

Review of the last Assembly Poll

Indira Gandhi's party has done it in the assembly election of eight out of nine states as its predecessor Janata Party did in 1977. Only the style, the method vary, the essence remains very much the same. It was not unexpected either because electoral exercise has now been reduced to formalisation of the decision taken earlier, elsewhere. Minimum regard for democratic norm, principles and ethics by the parliamentary parties whether of the rightist or leftist brand has become a thing of the past. It is now a savage scramble for parliamentary powers and privileges with the help of bourgeois press, money bags, active aid and assistance of police and administrative bureaucracy either for full scale administrative rigging or for allowing the hired professional booth capturers to stamp the ballots. The tremendous mass and class support our party gained through this electoral battle provide the silver lining amidst the gathering dark clouds in the political horizon. The task of the moment is to consolidate the political gains and further strengthen the stream of struggle and revolutionary line that this party alone represents on the soil.

Frankenstein devours its creator

The lamentation of bourgeois politicians after the election reminds one of the proverbial adage that: 'Frankenstein devours its creator. Almost every bourgeois party or group in opposition is now saying the same against which we have been warning for long, that the means and methods used in the elections are making a mockery of the whole business. These parties who were so long enjoying the fruits of ill-gotten gains were then singing in praise of the democratic method of worlds 'biggest democracy'. Now the monster of corrupt practices and evil means not sparing its creators, they all cry in anguish. This is the fate that awaits those who turn their blind eye to what is logical in the process.

So, Charan Singh of Lokdal laments loudly that it was 'the blackest day' of India's 'infant democracy' and accuses the officials and the press of siding with the ruling party in manipulating the results "at the point of gun or through violation of the law". Said Charan Singh that civil servants barring a few exceptions

have become "a party to the design of the rulers, the judiciary does not enjoy the reputation of fearlessness which it did even during the days of foreign rule and the Press has become a handmade of the capitalists who constitute the most selfish class in the country."

Mr. Surendra Mohan, the Secretary of Janata (JP) said that it was 'unfreest election' and Ramkrishna Hegde, the General Secretary admitted ruefully that 'a new political culture' had come into being. The Congress (U) Working Committee in its resolution blandly accused the ruling party of resorting to all kinds of foul means-administrative rigging, rigging by booth capturing, bribery, intimidation by open gangsterism, so on and so forth. Yet in the just concluded election, the Lokdal, BJP, Janata (JP), Congress (U) etc. all resorted to same foul means and methods and whatever seats they could capture did with these methods. Such is the depth of deception of these parties and politicians. They having lost in the game are lamenting over the methods, they themselves resorted to

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Hail the Heroic Battle of KWANGJU !

The uprising in a provincial capital of South Korea last month may have failed to draw attention of man. But the mass upsurge reveals not only the people's determination there to win freedom and democratic rights from the country's ruling military junta and the puppet central government; it brings home, and once more, that the military power, however mighty it may appear to itself, cannot subjugate people for long. People's power is invincible.

The uprising came in the wake of mighty demonstrations led by students in the preceding weeks in Seoul, the capital of the country, and after the military junta had clamped full martial law to facilitate its taking over of power from the puppet civilian government and crush the movement.

The martial decree had banned all political activities, meetings, assemblies and even comments. Universities and colleges were ordered to be closed. Press censorship was imposed, and strikes banned. Hundreds of people, including students, were imprisoned.

As reported in the press, thousands of troops had occupied universities to prevent students from demonstrating against the martial law. Raising protest to resistance, the students, in their thousands swarmed through the streets of Kwangju, the capital of the South Cholla province. They demanded lifting of the martial law, resignation of the puppet president, Chui-Kyu Hah, immediate execution of the military's authoritarian figure, Chun Doo-Hawn, release of all political prisoners and, most of all, democratic rights.

They were joined by workers, miners, citizens and thousands from the countryside. They swelled

into lakhs who poured into the streets of Kwangju, raided armouries, commandeered military vehicles and occupied government buildings. They burned down the TV and Radio Station which supported the military rulers.

A tumultuous joy swept across the city which had come under the full control of the masses. A citizens' committee was formed to guide the people. Barricades made of logs, sewer pipes, trucks and buses were put up. Volunteer groups were organized who patrolled the city, and disarmed hoodlums and agent provocateurs sent by the military to sabotage the uprising. Students urged the people in the city to store food and ammunition in preparation for a protracted struggle. The uprising had started spreading to other areas of Cholla province.

It was enough to send alarm to the military junta and its US imperialist patron. Troops were massed around Kwangju laying siege to the city and bringing pressure on the citizens to surrender the captured arms. Food and petrol supply was cut off. But the student leaders refused to oblige till their demands were met. Students, workers and other sections of the people waved rifles

and clashed with the troops in the streets of the beleaguered city exchanging fire. The junta cracked down to quell the resistance and hundreds of the heroic fighters died in the bloodbath.

The Kwangju uprising has its background. Ever since Korea was divided into two parts, following surrender of the Japanese military at the end of the Second World War, regimes backed by the US imperialism have been in power. But the people of the country, particularly the students, with their long tradition of uncompromising struggle against the Japanese invaders since 1910, have all along been fighting the oppressive regimes and demanding democratic rights. The upheaval of 1960 led by students brought down the corrupt regime of Syngman Rhee, but power was usurped by the military junta led by Park Chung Hee.

South Korea occupies a strategic position between China, Soviet Union, North Korea and Japan. With direct patronage of the US imperialists and the Japanese monopolists, the ruling clique of South Korea brought up some industries. But poverty sprawls beneath the artificial glare of prosperity. Corruption has spread

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While all Bourgeois Parties in opposition admit the fact of rigging CPI, CPI(M) remain silent

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over the years and paved the way for being resorted to by the ruling party from a position of advantage. But from the infights within the camp of the bourgeois parties, the truth is coming out which only our party has been pointing out again and again. Today, the fact of rigging as the usual feature of election is no longer disputed and even a section of bourgeois press is forced to give admission to this fact. But the biggest harm wrought in the meanwhile has been the cynical attitude grown in the public mind about these most vile and corrupt practices of election, public morality has suffered a big blow by the abominable depravity of bourgeois politics and politicians. It is this moral degeneration of the society that is virtually clearing the deck for the emergence of fascist forces which have scant regard for human values and morals. The fig leaf of lawful conduct and minimum respect for sanctity of civilised code is giving way to naked unashamed means of anyhow grabbing power through the formal exercise of an election. Such is the depth of degradation of bourgeois democracy in this land.

