

# Proletarian Era

Volume 32 No. 7  
December 1, 1998

Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA  
Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Rs. 2.00  
Air surcharge : 5 P.

## Unleash Protracted Movement Against Price Rise

The governments at the Centre and the states have nakedly exposed their out and out anti-people character by allowing the hoarders and the black-marketeers to loot the people by abnormally increasing the prices of all essential commodities. Can any government having pro-people commitment allow what is going on in the price front? But the ruling parties at the Centre and the States have absolved themselves of any responsibility in containing the prices of all essential commodities and are shamelessly trying to find alibi to justify the abnormally absurd rise in prices. Fall in production can under no circumstance account for a price rise of this magnitude. The BJP led Central Government is claiming that it has not done anything in its eight-month rule, that would cause such abnormal price rise. According to the BJP the price rise is due to the misrule of the past Congress Government. But why has the BJP-led government been pursuing the same economic policy of the previous Congress Governments? Is it not a fact that the Central Government led by the BJP has been pursuing the policy of liberalization and globalization with much more gusto than the Congress? Moreover has not the BJP led government brought about new attacks on the people by increasing the railway freight and fares, postal charges and imposing other taxes? Has not the BJP led government kept the fiscal deficit at an abnormally high level, which is fueling price rise? The Central Government is mainly responsible for the continuous spiralling of prices. But the state governments too have their share in this respect. The state governments are increasing the transport charges and imposing additional taxes to fleece the people. All these measures of

the governments at the Centre and the states are combinedly helping in continuous spiralling of the prices. But since July last the rate of price rise of all essential items has jumped to an abnormal height causing large scale discontent among the people. This abnormal rate of increase in prices is the result of hoarding and speculation by big money bags which have a close nexus with the politicians of the ruling parties at the Centre and states. It is no secret that these parliamentary parties are being financed by the capitalists for defraying their electoral expenses, and in return the ruling parties are allowing them to loot the people with impunity. It is to be noted that this abnormally high rate of price increase started just before the Assembly elections in four states. The political parties which depend solely on electoral politics have extracted enormous amount from the capitalists who are in return given free hand to manipulate the prices of essential commodities for gaining fabulous profit. There are other factors too. A tendency is discernible for some time past to encourage export of some such items to foreign countries to reap maximum profit by the Kulak lobby even if the common people are starved of that commodity. This time onion has been exported for months despite fall in production by more than 15%. Moreover, some items (as for example potato in West Bengal) has been freely allowed to pass the border to neighbouring countries to such an extent that it leads to serious scarcity inside. Since BJP government diluted the Essential Commodities (Special Provisions) Act, 1981 it has become necessary to make it most stringent in a way so that the state governments can apply it effectively. These politicians are

(Contd. on page 8)

## SUCI Condemns Privatisation in Insurance Sector

Strongly condemning the BJP led Central Government's decision to open the Insurance sector to national and foreign monopolists Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI issued the following statement on 24.11.98 :

"This decision of the BJP government is nothing but the undiluted policy adopted by the earlier Congress(I) Government which again was subsequently endorsed by the UF Government, designed only to provide national and foreign exploiters with ample opportunity to rob the country at the cost of the common people.

"We also criticise the move of the Central Government to amend the Indian Patent Act., 1970 at the dictate of the WTO and IMF, which will again cause retrenchment of many workers by closing down industries and further price increase.

"We call upon the people in general to come forward to develop countrywide movement against these anti-people designs."

## Stop Victimising Scientists Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Letter to the President

Condemning the union government's victimisation of Dr. T. Jayaraman, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of SUCI, said in a letter issued on 19.11.98 to the President of India :

"We are shocked to learn that the Union Government of India has victimised senior scientist Dr. T. Jayaraman of the Institute of Mathematical Science together with seventy-five other eminent scientists, as he had courageously and conscientiously protested against the Pokhran nuclear test and the Government's Policy of nuclear weaponisation.

"We urge you to exercise the full authority of the highest office you hold in order to forthwith stay the hand of Government, reinstate with full honour Dr. Jayaraman and by this act safeguard people's fundamental democratic right to protest against any anti-people policy and act of the government."

**Against Anti-People Policies of the BJP Government**

**Called by National Platform of Mass Organisations (NPMO)**

**Public Sector  
Employees' Strike**

**10th December**

**All India  
General Strike**

**11th December**

**Make a Grand Success — SUCI**

# 16th Congress of the CPI(M) — A Review

The 16th Congress of the CPI(M) was held at Calcutta beginning from 5th October last. The monopoly-controlled mass media projected this with fanfare as a major event. But what has this Congress really achieved? Let us examine this.

In the political resolution adopted at the Congress of a true leftist party, not to speak of a communist party, the main outlook that should be reflected in the politico-economic analysis and in determining the role of the party is that of stepping up the mass and class struggles. But although the CPI(M) calls itself leftist and communist, such an outlook could not be discerned in the political conclusions of its recent Congress. Instead, an out and out parliamentary outlook, chiefly concerned with improving the election prospect towards governmental power was reflected. The evil influence of parliamentary politics was discussed in their organisational resolution and it was even mentioned that the CPI(M) members were falling prey to the vices of parliamentarism. But even then, parliamentary politics continued to remain the essence of their main line despite occasional use of words like mass struggle and class in their main political resolution. *Ganashakti*, the Bengali daily organ of the CPI(M), reported on 8.10.98: "This resolution adopted at the 16th Congress would be the immediate political tactical line of the party". The salient points of this line, as set out by *Ganashakti*, are:

1. "Fighting the communal force BJP would be the main task of the CPI(M)".
2. "If the BJP Central Government falls and the Congress takes initiative to form a government, and if a fresh election is to be avoided, then the CPI(M) would accord issue-based support to the Congress."
3. "Since communalism cannot be combated without fighting the policy of liberalisation, the struggle against liberalisation would be intensified."
4. "Not the two-party system of either the Congress or the BJP — the CPI(M) would take all-out initiative to give shape to a third alternative. This alternative would comprise the left, democratic and secular forces. Those who are more or less in agreement with the leftists on the question of economic policy, would be in it. Those who are not in agreement in regard to the economic policy but are secular, would also belong to this alternative. In such case, the CPI(M) would distinctly highlight its difference with such parties on the question of economic policy and take up separate position. In the interest of combating the communal forces, the CPI(M) wants to move together with such parties only on that one question." Side by side with this, it was said, the CPI(M) would continue unabated its effort to expand and strengthen the left and democratic unity. (Translations from Bengali ours — Ed. *P. Era*).

