

# On the Question of instability of bourgeois and social democratic parties of our Country

# Proletarian Era

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The capitalist economy of our country is in a serious crisis and its impact is being felt in all spheres of our society. In spite of all out attempts by the ruling capitalist class to shift the entire burden of this crisis on to the shoulders of the Indian people, the capitalist class cannot come out of this impasse. Not only the effect of this crisis is being felt in the economic field, but the bourgeois political institutions and party system are in jeopardy and in complete disarray. Even when a party manages through dubious means to be returned to power with an overwhelming majority in parliament, it cannot complete the full 5 years

term of its tenure. The whole cultural life of our society is vitiated, all sense of values in society have almost vanished and the impact of this crisis of capitalism has its effect in our family life also. Faced with such an all out crisis the bourgeoisie are attempting to impose fascism in our country through a two-party system by keeping the parliament intact while at the sametime making a contingent plan of a presidential form of government. Because of the present state of disarray of all the bourgeois political parties, the attempt to impose a two party system is receiving setbacks.

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## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee welcomes the visit of Comrade Huang Hua

Welcoming the visit of Comrade Huang Hua, Foreign Minister of China, to India, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of SUCI in course of a statement said:

"We welcome the visit

of Huang Hua, China's Foreign Minister, to India. We feel that it is necessary to normalise relations with all the neighbouring states, particularly a country of China's standing, immediately resolve the outstanding problems

on the basis of principle and justice and establish friendship and fraternity in the interest of the people of both the countries.

We hope, the visit of Comrade Huang Hua, will achieve desired success on all these issues.

## How Free and Fair was the Mid-term Poll

There was not an election held since 1971-72 which was not rigged. It is not that before 1971-72 there were no incident of false voting, booth capturing and the like, but from 1971-72, a centralised administrative rigging machinery started in different states to manipulate the whole electoral process. In all our previous reviews on elections we proved this fact. An intense crisis is engulfing the capitalist system today. The ruling capitalist class is trying to put the entire burden of

the crisis on to the shoulders of the people by various means. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties are coming to the rescue of the ruling class and people are becoming resentful against these parties. Naturally the ruling capitalist class can take no chance, and so through centralised administrative rigging they are putting their chosen party to power. Another development is prompting the bourgeoisie to rig the election results—the crisis of the political system.

There are squabbles, infighting in the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties—even from bourgeois point of view there is no stability in the parties. But the bourgeoisie cannot afford such instability—naturally, they rig the elections in favour of their chosen party to somehow bring stability. And this has become a general feature in the elections today.

The monopoly press too play a great hand in this nasty bourgeois game. In the name of scamming the election pros-

## Assam State Committee On the recent Delhi talks

The thorny Assam question in the Indian body politic still continues to cast dark shadow of spect, in the name of statistics of people's opinion they try to create a swing in favour of the particular chosen party or parties of the bourgeoisie. Naturally it paves the way for the centralised administrative rigging, and make the result of the rigged election somewhat believable to the general member of the public.

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uneasiness on the north-eastern horizon as it remained a year and a few months hence. Meanwhile, AASU and Ganasangram Parisad met in Delhi with Central Government and conducted parleys for the determination of 'foreign national' issue during the period May 16 to 28, '81 with no tangible result achieved so far. Notwithstanding the fact the warring sides never

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# Com. Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Meeting

SAHEED MINAR MAIDAN • 5th August • 5 P.M.

Main Speaker COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

President COMRADE SACHIN BANERJEE

# All out crisis of the present day Capitalism finds its reflection in the political parties which defend the very same system

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In spite of the fact that power is the most cementing factor in bourgeois politics, the Congress (I) headed by Smt. Gandhi is suffering from serious internal dissensions and group squabbles and so inspite of an overwhelming majority its helplessness in running the administration is markedly perceptible. Smt. Gandhi has not yet been able to constitute a full fledged ministry because of serious conflicts within her party. During the short span of one and a half year in office, Smt. Gandhi had to reshuffle her ministry twice and the bitter and violent group clashes that occur daily within the Congress (I) in the various states clearly indicate the complete lack of cohesion within this party even when it is enthroned in power.

The Congress (I) Government headed by Smt. Gandhi asserted, when it came to power just after election in 1980, that the present ills of the country were due to the misrule of the Janata Government and promised an administration that works and also spoke of solving the problems confronting the life of the common people. But what is the situation to-day? Not only the basic problems confronting the life of the common people have not eased, but these on the country have increased many times, making the life of the ordinary citizens absolutely unbearable. The mounting inflation, the ever increasing price rise, high dose of taxation, the growing unemployment, closures, lock outs, retrenchment etc. are going on unabated. The Congress (I) Government is totally helpless in checking this drift of the economy into a headlong plunge. An all embracing crisis has engulfed the entire people of the country. Not only the people are subjected

to extreme economic distress but also the social fabric is falling apart owing to—afar more severe blow in the cultural and moral sphere. Within this span of one and a half year the bluff of the Congress (I) has been exposed and its utter helplessness and incapability have been laid bare before the people of our country.

In the present situation when the Congress (I) stands completely discredited, let us look into the present state of other bourgeois parties that are trying to project themselves either singly or in combination as an alternative to the Congress (I). The party what was once the Janata broke into innumerable splinter parties like the BJP, the Janata, Janata (S), the Lok Dal, the Bahuguna faction etc. and it is rather difficult to keep track of the upto date splinter groups that are being formed almost daily from the different bourgeois parties. The BJP and then the Janata held conventions separately with much fanfare and press publicity with the backing of the monopoly press to project themselves singly as an alternative before the people. But reports of dissension and factional feud within the BJP centering round the RSS and non-RSS lobby are flashed almost daily. The factional feud within the Janata is also not unknown. The Chandra Shekar faction within the Janata is at loggerheads with the Desai faction. As regards the infighting within the Lok Dal, the less said the better. The Lok Dal showed the sign of disintegration even at the time of its formation and the recent splitting of this party highlights the intensity of internal squabbles within this party. And with the present exodus headed by Sri Y. B. Chavan, from the Congress (U), its existence as a separate political party is at stake. So no bourgeois political party

is in a position to project itself as a national alternative even from the bourgeois point of view because of this internal strife, factional fights and constant threat of splitting from within these parties.