Role of CPI, CPI(M), the so-called pedlars of left and democratic 'alternative'

While the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie is fast discarding the facade of democratic procedure, it is to be noted however that the parties who were talking loud about democratic principles and fight against authoritarianism, viz. the CPI, CPI(M) and their allies are silent on these vile means and methods in election. CPI could not suppress its jubilation over its success in the game and consequent increase in seats. This shows the measure of its maturity in applying the same means and methods, the ruling

party has applied in the election. The standard of morality, ethics and the respect for democratic norms and scruples it displayed were of the same nature as those of the ruling and other bourgeois parties. A single example is sufficient to give an indication about the worth of its so-called commitment to democratic means and methods. Mr. Bhogendra Jha their winning candidate from Madhubani, Bihar was caught redhanded while he was carrying bombs and fire arms in his jeep during election tour according to press report. He was arrested but released within a short time and a nominal case was filed against him by the police. The fate of the case is not unknown particularly after his 'victory'. The party has not yet discovered a conspiracy but it may. The dastardly means, this party adopted in winning the seat of Ghatshilla from where our party contested provide an example as to where lies its real allegiance and whose interest it really serves. CPI(M) too did not lag behind as to the same means and methods. That is why the statement of Mr. Promode Dasgupta immediately after the election justified the victory of Indira Gandhi's party because of division of opposition votes. Was it not a shrewd attempt to show that the election was free and fair? He gave a good service to Congress (I) which even the bourgeois parties in opposition declined. The only cause of mortification for this party may be that its electoral success was not commensurate with the service it has been rendering to the ruling class. This party therefore could not be so jubilant as was its partner the CPI.

A section of bourgeois press and journals has noted that this election was an election for the "self seekers and anti-socials" under the garb of so-called youth power. It can be

said in all fairness that this feature about the standard of personal character and integrity of the candidates is not only true about the ruling and other bourgeois parties but even the candidates put up by the pedlars of so-called left and democratic alternative were of the same kind in many cases. Another important point to be noted is the fact that not only the ruling and other bourgeois parties concentrated their attacks on us where we fielded our candidates but CPI and CPI(M) did everything for the defeat of our candidates. Foulest of means was adopted for that purpose. The parties who are vocal about left and democratic unity saw to it that SUCI did not get the representation within the legislature. Both these parties had alliances open or secret with all the bourgeois parties and even with the Congress (I). These parties helped even Congress (I) in such constituencies where they saw they had no chance of getting elected. Mention may be made about just two constituencies in Orissa and another in Bihar. In Orissa our Party would have won the seat in Sukinda but for the alliance open or secret of so-called left forces with Congress (I) and Lokdal. The mischief of CPI(M) was such that it went whole hog to defeat our candidate to help the bourgeois parties. In a printed leaflet it appealed to the electorate to vote Lokdal and defeat SUCI. In another constituency of Orissa, Rourkela the clandestine arrangement of this party with the ruling party was leaked because of the revolt of a section of its ranks. In the Kharagpur constituency under Jamalpur sub division of Bihar, CPI(M)'s candidate did the job of splitting the left votes and thus helping the Lokdal candidate to win. So, this is the role, these parties played and naturally they were in the race

patronised by the bourgeois press, administration and money bags.

Be that as it may, one thing should strike every discerning mind. How is it that while all the bourgeois parties and groups are denouncing and loudly protesting against gross malpractices resorted to in the election by Congress (I), both CPI and CPI(M) utter not a word of condemnation? Is it because that these protagonists of so called left and democratic alternative consider themselves to be on firmer footings than the steadily disintegrating bourgeois parties and groups in opposition, so far as the backing from the ruling class is concerned? To put it more precisely these parties, CPI, CPI(M) and their fellow travellers have in their calculation the fact that to fill up the void created due to the absence of a viable bourgeois alternative when all the bourgeois parties in the opposition are disintegrating, the bourgeoisie cannot have any other recourse than to back up this combination. Their calculation gets a firmer ground in the election results of Kerala and now of Tamilnadu. The bourgeoisie has taken care to sustain the regional party AIADMK. It has opted for the combination of AIADMK-CPI-CPI(M). —Gandhi-Kamraj Congress Kamraj Desiya Congress etc. Whatever pleas and excuses may be offered by the interpretations of the bourgeois press, the fact of the matter lies here. That is why in Punjab too, the Akali has emerged as the main force in opposition. The factor of regional capital added to the bourgeois compulsion of nourishing a reserve force in case no viable alternative by a bourgeois party or combination stands up, is the principal cause of difference in the results of Tamilnadu. This is the reason why even the fragmented bourgeois parties are now showing eagerness to go along with CPI and CPI(M) under the

signboard 'left and democratic alternative'. Herein lies the real political significance of the slogan of 'left and democratic alternative' of CPI and CPI(M). It will be nothing other than a parliamentary force in the bourgeois design of two-party system a fact pointed out over again and again by our party and successive events including the recently held assembly elections vindicate once more its correctness.

Let us now point out here certain features in the electoral means and methods used by all the parliamentary parties notwithstanding the difference in their signboards.

An election without the electoral roll

It was an election in which final electoral roll which according to relevant act and rules is to be supplied to the contesting parties much before the last date of filing nomination papers was not done. In most of the constituencies, the electoral roll was either not supplied or supplied just a few days before the election. Even such electoral roll was incomplete and full of gross anomalies and defects. In absence of an electoral roll how can an election be held can only be explained by the parties from Congress (I) to CPI(M) who neither raised any objection nor demanded postponement of the election till this primary condition was met.