The first thing that strikes one about this immediate tactical political line of the CPI(M) is the mix-up of contradictory positions. For instance, it is stated that fighting the communal force BJP is the main task and that communalism

cannot be combated without fighting the policy of liberalisation; and the third alternative, proposed for the purpose, would include even those who are not in agreement with the leftists in regard to economic policy. Now, in the economic sphere, the policy of true leftists should be of all-out opposition to the policy of liberalisation and globalisation foisted upon the country in the interest of the ruling capitalist class. Those who are not in agreement with this can only be supporters of liberalisation. No clever use of words can hide this. So, the CPI(M)'s position boils down to this that it proposes to fight communalism and the policy of liberalisation by joining hands with even supporters of liberalisation! One can easily imagine what kind of fight it would be if one remembers the "fight" that has been conducted by the CPI(M)-led government in West Bengal that has consisted of wholehearted adherence, in practice, to the policy of liberalisation and globalisation in toto, interspersed with brave anti-liberalisation utterances, designed to keep up its leftist image and emphasize its "radical" difference with bourgeois parties like the Congress and the BJP.

Again, it is said that the CPI(M) would forge a third alternative outside the two-party system of governance by the BJP or the Congress but the Party Congress decision is that if the BJP-Government falls, the CPI(M) would support the Congress to form an alternative government! How, after this, would the CPI(M) stay outside the two-party system of BJP and Congress? To support the Congress in forming a government can mean nothing else than becoming a part of the two-party parliamentary system under leadership of the Congress.

Such self-contradiction or inconsistency on the part of the CPI(M) is nothing new. It springs from the effort to effect a marriage of convenience between paying lip service to leftism and communism and engaging in practice in the parliamentary election politics for pelf and power. The purpose of this can never be honest and is bound to be deceptive.

The difference between the genuine leftist line and the parliamentary line is fundamental. The essence of the former is that, whatever the situation be, all efforts are to be concentrated towards intensifying the class and mass struggles in actual practice, instead of mere occasional slogans about struggle. Whatever front or combination is formed, should be aimed at that. So long as the people's illusion about bourgeois elections cannot be dispelled, the leftists and communists would have to participate in the elections. But just because of this, the basic militant leftist line and outlook should not be forgotten. Elections are to be contested with the objective of accelerating the class and mass struggles because change of government through election will not serve the purpose and the fundamental problems can be solved only through the revolutionary transformation of the socio-political-economic system of the state structure. The parliamentary line is diametrically opposite to this. Its basic aim is to win the election anyhow and get access to governmental power. The parliamentary parties may also speak about struggle. At times, they may even organise movement with the disaffected masses. They too

form combinations and alliances, announce programmes for "amelioration of the people's lot." But an examination of their style of struggle, constitution of their combinations and alliances and the nature of their programmes would reveal that these are but steps of the ladder towards securing advantage in elections.

So, the aims and paths of these two lines are so contrary that the two cannot be combined. The people can of course be hoaxed by mouthing leftism while actually pursuing parliamentary politics. But if a party calling itself communist thinks it has worked out a tactical line wherein both the line of class and mass struggle and the line of parliamentary politics to secure governmental power through various stratagems exist side by side, then that is sheer hypocrisy.

The discussion on the CPI(M) political resolution is set out in two parts. In the first part, by repeated use of the words "red flag", "mass movement" etc., they have sought to show as if building up class and mass struggles is their main programme. In the second part, they have explained and justified the decision to support the Congress. There, by repeated use of the word "if" in statements like — if the BJP Government falls, if the Congress takes initiative to form the government and if a fresh election is to be avoided — they have tried to prove as though the CPI(M) would support the Congress bid to form a government only when compelled to do so, and therefore this is a minor part of their political resolution.

But the facts point to the contrary. Ever since the quarrels between BJP and its associate parties intensified and the fall of the BJP-led Government became probable, the CPI(M) leaders have frequently appealed to the Congress to take initiative in forming a government. Jyoti Basu came out with a statement in the press that if the Congress formed a government, the CPI(M) would intimate to the President in writing in advance its unconditional support to such a government. The CPI(M) general secretary even had a parley with Sonia Gandhi, the Congress President, about this. The Congress of course is making an outward pretence that it is not interested in toppling the BJP-led Government to form one of its own. All this is pre-planned. The Congress plan is to let the BJP Government fall on its own. And by announcing in advance its support to the Congress, the CPI(M) has sought to accelerate the fissures in the BJP Government. The CPI(M) has given the advance guarantee of support so that those who want to come out of the alliance with the BJP become sure beforehand about joining a fresh government and do not hesitate for fear of losing their position.

Had such parliamentarism not been central to the CPI(M) politics, we would have found it in a totally different role. In that case, it would have conducted continual ideological struggle against communalism on the one hand, while on the other it would have engaged itself in intensifying the mass struggle against the economic, political and other policies of the BJP Government and tried to develop class struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Then they would have directed efforts to achieve unity of the left-democratic parties and forces on the basis of that

(Contd. on page 6)



## AIKKMS Attends

# Asia Pacific Peoples' Assembly in Kuala Lumpur

*In the post-GATT period i.e. after the formation of WTO the imperialist powers, because of intensifying extreme rivalry among themselves, are developing free trade blocs — principally the EU (European Union), NAFTA (North American Free Trade Area) and APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) etc. — to reap maximum advantage of market and take guard against other imperialist blocs. Under the slogan of globalization, liberalization and free market the imperialists with these trade blocs are resorting to more and more ruthless economic, political, cultural and military onslaughts. The 6th APEC Leaders Summit with the heads of states of the member countries of the APEC headed by the USA was scheduled to be held on November 18-19 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Following the process of opposing the earlier held APEC Leaders Summit this time too the toiling and patriotic people's organisations of the region organised Asia Pacific People's Assembly (APPA) against Imperialist Globalization from 10-15 November 1998 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. More than 600 delegates from 30 countries in Asia Pacific, Latin America, Africa, North America and Europe participated in this Assembly to confront the common challenge of globalization, and in particular the APEC as an instrument to implement it in order to strengthen international solidarity to resist globalization and reassert people's right.*