The root cause of all these strifes, divisions and bickerings within the bourgeois and social democratic parties lies in the accentuation of crisis in capitalist economy of our country. The Congress ruled the country almost uninterruptedly for nearly 30 years since independence and in order to serve the aggregate interest of capitalism during this period of the third phase of the world wide general crisis of capitalism, the Congress Government suppressed all sorts of legitimate democratic mass movements most ruthlessly; this however completely isolated this party from the people and the bourgeoisie, finding the Congress discredited, were searching for an alternative with a view to imposing a two-party system which is nothing but another variant of fascism. With this aim in view the Janata experiment started but this attempt of the bourgeoisie ended in failure very soon and the plan to impose a two party system received a jolt much to the discomfiture of the capitalist class. There are various factors behind this failure to impose a two party system in our country. Unlike the situation obtaining in advanced western countries where the role of the small capital has been substantially done away with and monopoly has emerged as the dominating factor in the economic field, which is reflected in the political superstructure of these countries with the emergence two or three parties representing this of that monopoly group, the Indian situation is rather different with regional and small capital still playing an important

role and so the emergence of two or three parties in the national plane is difficult to attain though this is the crying need of the Indian bourgeois class for establishing fascism under the garb of two-party system as has happened in most of the western capitalist countries. So, the Indian bourgeoisie tried to impose through dubious means, like rigging, this two party system by artificially propping up the Janata conglomerate. But the serious crisis in the capitalist economy has its reflection in this experiment also. With the accentuation of the internal crisis of capitalism, power was more and more centralised in the state organs, people lost one after another their hard won democratic rights police, military and upper strata of bureaucracy were vested more and more with unbridled power and people's legitimate democratic movements were suppressed with brutal force. The ruling capitalist class is promulgating black and undemocratic ordinances like MISA, Essential Services Maintenance Act etc. to crush the legitimate democratic mass movements within the country. But inspite of all these even the fringe of the problem of the capitalist crisis cannot be touched. If we look into the economic picture of the country, it will be clear that the purchasing power of the vast multitude of the Indian people, on which depends the capitalist market, has been totally squeezed owing to capitalist exploitation. The majority of the vast rural population have been transformed into landless labourers, share croppers and poor and lower middle peasants who are forced to lead a subhuman life. The rate of increase of the sick industries is a clear indication of the depth of crisis in industry. The entire burden of this crisis is shifted on to the shoulders of the working class. The unemployment

rate is going up because of lack of industrial expansion and it is accentuated because of the lock-outs, closures and retrenchment in industry. The entire country is groaning under poverty and under such a situation the market within the country has shrunk greatly owing to the lack of purchasing power of the people. Moreover the Indian capitalists find the external market highly competitive because of the presence of highly industrialised imperialist countries. So the industrial development of the country has halted. And in this ever shrinking market the competition among the capitalists is becoming more and more acute. When the national capitalist market is squeezed owing to the intense poverty of the people, the government subsidy which is about ten percent of the total union budget and the government contracts both civil and military are the major source of assured income to the capitalist class. And the scramble for the share of this subsidy and government contracts is intensifying amongst the various capitalist groups and this is reflected through the various pressure groups within the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties and the internal cohesion of all these parties is rapidly disappearing. So disintegration, internal squabbles and splitting are common features among all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties that try to defend this existing moribund capitalist order.

When this is the state of affairs and all the bourgeois political parties are completely in disarray it was the most opportune moment for the leftist forces to take advantage of the situation for forging the unity of the Indian masses and establishing the hegemony

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# The Four Years of the 'Left Front' Govt. Assam State Committee

## On the recent Delhi talks

[The UNI had approached the secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of our Party, Comrade Sukomal Das-Gupta, to give views in answer to questions put by it on the occasion of completion of four years of the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal. Comrade Das-gupta's answers, along with the UNI's questions are given below.]

Question No. 1 :

Has 'Left Front' been able to fulfill its pledges during the last four years? If there are failures, that are they.

Answer :

The 'Left Front' has totally failed to fulfil its pledges during the last four years. The following brief account will more than confirm this statement, as it is based on facts and not on hypothesis.

### Minimum amenities not provided to the people

Any Government which feels the minimum concern about people's life could have substantially mitigated if not solved, the problems of power crisis, sanitation, public health, regular supply of standard drinking water free from pollution, etc., transport problem and the like for which funds should not stand in the way and which have nothing to do with limitation of the present system—a bogey very often raised by the leaders of the 'Left Front'. The record of 'Left Front' Government to provide these minimum amenities to the people has been that of utter negligence, unprecedented callousness and absurd failure.

### Failure to check black marketing hoarding and profiteering by the unscrupulous traders and failure to introduce all out State Trading

The 'Left Front' Government has not brought to book even a single black marketer, hoarder, or profiteer by applying the Essential Commodities Act

which is completely under the purview of the State Government. As a result, it is the common people who have to suffer most owing to soaring prices of essential commodities. The Government has not also advanced and inch to introduce all-out State Trading in foodgrains and its record of procurement of rice during these years is absolutely miserable.