Perhaps, the Indira Gandhi Government has taken a leaf out of the example set by the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal. In the last parliamentary poll, CPI(M) led Government started rigging the election from manipulation of the voter's list. The final voter's list was only supplied to the presiding officers, scoring off at the last moment, thousands of genuine voters. This time, a further advancement was made by Indira Government by not supplying even the electoral roll. One wonders

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CITU Conference— Politics of Class Collaboration

Mr. Promode Dasgupta, the CPI(M) leader while inaugurating the four-day State Conference of the CITU in Calcutta, as reported in Statesman 28.5.80, exhorted that 'the working class had to be politicalised and made conscious about democratic and socialist ideals. If the working class was not made aware of their political responsibility and duty and enthused with socialist thinking, their struggle for economic gains would turn into mere economism'. Lauding the new opportunity created by the installation of Left Front Government to organize truly revolutionary, idealistic and socialist trade unions, Mr. Promode Dasgupta 'advised trade union leaders to change the course of their movement now in view of the fact that the Left Front Government had limited powers...'. According to a press statement by Mr. Niren Ghosh, vice-president of CITU a distinction will be made between the big and non-big bourgeoisie in future. 'While its ultimate aim will be the elimination of the big bourgeoisie, the owners of small industrial units will be allowed to survive'. Mr. B. T. Ranadive, president of the CITU said 'Strike is the last weapon and a valuable weapon but every strike movement cannot be supported'. (Ganashakti 29. 5. 80)

Truly, Mr. Promode Dasgupta's speech is very beautiful: his exhortation to politicalise the working class and enthuse them with socialist ideals to prevent economism sounds great. Its true appreciation and full significance we shall be able to obtain however when considering it in the context of practice of CITU and the different statements by the CPI(M) leaders.

The CITU leaders in their professed fight against capitalism is showing great solicitude for the non-big bourgeoisie and advising the workers, according to press reports, to be considerate and see that their demands do not place any undue hardship on this section of the capitalists. But exactly in the smaller factories the exploitation of the workers is more gruelling and wages are abysmally low, yet because the workers are small in number they have less opportunity of putting up an organised resistance against the onslaught of ruthless capitalist exploitation. If the small capitalists feel the pinch of the ever mounting crisis, and many are getting extinct or swallowed up by the monopoly bourgeoisie, this is due to the inexorable law operative in capitalist economy itself and no amount of consideration can change that law. The CPI(M)'s open conciliatory stand towards the small bourgeoisie in a

class divided society where both the small and large capitalists exploit workers by the same rule of capital, and particularly when most of the factories are small, does not show the least concern for protection of the worker's rights on behalf of the CPI(M), or CITU for that, on the so-called plea of handling the contradiction between the big and the small bourgeoisie to get the support of the latter. As for the big bourgeoisie, how about CPI(M)'s professed fight against them? Without going into details we may recall the guideline which Mr. Jyoti Basu recently set before the trade unions. Mr. Jyoti Basu said that in those three states where CPI(M) had come to power the trade unions unlike in other states should not merely concentrate on raising the demands of the workers but develop a movement for the increase in production. Apart from all other questions, in our society who decides how much is to be produced,

the workers or the capitalists themselves? The Reserve Bank has recently released some statistics which conclusively prove that there is a proportionate decrease in production by the monopoly houses though profits keep soaring. What does it show? Is it that the workers forced the slow down, so the decrease in production and if they please can they decide to increase production? No sane person with even a rudimentary knowledge of capitalist economy will tell such nonsense unless with a deliberate motive. There is no dearth of statistics to show that up to 50% or even more, of the installed capacity in industries lie idle in our country not because of worker's unrest but because there is no market both in the international and national fields to sell the produced commodities as a result of the steadily declining purchasing power of the people which in our country is abysmally low already. For this reason the capitalists are deliberately planning to produce less while adding a much greater margin of profit to make up for the decrease in sale of commodities and thus keep their profits soaring and resorting to lock out and retrenchment. But all along, the ruling capitalist class and their parties have conspired in circulating mischievous propaganda blaming the workers for the decrease in production by raising a hue and cry about industrial unrest and worker's indiscipline. Today the CPI(M), a so-called Marxist party, through this slogan, is in reality upholding this malicious and misleading propaganda. The difference in the tactics of the CPI(M) in those states where it is in opposition from where it is in power has become even more distinct. In those states where the CPI(M) is in opposition they are conducting strikes and are agitating the workers on economic demands. That their trade union activities in those states are restricted to raising some economic

demands of the workers has been inadvertently admitted by Mr. Jyoti Basu himself when he urged the workers of the CPI(M) governed states not merely to raise demands like in other states. This very attitude and way of conducting trade union activities is nothing but economism, pure and simple. Where the CPI(M) is in power they are taking utmost pain to ensure industrial peace to be in the good books of the monopolists, by openly discouraging democratic movements in general and trade union movement in particular. They cautioned the workers in West Bengal that industrial unrest would lead to flight of capital from West Bengal and lead to unemployment, and Mr. Jyoti Basu openly talked of minimising the contradiction between the workers and capitalists, which in a class divided society where the class interests of workers and capitalists are antagonistically opposed, strengthens the hands of the ruling class to the detriment of the working class cause. In these states the CPI(M) leaders are untiring in their efforts to impress upon the workers that strike is their ultimate weapon, the less it is used the better. In reality, far from being the ultimate weapon of the working class it was developed by the bourgeois class itself but now in the decadent moribund phase of capitalism pressed by all out crisis the same bourgeoisie is trying to restrict its use. And Mr. Jyoti Basu's call to the workers to conduct a movement for increase in production in those states where CPI(M) is in power falls in the same line. All the bourgeois politicians including Mrs. Gandhi used to raise the slogan for increase in production. But then she was so blunt, but the CPI(M) leader calls it a movement for increase of production. CPI(M)'s social-democratic cunningness lies in the fact that while they are in reality urging the workers to surrender to capitalist exploitation, they do so with an air of a so-called

movement. By the ingenuous slogan of "movement for increase in production" CPI(M) wants to do the same thing as Indira Gandhi tried through Emergency rule or the Janata government through the black bill on industrial relations. Indeed CPI(M) can give a few lessons for the bourgeois parties to emulate. Now of course, the meaning of Mr. Promode Dasgupta's beautiful speech when inaugurating the CITU conference in West Bengal becomes more clear. Undoubtedly there is the necessity to allay the misgivings and questions of a section of CPI(M) workers as to the party's role and stand and the need to politicalise those workers who have not yet grasped the true significance and implications of the CPI(M)'s coming to power and are voicing embarrassing economic demands or even demands for movements. They need to be educated: "can't you understand that we, the CPI(M), are in power, so none of this. Why do you worry, we, your own party are in government now, so bear your hardships happily since our power is limited." The advice given to the trade unions by Mr. Promode Dasgupta to change the course of their movements in view of the fact that the Left Front Government is in power means in reality ensuring peace to the monopolists-capitalists so that they in their turn can ensure CPI(M) to stay in government. What more politics need the workers to know! How the CPI(M) is ultimately going to eliminate the big bourgeoisie by this open call of class collaboration is known only to their leaders. But the class conscious working people cannot afford to miss that. Mr. B. T. Ranadive president of the CITU declares at the CITU conference that strike is a last weapon and a valuable weapon but every strike cannot be supported. Even more telling have been the various statements of CPI(M) leaders that they