*Comrade Deba Prasad Sarkar, Vice-President, All India Peasant and Agricultural Workers' Organisation (AIKKMS) represented the organisation in the APPA. Besides participating as a delegate Comrade Sarkar was also invited as a resource person in the workshop of this Assembly where he was asked to present a paper on how globalization intensifies landlessness of the peasantry and the Indian peasants' struggle and resistance against imperialist globalization.*

*Public opening of the APPA was held in the afternoon of 10th November, 1998 by the Chairperson Dr. Syed Husin Ali. Detailed discussion on imperialist globalization and the APEC was made in the subsequent 4-day conference where distinguished personalities from the field of mass and social movement, educationists, writers, jurists, etc., of Philippines, Japan, Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Canada, Mexico, UK, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Tibet took part in lively deliberation in topics like : Unmasking the Role of TNCs and APEC and Globalization, Globalization and its impact on Food Security, Land and Agriculture and various other devastating effect of globalization on different aspects of human life viz., destruction of environment and education, dehumanization of culture and values, violation of human rights, US-Japan security Agenda in the Asia Pacific etc., were held. On behalf of the AIKKMS, the paper on "Globalization intensifies landlessness" placed by Comrade Deba Prasad Sarkar was circulated among the delegates. Separate resolutions on the respective workshop were adopted and the Conference concluded after adoption of a comprehensive resolution : Unity Statement of Asia Pacific People' Assembly. Considering the importance and necessity for its wide circulation we reproduce the full text of the said Unity Statement of APPA.*

### Unity Statement of Asia Pacific Peoples' Assembly

Kuala Lumpur  
We, 636 participants representing 316 organizations from 30 countries, have gathered here in Kuala Lumpur for the Asia Pacific People's Assembly from the 7th to the 15th of November 1998 on the occasion of the 6th APEC Leaders Meeting. We have come to confront the issue of globalization, and in particular the APEC as an instrument to implement it, in order to strengthen our understanding, and resistance and reassert people's rights.

Neo-liberal globalization is the response of monopoly capital to the global crisis. Liberalization and deregulation of markets and investments, and privatization of public utilities and services have been imposed to expand TNC business and increase super-profits. Globalization is being promoted through the myth of unlimited growth by giving free rein to business and the "free" market.

The IMF-WB, and the WTO act as the main instruments of the superpowers to impose neoliberal policies. The APEC, like other regional and plurilateral formations such as the OECD, has been organized to hasten the process of globalization by strengthening business — government partnership in enforcing specific action programs and policies that enhance

November 14, 1998

liberalization through trade and investments facilitation, enforcing policy commitments to liberalization and "economic cooperation". Further the TNCs themselves are the most important driving force of globalization in their unquenchable thirst for super profits.

But the Mexican crisis, then the Asian crisis and now the global crisis have shown us the resultant collapse and ugly side of speculative finance and as a result have debunked the myths of globalization. The major points in the agenda of APEC now are how to rationalize the failure of globalization in the Asia Pacific and pursue even greater liberalization as a response to the crisis.

The state has been redesigned and its role manipulated in order to meet the demands of monopoly capital and the local ruling elites of big landowners and big business are divesting the state of its social responsibility. The economic crisis has destabilized the hegemony of monopoly capital and particularly, the power sharing of US, Japan and the European Union in the region. It has also brought about political crisis and intensified popular resistance from all sectors of the people of Asia and the Pacific. As a result there is increased defense spending and militarization in the Asia-Pacific countries. There

are also efforts to strengthen the US-Japan military alliance through the New Guidelines for Defense Cooperation between the US and Japan, maintenance of US bases in Okinawa, Japan and South Korea, and the return of US military presence in the Philippines.

However far from its promise of jobs and progress, globalization has resulted in widespread unemployment, displacement of peoples and destruction of their livelihoods, marginalization of large sections of society, intensified discrimination and repression as well as the disintegration of families and communities. Far from its promise of development, globalization has wrecked societies, destroyed economies and financial systems. It has destroyed production systems, resources and the environment, destroyed the means of subsistence of small entrepreneurs and producers and brought them to ruin and has led to famine conditions in many countries in Asia and the Pacific. It has brought peoples and countries to greater poverty and misery.

Globalization thrives on the promotion of an ideology of consumerism, individualism and patriarchy among the people enshrined in globalist monoculture. It has also brought about the emergence of dangerous forces promoting narrow, chauvinist-nationalist pro-globalization platforms that have intensified social conflicts and politics of fundamentalism, neo-fascism and xenophobia.

The appropriation of land through land grabbing by mining, logging and agro-industrial TNCs; by tourist and real estate development projects and by shifting from sustainable food production to export monocrops; as well as displacement by hydro-electric and other megamall development projects have increased landlessness of the peasants and indigenous peoples.

The fisherfolk are deprived of their livelihood, and access to aquatic resources because of commercial and corporatized aquaculture, large-scale commercial fishing, landgrabbing, and conversion of fishery areas to non-productive purposes, as well as the degradation of the aquatic environment due to industrial pollution and chemical use.

Corporatized agriculture dependent on high-yielding monocultures and industrial chemical inputs has destroyed food security, endangers human health and destroys the environment irreversibly. Food security is further threatened by the destruction of local food production, the widespread landlessness and displacement of peasants, the loss of biodiversity and indigenous knowledge, the new and fast expansion of genetic engineering and the dumping of agricultural supply from Northern countries.

Globalization has resulted in massive rural displacement and, along with concentrated maldevelopment in the cities, has resulted in intense urban migration. In the burgeoning cities, the urban poor face joblessness, and homelessness as well as forced evictions due to megamall development projects and urban land speculation.

With greater mobility of capital, workers rights, wages and working conditions have been extremely eroded. The crisis has led to mass

(Contd. on page 8)

# Massive Demonstration in Bhubaneswar Against Price Rise and for Drought Relief

Bhubaneswar 17.11.98 : About 35000 people, comprising poor peasants, agricultural labourers, workers, employees, students, youths and women, coming across the length and breadth of the entire state staged a massive demonstration on 17.11.98 at the PMG Square, Bhubaneswar in response to the call of the Orissa State Committee of our party, SUCI. The demonstrators demanded of the government to declare Orissa as entirely drought affected state and to undertake proper measures on a war footing for providing adequate relief to the affected people along with emergency steps to contain the unprecedented price rise and lowering the prices of all essential commodities to bring them within reach of the poorest of the poor.