### Imposition of unbridled taxation and connivance with private bus owners

During the last four years the 'Left Front' Government has already imposed taxes to the tune of Rs. 103 crores in addition to the Central and other taxes on the half-starved and ill-clad people of this State. The 'Left Front' Government shamelessly connived with bus owners in their bid to enhance bus fares twice within a short period of six months—unprecedented in the history of West Bengal—and later on extended the same measure to State Buses and Trams on the plea of enhanced duties on diesel. It should be noted that the 'Left Front' not only did not organise any mass movement to thwart imposition of taxes by the Central Government but itself imposed an additional tax on the very same item, i.e. diesel

### A veritable 'heaven' of the anti-socials and deep rooted moral degeneration

Anti socials, dacoits and rowdies of all sorts are doing mischiefs of worst kind even in broad daylight with impunity and there is no sign of abatement. The curse of obscene literature, nude dramas, cabaret dance, alcoholism of a severe magnitude is thriving at the behest of the 'Left Front' Government, supposed to be quite vociferous against 'obscene' culture, which is eating into the very vitals of the cultural life of our people. Admittedly, this is leading to a situation when people morally degraded and

crippled, will fail to voice their protest against any injustice, but will submit to servility much to the glee of the capitalist class and the leaders of the 'Left Front'.

### Relative administrative neutrality thrown to the winds—corruption, nepotism rampant

The 'Left Front' Government is bidding goodbye to whatever limited administrative neutrality was there and has surreptitiously replaced it by the worst kind of corruption and nepotism at all levels of administration. It is the experience of the common people that the police officers seldom take diary against the partners of the ruling front, particularly against the CPI (M), and if records are taken no action is forthcoming against the real culprits. From that point of view the situation has not improved in comparison to that during the previous Congress regime.

### "Panchayat Raj" or a 'paradise' of corruption?

The 'Left Front' leaders are beating the drums of having vested real power with the village people, which is itself a hoax in present day capitalism, and are boasting of "Panchayat Rajas" being a marvellous creation of theirs. A little knowledge about the activities of the Panchayats will reveal the abysmal depth of corruption playing havoc with people's life. Some newspaper reports also confirm this truth.

### "Barga Operation" an 'Operation' against the bargaders

The 'Left Front' poses itself to be a champion of the cause of the bargaders and an enemy of the jotedars. But the fact is just the reverse. First of all, it is to be kept in mind that the strategy of people's Democratic Revolution of the CPI (M) is based on a close alliance between the poor peasantry and the 'progressive' rural bourgeoisie who are none but the jotedars of the villages.

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lacked in uttering pious wishes for the right solution of the burning problem, the fact remains that the grave situation prevailing for more than a year, remains unchanged.

Viewing the overriding interest of unity, amity, goodwill and understanding among the different sections of the people and to breakthrough the deadlock so long allowed to be kept open, the Assam Committee of our Party, while giving its comment on the recent parleys, strongly felt the crying need of restoration of normalcy, sense of security in the minds of all sections of the people in the state vis-a-vis a negotiated settlement of 'foreign national' issue. At the same time, the State Committee noted with grave concern that failure of talks held during May 16-28, '81, once more has belied all hopes and aspirations of the entire people of the state of restoration of congenial healthy atmosphere free from tension, insecurity and the like. The State Committee once more reiterated its earlier 4 points principled concrete proposal for the right solution of the Assam problem which in essence ensures :

Strict vigilance against new infiltration into the state and for this purpose to arrange for impartial but strong machinery, economic development of the state for which the Union Government must immediately announce a 'package deal'; Assamese language as the 'official language' of the state for which invoking of constitutional amendment be made, if needed, taking due cognizance of the rights of the minorities to cultivate their respective languages and culture.

It is needless to say that in many a article appearing in this paper earlier we have X-rayed the crux of the problem and have shown that the

resentment bursting forth in mighty 'movement' among the Assamese speaking people developed due to acute economic crisis in people's life with ever increasing unemployment—educated and uneducated alike—on the one hand and because of their concern and anxiety for the preservation of Assamese Language and culture, particularly covering their apprehension over the status of Assamese Language as the medium of instruction and as the official language of the state. But the misfortune of the people devolved on them due to weakness of the left movement taking advantage of which the misguided leadership of the agitation channelised it against other sections of the common people. Ultimately, in the name of deportation of 'foreign nationals' it took the turn of narrow, provincial, communal and even a separatist movement.

However, it is naive to expect that the governments seated in both at the Centre and in various States, wedded to protect and consolidate the interests of the ruling capitalist class and who are engaged in hatching conspiracies causing rupture in the unity of toiling millions centring round caste, creed, religion, language etc. will ever accept our principled concrete proposal for the right solution of the 'Assam question'. But those supposedly engaged in safeguarding the interests of the Assamese speaking people, who themselves, in their turn, highly accalimed our 4-point concrete proposal, as legitimate and a way to practical solution, keeps mum on it, far less to speak of mounting popular pressure on the Central government for achieving a negotiated settlement on the above lines. On the contrary, to counterpose our concrete proposal

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## How free and fair was the Mid-term Poll

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There are other methods of rigging—manipulation of voters' list, false voting, forceful capture of booths by hired goondas, purchase of votes with money, wine, gifts etc., influencing the voters by providing civic amenities on the eve of elections, threats, intimidations with hired goondas, roughs and even sometimes with the help of police, para-military forces etc.

In rigging the election results what method would be adopted depends upon specific circumstance—a few in combination or all the methods are adopted including the centralised administrative rigging.

Since in many of our election reviews in earlier issues we elaborately dealt on rigging of election and have established conclusively our point we shall not dwell at length on that here.

