact that the number of workers at the disposal of the Party is very limited, these few workers are scattered in all directions. This weakens the recruiting ability and the growth of the Party. In such cases we saw an extensive system of Party offices springing up, but the Party itself did not succeed in gaining foothold even in the most important industrial cities.

## PROVINCIAL AND DISTRICT ORGANISATIONS

44. In order to get the Party activity centralised to the highest possible degree, it is not advisable to have the Party leadership divided into an hierarchy with a number of groups subordinate to one another. The thing to be aimed at is that every large city forming an economic, political or transportation centre should spread out and form a net of organisation within a wide area of the surroundings of the given locality and the economic political districts adjoining it. The Party committee of the large centre should form the head of the general body of the Party and conduct the organisational activity of the district, directing its policy in close connection with the membership of the locality.

The organisers of such a district elected by the district conference and confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party are obliged to take active part in the Party life of the local organisation. The Party committee of the district must be constantly reinforced by members from among the Party workers of the place, so that there should be close relationship between that committee and the large masses of the district. As the organisation keeps developing, efforts should be made to the effect that leading committee of the district should at the same time be the leading political body of the place. Thus, the Party committee of the district, together with the Central Committee should play the part of the real leading organ in the general Party organisation.

The boundary lines of the Party districts are not naturally limited by the area of the place. The determining factor should be that the district committee be in a position to direct the activities of all the local organisations within the district in a uniform manner. As soon as this becomes impossible the district must be divided and new Party districts formed.

It is also necessary in the larger countries to have certain intermediate organisations serving as connecting

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links between the Central Committee and the local. Under certain conditions it may be advisable to give to some of these intermediary organisations, as for example, an organisation in a large city with a strong membership, a leading part, but as a general rule this should be avoided as leading to decentralisation.

## LOCAL ORGANISATION

45. The large intermediary organisations are formed out of local Party organisations: country groups or of small cities and of districts, of the various parts of the large city.

Any local Party organisation that has grown to such an extent that it is existing as legal organisation, it can no longer conduct general meetings of all its membership, must be divided.

In any Party organisation the members must be grouped for daily Party activities. In large organisations it may be advisable to combine various groups into collective bodies. As a rule such members should be included in one group at their place of work or elsewhere and have occasion to meet one another in their daily activity. The object of such a collective group is to distribute Party activity among the various small or working groups, to receive reports from various officials and to train candidates for membership.

## E. C. C. I.

46. The Party as a whole is to be under the guidance of the Communist International. The instructions and resolutions of the Executive of the International on methods affecting the affiliated parties are to be directed firstly, either (1) to their Central Committee of the Party, (2) through this Committee to some special committee or (3) to the members of the Party at large,

The instructions and resolutions of the International are binding upon the Party, and naturally also upon every Party member.

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND POLIT BUREAU

47. The Central Committee of the Party is elected at a Party Congress and is responsible to it. The Central Committee selects out of its own midst a smaller body consisting of two sub-committees for political activity. Both these sub-committees are responsible for the political and current work of the Party. These sub-committees or bureau arrange for the regular joint sessions of the Central Committee of the Party where decisions of immediate importance are to be passed. In order to study the general and political situation and gain a clear idea of the state of affairs in the Party, it is necessary to have various localities represented on the Central Committee whenever decisions are to be passed affecting the life of the entire Party. For the same reason differences of opinion regarding tactics should not be suppressed by the Central Committee if they are of a serious nature. On the contrary, these opinions should get representation upon the Central Committee. But the smaller bureau (Polit Bureau) should be conducted along uniform lines, and in order to carry on a firm and sure policy, it must be able to rely upon its own authority as well as upon a considerable majority of the Central Committee.

Carried on such a basis the Central Committee of the Party, especially in cases of legal parties, will be able in the shortest time, to form a firm foundation for discipline requiring the unconditional confidence of the Party membership and at the same time manifesting vacillations and deviations that make their appearance done away with. Such abnormalities in the Party may be removed before reaching the stage where they should have to be brought up before a Party Congress for a decision.

## DIVISION OF WORK SUB-COMMITTEES

48. Every leading Party committee must have its work among its members in order to achieve efficiency in the various branches of work. This may necessitate the formation of various special committees, as for example, committees for propaganda, for editorial work, for the trade union campaign, for communications, etc. Every special committee is subordinated either to the Central Committee or to the District Committee.

The control over the activity as well as the composition of all committees should be in the hands of the given district committees, and, in the last instance, in the hands of the Party Central Committee. It may become advisable from time to time to change the occupation and office of those people attached for various Party work such as, editors, organisers, propagandists, etc., provided that this does not interfere too much with the Party work. The editors and propagandists must participate in the regular Party work in one of the Party groups.

## C. C. P.

49. The Central Committee of the Party as also the Communist International, is empowered at any time to demand complete reports from all Communist organisations, from their organs and individual members. The representatives of the Central Committee and comrades authorised by it are to be admitted to all meetings and sessions with a deciding voice. The Central Committee of the Party must always have at its disposal plenipotentiaries (i.e., Commissars to instruct and inform the leading organs of the various districts and regions not only by means of their circulars and letters, but also by direct and verbal and responsible agencies on the questions of politics and organisations).

Every organisation and every branch of the Party, as well as every individual member, has the right of communicating his respective wishes, suggestions, remarks or complaints directly to the Central Committee of the Party or to the International at any time.

## SUBORDINATION OF LOWER BODIES TO HIGHER

50. The instructions and decisions of the leading party organs are obligatory for the subordinate organisations and for the individual members. The responsibilities of the leading organs and duty to prevent either delinquency or abuse of their leading position, can only partly be determined in a formal manner. The less their formal responsibility (as for instance, in unlegalised Parties) the greater the obligation upon them to study the opinion of the Party members, to obtain regular and solid information, and to form their own decisions only after mature and thorough deliberation.

( To be concluded )

## Tripura elections—the backdrop

(Contd. from page 5)

ties in power either in the state or in the centre. The casualty, in this horrible situation, no doubt, has been the 'leftism' and consequently the congenial atmosphere for building democratic mass movement in Tripura is fast disappearing.

The deteriorating situation went to such an extent that continually the innocent and ordinary people of the state are becoming victims at the hands of so-called extremists only to fall prey in the hands of marauding spree of killers that be! And the tragedy lies in the fact that before the very nose of a government claiming itself to be 'leftist' and 'Marxist' this is going on unhindered and unabated; and a civilized government does not feel compunction to protect its people from the hands of robbers and blood sucker murderers! The CPI(M)-led government remains content with routine observance of local bandhs and is always found to be busy with shifting the onus of its criminal negligence and abject failure of protecting its people's life and property on to the shoulders of Central Government.

As an inevitable result of pursuit of sectarian politics out of which the CPI(M) consistently tried, temporarily though, to spread its organisational influence and hold bypassing the correct path of sustained mass struggles for fulfilling the natural urges and aspirations of the exploited, oppressed and humiliated tribal people of the state, parochialism and separatist tendencies and trends, as we witness in Tripura today, have found a fertile soil to deeply entrench its tentacles in the state. None of the two contending parliamentary parties — the CPI(M) and the Congress(I) — can shirk its

responsibility from this criminal failure! Despite its claim to the contrary, the CPI(M) leadership, due to its non-Marxist class character, has totally failed to develop solid unity between the exploited people and tribals of the state on the edifice of higher proletarian culture and ethics not only in the past but is out and out incapable of achieving it in times to come even, due mainly to its non-working class character. And for this very basic reason, the CPI(M) is incapable of protecting the exploited and oppressed tribal people of Tripura from the clutches of the separatist-parochial forces, now ruling high in the state.

In a word, the CPI(M) in its bid to cling to power like the other bourgeois parties is subserving the class interest of the crisis ridden moribund capitalism and has become instrumental in fostering separatist sentiments among the Bengalees and tribals and is subtly exploiting these in its electoral interest. On the other hand, to cover up its all-out failure to discharge minimum responsibility to the poor masses of the people the entire blame is being shifted on to the 'Centre' although it must be borne in mind that the Congress(I) has become the main enemy of the people serving, as it does, the aggregate interest of monopoly capitalism in India. The State Congress(I), in cynical race of power struggle became mad to organise "Loan mela" in Tripura on the eve of the elections taking advantage of the Congress(I) remaining in power at the centre, obviously flouting all norms and code of conduct of even bourgeois parliamentary elections—which could not have been held for opposition of the people. This has made this party more desperate with its

ties with parochial forces TUJS going stronger.

In such a grim situation of the country, Tripura is going to the polls and on the eve of it the people of the state have become, to a great extent, frustrated. They seem to have no faith anywhere and in anybody. But this is only one aspect of the situation; to view it in its other aspects, the people are gradually feeling that all here are not lost; out of this darkness kindles a ray of hope—the SUCI. Armed with the revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, the SUCI has plunged itself throughout the length and breadth of the country to developing legitimate democratic mass movements centring round the burning problems in people's life against the anti-people policies and measures of the governments, both at the centre and in the states. Because, the SUCI firmly believes that to protect and safeguard the people's cause and interest, advancing the legitimate mass movement is the only guarantee. With this end in view and since the SUCI considers love for the people and character building to be the lifeblood of politics, no matter whether within parliamentary forums or outside it, this party is trying its utmost constantly to organise, as it organises, democratic movement on the basis of the legitimate cause of the people of the state of Tripura as well. So the victory of this party does mean with this revolutionary line the SUCI has participated in these elections and set up two candidates—the victory of the legitimate cause of the people of the state. Comrades Milan Majumdar and Amalendu Bhowmick contesting in the constituencies of 14-B and 14-G and 32-Radhakrishnapur res-

## State Conferences

(Contd. from page 4)

suggestions forwarded from the district conferences. Comrades took part in the discussions, expressing their understanding of different aspects and suggesting improvements. After the deliberations all the three drafts were adopted unanimously together with some amendments.

In the final session a 15-member strong new State Committee with Com. Kalyan Chowdhury as Secretary was elected unanimously. Other members of the Committee are: Com. Siddheswar Sharma, Com. Bimal Nandi, Com. Nazrul Haque, Com. Bhupendranath Kakati, Com. Minhar Ali Mondal, Com. Radhakanta Tanti, Com. Kantimoy Deb, Com. Jaynal Abedin, Com. Surat zaman Mondal, Com. Hossain Shah, Com. Saradindu Biswas, Com. Sushil Barthakur, Com. Chandralekha Das and Com. Sajal Choudhury.

The Conference also elected delegates to the All India Party Congress to be held in Calcutta from March 25 to 29 next.

In the concluding speech Comrade Pritish Chanda urged the delegates to carry the lessons of the Conference to their respective areas and enrich the party organisation there. Comrades were to carry the party's analysis of the international and national situations to the people to make them

respectively. They are proven men of honesty and integrity having revolutionary outlook and who always stand by the side of mass movements rising above personal ambitions, power and privilege.

We appeal to the people to extend their all-out support to this revolutionary cause.

aware of their tasks. Comrades were to engage in a relentless struggle to uplift their character and consolidate the organisational base of the party and prepare in supreme task of the hour, the task with which was interwoven the cause of the toiling masses of India, the emancipation of the downtrodden, the advancement of mankind.

On January 11 an open session of the conference, attended by a large number of common people, was held on the ground adjacent to Nabin Bardoloi hall of Guwahati. Com. Siddheswar Sharma, Member, State Committee of the party and President of Assam State unit of UTUC(LS) and a mass leader presided over the session which started with the song on the great leader of the proletariat. Com. Pritish Chanda, main speaker on the occasion, analysed the major features of the national situation in the background of the war threats posed by the imperialists, the US imperialists in particular, on the international arena. Pointing to the fascist menace looming over the horizon in the country today and the danger of communalism-parochialism - separatism, Com. Chanda emphasized the urgency of building up broad based united democratic mass movements conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution. This was the principal task before the people, he emphasized, and the only way to maintain the people's unity in the face of the fascist onslaughts of the ruling bourgeoisie. Other speakers included Com. Asit Bhattacharjee, Com. Kalyan Choudhury, Com. Chandralekha Das and Com. Jainal Abedin.

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

Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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