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on which basis then, the poll was taken. However, it was only our party that not only protested and demanded postponement of election till the supply of voter's list but even moved the Patna High Court. The court thought its duty done by ordering the State Government of Bihar to supply the list within 24 hours. This order was on 23rd May. The only service therefore the court did was to record the fact that even on 23rd May, even less than a week before the poll, no voter's list was supplied by the government.

It shows that no other party had any concern for the electoral roll. For them election means minding to other business that pays. Going to the people for organising in a political battle on clear cut class outlook against the capitalists and vested class on the edifice of higher morals and culture was left to only one party, the SUCI. It makes the basic difference in the political culture of our party with that of parties who by their concrete deeds are eroding the basic democratic values and norms and thus paving the way for the fascist forces to gain in strength.

Armed gangsterism patronised and protected by administration

This election will be marked for the heaviest toll of human lives the armed gangsters engaged by the bourgeois' and other parliamentary parties took. Even the Statesman was reporting on 30th May, that is, just one day before the election about the Bihar thus:

"The loudspeakers are silent, political speeches over and even door to door canvassing has stopped. But that is only one side of the picture. The other side is rather dark. Unofficial reports of musclemen, criminals and professional booth-captures cleaning their guns and stockpiling bombs have reached the State Capital...

"It is significant that a number of clandestine gun factories have been seized....There are innumerable factories which have yet to come to light." Yet the chief electoral officer of Bihar said that 'free and fair election would be held.'

The result was what was natural. Even according to official version the election took the toll of 55 lives including those of seven candidates. Election in six constituencies two in Bihar, three in U.P. and one in Gujrat was countermanded. The official figure of death and injury due to armed clashes or assaults is far less than what happened in reality. This is a very ominous trend revealing the patterning of election on the model found in some of the South-East Asian countries where together large-scale fraud in ballots, open gangsterism patronised and protected by police and administration have been the usual features.

This denotes also the total bankruptcy of the bourgeois political system where the contending parties are fast losing their credibility and have but the same kind of politics to offer to the people—politics of bribery, deception and terror.

The role of police and administration

As a vital part of the polity based on decadent bourgeois norms and values tinged heavily with colonial legacy, police and administrative bureaucracy are assuming more and more the determining and decisive factor in election.

Among the nine states, in some parts, the administration was divided as in Bihar and Punjab but in the rest of the states the administration came in solid support of the party that was chosen. In U.P., Rajasthan, Orissa, MP, Maharashtra, Gujrat administrative rigging was marked with some variations in region and locality. In these places the bourgeois parties in opposition notably the Lok Dal and BJP could

SUCI's gallant political battle on mass revolutionary line against all forces defending moribund capitalism

make local arrangements with police and government election machinery. CPI did the same and helped its partner CPI(M) particularly in Bihar. In Tamilnadu the regional capital backed AIADMK. Therefore police and administrative help and assistance went mostly in favour of the combination AIADMK, CPI, CPI(M). In Punjab as in Bihar, the division in administration created difficulties for the Congress (I) bandwagon to move smoothly. In Bihar, the astounding feat of the governmental election machinery was to hold up the declaration of election results of more than two dozen constituencies for days after counting of votes was complete. The Congress (I) was then short of thirteen seats for absolute majority. Repoll in sixty-nine booths of nine constituencies had to be ordered, order of repoll came only in cases of complaints lodged by Congress (I) and other parliamentary parties but not in cases of complaints lodged by our party. 25 booths in Mosabani block, 2 booths in Narsinghar bloc were captured by hired hoodlums of ICC Company owning Maubhandar Copper mine, some of them posing as Jharkhand (Horo group) party giving the call of boycott of election only in this particular constituency where the chance of victory of our party was bright. Our complaints to the Chief Election Commissioner as also to the state chief electoral officer along with the demand for repoll went unheeded because given the normal condition our victory could not be resisted.

Not only this, wherever prior complaints about the apprehension of armed attacks, booth capturing and other misdeeds by our opponents were communicated to police, they

assured us of taking precautionary measures, but actually helped the miscreants. In Kharagpur constituency of Bihar, a Congress (I) jeep carrying bombs was caught by our party volunteers and people and handed over to police but it was let off. On the contrary police kept confined in lockup our candidate and important organisers. As a preventive measure, police did not arrest the notorious anti-socials and criminals but our party organisers and workers.

Dastardly physical assaults were made against a good number of our important workers like Comrade Abhoy Das in Narsinghar bloc, Ghatshilla but no action was taken despite complaints lodged with the police station.

From all this, one thing is clear that election provides only an opportunity to police and administrative officials to reap a good harvest of money offered by those political parties who garner a good coffer out of bounties showered on them by the ruling class. This mutual sharing of spoils between the politicians, police and administrative officers, gangster groups out of the money fleeced from the toiling people by the capitalist class puts to shame all civilised code of conduct and democratic norms and morals. It erodes the very foundation of a civil society.

Our Party's heroic battle

Against this murky background of shady deals between the parliamentary parties and police and administrative officials as also the criminal goings, our party put up a principled and heroic battle. It was a battle on mass revolutionary line to organise bigger and still bigger sections of the toiling people against the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie, its out-

rageous rule, its defenders of all varieties, its decadent culture and ethics. It was a battle to win and consolidate the people's force awakened by the revolutionary spirit ingrained in the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great teacher of the proletariat. Guided by his teachings the party takes every electoral battle as a part of its programme of mass struggle. By the sweat and blood, by the ceaseless revolutionary initiative and efforts, by the refreshingly high sense of values and morals of the leaders and workers, this Party of Indian proletariat marches on, winning support from bigger and still bigger section of the students, youths, workers, peasants, freedom loving democratic minded sections of the people. That is why whenever, full-scale administrative rigging could not be made as much effectively as was done earlier, the growing support of the people to this party could not be stopped being recorded in voting results. This is the general feature in all the countituencies in Bihar, U.P., MP, Tamilnadu, Orissa from where we fought. But for want of space we refer here only certain countituencies to show what kind of election it was.

Kanthi: From this constituency in Muzaffarpur district Professor N. R. Singh, our Party candidate has won, defeating his nearest rival, a Congress(I) candidate by a margin of eleven thousand votes. Comrade Singh got about 27,000 votes. As we have noted earlier that Bihar administration was very-much divided this time on caste and communal lines and as such full-scale administrative rigging could not be made effectively everywhere so perfectly as on past occasions, particularly during the parliamentary polls. Besides,

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mass support and backing to our party was unprecedented. People organised themselves to take charge of electioneering on behalf of our party. Because of these factors and very many other factors, despite all attempts to rig the election result, the votes recorded in favour of our candidates though far less than the actual score, could make possible the win of our candidate from this constituency of Bihar. Our party, for the first time got the opportunity to represent people's voice inside Bihar legislature.

One point is to be noted that despite the votes recorded in our favour being far less than the actual, even this number was higher than the votes recorded against Comrade Singh during the last parliamentary poll. On that occasion contesting from Vaisali Parliamentary Constituency including in it seven assembly constituencies, Comrade Singh got according to government's election machinery only 19000 votes. This time from one constituency, the votes according to them were much higher. What kind of business election has become!

Marhawara : In this caste-riven constituency Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey, a respected mass leader of the state fought. It was a gallant fight. People's enthusiasm to get him elected rose to a new pitch. His win was beyond any shade of doubt from the popular support he drew. But vested interests saw to it that he was not elected. Two ex-chief ministers had special attention to this constituency. Wire pulling from behind had its effect on the day of counting. When comrade Pandey was althrough maintaining a big lead, when it was obvious that he was winning the seat with a big margin, suddenly counting was stopped without assigning any reason. Our party's vehement protest and demand for immediate resumption of counting fell on deaf ears. Counting after this forced

interval did the trick. Mysteriously the voting trend was reversed and comrade Pandey was defeated. Despite all these nasty tricks and despicable means, comrade Pandey got about 28,000 votes, second to the contrived votes shown against the Congress (I) winning candidate.

Ghatshilla : Party's probable win in this constituency unnerved not only the ICC Company the owner of Maubhander copper mine where the workers' union affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) is a source of concern for it, but even the political parties like CPI and CPI (M) whom the company patronises. CPI and CPI (M) withdrew their forces from Jamshedpur East and West Constituency only to concentrate those in Ghatshilla. The purpose was no secret—defeat SUCI, anyhow. That is why not only leaving the two constituencies of Jamshedpur to Congress (I), these two parties assembled their forces reinforced further by armed volunteers from West Bengal supplied by CPI(M). Then, Jharkhand (Horo Group) was made to appear in armed procession with boycott election slogan. This slogan was raised only in this constituency. The company's hands were clearly visible. On the election day, the Jharkhand armed men captured 25 booths in Mosabani bloc, the stronghold of our party. Governments' 'lawkeeping agency' was in league with these armed forces. They surrounded the localities and prevented people on point of guns from exercising their votes. Similar tactic was adopted in two other booths in Narsinghar bloc. Comrade Abhoy Das and other workers of our party were seriously injured. While the flagrant violation of laws was going on by burning our polling camp, chasing out our polling agents from booths, mounting armed attacks against our workers and supporters, the police came in active assistance of the miscreants despite repeated

complaints from our party. Even within such an atmosphere of orgy of violence master-minded and financed by the industrialist-vested interest clique, aided and abetted by police and administration, in one booth some seventy three people could record their votes, all in our favour. This unmistakably shows the tremendous public response in favour of our Party candidates. That is why all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties stood united against our Party and conspired to defeat our candidate. Not only that the entire administration including police was working against our party. The Chief Election Commissioner and the State Chief Election Officer turned down our demand for repoll in all

Rally behind SUCI to uphold the banner of struggle and mass movement

these twenty five booths. They knew what would be the result if the polls were held in normal condition. Still then, the party scored here more than seven thousand five hundred votes. CPI candidate won. In the political background revealed through concrete incidents is there any doubt whom he actually represents?

Kharagpur : Comrade Jagdeo Pashwan who was our party candidate in the last assembly election laid down his life as martyr while engaged in organising the toiling people. This time, armed gangsters, money and administrative backings all were mobilised by Lok Dal and Congress (I) but the common object for them was to defeat SUCI. Our candidate and important orga-

nisers were arrested and confined in police lockup. Booth capture by Lok Dal, Congress (I), CPI, CPI (M) combine was an open secret. Police did not intervene despite repeated demands from our party. The CPI(M) put up as candidate a person whose activity is known to be anti-social in nature. Against all these odds, our party scored more than eight thousand five hundred votes. CPI (M) came behind our position, the combined votes being much more than the votes of Lok Dal candidate, the winner.

Besides these constituencies, in all of which the prospect of win for our party was bright, in other constituencies too, where our party would have fared much better had there been a proper election atmosphere, the target of attack of the contesting parties and administration was the

be elected by large sections of the people even before the election was held. But all the forces from Congress (I) to CPI (M) saw to it that this did not happen. Comrade Mayadhar scored more than sixteen thousand votes and was defeated by the winning Congress (I) candidate. Right from the stage of election campaigning in this constituency all the parliamentary parties from Congress (I) to CPI(M) formed, so to say, an unofficial United Front against our party. Our party alone was drawing large sections of the toiling people at the mass meetings where the revolutionary outlook of the party was being explained. On 25th May, a big procession organised by our party was attacked, but police took no steps, yet large number of students and youths rallied behind the

same, our party, the SUCI. The real class alignment of these parties despite the verbal commitment came to vivid colours in the election. That is why, be it the Marxist-coordination, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, CPI, CPI (M), Congress(I), Lok Dal and other parties all those made a common target, SUCI, wherever it fielded its candidates. In Chandankeri the forces mobilised by these forces attacked our candidate's house and when reported about, the SP said that he had nothing to do. Booth capturing, threat of armed attacks, connivance of police were the general features. It was a 'free for all affair' for all others against us wherever we fielded our candidates.

SUKINDA (Orissa)

Comrade Mayadhar Naik was considered to

party as they found that this party alone was voicing their pain, agony and pointing out the correct path of emancipation. The high ethical moral standard, tone and conduct of our workers and leaders were the things they did not see in other parties. The two adjoining constituencies Binjharpur and Jajpur from where the party contested witnessed the same spectacle of all the other parties having ranged against us. Dastardly attacks were mounted against our workers and even our candidate was not spared. The forces defending the bourgeois and vested interests were reading the writings on the wall. They were losing their grounds and SUCI was gaining the ground on the

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POLITICS OF CLASS COLLABORATION

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would support movements of the workers on just demands but would not tolerate and indeed oppose unjust demands. The question immediately arises who will determine the justness or otherwise of the demands. How will they term the demands of a movement organised by workers rallying under the banner of a different trade union with a different political outlook? It is quite clear that the CITU will term such demands and movements unjust. Workers have tasted by bitter experience how time and again the CITU resorted to the heinous tactics of disrupting and breaking movements organised by different trade unions, particularly since they came to power in the state. We may mention only one or two concrete instances such as the movement conducted by the Hindusthan Textile workers led by UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and of the Port workers in West Bengal which the CITU tried to break forcibly. No wonder then, that the ruling bourgeoisie and the monopoly press acclaim the recent role of CITU in the Port workers movement as 'responsible'. It is common knowledge that the INTUC, the union of the ruling Congress party did the same thing all these years; they never missed any opportunity to disrupt any movement organised by the other trade unions if it suited their petty union interests and to save the management. So what difference is there between CPI(M)'s policy and the policies pursued by the party at the Centre which is trying to suppress and crush the democratic movement of the people against the ruthless onslaught of capitalist oppression? It is merely a difference in posture and tactics. Both the CPI(M) and the ruling party at the Centre leave no stone unturned and consider no means too low

to secure some gains for their petty party politics regardless of the disastrous effect this has on the social life in our country. On the other hand they try their best to ensure industrial peace by suppressing workers' resistance. For this purpose Mrs. Gandhi clamped down Emergency at one time declaring a blanket ban on any movement or strike, whereas the Janata while in power at the Centre introduced the Industrial Bill openly curbing the activities of the trade unions; and again since Indira Gandhi has come back to power she has already reintroduced the hated P. D. Act on the ostensible plea to contain the illegal activities of economic offenders, but in reality applying it to arrest political opponents. So, by now who does not know the real meaning of the P. D. Act; it is to suppress democratic movement in general and trade union movement in particular thus giving unlimited scope to the capitalist class to exploit the people and pass on the entire burden of the ever growing capitalist crisis on to their shoulders while the capitalists themselves grab ever greater profits. In such a situation the CPI(M) leaders are not only openly discouraging the workers even to raise their economic demands on various pretexts and asking them to desist from conducting movement but are openly holding out the threat to oppose such movements which they consider unjust.

But all these they are doing in the name of revolution, in the name of fighting against capitalism, of politicalising the working class and imbuing them with a sense of responsibility and a verbal declared stand against the practice of economism in trade union movement. What has Marxism-Leninism got to say on these issues? Bypassing democratic movement can there be any fight against

capitalism, or can the working class be politicalised or economism in trade union activities avoided? Marxism answers with an emphatic no. Indeed democratic movements on economic and democratic demands to protect the minimum right against exploitation are the very basis for achieving those professed goals by the CPI(M) leaders. Democratic movements of the workers are but the means by which workers can become politicalised and economism in trade union movement fought out and the true fight against capitalism be carried on. Highlighting the teachings of Lenin, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher and guide, emphasized that the workers can achieve emancipation only if, through the process of these democratic movements they can gradually build up their own political power in the concrete shape of struggle committees, can initiate and conduct protracted revolutionary battle, for the overthrow of capitalism that will not collapse in the face of even thousands of onslaughts of the capitalist state machine. That is why Marx called trade unions school of communism, so that while conducting daily struggles collectively workers get the opportunity to analyse events and search out truth, gain political consciousness and learn to understand the necessity for revolution and through discussions, debates and ideological struggles find out the correct political line of its own class, without which they can never win emancipation. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also taught that only those workers can bring about revolution who have been able to develop the quality of revolutionary leadership, and that not in political slogan alone but in behaviour and life style, in ethical-moral standard, freeing themselves from the narrow confines of vile bourgeois culture.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the great proletarian leader cautioned:

"When the sole activity of the trade union leaders is to agitate the workers and get them into their fold by projecting a false image about this ability to wrest concessions from the management, then know it for certain that this party or union leadership is practising moderate trade unionism or economism like the Labour party in England."... "These forces, in reality play the role of opposition in between the different monopoly capitalist groups and are controlled by the monopolists."

So without going into the role of CITU in the past in trade union movements, from their present stand and practices it is clear notwithstanding the deceptive slogans and vocabularies of the CP(M)

Hail the Heroic Battle of Kwangju

(Contd. from page 1) into every sphere. The structure of capitalist economy is showing cracks in itself. Inflation is staggering; unemployment is mounting up; factories are locking out one by one. Lust of power, rivalry and intrigue characterise the military junta. People have complete mistrust and hatred for the military.

Anti-Park movement in 1974 shook the foundation of the Park regime. Following his assassination in October last by intrigue within the military junta, the situation in South Korea began moving fast to the explosive point. There have been waves of democratic movement against the ruling clique demanding democratic rights, scrapping of draconian laws and a popular elected government. Workers have clashed with the police while staging demonstrations. Student demonstrators have swept the streets of Seoul and elsewhere. All this preceded the Kwangju uprising.

Moreover, the urge for reunification with North Korea has been rising among the students and other sections of the

leaders that they are playing the role of compromising forces between labour and capital. Not only are they collaborating with the ruling capitalist class in a most glaring manner, but through their deceptive slogans to confuse the workers they are in fact disarming the working class organisationally, politically, ideologically, making them the helpless victim of capitalist slavery and exploitation. In the name of uniting in the struggle against authoritarianism they are themselves asking the working people to submit to the authoritarian attacks of the capitalist class. But the CPI(M) leaders would do well to ponder the history of what is the ultimate outcome of such social democratic forces.

people, forcing the civilian government to enter into 'working level' talks with North Korea for a full scale reunification dialogue. On the other hand, the military junta is engaging itself in joint US South Korea military exercise.

The junta has blamed North Korea for fomenting 'trouble' and a 'reason' for imposition of the martial law advanced has been that there had been a movement of the North Korean troops along border. Alarmed by the mass upsurge, the US imperialists are making cautious moves and advising their South Korean ally not to 'over react', but to exercise 'maximum restraint' and adopt 'liberalizing policies', giving some political concessions to the students and the opposition political parties. They are afraid that the seething mass discontent may turn against, apart from the military junta, the prevailing politico-economic system of that country and the US interests there.

The gallant fight of the masses led by students has been halted by the mili-

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Ordinance banning strike comes— RESIST UNITEDLY

While the Union Government is yet to outline its comprehensive labour policy, it at the same time, by its eloquence about participative management—a spill over of heinous 20-point programme of the dark Emergency period and introducing productivity-linked bonus to P & T and Defence employees a part of the pledge the erstwhile Charan Singh caretaker Government gave, has left no one in doubt as to what is likely to follow in the coming days. The readers may recall, when Sm. Gandhi immediately after assumption of power armed itself with extra-ordinary law by reviving P. D. Act, containing in it punitive measures against those who will be responsible for so-called disturbance or dislocation of production and distribution of commodities essential for the society, our party warned that the real target was not the black-marketeers which she claimed but the working class in general & T. U. movement in particular. This has come true. In the midst of Assembly election fever in the nine dissolved State Assemblies, issuance of Ordinance empowering State Governments to ban strikes in what are described essential services has brought to reality what was apprehended. This ordinance has been applied in UP, Maharashtra and Gujrat. The excuses offered by the government, the very nature and purpose of resorting to such draconian measure through promulgation of the ordinances—reminiscent of the autocratic rule of the dark Emergency Period—calls for most serious and urgent attention of all the right thinking democratic minded people of our country who are ready to stand in defence of democratic rights and principles.

It has to be taken note of the fact that in absence of elected ministries, it is

the Centre that is governing the states and issuance of the ordinances means in effect government's power to ban any strike it chooses. The report goes, even some members of the Consultative Committee took this measure as a "dress-rehearsal" for the days to come. Even the pro-government INTUC leaders were taken aback by the unseemly haste with which these Ordinances were issued. Their apprehensions are no doubt understandable as these so-called leaders will lose their face particularly when the State election was not yet over.

The real reason behind invoking such draconian provision of the P. D. Act, re-introduced into legislation after Sm. Gandhi's comeback at the Centre, notwithstanding the plea of containing the blackmarketeers, is to smash the legitimate democratic movements, by banning the strike struggles in these states. Our party, while expressing its serious concern at the reintroduction of P. D. Act during Charan Singh's caretaker government as well as when it was converted into legislation in the Parliament and spelt out in no unambiguous term that faced with the ever-growing discontent of all sections of the common people of the country caused by the growing crisis of capitalism, the re-introduction of the draconian Act clearly aims at curbing the minimum democratic right and civil liberty as well as the legitimate struggles of the people. "No wonder, in this era, whoever, from the seat of power, tries to defend the moribund capitalist system takes recourse to such anti-people measures and thus turns authoritarian". But then what was the plea based on which the Union Government re-introduced this Act? It was said it would provide for preventive

detention of "economic offenders". What is the experience of the common people? Has a single economic offender been brought to book by this Act? During all the long years, when the PD Act and MISA were in force in our country, economic offenders were never brought to book by the use of preventive detention powers although the government's excuses were for that purpose. They were mainly used against political opponents and against the organised democratic movements. It is not a fact that hoarders, blackmarketeers, speculators, smugglers and the like are going virtually scot-free because the governments at the Centre and at the states have no powers to deal with them under existing laws, but because they lack the political will to do so. And more so, because of the direct patronisation of the Governments, both Central and states, these enemies of the people enjoy. Does not the blatant misuse of powers of the MISA to stifle even the dissent of the people during the Emergency testify to this truth? And despite this grim lesson, did not the Janata rulers too try to make a legislation similarly on the line through Industrial Relations Bill? Though couched in different words was it not for the same very purpose the Emergency rule was declared by Indira Gandhi Government?

Wonder of wonders, there is no call to the people to rise in resolute resistance to the move of bringing to life such authoritarian provision to ban the strike struggle by the so-called big central trade unions who are never weary of waxing eloquent on fighting authoritarian forces in their pulpit speeches! Where is the vehement opposition from the so-called left trade union centres rising

in mighty united movement demanding its outright scrapping? It will be interesting to note here, against this background, that at the recently concluded CITU conference West Bengal where all-India leaders like B. T. Ranadive, Jyoti Basu etc. spoke so much about the necessity of politicalisation of workers, so on and so forth; they never uttered a single word about the danger of this authoritarian move against the working class. On the contrary the working people heard a new kind of "political education", that it was their duty not to raise economic demands but to increase production and this is exactly what Indira Government wants and therefore the Ordinance!

It is well to remember that the crisis-ridden capitalism to stave off its acute crisis adopt either blanket ban on mass movements and struggles as we witnessed during the Emergency and presently through promulgation of the Ordinances. It also sometime resorts to so-called 'consensus' with the tacit or open support of the trade unions led by social democratic leadership. These are but two faces of the same crisis-ridden capitalism designed to suit its particular purpose. But the latter is more dangerous and at the same time deceptive too. Currently, we are observing that they are hatching a conspiracy against the working people by way of denying the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) its rightful claim to represent in various government bodies which means gagging the lone voice of working class in those bodies. This is for working out and implementing various anti-working class steps and measures. That is why the Union Government are inviting five Central Trade Unions to have their say in different forums, obviously those who are in the good book. The reason is not for off

to seek. This ingenious method reminds us the so-called apex body consisting of 3 central TUs (INTUC-AITUC-HMS), constituted by Indira Gandhi government during the Emergency intended to toeing the anti-people policies of the government and earning so-called 'respectability' in the eye of the Government so as to be the negotiating agents. These 'respectable' trade unions and their leaders will now work hand in glove with the governments in imposing 'peace' and 'discipline' in industries by confining trade union movements within the four walls of legalism and conciliation. Noticeably, the new entrants to the so-called apex club of five are the Jana Sangh-led BMS and the CPI(M) led CITU.

Last but not the least, does not the grim situation that the working class is confronted with today call for united struggle embracing all unions at all levels to thwart the heinous move of the Union Government representing the aggregate interest of moribund capitalism? UTUC (Lenin Sarani) have repeatedly appealed to all other central trade unions to come forward to develop broader unity and joint action and are still striving for its success. The UTUC (LS) from its 16th All India Conference platform held in Mid-February, 1979 too, by adopting specific resolution appealed to all of them for united struggle with common minimum programme of the working class and warned against the danger ahead. And we must not forget that this attack is nothing but a prelude to bigger attacks in the days to come.

It is the supreme need of the hour to protect and defend the democratic rights and to develop the legitimate democratic movements. Has not the time come yet to respond to our call? We appeal to them, yet there is time to come forward to join in united struggle to foil this fascist attack.

West Bengal State Committee SUCI, protests enhancement of price of Diesel, Petrol and Petroleum Products

Calcutta 15th June 1980 :

Com. Sukomal Das Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI in course of a statement said :

"The hardship of the common man arising out of the unprecedented price-rise will be further accentuated due to the decision of the Central Government to enhance the price of diesel, petrol and petroleum products. Already the bus-owners of the state have started clamouring for the rise in bus fare in order to shift the entire burden of enhanced price of oil on the common man. We mark with grave concern that the 'Left Front' Government by its mere formal protest against the Central Government's decision is virtually going to yield to the conspiracy of the bus-owners.

We unequivocally protest against the decision of the Central Government to rise oil price and at the same time cannot but condemn this anti-people attitude of 'Left Front' Government regarding this. We call upon the people of the State to come forward to resist this further onslaught on their life.

Memorandum on Assam submitted by MAHILA SANSKRITIK SANGHA

On behalf of the Mahila Sanskritik Sangha (West Bengal State Committee) Gayatri Dasgupta, Badal Mukherjee, Menoka Basu Roy, Usha Sen and Indrani Bhattacharya submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister through the Governor, West Bengal, on the 5th June last.

Deep concern has been expressed in the memorandum on the present situation in Assam. It has been pointed out that in order to divert the grievances and anger of the Assamese people from the real cause of the miseries in their life—the crisis-ridden moribund capitalism, all the bourgeois parties and parochial forces have conducted such a mischievous propaganda that "the Assamese speaking people became apprehensive of being swamped in their own land by non-Assamese

people and that they might lose their language, culture and distinct identity....The people's discontent, based on genuine grievances, was led to a misguided mass upsurge by these political opportunists".

The memorandum exposed that it was the dilatory tactics of the Indira Gandhi Government at the Centre that aggravated the present Assam crisis.

It has held the government responsible for the suicidal fratricidal war started among the people and demanded immediate, effective steps to stop unilateral deportation of non-Assamese people, safeguard the cultural integrity of the Assamese people by giving constitutional recognition to their language as state language, ensure security and safety of the religious and linguistic minorities, arrest

Hail Heroic Battle of Kwangju !

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itary iron fist. But the military should read the writings on the wall. It has suppressed the revolt this time. But it will fail to keep the people under boot all the time. However repressive its arms be, the people will rise up again, today or tomorrow. Kwangju inscribes this truth.

The people's battle in South Korea does not end at Kwangju. The ruling clique succeeded in retaliation because of lack of a well knit organization of the people capable of conducting a protracted battle. The day the people will be able to give birth to this organization and the correct leadership, the day they will be able to see the correct direction of their struggle, their march of triumph will begin from the alter of Kwangju martyrs. They will carry on their struggle till they overthrow the present state and establish the working class state.

In drawing lesson from the heroic battle of Kwangju, the toiling people of India salute the gallant fighters.

READ

- On Some Vital Problems of Peasants' Life

—Shibdas Ghosh.

—Re. 1.00

- Tasks Ahead of the Working Class

—Nihar Mukherjee.

—Re. 1.00

nefarious designs of the secessionist forces and take immediate development programme in Assam with proper planning.

SUCI alone is capable of leading the people to their cherished goal of emancipation

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basis of its correct politics, higher ethics and morals. This fact unnerved them to the point of desperation. They may have gained the seats by nasty trickeries, fraud and deception, actively assisted by police and administration, but so far as winning the hearts of the toiling people is concerned they are poor losers. Here our party gained most. This is true for every constituency from where our party fought this political battle on mass revolutionary line involving the people. It is this gain that the party values most.

These concrete events will serve as important political lessons for the toiling people. They are now slowly realising that it is this party which alone represents higher morals and ethics which is the quintessence of correct politics and revolutionary goal. This is the reason why thousands of men and women, students and youths, workers and peasants, democratic minded sections of intelligentsia feel an irresistible attraction towards the party.

A deep conspiracy is afoot to break the unity of the toiling people to pieces by inciting caste, communal, religious and regional parochialism and frenzy, and politicians ranging from Congress (I) to CPI (M) are all busy in sharing the spoils of parliamentary privileges. They fail to provide a correct answer to these problems and utilise these issues in their petty parliamentary interest. When the toiling people are passing through an agonising period of suffering with the prospect of end to their sufferings

bleak, when the moral cultural fabric is torn asunder and depravity and degeneration of basic human qualities envelop the social life, it is SUCI, the party of the Indian proletariat, founded and reared by the great revolutionary leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, alone, which is holding aloft the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. It alone is providing the correct answer and guideline to every concrete problems of life and society.

It is our party, SUCI, that unceasingly has been making all out efforts to unite all the left and democratic struggling forces against the common enemy, the crisis-ridden moribund capitalism and its main political defender, Congress (I). This party is consistently fighting against all the efforts of the social democratic forces to defile and distort the revolutionary thoughts of Marxism. It is in this context the revolutionary teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is attracting newer and bigger sections of the toiling people. The task at the moment is to consolidate the political organisational gains we achieved through electoral battle and prepare ourselves to develop mighty wave of democratic struggle involving still bigger sections of the masses. The truth that SUCI is the only alternative to the exploited people will have to be carried deeper and wider to the masses. The counteroffensives of the forces of reaction make the task of organising the toiling people politically ideologically all the more urgent.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE