

Capitalism is digging its own grave

CPI(M) AND OTHER SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE COME TO ITS RESCUE

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The chain of events of the past few weeks has thrown the political situation of the country into a turmoil. At the same time it has laid bare the real face of the parliamentary politics prevailing in the country. On critical examination of these events and the resulting crisis in the Central Government certain truths become clearly evident. In a statement issued on July 14 last, at the initial phase of the present crisis, the Central Committee of our Party had pointed out: "The common people of our country must clearly understand that the present crisis in the Central Janata Government is, in the main, the reflection of the internal crisis of Indian capitalism being further aggravated by increasing squabbles, power conflicts of different individuals and groups within the ruling Janata conglomerate—leading to a new alignment of forces. Different bourgeois and social democratic parties are coming out in the open to save capitalism at this hour of crisis and reap harvest to satisfy their needs of opportunistic parliamentary politics." Developments subsequent to the issue of this statement have proved once more the correctness of our Party's analysis.

The Crisis

It should be noted in this connection that even the overwhelming majority of the Janata Party in Parliament could not save it from disintegration, nor could prevent fall of Mr. Morarji Desai's Government. In fact, no ideological question was involved in the continuing group conflict in the Janata Party. It was simply due to the power hankering of different groups and individuals in the party representing, among others, interests of different groups of the ruling capitalist class.

The crisis reveals, in the second place, the bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie and their utter corruption. Trampling all democratic norms and values, and treating even the minimum of political honesty, morals, scruple, and ethics with contempt, the bourgeois parties and their leaders are now engaged in fighting one another in a scramble for power. Defection, split, re-split and a wildly shifting pattern of alignment mark their state of affair.

In this shameless race for grabbing power the social democratic parties like the CPI(M), the CPI,

etc, are shifting position to and fro changing their alignment from one bourgeois group to another on the plea of fighting communalism and authoritarianism. In reality, they have openly come out in the role of defender of the Indian capitalism at its grave hour of crisis. And, like the known bourgeois parties, they are treating all norms and values with contempt in their bid to make the best of the situation. Never before was the political atmosphere of the country so filthy and corrupt as it has now been made by these parties together.

Another aspect of the entire development, which perhaps nobody has failed to take note of, is that Mrs. Gandhi and her party are merrily fishing in the troubled water of the present political situation. In the entire process of fall and formation of governments in a space of six or seven weeks she has successfully thrust herself on the political scene and retrieved her position in the parliamentary politics in a large measure.

Besides all these, the conduct of the President, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, in handling this present crisis

of the Central Government has raised some serious questions before the democratic minded people of the country.

Watching these acts of the known bourgeois and the so-called Left parties and their leaders one shudders at the abominable state of affair of the bourgeois parliamentary politics in our country at present. All these parties swear by the people's interests and the democratic rights but the most they trample every now and then are the same interests and rights. Because of the conduct and acts of the bourgeois and the pseudo-Left parties two things are suffering most: one is the public standard, morals and ethics, the other is the people's regard for the left politics. Both these are matter of grave concern for the politically conscious section of the toiling people of our country. Because, the various communal, parochial and other divisive forces on the one hand and the authoritarian forces on the other are exploiting the situation created by the growing frustration of the people with leftism as a result of the extremely opportunistic role of the pseudo-Left parties like the CPI(M), the CPI, etc, to serve their narrow interest. The bourgeois and social democratic parties are trying to mislead the people with their own solutions for the present crisis. But the people will have to understand that

(Contd. to page 2)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S CALL TO FORM LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC FRONT

[Following is the text of the letter addressed to the General Secretaries of CPI, CPI(M), Forward Bloc, RSP, RCPI, WPI, CWPI, RCPI, CPI(ML), MFB, Workers and Peasants Party by Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI urging them to come forward to form a Left and Democratic Front at the present juncture.]

30th August '79

"You are well aware that the Central Committee of our Party has been striving hard since long and urging upon all the genuine left and democratic parties and forces to build up a left and democratic front as an instrument of struggle which alone can provide a distinct and clear-cut alternative to the anti-people politics of the bourgeois parties. It is unfortunate that this urgent and historic need of the hour has remained as yet unfulfilled to the detriment of people's real interest and legitimate democratic mass movements.

"The Central Committee holds that the recent political developments in the country such as the fall of the Central Janata Government, instability in the parliamentary system, disintegration of the bourgeois parties, unprecedented lowering of moral and ethical standards, unprincipled and opportunistic alliances and various other acts are nothing but reflections of serious crisis that has struck at the very root of the capitalist system bringing in its wake serious crisis in the bourgeois parties, Central and different State Governments as also in bourgeois administrative apparatus. The Central Committee cannot but note with serious concern that the moribund capitalism with its all pervading crisis has brought about total degeneration and degradation in character, moral-ethical standard in the society and in public and political life eating into the very vitals of all democratic norms and values.

"When the bourgeoisie as a class, along with its socio-politico-economic system is thus in a disarray and when all the bourgeois parties and the forces of *status quo* in their bid to protect and defend crisis-ridden capitalism are frantically trying to form unprincipled combinations and alliances only to suit their individual and group interests—it is high time that all the genuine left and democratic parties and forces should come forward to defend people's real interest, democratic rights, values and norms by building up and advancing legitimate democratic movement of the people. The Central Committee

(Contd. to page 7)

(Contd. from page 1)

these solutions are nothing but mischievous attempts to rid the bourgeois system of its present crisis and shift the entire burden on to the people. The significance of the present political turmoil should therefore be understood clearly. And the people must find their own way out.

Root Cause

The aspects of the present political turmoil mentioned above may now be examined in some details. It should be remembered in this context that the crisis in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres of our country have been continuously aggravating over the past years. In the past few weeks the state of restlessness, uncertainty and instability marking the political atmosphere has deteriorated many times more. As pointed out by the Central Committee of our Party on every relevant occasion, it should be realized in the first place that it is the acute economic crisis—the crisis of capitalism—which is being reflected in the crisis of the bourgeois political parties, the administration and the parliamentary setup, and the bourgeois state apparatus in all its organs. Faced with the severe and ever-mounting crisis of the market, the Indian capitalist class is riven with internal conflict. The clash of interest among the different monopoly houses over the shrinking market is creating ground for conflict of power among the different bourgeois parties, groups and individuals representing different groups of the capitalist class. Also is there the contradiction between monopoly capital and small capital, between monopoly capital and regional capital casting its shadow over the mutual relationship among the bourgeois political parties of the country. The rise and fall of the Janata Party and the wildly shifting pattern of alignment among the bourgeois parties and groups reflect strikingly

the crisis and conflict of the ruling capitalist class coupled with combinations of the individual bourgeois leaders and groups. The political-organizational conglomerate called the Janata was formed at a particular stage in the twists and turns of the changing political situation of the country to meet the requirement of the design of the ruling capitalist class to introduce the two-party parliamentary system in our country on the Western model with the sole object of arresting democratic mass movements within the ambit of the parliamentary system. But, as evident now, the Janata conglomerate could not be held together as such. It has fallen apart. In fact, each bourgeois party is splitting. Attempts are made to unite disparate groups and parties, but they unite only to split again.

Causes of Split in Bourgeois Parties

Why is it happening like this? In the aggregate interest of the ruling capitalist class an urge works for uniting groups and individuals in the fold of a bourgeois party. But the acute crises of the same capitalist class works in the opposite direction and tends to foment the disparate interests operating within the party. Through conflict of these opposite tendencies in the present crisis-ridden phase of capitalism, the bourgeois parties are splitting and uniting, uniting and splitting. Coupled with this are the ambition, power hankering and disparate styles of functioning of the individual bourgeois leaders and groups, which often work at cross purpose and affect the amalgam of these parties. This is the phenomenon witnessed in the case of the Janata. The party came into being as an experiment to fulfil the bourgeois class urge for evolving the two party system in our country in order to serve the aggregate interest of the class in the best manner possi-

On Present Political Situation

ble at the present phase of its crisis. But the failure of this arrangement to stave off the economic crisis coupled with the power hankering of the various groups and individuals in the Janata has prevailed upon the class urge to preserve a working unity in the party in the best interest of the class and has brought the party down setting afoot fresh moves for realignment of forces in the exigency of the new circumstance.

Extreme Opportunism and Corruption of Bourgeois and Social Democratic Parties

Moreover, as pointed out earlier the democratic norms, values and political honesty—even in the bourgeois sense and in the minimum of their standard—are found to be wanting among the bourgeois leaders of our country today. It needs hardly be pointed out that the extent to which the democratic norms, values and political honesty still work today in the capitalist countries of the West—even in the present extremely reactionary imperialist stage of those countries—is found to be very much wanting among the bourgeoisie of our country. Of course, the bourgeois leaders here have never stopped talking tall and they always urge the people to maintain the public standard. But it is common knowledge that while they reserve their advice for the people, they consider it their privilege to violate all norms and values to satisfy the needs of their individual, group or party interests. Take one among the most recent examples. Mr. Charan Singh, in his Independence Day speech, spoke a lot about the need to root out corruption in the public life. But is there an uglier example of corruption and unprincipled political act than the one he himself set when he conspired defection from the Janata and engaged in the shameless act of horse-trading of the M.P.'s to grab the office of the Prime

Minister? And who does not know that Charan Singh had been maintaining overtly or covertly a tie with Mrs. Gandhi for the last one year? Clearly, the sole object of these corrupt leaders of the bourgeois parties is to grab power by any means whatsoever and satisfy their personal greeds. On the other hand, in their bid to sustain the moribund capitalism, they are simply shifting the burden of the crisis of capitalism on to the common people and trying to befool them with various slogans. The crisis of the ruling capitalist class due to the acute and all-pervasive crisis of capitalism has been further accentuated by the group conflicts in the bourgeois parties centring round nationality, regional, communal and various such interests. As a result, the ruling capitalist class now faces immense difficulty in preserving and rearing up one or two parties on the all-India plane to safeguard its class interests. Despite this difficulty, the class persists in its effort to raise one or two organised all-India party or parties in its own aggregate interest—but the shadow of future split is also associated with this effort.

President's Role

Incidentally, the mode of handling of the present crisis by President Reddy needs an examination. In his Independence Day eve broadcast the President lamented: "Never since Independence have principles been compromised and the basic values of life treated with such contempt". But what principles did the President himself follow in handling the crisis of the Central Government? He expressed his concern for 'the steady and cumulative deteriorations of standards in public life and public morality in all its aspects'. Did he himself uphold the democratic norms and tradition? Did he act in the spirit of democratic convention and in conformity with the public

morality in asking a defector politician who is manifestly guided by mean personal ambitions and who had a minority support in Parliament to form a government? Is it not a clear case of giving premium and encouragement to the politics of defection which is among the worse kind of public immorality even according to the bourgeois standard? Does it not constitute the precedent of a Prime Minister chosen or *de facto* nominated by the President? In the bourgeois political circle too there is a wide agreement on the fact that the Charan Singh Government has neither proved its majority nor its legitimacy. But the President decided to act on the advice of this Government and dissolve the Lok Sabha allowing this Government to continue as the caretaker. Has this Presidential act been in conformity with even the bourgeois democratic norms and principles? Or, is it in conformity with the tradition of parliamentary democracy? Will it be then wrong to construe that the President, by this act, has attempted to install a cabinet of his choice—even if for a brief period? Is it not an attempt to concentrate political power further in the office of the President? Did the President then hint at this direction of reorientation of the Indian Constitution when he fervently called for a 'review of the provisions of the Constitution in the light of our experience of working it over the last three decades'? It should be recalled here that at one time during Emergency there had been a talk of changing the Constitution for a Presidential type of government in our country. However, it could not go long owing to a strong public opposition to it. But through the 42nd Constitution Amendment during Emergency the highest offices of the land—those of the President, the Prime Minister, etc.—were made immune to the ordinary legal proceedings. There had been the experiment during Mrs. Gandhi's

(Contd. to page 3)

(Contd. from page 2)
regime to place the executive power of the Prime Minister above Parliament—that is, denying Parliament any supervising powers over the Prime Minister's acts and conduct. Effectively it had been designed to give more power to the executive organ, thus subordinating Parliament to the executive organ of the state while maintaining the parliamentary facade. In this arrangement the Prime Minister becomes *de facto* dictator.

Again, during the recent crisis making a plea of trampling of public standard and morality, the President indirectly started a discussion on either insertion of certain clause in the Constitution or formation of a 'national government' headed by the President so that power is concentrated in the hands of the President. A critical examination of all these moves at different times shows that the bourgeoisie is resorting to various experimental moves to come out of its acute crisis. But all these moves—whether institution of the two party system, or subordination of Parliament to the executive organ, or concentration of power in the hands of the President—have a singular object and that is to strike at the very root of democracy and impose more and more the fascist rule on the people while maintaining the parliamentary facade.

Role of CPI(M)-CPI

Whereas the bourgeoisie, bogged down in its crisis, is out to resort to this heinous anti-people course, the bungling and the opportunistic role of the so-called Left parties like the CPI(M), the CPI, etc. are matter of still greater concern. The Central Committee of our Party, in its statement of July 14, has drawn attention to it while analysing the roles of all the bourgeois and social democratic parties in the present crisis: "...all these parties and forces which are posing themselves as defenders of 'democracy' and 'secularism' are at the same time

suppressing people's movement trampling under foot all sorts of democratic rights, norms and values as well as fanning up communal and parochial forces and ganging up with them. It is, therefore, dangerous to paint the present squabble as a struggle between the secular and communal forces or between democratic and authoritarian forces and embellish it with a 'progressive' colour taking advantage of the relatively low level of political consciousness of the people". It has been further pointed out in this statement that "...at a time when the ruling bourgeois parties have been so severely bogged down in internal dissension and splits thus providing a golden opportunity in favour of mass struggle under the leadership of a Left and democratic front the parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI have joined in the bandwagon to anyhow prop up a combination of bourgeois political forces in their naked defence of the crisis-ridden capitalism."

The role of social democratic parties, particularly the CPI(M), during the recent crisis testifies to the above observation of our Party. The CPI(M) has raised the slogan of fighting communalism and authoritarianism on the one hand, and on that plea joined hands with none other than Mr. Charan Singh knowing fully well that Mrs. Gandhi was backing him and on the other shifted its stand to and fro in its bid to advance its interests in the parliamentary politics. Let alone the utter contradiction in the CPI(M)'s latest stand in this regard, the fundamental point at issue is whether a party claiming to be 'Marxist' could define a group or section and even a party of the bourgeoisie as secular at this hour of intense crisis of capitalism? Is it not a reality that notwithstanding their verbal posture to the contrary all these bourgeois parties and politicians are actually dividing the toiling people on caste, communal, religious or

ON PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

other parochial lines to obstruct class struggle in this stage of moribund capitalism? Is it not a fact that all these politicians who have put up the signboard of secularism were found to be involved, this way or that way, covertly or overtly, in all the recent communal riots at Jamshedpur, Aligarh and elsewhere? So, the slogan of secularism for all these political parties and forces can have but one object of reaping dividends in parliamentary politics by misguiding the people. But should a Marxist party be swayed by this bourgeois trickery, or should it analyse the character of a party from the basic class angularity? Should it not make the people conscious of this bourgeois game by giving a thorough exposure to it?

The successive stands of the CPI(M) at different stages of the recent development illustrate how the party has been shifting its position. At the early stage of the crisis the CPI(M) Polit Bureau resolved that the party would not support the no-confidence motion against the Janata Government. Mr. Samar Mukherjee, the party's leader in Parliament, had reiterated this stand on Parliament's floor. All this was when the imminence of the Janata Government's fall was not realized. But as soon as the CPI(M) realized the implication of the large scale defection led by Mr. Charan Singh, it suddenly discovered a 'progressive' role in him and decided to oppose the Janata Government and for that end rallied its allies. Then, after the fall of the Janata, the party's stand was to support Charan Singh's efforts to form a government through horse-trading of MPs and backed by Mrs. Gandhi's party. But only when had Mrs. Gandhi demanded a written request from Mr. Charan Singh for her party's support did the CPI(M) announce its so-called neutrality saying that it

would not support any Government which depended on the communal forces like the Jana Sangh-RSS and the authoritarian forces represented by Mrs. Gandhi and her party. In other words, the CPI(M) took the position as if it was fighting communalism and authoritarianism. It is thus posing itself as anti-communal and anti-authoritarian. But does the party's past history or its present to-and-fro moves corroborate this poser? Let us examine in brief these two claims of the CPI(M).

Anti-communal, anti-authoritarian Mask of CPI(M)

The question which arises in the first place is whether the CPI(M) or the CPI have ever viewed the unfulfilled task of the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution to fight communal and parochial forces as an integral part of today's democratic mass movements. Is it possible to fight these forces without integrating this task in the programme of democratic mass movement? Is it not clear as daylight that the crisis-ridden capitalism is fomenting the communal and other divisive reactionary forces today in order to disrupt the people's unity and solidarity in the movements against the capitalist exploitation and oppression? And how does the ruling class succeed in its nefarious attempts? In its projected Left and Democratic Front adopted as the party's programme at the Jullundur Congress the CPI(M) has decided to join hands with the Sikh communal forces like the Akalis and the parochial and regional forces like the AIADMK. This is not the only instance to expose the true identity of the CPI(M)'s anti-communal stand. What did the people witness during the recent communal riots of Nadia in West Bengal? Can anybody deny that the hands of the CPI(M) workers have not been clean in this incident?

The CPI(M) is asking the people to believe that the vested interests have triggered the riot being afraid of the 'Left Front' Government's success. Is it the reality? Is it not true that the vested interests are availing themselves of the opportunity created by the CPI(M)-led Governments' onslaughts on the legitimate democratic mass movements which alone can fight the communal and parochial forces? When in the Opposition, the party used to talk of fighting communalism by building up mass movements against it. But today, when the CPI(M) is in governmental power in some states, it is not only discouraging legitimate democratic mass movements but brutally repressing them too. The vested interests are availing of it as an opportunity to play their roles. Is it not then a bunkum of the CPI(M), after all this, to speak of its fighting stand against communalism?

As a matter of fact, the CPI(M) never was allergic to communal forces. The party's history is replete with instances showing that it freely joined hands with communal forces out of sheer opportunist considerations in its parliamentary politics. And on every such occasion the party has unabashedly called its communal partner 'progressive'. But as soon as the particular necessity has disappeared, the party has branded its erstwhile communal partner as a reactionary force, or joined hands with another communal force calling the former rabidly communal. Did not the CPI(M) form Ministry with the Muslim League in Kerala? Did it not form a separate Muslim district called Mallapuram in that state? Did it not again join hands with the Muslim League in the recent past in by-elections there? It was not even ashamed of taking help of Mrs. Gandhi in these elections.

(Contd. to page 4)

ON PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

(Contd. from page 3)

Today, the CPI(M) has withdrawn its support to the Janata saying that the 'secular force' has left the Janata with the exit of Charan Singh and his group. The CPI(M) appears to have suddenly discovered the domination of the Jana Sangh-RSS in the Janata just when the latter was threatened with fall at the Centre. But the people have not yet forgotten the history of the recent past. The same CPI(M) had discovered, on the eve of the last Lok Sabha elections, 'democratic and progressive' force in the Janata which was formed overnight with the Rightist reactionary forces like the Congress (O), the BLD along with the communal force—the Jana Sangh. And the CPI(M) joined hands with the Janata. Even the other day the CPI(M) used to refer to the Central Janata Government as a 'friendly Government' and had been discouraging any movements against the Desai Government arguing that the same would weaken the struggle for 'restoration of democracy'. For, the CPI(M) has all along counted the Janata as a force in this struggle. Today, the CPI(M) has become vociferous on dependence of the Janata on the Jana Sangh-RSS, but only a few months back, after the Aligarh riot, the party had taken the stand: "The party, however, has never made these activities of the RSS the reason for mounting an attack on the Janata Party and its government. It knows very well that neither is the RSS under the control of the Janata, nor the latter subordinated to the RSS, though of course many of its leaders including Ministers, MP's and MLA's are subjected to the iron discipline of the RSS."

(People's Democracy, 10.12.78).

Of course, the party does not have to grope for a plea to justify this somersault. Now it argues that the RSS has grown

more menacing than before. To accept this 'logic' is to say that the CPI(M) has actively contributed to making a reality of what was there as potential simply by nourishing the RSS in its breast. What a commentary it makes on the CPI(M)'s politics!

Besides, it is common knowledge that the Jana Sangh has dominated the Janata at the Centre along with the BLD and the Congress(O) groups in formulating the major policies of the Government and holding important portfolios. Did the CPI(M) raise its voice against the domineering role of the Jana Sangh? Throughout a period the Jana Sangh-BLD groups had combined to dominate the politics in different states. The CPI(M) did not see anything then to protest against this Jana Sangh domination. After the Aligarh riots when the group squabbles in the Janata had led the BLD to fire at the Jana Sangh, the CPI(M) had not raised its voice even then. But now the CPI(M) identifies Charan Singh's group which has come out of the Janata as a 'secular force' and is vociferous against Janata's dependence on the Jana Sangh-RSS. But what kind of secular force do Charan Singh and his group represent? When questions were raised on the role of the Jana Sangh-RSS in the savage riots of Aligarh, Jamshedpur, etc. what was the role of Charan Singh, who was Home Minister at the Centre? In fact he had acquiesced in and lined up with Morarji Desai's attempt to shield the Jana Sangh-RSS. Caste riots had erupted violently during Charan Singh's tenure as the Home Minister killing Harijans throughout the country. What measures had he taken against these and what concern did he evince?

Secondly, when the CPI(M) says that its extension of support to Mr. Charan Singh is aimed at keeping at bay the autho-

ritarian forces led by Mrs. Gandhi, does it plead ignorance of the closed tie maintained between Charan Singh and Mrs. Gandhi? The CPI(M) is posing as if it is not only anti-authoritarian but anti-Indira too. What does this party's record from 1969 to 1976 and ever today bear out? It will suffice only to mention the facts that in 1969 the CPI(M) had extended support to Mrs. Gandhi discovering in her leadership 'progressiveness' and 'forces of democracy'. Because of its understanding with her the party had refused to participate in the 1974 Bihar movement on the plea that the Rightists including the Jana Sangh were in that movement. The party had maintained this understanding overtly or covertly even during Emergency. Its Polit Bureau members had met Mrs. Gandhi to dispel any misgivings she might have about the CPI(M) and had assured her of its help in her 'fight against the Rightist danger'. But just when the party had realised, on the eve of this last Lok Sabha elections, the bleak prospect of Mrs. Gandhi at the polls and the imminence of the Janata's victory, did it shift its position in hot haste and discover in Mrs. Gandhi the force of authoritarianism. One cannot help wonder again: what commentary it makes on the CPI(M)'s politics!

Besides, how can the CPI(M) have the face to claim itself anti-authoritarian after the savagery it has committed on the June 15 mass violation of law in Calcutta, or on the refugees of Marichjhanpi, electricity workers of Santaldih and legitimate democratic mass movements elsewhere?

In connection with the CPI(M)'s hue and cry against authoritarianism, it is worthwhile to remind a teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our great leader, teacher and guide and an outstanding Marxist thinker of this era. In

course of a brilliant analysis on fascism he has shown that whoever comes to defend the present crisis-ridden capitalism is bound to develop authoritarian character. It has to be understood therefore that the question of struggle against authoritarianism is inalienably linked with the question of struggle against capitalism. While raising its voice against authoritarianism, does the CPI(M) really direct a fight against capitalism? According to the party's characterisation of the stage of Indian revolution—the People's Democratic Revolution—a section of the bourgeoisie is 'progressive' and an ally in its revolutionary strategy. The CPI(M), therefore, has been ever busy in discovering its 'progressive' bourgeois ally. With changing circumstance it has identified this ally once in Mrs. Gandhi, then in the Janata under Mr. Desai, and now in Mr. Charan Singh. It must however be conceded that there is an absolute consistency in the CPI(M)'s to-and-fro shift in position or somersault: the party extends support to whosoever is in power at the Centre.

CPI(M)'s Characterisation of Charan Singh

Examples are galore to illustrate this politics of exigency of the CPI(M). Take the case of its present stand—support to Charan Singh. Today the CPI(M) has discovered an anti-authoritarian force in Charan Singh and his group. But when the provision for Preventive Detention was retained in the Constitution at the time of its 44th Amendment Charan Singh was the Home Minister. What was his role? When MISA type of Acts were applied against the people in different states, what did Charan Singh do?

Did he not acquiesce in as the Central Home Minister? Did he not advocate economic Emergency? And it was he who was the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of the Desai Government when the ordinances banning strike of the Reserve Bank em-

ployees and withholding repayment of Compulsory Deposits to workers and employees were promulgated. If Charan Singh had any regard for the promise the Janata Government made to restore democratic rights of the people, could the massacre of Panthnagar, Bailadila, Kanpur, etc. take place when he was in charge of the Home Ministry? Yet the CPI(M) calls this person and his group as anti-authoritarian and is supporting them. But what was the CPI(M)'s stand with regard to Charan Singh only some time back? Let us hear from the party itself.

Commenting on the conflict in the Janata, after the resignation of Mr. Charan Singh from the Central Cabinet last year Mr. Namboodiripad, the CPI(M) General Secretary, wrote: "The fourteen months of Charan Singh's stewardship of the Home Ministry will go down in the history of Indian polity as one in which a bureaucratic machinery, which is thoroughly inefficient if not worse, was presided over by a Minister who has no political vision and is not in touch with the radical democratic public opinion. It will be the height of irresponsibility on the part of Charan Singh to claim that his hands were tied by his cabinet colleagues. Tied he undoubtedly was but by his own narrow-minded and unimaginative political outlook, rather than by an obstructive cabinet and Prime Minister". (People's Democracy, 9.7.78) The CPI(M) leader argued further in the same article: "The left and democratic forces should see that the Charan Singh programme of the so-called 'defence of the rural interest against the urban' is objectively a programme of the rural gentry. They therefore cannot afford to sail with the current of the Charan Singh-led "Kisan" movement. They should, in fact, undertake a concrete study and exposure of the class implications of the so-called Gandhian approach of

(Contd. to page 5)

(Contd. from page 4)

Charan Singh. It is indeed interesting to see the CPI(M) now sail with Charan Singh after completing its 'concrete study'. However, before deciding so, the party had other compliments to pay him. "It is a matter of regret that he has to take the office of the Prime Minister depending totally on the authoritarian force like the Congress (I). Once Charan Singh had wanted a Nuremburg type of trial for Indira Gandhi and today the same Charan Singh has joined hands with the authoritarian Indira Gandhi being driven by greed for power. This is the real face of the power hankering bourgeois politicians! This is their real character!" (Ganashakti, 27.7.79) Mr. Promode Dasgupta, the CPI(M)'s Polit Bureau member, stated two days earlier: "We have already declared that we shall not support any Government that is dependent upon an authoritarian force like the Congress (I). So, there is no question of supporting Charan Singh". (Ganashakti, 25.7.79) Desh Hitaishi, the CPI(M)'s Bengali weekly, had set forth the argument for all this in its editorial: "That a Government which is dependent on the support of the representative of the authoritarian force cannot fight against the same force, is rather incapable of taking any measure against that force for the sake of its own existence, can be easily understood by a school-boy even". (3.8.79) Referring to the Janata (S) of Mr. Charan Singh, Mr. Jyoti Basu had observed: "Is it possible to become secular by fixing a sign-board of secularism beside the name of the Janata Party? Even Mrs. Gandhi, the representative of authoritarian force, is becoming sacred to them." (Ganashakti 6.8.79). However, only 16 days later, the CPI(M) Central Committee changed its position to adopt the resolution: "the CPI(M) is prepared to support the Charan Ministry in the coming vote of confidence

though it has not freed itself from the support of the Congress(I) and is yet to give specific assurance to the masses.....in order to prevent the Jana Sangh dominated Janata party from coming back and the Congress(I) exploiting the situation."

This is how the CPI(M) is carrying on with its politics of exigency—doing as and whatever suits its parliamentary interests and passing them as 'fight against communalism and authoritarianism'. As a matter of fact, whatever the party's leaders now say serve to illustrate this politics of theirs. For example, at the earlier stage of the present crisis they had said that they were a small force in the national politics and therefore could not reflect any voice. But when it came to supporting the Charan Singh Government they claimed that they had become, for the first time, a factor in the national politics. On that count the AIADMK and the Akalis may also claim to have thrown their voice in the national politics at present. A parliamentary party may claim like that but how can a Left party argue like that? Does it then mean that the Left voice has gained strength in the national politics through the CPI(M)'s manoeuvring for room in the parliamentary politics? What does the question of reflecting voice mean to a genuine Left party? Does it not mean upholding the Left alternative before the people, whatever may be its strength, on every issue and strengthening the mass movements? Do the CPI(M)'s acts reflect any concern for this Left politics? So, in lamenting over its weak voice, did not the party try to make its small parliamentary strength a plea for its opportunist role during this crisis?

Again, while selling their point of view on the Centre-State relations they had emphasized that they wanted both strong States, and a strong Centre. Now Mr. Promode Dasgupta

ON PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

says that if the Centre be weak the states can win more powers for them. What else other than a shameless attempt to justify the party's present engagement of fishing in troubled waters can this be?

Although the CPI(M) leaders have all along been engaged in such naked and shameless duplicity, it will be well for them to be reminded that the people are not fools which the CPI(M) leaders consider them to be. Once again it has become exposed to the people that in the present political turmoil of the crisis-ridden capitalism, the party—true to its social democratic character—has come forward as the faithful and dependable ally of capitalism at its hour of crisis in order to defend and safeguard its interests. And thus playing its due role the CPI(M) is trying to gain a wider room for it in the parliamentary politics under the umbrella of the bourgeois party in power at the Centre and also to win blessings of the ruling bourgeois party to get the Central assistance for those states where the CPI(M) is in power. The party's slogan of fighting communalism and authoritarianism is nothing but a veil for hiding from the people and the rank and file its real character. All the acrobatics which its leaders are now making have this as the sole object.

But what answer will the CPI(M) leaders provide to the question as to why Sm. Indira Gandhi could not be wiped out completely as a political force to reckon with despite the fact that there had been a strong anti-Indira wave that swept the country during the parliamentary poll of 1977? Have the elements of class hatred which were there in the anti-Congress outburst of the common people been properly utilized in favour of Left movement despite the fact that our Party, the SUCI, made certain con-

crete proposals for the same? Is it not a fact that whereas the SUCI proposed to form a broad-based front against the forces of Emergency, having a "Left core" within it and with a clear-cut principle, outlook and a distinct criterion for selection of candidates, it was the CPI(M) which rejected our proposal and floated the vote-catching slogan of "one seat, one candidate" forgetting the necessity of making the people conscious of the politics necessary to build up mass movements? The CPI(M) leaders must understand that it is one thing to shout slogans against Indira in order to draw the support of the common people, taking advantage of their strong anti-Indira feelings, but it is a completely different thing to defeat the politics of Indira Gandhi by launching a consistently political battle—which they never did in their life. So, are not they guilty also of helping her recapture position and thrust on the Indian political scene today? Can they plead ignorance about it? When Sm. Gandhi appeared as the hated enemy of the people—what epithet should be attributed to the political force that helps, even if indirectly, rehabilitation of that enemy? We leave this question to the CPI(M) leaders to answer.

Role of Revisionist Soviet Leadership

As a result of the present political restlessness and instability coupled with the extreme opportunism, corruption and lack of morals, scruples and ethics of the bourgeois and social democratic parties and their leaders, certain other dangerous trends have appeared which are bound to cause grave concern among the democratic minded people. Everybody knows how the two super powers—the USA in its imperialist interests and Soviet Russia from its revisionist

line—are interfering in the internal affairs of different countries directly or indirectly, putting pressure upon them, intriguing coups, toppling governments, creating agents and lobbies by purchasing dishonest politicians and thus trying to expand their respective spheres of influence and hegemony. In our country the bourgeois parties are facing split and disintegration due to the deep crisis at the root of the capitalist system. So, these parties from their lust for power, are trying to bolster up their respective positions in parliamentary politics by seeking help and support from the two super powers—US imperialism and Soviet revisionism. These parties are therefore virtually paving the way for interference of the two super powers in the internal affairs of our country. Both the powers are playing their hands in the present political turmoil and the Soviet revisionist leadership has taken a particularly leading role. The objectives of the Soviet revisionist leadership are of far-reaching consequences. These include, among others—obstructing dialogues between India and China for normalization of relations, securing recognition for the present Kampuchean Government, a stooge of Vietnam backed by the Soviet revisionist leadership, and making India an associate of Cuba in favour of the Soviet leadership at the non-aligned conference of Havana—as short term objectives.

It should be noted that those who have veered round Mr. Charan Singh include not only the CPI, or Mr. Madhu Limaye (who, incidentally, was formerly of the American lobby) or Mr. Bahuguna, but also the CPI(M) whose nakedly pro-Soviet policy today is very clear. The CPI(M) and the CPI have come closer together and have forged an alliance

(Contd. to page 6)

On Present Political Situation

(Contd. from page 5)
with the Janata(S) of Mr. Charan Singh, the Congress (S), the Bahuguna and Limaye groups and their allied Left parties in order to advance their petty parliamentary interests. The Soviet revisionism has appeared today as the main danger before the international communist movement as the force of compromise in the world's anti-imperialist - capitalist liberation and revolutionary struggles. Consequently, this growing alliance, which means a growing unity of the anti-people pro-capitalist roles of the CPI(M)-CPI—particularly in the states where they are in power—and the increasing influence of the Soviet revisionist clique in the affairs of our country, poses a grave danger to the development of democratic mass movements and the revolutionary struggle. The Left minded people in general and the workers of different parties in particular who still feel allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and to democratic mass movements should carefully think over this serious aspect of the present crisis.

Bankruptcy of Parliamentary Democracy

In making a correct appraisal of the present political situation one has to pay attention to certain other relevant aspects. Those intellectuals in our country who are agitated over the denigration of parliamentary democracy at the hands of a gang of unprincipled, corrupt and unscrupulous leaders and are thinking in terms of replacing the present corrupt Government by an honest and efficient Government, or looking for any Constitutional safeguards built into this or that clause and subclause, or changing the Constitution itself should realize that it is not a question of individuals or inadequacies and defects of the Constitution. For, we cannot forget that Constitution has also its class basis. The parliamentary democracy is also a class institution of the bourgeoisie. It did not exist in society for the whole past, nor would it exist for all time to come.

At a particular stage of social development in the period of rising capitalism the parliamentary democracy came into being centring round the anti-feudal capitalist revolution and under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and to serve the bourgeois class interest in the main. The struggle of the bourgeoisie at that historical phase with the slogan of 'equality, liberty, fraternity' was conducive to the struggle for development of mankind. But today in the period of moribund capitalism, following the law of capitalist development, the bourgeoisie has lost its progressive character altogether and been reduced to the utterly reactionary imperialist force—even acquired the fascist character. The class is itself trampling democracy today, itself curbing and robbing all democratic rights, flouting all democratic norms, values and tradition. The only way to emancipation at this stage is to lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution through to success and replace the bourgeois parliamentary system by a socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The real advancement of the country, end to exploitation and oppression, and establishment of the proletarian democracy of the people can be made only by achieving this object.

Degeneration of Cultural Standard in Politics

At the same time, those who are pained at the filthy power hankering and opportunism of not only the bourgeois leaders but of the so-called communists even should realize that the degeneration of these leaders is not an isolated phenomenon. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our most beloved leader, had taught us long back that the cultural standard that prevailed among the leaders and cadres during the Independence movement under the compromising bourgeois leadership has gone down in the

country to an abysmal depth after the bourgeoisie came to power and was reduced to a thoroughly reactionary force. An all-embracing and ever growing crisis has gripped every sphere of life—economic, political, social and cultural and the crisis-ridden corrupt and reactionary capitalism is out to destroy all democratic norms and values and strangle the anti-capitalist revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, the pseudo communists who are practising extreme opportunism donning the cloak of Marxism have not only failed to build up a struggle against the vile bourgeois culture but also themselves fallen victim to this cultural depravity. Comrade Ghosh had drawn the people's attention to it long back: "...As far back as 1966, I asked the leftists: Have you seen your own face in the mirror? Have you noticed that corruption had already swamped your parties like onrushing flood water—even though you were not then in power? Were they not already corrupt?... They profess one thing but practise just the reverse. They have no scruple at all. Even, they show no respect to 'word of honour', the once accepted norm in bourgeois politics..... Like classical exceptions, whatever they claim, must be the truth and has to be taken for granted! To their convenience, they have picked up this much from Marxism-Leninism or Dialectical Materialism that since there is no God the question of punishment for sins or reward for virtues does not arise—there is no fear of hell—so, what is there to be afraid of? Naturally, they only believe in opportunism—they do whatever suits their petty interest best—which means, they have no principle at all." [Problems Before Mass Movements and the Task Before the Students]

There is therefore nothing to be surprised at the present conduct of the so-called Left and pseudo-Marxist parties and their leaders. But it will be a

grave mistake to judge Marxism by the conduct and misdeeds of these parties and their leaders. Because, they have never applied Marxism in their life, have never realized what Marxism is. They use the vocabulary of Marxism to deceive the people and satisfy their petty party and individual interests. The political scene of the country is no doubt dominated by the corrupt, unscrupulous, self-seeking, power lusty parties groups and individuals as also by those who are vulgarising Marxism-Leninism. But this is not the whole truth. In the filth and decay of the politics prevailing in the country a new meaning has been imparted to politics by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who has shown that politics demands not only the intellectual faculty. "Politics demands higher emotional faculty. Much higher and nobler is demanded in revolutionary politics". Who has taught time and again: "The kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, any philosophy or any worthy ideology lies in its culture, ethical and aesthetic standard. Marxism is a lofty revolutionary ideal. Its kernel, the living soul of this noblest revolutionary ideal also is ingrained in its cultural and moral values". Who has reminded again and again: "Even a starving nation can stand up against injustice if it possesses human values. But if it loses human values it loses everything". Those who are turning away from Marxism-Leninism today, seeing its vulgarisation and distortion in the hands of the pseudo-Marxists, have therefore to realize that this act of theirs will only help to extend the lifespan of the moribund, corrupt and reactionary capitalism. They should open their eyes on the other force, the other trend, the new ray of hope to the people in the country—which embodies the higher proletarian culture and ethics concretised by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It is the party he has built

and reared up. It is the SUCI, the genuine Marxist party on the Indian soil. There is therefore no reason for despondency. They should know their party and strengthen it to defeat the vile bourgeois culture and politics.

Danger inherent in bourgeois 'solution'

In full view of the people the bourgeois and the petty bourgeois parties have fallen out for the booty's share in the parliamentary politics. To fight it out among themselves they have now dragged the people into the doldrums of a Mid-term poll. And they are posing it to be the solution for the present crisis and a panacea for the people. Once again a heavy burden of election expenses has been placed on the people who are thus forced to pay for the lust of power of the bourgeois politicians for becoming Ministers and MPs. But will the Mid-term poll lead to stability from the present instability and restlessness in the political sphere? Will that alleviate the people's miseries? What does the history of the last 31 years testify to? It should be reminded again that the crisis is at the very root of the system—in capitalism itself. The only stable feature of this system is the increasing burden on the people—increasing exploitation and oppression. The Mid-term poll and any emerging government of the bourgeois and social democratic parties—whether enjoying an absolute majority or not, whether of a simple party or of a coalition—cannot solve the problems facing the people. It is rather a trick of the bourgeoisie to divert the people's attention from the root cause of all problems and impose on the people the burden due to its misdeeds. So, if instability in the political sphere continues for long and there is no restraining effect of democratic mass movement then, taking advantage of the people's frustration, apathy, feeling of uncertainty and disgust for the filthy politics and as a matter of fact for politics in general the bourgeoisie

(Contd. to Page 7)

On Present Political Situation

(Contd. from Page 6)

will try to impose its own solution for the deteriorating situation. Can the dangerous possibility be ruled out that, in that event, the ruling capitalist class may go for the constitutional dictatorship—of which an indication is there in the President's handling of the present crisis—or, failing this, the class may take to a still more dangerous course, if not today but in a foreseeable future, and fall upon the ultimate organ of the state—the military—and foist military dictatorship on the people? Can the people afford to remain blissfully ignorant about such a dangerous possibility and should not they decide their task?

Way out

The burden on the people is mounting in every direction now and the ruling capitalist class is robbing the people more and more. Which is the way out then? The bourgeois and the social democratic parties are misguiding the people along the darklane of treachery and deception in their mischievous attempt to perpetuate the capitalist misrule. This is not the way out. The people must themselves find their own way out. The correct lesson drawn from all struggles of the past against the capitalist exploitation and oppression point to the urgent necessity of left-democratic mass movement under the leadership of a genuine left and democratic front as the historic need of the hour. The big left parties are found busy forging an alliance with the bourgeois parties, thus dealing a heavy blow at the root and betraying the cause of mass movement. Only our party, the SUCI, has all along been pursuing the task of building up democratic mass movement. The parties which claim themselves to be left have not only turned a deaf ear to our appeal for joining hands to build up a left and democratic front on the basis of a common

minimum programme, principle and a code of conduct, they are trying to obstruct our attempt by all means. The CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' Government mounted a savage attack on the June 15 mass violation of law led by our party in Calcutta as the initial programme of a countrywide mass movement seeking redressal of the burning issues affecting the people's life. Hundreds were grievously hurt in a brutal police lathicharge and thousands were arrested. Not only in West Bengal, in all other states like Assam, Orissa, Bihar and elsewhere where our party is launching the movement the governments of the ruling bourgeois and social democratic parties are mounting attack on our party workers and the people. Comrade Jagdeo Paswan, an important member of the organising committee of our Party in Monghyr district of Bihar has been killed by the Janata Government and the hirelings of the vested interests. In 24 Parganas, two workers of our Party, Comrades Yakub Mollah and Nur Hossain Gaji have been killed by the CPI(M)-Congress-Jotedar combine. In Kerala our party workers have been beaten up and stabbed by CPI(M) roudges backed by the CPI-Congress coalition government of the state. On the 31st August, which is observed as Martyr's Day in West Bengal in memory of the 1959 Food Movement of Calcutta, the police under CPI(M) led Government made brutal lathicharge and indiscriminately fired teargas shells on mass violation of law organised by our Party in all the districts of the state and arrested thousands of our workers.

But, in the face of all these attacks from the governments and the vested interests, the movement led by the Party is spreading out to different corners and winning the people's confidence. Wherever the message of the movement is reaching, the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

is reaching the people are rallying in ever larger number under the Party's banner and braving all odds participating in the movements.

Appeal

The Midterm poll has now been thrust upon the people. The election has to be viewed as a part of the greater struggle. The people will have to decide now whether they will run after the bourgeois and social democratic parties who are bringing ruin upon their life or will strengthen the correct line of genuine Left and democratic mass movement and help SUCI in building up this movement. Whether the bourgeois and social democratic parties will succeed in carrying on with their nefarious game or the people's voice will be projected through the elections, will largely depend on how the toiling people come forward to strengthen the course of mass movement initiated and led by the SUCI and become able to reflect this voice in the Parliament by electing those who firmly stand by extra-parliamentary struggle of the people.

The people must now close their rank. They must undertake it upon themselves to ensure the victory of the Left democratic line of mass movement and defeat the treachery of the bourgeois and social democratic parties. We appeal to the people to come forward and help our Party to build up left and democratic mass movement and through this the People's Committees as the people's alternative instrument of struggle on the edifice of the higher proletarian culture and ethics as shown by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This is the only course left to the people, only way to emancipation. This is the call of the hour.

Central Committee's Call to form Left and Democratic Front

(Contd. from page 1)

hopes that all those who cherish the noble ideology of leftism and firmly believes in the cause of left and democratic movement will rise up to the occasion to hold aloft the noble banner of leftism and forge a left-democratic alternative in order to defeat the reactionary and anti-people politics of the bourgeois, communal and parochial parties.

"In view of the above, we urge upon you to come forward to build up a left and democratic front as an instrument of struggle, distinctly different from any opportunist device of parliamentary manoeuvre, based on an agreed minimum programme, principle and code of conduct. Obviously such a front, as an instrument of struggle, will take the challenge of fighting elections in order to further the cause of mass movement. It is needless to mention here that the bourgeois parties like the Congress (I) or Congress(S), Janata or Janata (S), CFD etc., communal parties and forces like the RSS, Jan Sangh, Muslim League, Ananda Marg, 'Amra Bangali', etc. or the parochial forces like the Akali, ADMK, DMK as well can not only not find any place in such a Left and Democratic Front, but must be seriously fought out—as they are all the enemies of the people.

"We sincerely hope and trust that your party would seriously consider the above proposal, take a decision on it and respond to it in the affirmative. If you are agreed upon to give shape to such a Left and Democratic Front, we think that there will not be any difficulty to call a meeting of the representatives of all the Left and Democratic parties. Any of these parties may convene this meeting singly and jointly informing all well in time. As for ourselves, we are prepared to attend this meeting at any place that may suit other. We offer, if need be, that we can host such a meeting and convene it at our Delhi Office at Karolbagh, New Delhi."

Central Government and Management of HAL comes down heavily on HAOA

Bangalore, 20th August '79:

The Central Government and the Management of the Hindusthan Aeronautics Limited, a Central Government undertaking in Bangalore have heavily come down on the movement of its Officers association, the Hindusthan Aeronautics Officer's Association (HAOA) and have dismissed five of their office bearers. It may be recalled that the above association of the officers of HAL had long been conducting movement on some just demands and the government has thus come out to terrorise the officers and crush their movement in a most authoritarian way.

In two separate press statements on 19.8.79 the Bangalore City Organising Committee of our Party

SUCI and the Karnataka State Unit of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) vehemently criticised this naked and direct attack of the government on the legitimate trade union rights of the officers and their movement. In their statements both the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and the Bangalore Party Unit have urged upon the working class and all central trade unions to come forward to resist this dangerous onslaught of the management and the government by developing mighty united movement.

In its statement, the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Karnataka State Unit has congratulated the Hindusthan Aeronautics Employees Association who have lent their full support to the struggle of the Officers Association.

'Left Front' Government's Savage Attack on Peaceful Marchers in

West Bengal

Calcutta 1st Sept. '79 :

Com. Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of SUCI while giving reports about the mass civil disobedience programme observed on 31st August in different districts, said in a Press statement :

"On this day, at the call of our party, more than 55 thousand people joined in the mass civil disobedience movement in different districts of the State. The 'Left Front' Government let loose brutal attacks on the peaceful marchers.

Suri (Birbhum)

Com. Prativa Mukherjee led civil disobedience marchers, numbering more than 8,000, in Suri, Birbhum. Police savagely lathicharged the marchers, seriously injuring more than two hundred people. Police entered into PWD Office and lathicharged there. One officer was severely beaten breaking his hand. One Cameraman's camera was snatched away by Police. Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. was imposed on the preceding day in Suri. It was been reported that the Secretary of the Police Association led by CPI (M) actually conducted the severe lathicharge in plain clothes. An old reporter of a local periodical had not also

been spared but got a severe injury in his eyes. The vindictive attitude of the Government can be imagined from the fact that all the fourteen OC's of the district was present during the operation practically closing down all other police stations of the district.

Diamondharbour (South 24-Parganas)

Com. Renupada Haldar MLA led a procession of more than 8,000 marchers in Diamondharbour, South 24-Parganas. Police fired 10-12 rounds of Teargas Shells and severely lathicharged the marchers. Police cordoned off the marchers forcing them to a wire-netted enclosure and an adjoining pond. The marchers thus trapped were showered with brutal lathicharges. Those who were pushed down in the pond were also not spared. One lady volunteer was kicked at her abdomen by Police and she was severely wounded. A seventy-year old man got severe head injury due to lathicharge. Police attacked even those injured who were taken to medical camp for first-aid. Brickbats were thrown on the procession from the housetop of a local CPI(M) leader. Casualty of bar-

barous Police attack here is high including many lady volunteers.

Burdwan

About one thousand volunteers took part in civil disobedience programme. Police brought down on them brutal attack, one person became senseless after severe lathicharge. Women Police were used for brutal attack on women volunteers.

Berhampur (Murshidabad)

The entire town was cordoned off by posting police pickets at every entry point—either road junction or Ferry-station. 2,600 volunteers were arrested. Despite all attempts of Police to prevent the processionists to enter into the town for civil disobedience, 6000 of them entered and courted arrest under the leadership of Com. Prangaur Basak, the District Secretary.

Our party congratulates the people and conveys its revolutionary greetings to thousands of toiling people who, braving all onslaughts and defying all obstacles, have displayed commendable struggling spirit and stamina to make the programme a great success."

Public Sector Strike on 14th Sept.

COM. PRITISH CHANDA'S CALL

Calcutta, 31st August '79 :

Comrade Pritish Chanda, General Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), in a statement, has urged upon all sections of the workers and employees in Public Sector to come forward with granite like unity to make the 14th September strike a grand success.

It may be recalled that at the Bangalore Convention of public sector workers and employees held on 19-20th July last it was the unanimous decision of all the central trade unions to move unitedly down to state and plant levels so that organised opposition of the working people against the

government's anti-labour policies like I.R. Bill, BPE's guide line, fraud in Index Number, wage cut etc. may be effectively resisted. At the Bombay meeting of the 21st August last it was noted that despite the decision of the convention CITU was moving in a sectarian manner particularly in West Bengal. Despite the decision of the all-national committee CITU is still pursuing their old divisive policy.

Comrade Chanda urged upon the working people to defeat this disruptive policy in order to build up a mighty united movement against their common enemy—the capitalist class and the government.

STATEMENT OF

ASSAM STATE COMMITTEE

"We have been watching with grave concern that when as a result of spiralling price-rise, acute unemployment problem, closure of factories, government's total failure in the field of industrialisation and in meeting the latest devastating floods and soil erosions coupled with worst type of administrative corruption and inefficiency, distress and suffering of the people have increased many times during the 17 months' rule of the Janata Party, another group within the Janata

Party has engaged themselves in a naked manoeuvring to capture governmental power with the help of the discredited Congress and Congress (I), the faithful defenders of this capitalist system.

"So, the left and democratic forces under no circumstances, can take sides in such scramble for power which on and often occur in these bourgeois parties.

"We would like to emphasise that only by developing mighty people's movements the Congress and the Congress (I) can be effectively prevented from staging a comeback to power.

"Under the circumstances, the legislators of our party in the Assam Assembly being guided by the above mentioned outlook will strive relentlessly to end the misrule of the Janata Government, to expose the bourgeois class character of Congress (I) and the Janata, and defeat the machinations of the Congress and the Congress (I) along with the social democratic parties. They will also strive to consolidate the real left and democratic forces within and outside the legislature."



'Left Front' Government's police savagely beating up civil disobedience marchers at Diamondharbour on 31st August '79

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