Let us look at the Mid-term poll held on 14th June this year. Was it a free and fair election? By no means, yet only the election to the Garhwal Constituency was countermanded by the Election Commission. And a great controversy is going on regarding this countermanding. Some say that this countermanding is a sure sign as to what a great democracy ours is—some say that the Election Commission has superseded his authority. What strikes one most is the typically opportunist attitude of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties towards different steps taken by the Election Commission. Mr. C. M. Stephen, the Congress (I) leader has come out with open condemnation against this decision although the very same party was all praise for Election Commission when it delayed holding of bye-elections in West Bengal. Similarly, the CPI(M) leaders who are strongly upholding this decision of the Election

Commission as democratic remarked just the other day that the Election Commission is a sycophant of the Congress (I)! Whether the Election Commission has the authority or not may be a debatable point but what we want to emphasise is that why he countermanded only the election to the Garhwal constituency? If he has to countermand a particular election for being rigged was not the whole Mid term Poll equally rigged? Facts at least point towards that. However, by painting this countermanding as a great event they are trying to impress upon that the whole election was free and fair but for this exception. Moreover, the allegations Mr. Bahuguna made to prove that the election was rigged in Garhwal Constituency—were not the pictures same in many other places? Mr. Bahuguna "had demanded repoll in 56 polling booths where, he alleged, rigging, booth capturing and other malpractices had been committed" reported Statesman dated June 21. But did not the same thing happen in other constituencies too? Statesman dated 19th June reported that Mr. L. K. Advani, General Secretary of the Bharatiya Janata Party expressed surprise at the 89.92% votes polled by the UP Chief Minister Mr. Vishwanath P. Singh in the Tindwara Assembly by-elections and Mr. Rajib Gandhi securing 84.18% of the valid votes.

"He said that Jawharlal Nehru, even at the peak of his popularity, could never match Mr. Singh's or Mr. Gandhi's 'incredible feat'....."

Mr. Jadav who contested on Lok Dal ticket from the Amethi Lok Sabha constituency told reporters that 600 booths had been captured by the Congress (I) in several areas, villagers had said in writing that they did not exercise their franchise, but

nearly 100% polling had been registered at polling booths such as Ghanapur booth 21, reports Statesman of the same date. "He said that a large number of boxes were received broken for counting. Ballots in hundreds of boxes exceeded the number of votes polled recorded by Presiding officers."

Does not the above point towards administrative rigging which we have been trying to emphasise times without number?

Yet, the election to these constituencies and all others have been declared to be valid. Moreover, can Mr. Bahuguna claim that his hands too were clean? Ajkal, a Bengali daily the same day reported that the Congress (I) candidate Sri Chandramohan Negy alleged, likewise capturing of 19 booths by the hired goondas of Mr. Bahuguna. So, none of these bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties can claim a clean hand. They keep silent and try to pass the elections as free and fair when they get the benefit of rigging and shout loud against rigging only when the result goes against them. And is it not a fact that Mr. Bahuguna could secure countermanding of the election because he has considerable influence over the administration?

Now let us come to the picture in West Bengal. Our Party put up candidates in three Assembly constituencies in West Bengal—Manicktalla, Jadavpur and Midnapur. What are the experiences of our volunteers in all these constituencies? They found in the lists names of thousands of voters who did not exist at all, they found same sets of names in different parts of the Voter's Lists. Our Party lodged complaints officially giving details of all these ghost voters but needless to say that nothing was done about those.

On the election day these ghost voters sprang into existence. They came in groups—boys and girls men and women—ten, fifteen, twenty at a time

and cast their votes. Whenever they were challenged by the polling agents of our candidates, they could promptly produce ration cards from their pockets—crisp and new. Did anybody ever experience that genuine voters comes with ration cards in their pockets to prove their bonafide? But where from these ghost voters each got the ready supply of sets of ration cards? When the CPI (M) have the administration in its hands, is it at all difficult to understand?

Another queer thing is to be noted here. The Municipality elections in West Bengal was held just a fortnight before the Mid-term Assembly election. Although the Congress (I) officially withdrew its candidates, it is not a fact that the party was passive in this election. It has been our experience that in most of the constituencies particularly where we put up candidates, these two parties combined either in favour of an independent or a 'Left Front' candidate. Still then the result of the municipal elections show that in some municipal wards our candidates secured as many as 2000 votes or more. But none of our candidates in the Assembly election got even 2000 votes. Just think of it! In a municipal ward which is just a fragment of an Assembly constituency a candidate of our Party gets more than 2000 votes, but a candidate of our Party in assembly seat does not get that much vote even. In both municipality election and the assembly election the other conditions of rigging were constant, that is, manipulated Voters List, elaborate false vote machinery, purchase of votes with money, wine, gifts etc., threats and intimidations etc. etc. The only difference was—in municipality election, votes were counted in the booths just after the poll whereas in the assembly elections votes were counted not at

polling booths immediately after poll but in counting stations a day after the poll. What else other than centralised administrative rigging can explain such a queer anomaly? Since in the municipality election votes were counted in the polling booths just after the poll they did not get a chance to manipulate the boxes whereas this they got in the by-election to the Assembly constituencies since counting was done a day after and the ballot boxes in the meanwhile remained at the custody of the administration.

But why the ruling class and the ruling party in West Bengal try to show that we are insignificant? Because they are afraid of the growing influence of our Party over the people they try to show that we are an insignificant force. The CPI (M) is well aware about the great prestige and honour our party enjoys among the people particularly in West Bengal which led the current language movement and earned tremendous respect among wider section of the people. So even if our party gets normally defeated in a particular constituency or constituencies the CPI (M) cannot remain simply satisfied with that. What they need is to anyhow minimise the strength of our party because, even when defeated in elections our growing strength is very dangerous for the CPI (M). So they manipulate even the ballot boxes and reduce our votes. This also proves how scared the vested class has become. This proves once again the deep impact that is being created by the movements our party is trying to develop on all the burning issues of peoples life. Manipulating the ballot boxes to show how insignificant we are the ruling class and their agents, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties are exposing their own weaknesses.

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## Reminiscence of the British Rule in India

SECRET Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Copy of the Secret Communication No. SB/LWC/14/75 dated 16.3.81 received from the Dy. Inspector General of Police, Intelligence and State Special Branch, Cauvery Bhavan, Bangalore-9 conveyed under C.O.D.O. No. VIG/CON/81 dated 8.4.81.

### ORDER

In exercise of the powers conferred by Sub Section(1) of Section 26 of the Indian Post Office Act, 1893 (Central Act VI of 1892) and Sub-Section (1) of Section (5) of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (Central Act XIII of 1885) read with Government orders No. HD 261 SST 62 dated 6.12.1962 and HD-1-SWM-63 dated 19.2.1963. I, D. R. Karthikeyan, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Intelligence, Bangalore, do hereby direct in the interest of public safety that all postal articles of any description whatsoever addressed to, or emanating from the persons as per list enclosed, shall in the course of transmission by post in all the post offices situated in the Karnataka State, all messages to or from the said persons brought for transmission or transmitted or received by the telegraph office in Karnataka State under the Telegraph authority in Karnataka State be intercepted or detained and disclosed or delivered to any officer authorised by me in writing in this behalf.

This order shall remain in force upto 31. 12, 1981.

SD/- (D.R. Karthikeyan)  
Deputy Insp. General of Police.

Office of the Senior Superintendent of Post Offices,  
Shimoga Division, SHIMOGA-577201.

Endt. No. SSP/CON/206. Dated at Shimoga, the  
21-4-1981.

REGD.

Forwarded to all Post Masters and Sub Post Masters (By Name) in Shimoga Division for information and necessary action.

Signature Illegible  
SR. SUPERINTENDENT.

## Bangalore City Organising Committee Condemns the Police order of intercepting Letters

Bangalore, 25. 6. 81 :

The Bangalore City Organising Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI) expresses deep shock over the police order which instructed the post-offices of Shimoga district to intercept all letters to or from 35 persons including lawyers, Press reporters, teachers, Trade union and political leaders and submit the same to the officers authorised by the DIG (Intelligence) for scrutiny before being dispatched to the destination.

This order is reminiscent of the dark days of British rule which passed such laws to suppress the freedom struggle in India.

The police order deals a direct blow to individual freedom and flouts all democratic norms and practices. Again the complaint lodged by the State Government against the newspapers which published this notorious order, seeks to curb freedom of the Press.

The SUCI calls upon all the Left and democratic forces and demo-

## How free and fair was the mid-term poll

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From the above it is clear that the hands of the ruling class and their agents the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties are unclear—morality, ethics, culture are all meaningless words to them, they are trying to drown the youth of the society, into moral degeneration to fulfil their parliamentary ends, to somehow grab power they adopt any and every means to rig the elections in their favour and they are making administration a party in it, giving good bye to democracy, democratic norms and principles, making holding of elections a total farce.

And they cry hoarse over the danger of authoritarianism, they shed tears over the burial of democracy—they who themselves are giving burial to democracy, who are themselves trying to bring or are becoming instrumental to bringing authoritarianism, fascism in our country. They are insulting the people making a mockery with people's genuine verdict in their bid to serve the ruling capitalist class to get in exchange a share in the parliamentary spoils.

When such is the situation, when people can see for themselves how low the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties have stooped, when they have completely sided with the ruling capitalist class exposing their real character all lovers of democracy will have to come forward to build up a united consciously organised democratic movement based on higher proletarian ethics, culture and morality in order even

cratic minded people at large to condemn this gross attack on democratic rights and Civil liberty and to bring pressure on the concerned authorities to immediately withdraw this order.

to preserve, protect and extend democracy and democratic norms and principles. It is only when they can build up such an invincible organisation, they will be able to give a fitting rebuff to the depravities of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties who are making a mockery of their franchise, who do not believe the people and have no regard towards the democratic rights people cherish. And in this battle people have SUCI beside them, the

only genuine revolutionary party who has stood the test of history, the party built up brick by brick by the great revolutionary genius of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. The great lesson of the history is, if the exploited people can, shaking off all their vacillations, stand erect on the basis of a higher culture, ethics and morality believing in their own united strength and conduct a consciously organised struggle then ultimate victory is theirs.

## Barbarous attack on SUCI workers in Assam by the reactionary clique

On the eve of Delhi talks on Assam problem while on 22nd June last the workers of our party were busy in distributing the printed appeals published by the Assam State Committee of our Party demanding quick solution of the problem in front of the Maligaon Railway head office, a gang of hoodlums pounced upon and mercilessly assaulted them. Even the culprits felt no compunction to assault the female workers including Professor Chandra Lekha Das. As a result of it, Comrades Mir Alfajali, a distinguished AIDSO organiser, Ajit Acharya, Marshal Murmoo became seriously wounded. Comrades Lutfa Hanoom Selima Beguma, Provat Roy and Akhirujyaman also received serious injuries.

Condemning this ghastly incident, Comrade Asit Bhattacharjee, the Secretary of Assam State

Committee, in a statement said, that the incidence of such gruesome assault once more demonstrated the black hands of a reactionary clique behind it operating to frustrate the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the right-thinking and well-meaning Assamese speaking people centring round vital issues like protection of their language and culture. More often the culprits were systematically coming down heavily on the workers and activists of left parties like SUCI with an ulterior motive. This in fact, is an attack upon the legitimate democratic mass movement also.

Demanding exemplary punishment to the culprits Comrade Bhattacharjee urged upon the people of Assam to come forward in order to resist these evil designs of the vested interests.

## 'Left Front' Government's Police Kills Landless Peasant's Son

While the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal was celebrating with pomp and fanfare the completion of four years in office with drum beating in the mass media about its so-called pro-people role, Noor Islam,

son of a landless peasant family, a rickshawpuller and the only bread-earner of a family of six, died a martyr's death at the R. G. Kar Hospital, Calcutta on the 23rd June last, a victim of wanton police (contd. to page 8)

## The Four Years of the 'Left Front' Govt.

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Secondly, administrative orders relating to 'Operation Barga' are so much full of flaws, whether done willingly or not is any body's guess—that any jotedar bringing the matter to the court is able to nullify the Government orders very easily.

Thirdly, the overall attitude of the 'Left Front' in rural areas has bolstered up the morals of the jotedars to such an extent that they merrily move about with guns, even unlicensed ones, which are freely used against the bargaders. In a single police station of Canning in 24 Parganas five SUCI men, most of them poor peasants, including Comrade Sujauddin Akhand, member, district committee of our party, have been killed during the "peaceful" regime of the 'Left Front' Government in the State by an unholy alliance of the local jotedars with the Congress (I), CPI (M) and the Police officers.

Naturally, the much vaunted 'Operation Barga' has been a total flop which even some leaders of the 'Left Front' could not deny.

### Retrenchment, lock out and lay-offs daily occurrences; unprecedented problem of unemployment

The leaders of the 'Left Front' have been very much successful in impressing upon the monopolists that they need not be afraid of the flag and slogans of the 'Left Front' and they will get all help to run the grinding wheel of capitalism. Although retrenchment of workers, lock-out of factories and lay-offs are on the increase—there is no attempt even on the part of the trade unions run by the parties of the 'Left Front' to meet this growing attack on the workers. And this is being done in the name of 'industrial truce' and with the slogan of 'movement' to produce more! Workers are standing defenceless in front of

such attacks. The problem of unemployment has assumed alarming proportion. The number of recorded unemployed has already surpassed 36 lakhs.

### Complete dependence on police and administration

Not for nothing, the police Association awarded the title "Hero of Bengal" (Bangabir) to Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister of the State. Police force is continuing all its criminal acts as before but still then it has gained 'prestige' during this regime. The police budget is increased every year contrary to the early slogans of the CPI (M).

### Subversion of autonomy of educational institutions and the anti-people language and education policy of the 'Left Front' Government

Those who are crying hoarse over autonomy of the States against the Centre are themselves mounting an all-out attack on the autonomy of educational institutions and have not hesitated to subvert the autonomy of the Calcutta University with such glorious tradition. They have superseded large number of Governing bodies of Colleges and Managing Committees of Schools and these bodies from the Universities down to the schools have been filled in mostly by "hand picked" persons owing allegiance to the 'Left Front'.

The 'Left Front' Government has adopted a language and education policy which will simply rob the poor people of our country of their inalienable right to higher education.

About its claim of ending anarchy in education the less said the better. Today, the general students, teachers, principals and guardians cannot normally find their way to the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University owing to the strong wall of a huge police contingent those who are in charge of keeping the matter quiet

in the educational front. The 'brilliance' of performance can be easily understood from the fact of stopping of university examination once for non-availability of chairs and then for shortage of question papers.

Not to making this list more lengthy—if all these are claimed as "success," we simply say "we are helpless".

Question No. 2 :

Difference between previous Congress regime and 'Left Front' regime in bringing an atmosphere of change.

Answer :

Yes, there has been a change in so far as the Left Front Government has been able to unarm the people against all attacks of the capitalist class. We should understand that the real difference between a Government representing the aggregate interest of the capitalist class and one claiming to protect people's interest lies in their attitude to legitimate democratic mass movement and not on the quantum of relief, if at all, provided to different sections of the people. In our opinion, the difference between the Congress regime and the present 'Left Front' regime lies in the fact that whereas the Congress Government openly pledged its support to the exploiting capitalist class, directly and unabashedly suppressed all legitimate democratic mass movements by using the coercive apparatus of the capitalist state machine, the 'Left Front' has chosen more to blunt the people's opposition from within and lull the people by all sorts of sweet words and deceptive slogans which emanate from its politics of pseudo-leftism only to hoodwink the people—although it is not at all averse to use of brutal force which it did on so many occasions during the last four years. The savage killing of port workers, unprecedented

## Assam State Committee, On the recent Delhi talks

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which has received wide acclaim from cross-sections of the so-called movement has proposed a dispersal scheme as a result of which vast number of non-assamese minority people, Indian citizens who are themselves, will face expulsion from Assam causing untold sufferings in their lives. So, advancing of such an illogical, irrational, heartless proposal will only help to spread provincial and communal jingoism. United democratic mass movement will be the first casualty in that event. Not only that, the misguided leadership, on the contrary, just when the principled stand of our party was gradually gaining ground due to our consistent but sustained and painstaking campaign among the entire people of Assam including those of the Assamese speaking people, they left no stone unturned to hinder the spread of our political stand and in the name of safeguarding the interest of the Assamese speaking people, stooped so low as to wage violent attacks on the workers and activists of our party. These harassments and attacks on our party workers and cadres, no doubt provided an opportunity to the reactionary forces to gain ground. Surely, the people of Assam did not want it. Still, it is gratifying to

note that the right-thinking persons as well as men of letters have gradually come to realise the heinous design behind the scheme and are rallying behind our 4-point concrete proposal.

As a matter of fact, on the thorny questions like their economic demands, language, educational and cultural aspirations, the Assamese speaking people belonging to the majority section have no conflict of interest with the interest of the people of the minority groups. And in order to give vent to the legitimate aspirations of the Assamese speaking people, broad-based legitimate democratic movement is the only course towards fulfilment of their cherished goal. Surely, there is no earthly bar to develop a united movement of all sections of the people irrespective of language, religion etc. incorporating their legitimate aspirations. And this brooks no delay!

So, we can legitimately expect that through the sustained efforts of all right thinking and well meaning persons of the state of Assam, AASU and Gana Sangram Parishad would accept our 4-Point concrete scientific proposal as the only course of solution so that they can put effective pressure on the Union

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terrorism let loose in Santaldih during workers' movement and afterwards beastly behaviour meted out to the refugees of Marichjhanpi and last but not the least the brutal lathi-charge and tear-gas against the mass violation of law on 15th June 1979 under the leadership of our party are only a few to be mentioned to reflect the attitude of the 'Left Front' towards legitimate democratic mass movements.

An influential section of the monopoly capitalist class and their agents prefer to run the steam-roller of oppression in

such a subtle way which may not invite protest from the poor people for which they are showering all praise on the 'Left Front' Government. The common people, on the other side, look vacantly at this tragic 'future' of Leftism, the glory of which they still cherish in their mind at the hands of so-called custodian of Left politics in West Bengal.

If any change of atmosphere has at all taken place, it is only the congenial atmosphere the ruling bourgeoisie find today to carry on the worst kind of treachery against the people.

## When all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are splitting SUCI is marching ahead steadfastly

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of the left and democratic forces by forming a broad based unity of all left and democratic forces for conducting and developing democratic mass movement within the country. This is the genuine aspiration of the Indian people. But what is their present experience? The Indian people see with dismay that the CPI(M) which usurped all the credit of the anti-Congress left movement of the post-independence period came forward to defend the capitalist social order by its reformist policies and by discouraging or even suppressing all the legitimate democratic mass movements directed against the capitalist class when it is in power in states like West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala. Instances can be multiplied to show that the CPI(M) by its activities is trying to impress upon the bourgeoisie for projecting itself as an alternative at least in the regional plane if not in the national plane. Defenders of this crisis ridden capitalist system as these social democratic parties are, they are also not immune to the disease symptomatic of the bourgeois parties. Look what happened to the undivided CPI which once appeared to many people to be a monolithic party. The undivided CPI broke into the CPI and the CPI(M), the former again fragmenting into the AICP and the CPI, while the latter party, the CPI(M) splitting up to form the CPI(ML) which again was divided and subdivided into innumerable groups. After the formation of the party the CPI(M) leadership launched a tirade against the revisionist CPI and made it appear before the people that there were serious ideological differences on national and international questions. At that time our party laid bare that there was

no basic difference between these two parties on any important national and international question. Analysing the root cause for the split of the undivided CPI, our party concluded that it was due to group squabbles that they formed this new party which differed only on minor tactical approach and vocabularies. We urge upon the rank and file of the CPI(M), who considered this party as revolutionary and rallied behind it, to ponder what the present position is.

The CPI(M) has long ceased to term the CPI as revisionist. Not only that, views on the question of the unity of the CPI and the CPI(M) are often aired in the press by leaders of both the parties. Whether these two parties will immediately unite or not is a separate question but such thought of unity was completely unimaginable to the rank and file of the CPI(M) a few years back when the undivided CPI split up. The rank and file of the CPI(M) must ponder over this question and see how the analysis of our party is being vindicated. They must note that there is no basic difference even to-day between the AICP, CPI, CPI(M) and the CPI(ML) on all fundamental questions and the only difference between these parties lies in their tactical line. So when the bourgeoisie are contemplating to impose a two party system, the unity lobby within these parties is active so that the CPI, CPI(M) combination may emerge as a third alternative in the bourgeois parliamentary politics. After the 1977 election our party showed in the post election review that the bourgeoisie were conspiring to impose a two-party system and the CPI(M) was trying to be projected as a third alternative in parliamentary politics. Recent article by Dr. Karan Singh in the Statesman dated 17.6.81 and also editorial

comment of the same paper on the same date clearly reveals the bourgeois aspiration. In the said editorial comment it is stated "Mr. Sharad Pawar recently predicted that in the years to come there would be only three major political parties or groups: a CPI-CPI (M) Combine, a unified Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party. In an article published on this page to-day, Dr. Karan Singh envisages a similar future." This clearly vindicates the analysis of our party regarding the bourgeois aspiration of imposing a two-party system with CPI-CPI (M) combination trying to be projected as a third alternative in parliamentary politics. But what relation does this nasty politics of these parties bear on the problems confronting the life of the common man? It is beyond any shadow of doubt that mutual combination or separation of all these parties defending this moribund capitalist system, has no ideological basis whatsoever, nor has it any relevance to the vital interest and the cause of the people and the country.

In such a situation people have to take a hard lesson. During the post independence period, the people have been betrayed again and again by these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, all of whom served the interest of capitalism either overtly or covertly. Under the circumstances will they still run after these bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties only to be disillusioned once again? Or they will take lesson from history? People must have to understand that the root cause of all the problems confronting the life of the people cannot be solved unless the bourgeois state machine is overthrown. So people must have to understand that alternative political power of the people

## West Bengal State Committee Condemned the brutal attack on our workers by CPI(M) at Midnapur

Calcutta 24th June, 1981 :

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, has released the following statement :

"On the 29th June last, a gang of 150-200 anti-socials armed with spears, arrows and other lethal weapons and led by the CPI(M) raided the village Khursj under Narayangarh P.S. in Midnapur, plundering the entire village from the morning and assaulting the common people and the SUCI workers. Com. Kanai Ojha Secretary of Narayangarh Local Committee of the SUCI, was dragged out of the house of one of our party worker and brutally assaulted till he fell down

unconscious in a pool of blood. Besides Com. Ojha, Comrades Jatindranath Ghatai, Bijoy Samai, Benu Bera, Jiten Bera, Ramapada Ghatai, Bhutnath Bera, Balai Maity, Kalipada De and many others were seriously wounded, and many more are still missing.

"The local police station was informed during the raid and the District Magistrate was also contacted. But the police did not care to visit the place even. The villagers took the wounded to Belda Hospital but not all could be shifted immediately as there was no transport facility due to heavy rain and the administration did not provide any help despite requests.

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through formation of the people's committees under correct base political line has got to be built up by coming out of the quagmire of parliamentarism practised by all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social democratic parties. History has shown again and again that without the leadership of a real revolutionary party, people's discontent is utilised by the bourgeois and social democratic parties for getting dividend in parliamentary politics. So the necessity of establishing the hegemony of a real revolutionary party is the urgent task to the Indian people for conducting the mass movement in our country. The SUCI, built by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, is proved to be the only real revolutionary party in Indian soil. When all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties are breaking up, our party, the SUCI, is surging forward slowly but steadily throughout the length and breadth of the

country and playing its historical role as the Vanguard of the Indian working class. It is through protracted ideological political battle on the edifice of higher proletarian culture and ethics that our party is gaining every inch of victory amidst heavy odds. When all the parties are devoid of any scruple or principle, it is only our party which considers ideology and principle to be of supreme importance. So when people are subjected to extreme economic exploitation, when demoralisation, depravity, corruption and erosion of all the values are rapidly engulfing the entire society, when cultural degeneration is affecting the social life and disintegrating even our family life, in a word when the crisis of capitalism is eating at the very vitals of our society, people must come forward to save the entire country by rallying behind the SUCI which alone can lead the Indian people to the goal of emancipation.

## W. B. State Committee On the Rajya Sabha Poll

Calcutta, July 1, 1981 :

Announcing the stand of the party on the ensuing elections to the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal, Comrade Sukomal Das Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI has, in course of a statement said :-

"The question of our supporting a candidate sponsored by the Congress (I) - Janata combine representing the

aggregate interest of the ruling capitalist class does not arise at all. We cannot similarly vote for any candidate of the Left Front led by the CPI(M), so long it does not change its non-left and anti-people policies which are striking at the very root of the cause of legitimate democratic mass movement. Our party will, therefore, abstain from voting in this election.

## West Bengal State Committee Condemns CPI(M)'s assaults on the Common people and SUCI workers

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Facilities for treatment being poor at Belda Hospital, ambulances were sought from the DM and DMO for shifting the wounded to Midnapur Hospital but the request went unheeded.

"This savagery by the CPI(M) has taken place when the Left Front Government of the State is advertising in the press its list of public service on the occasion of completion of its four years of Government. But it is no isolated incident. In the last year alone six of our party

workers and supporters have been murdered by the Congress(I)-CPI(M)-Jotedar clique. We condemn this act in the strongest terms and demand of the Government to arrest the guilty and their due punishment. We urge the people at the same time to raise their voice of protest against this nefarious politics of terror."

Intimating the above incident the Chief Minister of West Bengal was sent a letter urging him to take immediate steps against the miscreants.

## Assam State Committee On The Recent Delhi Talks

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Government on the basis of our concrete proposal. If the Union Government true to its dilly dallying mischievous tactics obdurately cling to oppose and fail to put our concrete proposals into practice, it would be natural to develop a united legitimate democratic movement encompassing all sections

of the toiling masses of the Assamese people. There is no other correct way left open before them. Let the people of Assam pause and ponder deeply and dispassionately and come to the path of genuine united mass movement by strengthening the left and democratic forces towards fulfilling their pent-up hopes and aspirations.

## Protest Demonstration at Dhanbad

Protests and condemnations are forthcoming from students, youths and common people all over the country led by the AIDS0 and DY0 against the nakedly authoritarian character of the British Government revealed in the recent case of death of 4 imprisoned members of the Irish Republican Army who had been on hunger strike in jail with their legitimate demand for political status for the political prisoners of North Ireland.

The Dhanbad District Committee of the AIDS0 organized a protest demonstration in front of the DC's office in Dhanbad on 8th June last. The demonstrators earlier paraded through the town's main thoroughfares and the rally before the DC's office was address-

sed by Comrades Tulsi Chakraborti and Bipin Mahato, respectively president and secretary of district committee of the AIDS0. Outlining the history of freedom struggle of the Irish people, the speakers emphasized the need to create a strong world-wide public opinion in order to force the British Government to yield before this legitimate demand of the Irish people. Democratic minded people of different countries should raise their voice to bear pressure upon their respective governments to this effect. Condemning the role of the Government of India, the speakers observed that it was no wonder that this Government, under whose administration a savage blinding of undertrials took place, did not even

lodge an official protest against the authoritarian act of the British Government, let alone come out to develop a public opinion against it. Only the force of a strong mass movement could make such a Government protest against this brutal attitude of the British Government. The SUCI had appealed to all the left and democratic parties of the country to join strength to organize such a movement, they but turned deaf ears.

An effigy of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the authoritarian British Government was burnt at the conclusion of the meeting and a memorandum of demands was handed over to the DC for onward transmission to the higher authority.

## Martyr Jagdeo Paswan Memorial day Observed

On 11th June last Comrade Jagdeo Paswan memorial day was observed at Haveli Khargapur in Monghyr District of Bihar under the auspices of the district committees of the SUCI and KKMS. Two years back on this day, Comrade Paswan, a prominent public leader of the area and member of the party's Monghyr District Committee and district secretary of the KKMS was brutally murdered by the jotedars and capitalists in collusion with the local administration.

Hundreds of people from far and near villages began to assemble at the Dak Banglow maidan of the town from morning defying thesevere heatwave. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Amriteshwar Chakraborti, member of the Bihar State Committee of the party. Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey, member of the Bihar State Committee and State

Secretary of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was the main speaker.

Pinpointing the high standard of culture and ethics reflected in the revolutionary life of Comrade Jagdeo Paswan, Comrade Pandey observed that it was this quality which had made Comrade Paswan an undisputed leader of the area. Comrade Paswan died a

martyr's death while striving for translating the revolutionary dream of our great leader, teacher and guide. The genuine way of commemorating a martyr lay in completing his unfulfilled task.

Comrade Amriteshwar Chakraborti stressed the need to build revolutionary mass organizations in every village and to create a force of competent organizers and workers capable of leading mass movements.

Comrade Sukdeo Yadav, member of the Monghyr District KKMS, also addressed the meeting.

## 'Left Front' Government's police kills landless peasant's son

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brutality which is a regular feature of the "Left" and "pro-people" administration in the state.

On the 11th June last, at a road-crossing in Kamarpur village under Habra P. S. Manager of Dantari Co-operative Society Haren Ghosh along with a bank officer, with the help of the police,

tried to forcibly shove into a private car Jaffar Ali Mollah guarantor of poor peasants. When people present at the road crossing questioned why Jaffar Ali was being arrested, the police opened fire without the slightest pretext and shot Nur Islam on the throat at point-blank range. Then they fired

three rounds on the people who were assembled and injured Ajibar Mandal, a youth and Baby, a child.

After struggling with death for days on end, Noor Islam died the death of a martyr on 23rd June.

The local unit of SUCI and KKM have protested against the incident and are trying to organise the peasants into peasants' struggle committees.

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