A memorandum addressed to the state governor was submitted by a delegation comprising State Committee members Comrades Shambhunath Naik, MLA, SK. Quasim, Raghunath Das, Bijay Sahoo and Dhurjati Das.

Earlier, a massive but well disciplined protest march led by the Orissa State Committee members marched through the main thoroughfares of the state capital. A big human skull carried by the demonstrators, symbolising starvation death, drew special attention of the people.

A protest meeting held at PMG Square under the presidentship of Binapani Das, State Committee member SUCI, was addressed by several State Committee as well as District Committee members. Addressing the mammoth gathering, marked by a huge attendance of the local people, the speakers condemned the anti-people policies of the Central and state governments and their criminal apathy towards the common people. They further asserted that the present impasse was the outcome of the capitalist economy prevailing in our country. The policy of liberalisation has closed all avenues of employment and given a free hand to the unscrupulous traders to export foodgrains at the cost of our people and import the same to make fabulous profit in the internal market. The speakers urged upon the people to build up united, sustained and powerful movement from grassroot level throughout the state on the burning problems of people's life, particularly relating to severe drought and spiralling prices.



(Above) A section of the gathering (Below) A view of the demonstration organised in Bhubaneswar against price rise and for drought relief

## Convention against mounting atrocities and discrimination against women

Rohtak AIMSS, organised a convention against mounting atrocities and discrimination against women at Chhottu Ram Lark Hall Rohtak, Haryana on 1.11.98. Comrade Chander Rekha, Secretary of State unit presided over the Convention. Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, All India General Secretary of MSS was the main speaker. Women, both young and old, educated and uneducated, housewives and working women participated in it from different districts of the State.

Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee spoke extensively and effectively on various burning issues of women's life and called on them to participate in the social and cultural movement to fight the old obscurantist feudal values as well as the vulgarised decadent, consumerist culture of moribund capitalism and build up militant struggle. She highlighted the need of organising such seminars and conventions to make women aware in all districts.

The other speakers were Comrade Sudesh

## Victorious Peasants' Movement in Haryana

After a long protracted struggle of the peasants of Haryana, the BJP-VHP government has been compelled to bring back Concessional Electricity Tariff for agriculture. At the cost of much bloodshed and sufferings the peasants earned this victory.

Concessional Power Tariff was previously applicable to Rewari, Mahendragarh, Bhiwani and some other pockets of the state since as far back as 1971, on the basis of availability of soil water in the rocky and sandy areas. But the BJP-VHP government, suddenly in August 1997 withdrew the concessional tariff to the detriment of the peasants. During the rule of Bhajanlal Congress the peasants fought for electricity at cheaper rate and for exemption from payment of outstanding bills. In that movement several peasants were killed in police firing. At that time all party promised to fulfil the legitimate demand of the people. The HVP is also a party to that

Kumari, Sujata Kumari, Ajit Kaur, Usha, and Kanta Devi. All condemned the increasing incidences of violence, dowry, bride burnings, rape, killings, abduction of women, in the state.

Comrade Chander Rekha tabled a resolution in the Convention which was passed unanimously.

promise. But after coming to power it hiked the tariff by 66%. SUCI and frontal organisations, particularly AIKKMS started building up a protracted movement against it.

In October 1997 police opened fire killing several agricultural workers who were observing peaceful 'rail roko' on the Bikaner-Delhi railway track demanding reintroduction of the concessional tariff under the banner of Kisan Sanghars Samity. On 3rd November 1997 Haryana Bandh was observed against police brutality. Police and administration came down heavily on AIKKMS, AIDSO, AIDYO and SUCI organisers, arrested many of them, tortured in police lock-up and implicated them in false cases. But that could not silence the people. The movement continued and lastly the HVP-BJP government was compelled to reintroduce the concessional tariff of electricity to the peasants for agricultural purposes. However, this new concessional tariff is discriminatory. And the government has done it on purpose to bring cleavage among the peasants with the aim of defusing the pressure of mass opinion. Movement is on to elevate the struggle to higher phase and to compel the government to fully concede to the demands of the peasants.



## Mass Rally by National Platform of Mass Organisations (NPMO)

The trade unions and frontal organisations of the Left parties, SUCI, CPI, CPI (M), employees of Public Sector Undertakings like Insurance and Banking have been rallying together under the banner of National Platform of Mass Organisations (NPMO). The NPMO organised series of jathas all over the state, went to the masses, explained to them the anti-people nature of the Central Government's economic policy and the lurking danger of communalism. A state level Convention of NPMO organised on 1st September, 1998 resolved to organise a state level mass rally in Bangalore on November 16th.

On 16th November over 10 thousand people from all walks of life marched under the banner of the NPMO in protest against the Central Government's economic policies and communal-

ism. The procession started from Chiklall Bag, traversed the main streets to converge at a mass rally and public meeting at Maleswaram grounds. The meeting was addressed by the leaders of UTUC-LS, CITU, AITUC, Public Sector Employees' Union, Banking and Insurance, leaders of AIMSS, JMS, AIDS, SFI, AIFS, AIDYO, AIYF, DYFI, AIKS and other organisations.

Among the leaders who addressed the gathering were : Comrades Sriram Reddy, CPI(M) MLA ; H.V. Ananta Subba Rao (AITUC); P. Suryanarayana Rao (CITU) ; Mahadevan (AITUC).

Comrade K. Radhakrishna, President UTUC-LS, Karnataka said : the governments, whether Congress or BJP, are pursuing to further the

interest of Indian bourgeoisie. While people are getting pauperised, the BJP is trying to help consolidation of capital to which it is committed, although mouthing slogans of patriotism. It is a communal party and having bred communalism, they are now whipping it up. People must unite and fight against all these issues, sinking all differences of caste and community. Only a powerful democratic movement led by Left and democratic forces can fight them, he said.

Comrade K. Uma, President, AIDS, Karnataka; Comrade V. Nagammal, member, Secretariat, Karnataka AIMSS ; Comrade B. R. Manjunath, President, AIDYO, Karnataka also spoke. The meeting ended with a resolve to make the 11th December General Strike all over the country a success.

## Bad Roads pave the path for glorious people' movement HISTORIC BELLARY BANDH

Bellary (in Karnataka) is a growing city with a large number of educational institutions, medical and engineering colleges a growing industrial sector and growing population. But it lacks the most important amenity: proper roads. While repeated pleas by citizens fell on deaf ears, it is our party which decided to take this issue to every home and mobilise people for a movement.

After intensive and extensive campaign, women, youth and students wrote over 6000 postcards to the Bellary Urban Development Authority (BUDA). Signature campaign followed. 10,000 signatures were collected and submitted with a memorandum to the BUDA. No action! Now school children were mobilised to plant saplings in the middle of the roads, decorated by potholes. When the thick skinned authorities failed to act, Cycle Jatha, protest rally, Rasta-Roko were organised over the last few months by the Bellary's Struggle for Roads Committee consisting of some eminent citizens and over 90 organisations. A convention was organised on 30th October 1998. The massive people's convention demanded of the authorities to act at least. It decided to organise Bellary Bandh on 11th Nov. 98 if no action was forthcoming.

Bellary now became a hub of activity. From school students to aged men and women, street hawkers to merchants, students, employees, youth, medical personnel, etc., everyone began to be drawn into the vortex of this movement. Every street, every group held a meeting to prepare for the Bandh. Finding that this Bandh called by the People's Struggle Committee would become successful, the BUDA resolved hoodwinking the people in various ways. But people had had enough of their gimmicks. They went ahead with the Bandh.

Over 90 organisations including AIDS, AIMSS, AIDYO, UTUC(LS), Bar Association, IMA, Medical Students' Association, Bank Employees' Association etc. had supported the Bandh.

On Nov.11 none went to school, college or place of work. The whole city seemed very enthusiastic. At protest rally led by A. Ramajinappa, Convenor, Bellary Struggle for Roads Committee, eminent educationist Dr.

Sheshadri, Pandu President Bar Association, MN Maujula, member, State Committee AIMSS, Radhika, Medical Students' Association, Hundekar Ramesh, President Auto Drivers' Association, members - Basheer Amanullah and Murtny, Y. Venkateswara Rao of District Development Action Committee, Mohan and Rudrappa of the struggle committee, V. Gadeppa of Vivekananda Youth Association and others began to march from Gandhi Bahvan. Large groups of people waited in every street to join this march which ended in a public meeting. At the meeting addressed by the Convenor, A. Ramanijinappa, Dr. Sheshadri, and other leading members of the Bellary Road Struggle Committee, it was decided that the authorities failing to act even after the Bandh, a series of Bandhs would be observed followed by NO TAX CAMPAIGN from January 1999.

By evening it was found that not a single establishment had opened. Even Cowl Bazar which had never been closed during any Bandh in the past was closed. In fact shops on the outskirts of the city too downed their shutters

voluntarily.

A large contingent of police force which had been deployed 'to maintain law and order' felt exasperated at the end of the day — NOT A SINGLE UNTOWARD incident had been reported. They had never seen such a Bandh before.

We, who have known this Bandh, know why and how it could be so peaceful and total. It was not called by any Party for its narrow political gains. It was not carried out under threat and intimidation. Having grown from phase to phase involving all sections of people, crossing barriers of caste, community, language, creed, it had been the symbol of people's protest for their own cause. Never before had such a Bandh by people been called, never before had the city nor the state of Karnataka ever seen such a Bandh. Before it, people knew before Bandhs which "paralysed" life, but here was a Bandh, which had rejuvenated life - people's life, had set an example for people's struggle, had injected new life into the growing phase of democratic mass movements in the state.



Deserted Bus Stand at Bellary on the Bandh Day

# 16th Congress of the CPI(M) — A Review

(Contd. from page 2)

programme of struggle. But there are no signs of these.

On the other hand, the CPI(M) is very concerned about the stability of the capitalist system, vociferous assertions of its leaders to the contrary notwithstanding. Otherwise, had they no headache about stability of the crisis-ridden bourgeois parliamentary system, why is their decision to support the Congress on the plea of "avoiding a fresh election"? Why are their entreaties to the Congress to take initiative in forming a government? Why are they making such fervent appeals to a seasoned reactionary party like the Congress to change its policies to "purify" itself?

The politics of the leftists and communists should be class politics, and following from it, their opposition or support to the Congress or the BJP should be class-based, that is, if they truly are leftists or communists. They should examine communal politics, too, in the yardstick of class outlook.

Which class interest does the BJP serve? Its economic policies prove that it seeks to protect the interest of the Indian capitalists with all care. Otherwise, it could not have secured the support of the exploiting ruling capitalist class of the country to do well in the elections and form the Government. The exploiting imperialist British rulers of this country showed that communalism in the hands of the rulers is a powerful tool of the politics of exploitation with the help of which they can make the people forget their basic problems and thus strike at the roots of class and mass struggles by destroying the fighting unity of the toiling masses. And this is how they keep their own position secured. BJP is also doing the same. The Congress too is a political agent of the Indian capitalist class, its most trusted party. The CPI(M) in its political resolution, after branding these two parties as parties of the same ruling class, has drawn a line of difference between the two saying that the BJP is communal whereas the Congress is secular. It is in an effort to show its projected alliance with the Congress to be ethical that the CPI(M) has pasted the label of secularism on the Congress.

While characterising the Congress, the CPI(M) has said that although the Congress compromises with communalism, it has a secular platform and the basis of its support is also secular. That is, the main characteristic of the Congress is its secularism, not its compromises with communalism. To present an interpretation or explanation to suit its purpose is an inherent trait of the CPI(M). The above analysis regarding the Congress is no exception to this.

After independence, the Congress governments of India never pursued true secularism. The character of a true secular state is such that it does not encourage any religion, does not interfere in the religious belief or disbelief of any individual citizen and considers religion to be exclusively the personal affair of an individual. But the Congress has reduced the meaning of secularism to equal encouragement to all religions. By chanting the gospel of equality of all religions, it has turned the Indian state into a multi-theocratic one and taking advantage of this, has made use of religion to serve its interest in

election politics where and when necessary. After losing the 1977 Lok Sabha polls and coming to the conclusion that the minorities had not voted for the Congress, Indira Gandhi started advocating the interest of the majority community prior to the 1980 Lok Sabha polls. Afterwards, when Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister, he introduced the Muslim Women's Bill to appease the Muslim fundamentalists. But since this antagonized the Hindu fundamentalists, he unlocked of the disputed area within the Babri Mosque, in their interest, to appease them. This set up a chain reaction and the outcome was that the Babri Mosque was destroyed by Hindu fundamentalists during the time of Narasimha Rao. To say that the Congress merely "compromises with communalism" is nothing but shielding the misdeeds of the Congress. The Congress has all along played the card of communalism cleverly, subtly, chanting the verbiage of secularism. But it could not take advantage, in the ensuing election, of the Hindu communal frenzy, generated by its misdeeds, that had engulfed the country. The advantage went to the BJP and the Hinduism of BJP-RSS is much more naked and aggressive. But the Congress does not become a secular party because of this difference. Just as religion is a weapon to the BJP in the election battle, so is the talk of secularism to the Congress as at present.

The BJP came into being in 1980. The old party Jan Sangh changed its name to become the BJP. For long had Jan Sangh participated in elections, and tried to establish itself as an alternative to the Congress. But because it was known as an extremist Hindu communal force, it had not been able to acquire an all-India image and its lust for power had remained unfulfilled. By changing the name of the party in 1980, they tried to shake off the stigma of being a Hindu communal force, changed the slogan for a Hindu state to the slogan of equal treatment of all religions or *Sarbadharma Samabhava* and even had a resolution passed at the BJP Conference prescribing the path of Gandhian Socialism for India. In the Lok Sabha election of 1980 itself, the Congress led by Indira Gandhi entered the fray flaunting the Hindu card, because of which it was the Congress and not the BJP that secured the support of the RSS in that election! The BJP lost the Jammu seat to the Congress, which had all along been held by the Jan Sangh.

When the Congress thus used religion in its bid to capture governmental power and succeeded, the BJP appeared on the stage at once as a Hindu chauvinist force. After all, religion as the ladder to power had been its original capital. From 1989 Lok Sabha poll onwards, BJP's "religious vote" paid dividend, and the number of BJP members in the Lok Sabha went on increasing. While one path to power was thus opened up with religion, V.P. Singh, friend of the CPI(M), opened up another through the Mandal Commission or reservation in the name of safeguarding the interest of the backward communities. The CPI(M) and the CPI tried to utilise this means to power but could not gain much advantage. It was then that they devised another path to power through votes in the name of left and democratic front, albeit with Congress support! Starting from the casteist, parochial and regionalist parties, even the arch

reactionary Congress now became "progressive", donning the cloak of secularism. And the CPI(M) started projecting as ethical its understandings with such forces about election and power-sharing.

The CPI(M)-Congress understanding now proposed at the 16th Congress has revived some points of discussion at the time of the split of the CPI in 1964 when one set of the CPI leaders left the party and formed the new "Marxist" party, named as the CPI(M). The CPI(M) held its first Congress at Calcutta in 1964 which they declared as the Seventh Congress in continuation with the earlier Congresses of the undivided party CPI. In the political-organisational Report adopted at this Congress, the CPI(M) leadership had this to say about the basic difference between them and those who stayed back in the CPI: "...the crux of the differences is the same question which had repeatedly been raised for nearly a decade: against whom — the Congress or against its opponents from the right — is the Communist party to direct its main fire?"

According to one view (the view of those who continued to remain in the old party — Ed. *P. Era*) the forces of right reaction, communalism and separatism had become such a serious danger and threat to national unity, democracy and the working class movement that the party should take upon its shoulders the task of uniting with the so-called 'middle of the road' forces (which, according to this view, included the Congress) in order to thwart the forces of right reaction, communalism and separatism.

This view was contested by others (those who went on to form the new party — Ed. *P. Era*) according to whom the growing forces of right reaction, communalism and separatism could not be stopped by strengthening the ruling Congress party; for, it was the policies and practices of the ruling Congress party that generated such discontent among the people that a mass political basis was created for the forces of right reaction, communalism and separatism to operate on." (p.13-14 of the CPI(M) document *Fight Against Revisionism* published in 1965). Today, leaders of the same CPI(M) have openly announced the proposed alliance with the Congress. Naturally, questions arise. Why then did they level the charge of rightist revisionism at the CPI leadership for contemplating the crime which they are now actually committing? How is it that the Congress which was deemed to be a greater danger than the forces of right reaction and communalism in 1964, has now become progressive with which an alliance can be struck, after passage of over 30 years since then during which the reactionary and anti-people character of the Congress, the chief political server of the ruling capitalist class, has become much more pronounced?

Of course, this is not the first time that the CPI(M) has found progressive forces within the Congress. Within 5 years of the split in the CPI, in 1969, the CPI(M) discovered, in their language, a progressive trend in consonance with the hopes and aspirations of the people in the steps taken by Indira Gandhi, leading then the Congress, like Bank Nationalisation and abolition of princely allowances — steps taken to consolidate the

(Contd. on page 7)

# 16th Congress of the CPI(M) — A Review

(Contd. from page 6)

exploitative capitalist economy of the country ! The CPI(M) had then congratulated Indira Gandhi on these steps. It had also found an “anti-imperialist role” of the foreign policy of the Congress Governments which had been and could not but be directed to serve the interest of the Indian monopolists.

The logic of their discovering progressiveness in a bourgeois party like Congress originally followed from the theory of people’s democratic revolution prescribed by the CPI(M) for India according to which the national bourgeoisie was progressive and an ally in the revolution. But such theory had no relation with the reality of the situation in India for capitalism could have no progressive role in the Indian context. Long back, our party led by the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh repeatedly showed this by detailed analysis. Comrade Ghosh showed that in the concrete conditions obtaining in India, the CPI(M)’s line of “People’s Democratic Revolution”, in the last analysis, was nothing but a path to governmental power in combination with the bourgeois parties. Even then, the CPI(M) did not mean their “revolution” seriously but used this talk and slogan of such revolution to secure popular support for making election games. And now, its leaders do not even talk about revolution. Their “revolution” has been reduced to just occasional slogans of it in wall-writing. All their activities are now directed towards improving election prospect in alliance with bourgeois parties and even regional and parochial forces. The CPI(M)-led leftist governments are already operating in three states of India with blessing of the capitalist class pursuing out-and-out anti-people policies. Now they want to extend their hold to the power centre at Delhi at any cost through anti-people alliances with bourgeois forces.

Can a radical transformation of society be brought about through elections ? State and government are not the same thing. The government may be changed repeatedly through elections but the state is not changed thereby. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown that the state power, in reality, protects the present capitalist social system and it has three main organs as pillars for the purpose. These are the military forces, the judiciary and the bureaucratic administration including the police. The character of these three organs does not change by a change of government. These have evolved and developed to assume definite, particular form, like a machine. And the government is the mechanic or the operator of this state machine. So, this state machine does not change its character through a change of the government. Revolution means a radical change of this state power, that is, of these main organs of the state. In order to bring about this revolutionary transformation, the organised political power of the people, that is, the alternative state power, is to be generated from the lowest to the highest level through class and mass struggles. Revolution would not come till this can be achieved. A precondition for building up mass movement of this kind is a consolidated fighting front of united movement of the masses. (Ref: Comrade Ghosh’s booklet *On the Problems of Mass Movement*).

Is the ‘third alternative’ now proposed by the

CPI(M) such a people’s alternative of struggle ? The bourgeois parties are fond of projecting themselves as alternatives to safeguard the country’s interest. The BJP calls itself an alternative to the Congress and the Congress claims to be the only alternative to the BJP. We know that such alternatives are anti-people bourgeois parliamentary alternatives. But what about the United Front that was put up at the CPI(M)’s initiative in 1996 and installed in Government in Delhi with support of the Congress from outside after the BJP Government fell after a short stint of 13 days ? The CPI(M), at the time, claimed that to be the third alternative. It projected the UF Government as a “model Government” of recent times. What was the record of this “model” Government in combating communalism and liberalisation ? It had no role against communalism. It pursued the anti-people policies of liberalisation and privatisation and thus served the Indian and foreign monopoly capital even more vigorously than the earlier Congress Government. These did not bother the CPI(M) so long as it could stay close to the centre of power in Delhi through the UF Government. The UF was not an instrument of struggle, a fighting front for class and mass struggle. And what about the “third alternative” now declared at the 16th CPI(M) Congress ? Is it a parliamentary alternative or an alternative of mass movement? Merely saying “the serious danger of communalism is to be fought against” does not answer this question. Indications are that this “third alternative”, if formed at all, too, will be something akin to the UF formed in 1996. What is more, entente with the Congress would not be indirect but open and direct this time. That the opportunistic calculation about gaining in parliamentary politics is the chief consideration behind the CPI(M)’s effort is clear from an explanation given by Harkishen Singh Surjeet. While the 16th Party Congress was still on, he made it known in reply to queries from journalists that the Rastriya Janata Dal of Laloo Prasad Yadav would not be included in the “third alternative” as such, but if the MPs of that party took a positive role, then their help would be accepted. The plain meaning of this is that help from even the notorious RJD would be needed in the game of anyhow toppling the BJP-led Central Government and the CPI(M) would have no qualms in accepting it. The essence of this line is to anyhow install the Congress in the Central Government with CPI(M) support so that the CPI(M) can wield influence on the centre of power in Delhi.

Whatever else might be achieved by such “tactical political line” of the CPI(M), it would not be possible to defeat the communal policies of the BJP and isolate it from the masses. Above all, the truth is that the causes which enabled the BJP to come to the forefront with such strength, cannot be resisted through this. Just as the utterly reactionary anti-people policies of the Congress is responsible for the present emergence of the communal BJP, so also is the weakness of the left and democratic movement in the country.

The CPI(M) resolution has talked about expanding left unity. It is in the interest of left-democratic movement that the left unity is important and an urgent necessity. And this should be formed on the basis of a common minimum

programme and code of conduct. To raise the slogan for left unity without serious efforts towards strengthening the movement is a bunkum. In fine, another point needs to be considered. May we ask why the CPI(M) members are falling prey to the vices of parliamentarism as has been confessed in their organisational resolution ? Is this phenomenon something new in the life of CPI(M) ? Is this reservation on the part of the CPI(M) leadership honest ? Had it been so they would not have missed a few basic points.

It should be kept in mind that the first and the most important pre-requisite to remain free from the evil influence of parliamentarism is to conduct — starting from the leaders down to the rank and file members — an all embracing struggle covering all aspects of life to acquire communist character on the correct understanding of the inner kernel of Marxism-Leninism on the edifice of higher ethics and culture. The CPI(M) could never conduct this struggle from its inception since it did not develop at all as a genuine communist party. Second, when the fact is that the CPI(M) has by this time become very much attached to and an appendage of the crisis-ridden, reactionary and decadent capitalist system — which is itself corrupt to the bone — how can that very same party defending this system remain free from the vile influence of parliamentarism is beyond comprehension of anybody having minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Without searching out the root cause of this disease sample lamentation over it or occasional warning to the comrades can hardly hide the real character of the party.

We, therefore, appeal to the CPI(M) workers and supporters to patiently ponder over different analyses of ours. The rise of communal BJP is undoubtedly a grave danger. To fight against it is an urgent necessity. But mere clamour about “fighting” does not signify actual fighting. Once the CPI(M) leaders had indulged in the politics of militant slogan-mongering by clamouring about “fighting” the Congress. Exhorted by them, their party workers had reverberated the fields with slogans. The SUCI had then tried hard to sound caution against such politics of slogan-mongering, tried its utmost to bring the mode of analysis of the basic class politics into the leftist movement. But the CPI(M) leadership obstructed this endeavour by brutal force. Let the CPI(M) workers now reconsider deeply if the SUCI’s stand was correct or not. We appeal to you not to get confused again and again by mere militant slogans, not to indulge in self-deception by taking the line of election politics to be a “leftist tactics”.

We firmly believe that class and mass struggle is the only path to emancipation of man. We have held aloft that banner of struggle amidst all difficulties. A fighting united front is an urgent necessity today. Come forward and join hands with us to build this up !

With this appeal, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the beloved General Secretary of our party wrote to all left democratic parties including the CPI(M) on 15th July last. We firmly believe that it is possible to build up a fighting united front on the line of mass struggle. Since there is no other way to safeguard the people’s interest, the true leftists would have to take to this path, however time-taking and painstaking that might be.



## Unity Statement of Asia Pacific Peoples' Assembly

(Contd from page 3)

layoffs and unemployment. Greater exploitation of labour is realized through neoliberal methods of union busting, and the promotion of contract work, casual work, home-based work, and labour flexibility. Increased joblessness has intensified labour migration. The thirst for more profits through lower labour costs has resulted in the increase of trafficked labour, women and child labour.

Women suffer most from globalization. It has intensified discrimination and degradation of women. They are pushed to migration in greater numbers and they are forced to enter into extremely exploitative working conditions and trafficked into the sex trade. Privatization of health care violates women's right to total well-being by denying them access to safe, appropriate, affordable and quality preventive and curative health care. More and more, they are facing extreme forms of discrimination, violence and rape, which are increasingly being used as tools for subjugation by men and the state.

The future of the youth and students is threatened by globalization. Access to people-centred quality education has been limited by commercialization, which has raised the costs and narrowed the curriculum to serve the interests of capital. Student organizing and dissent, as well as their efforts to find solidarity with the people's movements, are systematically and violently suppressed.

Indigenous peoples are denied of their right to self-determination. They are violently displaced and deprived of their land to give way to maldevelopment projects, and TNC mining, oil and gas exploration and logging business. To accelerate this process, their territories are militarized. Tourism projects commercialize and denigrate their culture. Community rights over their biological and genetic resources as well as their indigenous knowledge are trampled upon.

Trade liberalization is destroying our natural resources. Governments in crisis are selling off non-renewable and scarce resources including forests and water as a way out of the crisis. Globalization has accelerated environmental abuse the world over, intensifying the destruction of various ecosystems and, with it, the people's livelihood.

The full realization of the people's human rights should be the primary objective of economic arrangements. However, economic, political, civil, social and cultural rights are violated by the state and monopoly capital with impunity. As the

people resist and assert their rights, they are met with violent suppression by the state. Under the guise of political stability, repressive laws, together with the control of the judiciary, tighten the grip of the state and promote dictatorship.

We vehemently resist globalization as we struggle for equality, peoples' democratic rights and sovereignty, self-determination, social justice, people-centred development and welfare.

Fight to reverse neo-liberal globalization and put an end to its policies of liberalization and deregulation of trade and investment and privatization of public assets and services.

Expose, resist and reject APEC. Other multilateral instruments of globalization like the IMF, World Bank, the GATT, WTO and recently the MAI as well as other multi-lateral instruments such as regional associations that, in various ways, contribute to globalization must also be thoroughly exposed in order that they be dismantled along with the APEC.

The TNCs must also be dismantled and the state must be challenged and their efforts to promote neo-liberal globalization must be resisted and overcome.

What we need is genuine cooperation among peoples and countries of the Asia Pacific, and uphold the peoples' sovereignty and right to self-determination.

1. We reaffirm the universality and indivisibility of our rights as enshrined in the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and in various UN and ILO conventions. But these are not being enforced; they are being breached with impunity and states are not being made accountable. We assert our rights, forward the struggle and strengthen the people's movements.
2. We must develop broad information campaigns and intensive education to promote people-centred actions, organize at all levels of oppressed communities and sectors and continue the resistance through creative political actions at the local and national level, as well as pursue community level alternatives.
3. We seek different levels of alliances with different groups and build international solidarity to resist globalization and realize the people's alternatives.

We can not expect any government or TNC or international organization to do this for us, we have only ourselves, our strength, our unity and determination!

## Unleash Protracted Movement Against Price Rise

(Contd from page 1)

shedding crocodile tears over the sufferings of the common people because of the price rise. They are resorting to all sorts of gimmick to befool the people. They are loudly proclaiming that the prices have come down when the price of onion which was Rs.6 per kilo in March settled to Rs.25 per kilo after shooting to Rs.90 per kilo. This is hypocrisy par excellence.

These corrupt and hypocritical politicians can rule the roost because the people are unorganised. But will the people allow these parties to have

their sway unopposed? In fact, the need of the hour is to build up a protracted, organised movement involving all sections of the toiling people by their active participation in people's committees in localities, fields and factories and by enrolling the students and youths in particular as volunteers of the movement to effect a change of policy of the Central and state Governments to introduce all-out state trading of essential commodities both wholesale and retail to protect the people from the claws of these sharks.

## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Statement on Railway Accident

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, in a Press statement expressed deep shock at the death of over 200 people and injured of many more in the train accident in Punjab on 26.11.98.

Comrade Mukherjee conveyed his heartfelt condolence to the bereaved families and deep sympathy to the injured.

He observed that such heart rendering accidents are due to criminal apathy on the part of the railway administration.

He demanded adequate compensation to the families of the dead and injured, proper medical treatment, punishment to the culprits through judicial enquiry and adequate precautionary measures to prevent recurrence of such accidents.

## Memorial Meeting of Comrade Prithish Chanda in Haryana

The memorial meeting of Comrade Prithish Chanda, the departed Politbureau member of our party and All India President of UTUC-LS, was held at Kathmandi Dharmshala, Rohtak, on 4th October, 1998. It was organised by the Haryana State Organising Committee of the party. Leaders and activists of different districts attended the memorial meeting. Comrade Satyawan, Secretary, Haryana State Organising Committee, Comrade Girijeswar Singh, Secretary, Rajasthan State Organising Committee, Comrade Anoop Singh, Comrade Rajendra Singh, Comrade Ramphal, Comrade Hariprakash, members, Haryana State Organising Committee paid floral tribute to the revolutionary memory of Comrade Prithish Chanda.

Tribute was also paid by party district secretaries of Gurgaon, Bhiwani, Hissar, Jind, Kaithal, Kurukshetra, Mahendragarh, Rewari, Rohtak, Jhajjar and Sonapat as also by state representatives of UTUC-LS, AIKMS, DYU, AIDS, AIMSS and by the Editor of the *Dastak*. Comrade Anoop Singh, presided over the meeting. He read out the brief outline of the life struggle of Comrade Prithish Chanda, released by the Central Committee. He said, at the hegemony of the building up of the party in Haryana Comrade Chanda even passed nights at the bus terminus of Rohtak and went to far flung villages to meet party comrades and party connections. Comrade Girijeswar respectfully recalled the revolutionary struggling life of Comrade Chanda. Comrade Satyawan paid tribute to our departed leader and referred to different aspects of his exemplary life.

At state party office as also at district party offices Red Flag was dipped half mast till 30th September and comrades wearing black badges held memorial meetings. Memorial meetings were held on 27th September at Narnil and on 2nd October at Rewari. In both the meetings Comrade Rajendra Singh was the speaker. He urged comrades to take greater responsibility to fill the void created with the absence of Comrade Prithish Chanda.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE