

# Ninth Lok Sabha Polls

## Statement of Policy of SUCI

Adopted at a meeting of the Central Committee, SUCI.  
Issued by the General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee.

Calcutta, 6.11.89

Elections have been called to Lok Sabha and, along with it, to a few State Assemblies. Using its authority, the Central Congress(I) Government headed by Rajiv Gandhi has moved for sudden declaration of elections to catch the Opposition unawares when, amid extreme crises in all spheres and fresh revelations pointing finger of accusation to the Prime Minister and his close associates in the Bofors scandal, discontent is deep and widespread among the people against the anti-people policies and rampant corruption of the Rajiv Gandhi Government.

On the other, in spite of our repeated appeal for unity, the Opposition are still divided to strike unity and give the people's wrath the shape of an organised mass movement against this Government. Besides, under the poll schedule declared, Assam and some constituencies of Jammu and Kashmir have been left out now, denying the body of electorate the right to be at the polls together. Precedent for such exclusion having been set at the last two consecutive Lok Sabha elections, it is turning into a practice with the Central Congress(I) Government, which we had cautioned about during the 1984 elections, to fix poll schedules simply from its own petty party interests.

The prerogative to decide the programme of polls, it may be recalled, belongs to the Election Commission; and the Commission is not obliged to look to any outside authority including the Council of Ministers and, according to Constitutional provisions, fixing the date or dates of elections is entirely the jurisdiction of the Commission, though it is open to it to ascertain the views of all concerned with the conduct of elections. This fact underlines how contemptuously the present rulers regard the

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# Proletarian Era

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

Vol. 23 No. 5 9th November 1989 Price: 80 P. Air Charge 5 P.

## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee On recent developments in Hungary

Expressing grave concern and shock at the recent developments in Hungary and Poland, Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India, has issued the following statement.  
Calcutta, 3.11.89:

"As it has come to be known, the extraordinary 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, on the 9th of October, 1989 decided to transform itself into a socialist party at the same time doing away with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party-state concept, total socialisation of political economy and centralised planning, closely following which the acting Head of the state Mr. Matyas Szuros on October 23 declared "the Hungarian republic is going to be an independent democratic and legal state in which value of bourgeois - democracy and democratic socialism are expressed equally." This declaration of the Head of state as reported

was preceded by a session of the parliament which was reported to have drastically changed the 1949 Constitution which defined Hungary as a socialist people's republic in which the working class held supreme power and the communist party had the leading role. The laws passed by this session of parliament lay the framework of multi-party elections and is reported to have paved the path for introduction of a 'social market' economy based on mixed ownership. Private enterprise will operate along with state-owned companies; public companies that have been in the red for years will be sold to private interests, peasants will be given ownership of land. All these make it explicitly clear that the counter-revolutionaries who were very active in Hungary since long past who after the execution of Imre Nagy in 1958 were lying low have become once again very active and taking the advantage of Gorbachev's

Glasnost and Perestroika which gave further momentum to the dangerous growth of revisionism in Russia and other socialist countries, being directly aided and abetted by the imperialists, mainly the U.S. imperialists, have launched another powerful offensive to stage a comeback and capture state power. With deep anxiety and agony we find that with all these contemplated political and economic measures in Hungary, imminent danger of restoration of capitalism looms large and, if not reversed in the mean time, will soon make counter-revolutionary takeover and restoration of capitalism inevitable. It is so to be noted in this connexion that the policy of appeasement of the capitalist forces represented by the Solidarity in Poland, in pursuance of which the Communist Party of Poland has entered into a scheme of sharing power with it, which again tantamounts to surrendering power to the capitalists to a great extent gave direct encouragement to the counter-revolutionaries of Hungary. What is more, following the example of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Polish Communist Party too recreated further and in the mean time had taken a similar decision to change its name. It is therefore vivid that Poland too is today threatened with a similar danger of counter-revolutionary takeover.

While we strongly denounce these counter-revolutionary moves we urge the working people of Hungary and

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### Defeat Congress(I): Make SUCI Candidates Victorious

#### ANDHRA PRADESH :

Secunderabad Com. E.P.A. Rasheed

#### BIHAR :

Patna Com. Kamal N. Chowdhury  
Vaishali Com. Lakhichand Rai

#### HARYANA :

Mahendragarh Com. Rattanlal  
Rohtak Com. Kartar Singh  
Hissar Com. Ajmer Singh

#### KERALA :

Quilon Com. C. K. Lukose  
Alleppey Com. V. Venugopal

#### KARNATAKA :

Bangalore (South) Com. K. Radhakrishna

#### ORISSA :

Mayurbhanj (ST) Com. Brundaban Marandi  
Jajpur (SC) Com. Bhaskar Jena

#### TAMILNADU :

Madras (Central) Com. R. Baskaran  
Dindigul Com. S. Palanisamy

#### WEST BENGAL :

Coochbehar (SC) Com. Nripen Karzi  
Jalpaiguri Com. Joydeb Mondal  
Jangipur Com. Abdus Sayeed  
Murshidabad Com. Abdus Salam  
Krishnanagar Com. Khoda Box  
Joynagar (SC) Com. Rajaram Roy Mondal  
Mathurapur (SC) Com. Samir Sekhar Naiya  
Tamluk Com. Ashutosh Samanta  
Midnapur Com. Dilip Maity  
Bankura Com. Bhaskar Bhadra  
Birbhum (SC) Com. Baidya Nath Mal

## Congress(I) Butchering Democracy

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parliamentary democratic norms, even violate all constitutional proprieties. That Rajiv Gandhi and his party should have to resort to these tricky manoeuvres and abuse of power only indicates their panic and is no sign of strength of theirs.

The elections to State Assemblies have also been decided on a selective basis on the managed recommendations of State Governments. The election law empowers the Commission to order simultaneous elections to Lok Sabha and State Assemblies wherever possible. Our party wrote to the Election Commission to hold simultaneously Assembly elections in States like Bihar, Orissa and Punjab in particular, where elections would be due in most cases within a few months, to prevent drainage from the exchequer raised by fleecing the poor people of our country. Our suggestion was not heeded by the authorities for reasons known to all.

There has been an apprehension among many people that this Lok Sabha poll is going to be the most corrupt and filthiest of all. Considering the state of affair in the body politic of the country, and the vile and filthiest practices of the ruling Congress(I) at the Centre, the apprehension seems but natural. It is increasingly becoming clear to all, which we have been pointing out since long, that, besides mafia and money power, administrative rigging has grown into an attendant feature of elections in this country. Our party had suggested electoral reforms to the Election Commission several times in the past to protect the people's right to free and fair elections. Not only have the Commission and the Central Congress(I) Government not adopted any reform measures in the people's interest to ensure free and fair elections, the decision to issue to voters identity cards with photographs to prevent 'proxy votes' has been shelved for the present polls on the pretext that preparations remain to be completed. Were the Commission and the Government truly interested in free and fair elections could they have advanced the election schedule without completing these necessary preparations? Could they have thought of holding elections with electronic voting machines in some parts of the country leaving aside the major parts? Doubts have already been raised as to whether electronic voting machines will at all be used in any constituency, ostensibly on technical grounds. In this background the people have naturally begun to suspect that the real motive behind appointment of two additional members to the Election Commission immediately on the eve of announcement of elections, as reported in a section of Press, is to influence the Commission further in favour of the ruling party at the ensuing polls.

This Lok Sabha poll, being held at a crucial phase, has brought the people face to face with even more serious questions in their life and from that angle this poll is no doubt very important in the life of the exploited, toiling millions of the country. The utter misrule of the Rajiv Gandhi Government during the last

five years with mounting attacks on the people has shattered all hopes of their survival in the face of the economic crises becoming so extremely acute. The parliamentary parties will now approach them with tall promises to alleviate their miseries. Every time the election drum is beaten these parties start playing this deceitful game. This Lok Sabha election is the ninth in 42 years since Independence. The Congress has been ruling at the Centre for almost the whole of this period except for the short Janata Party interlude of thirty months, whereas, in some of the States, non-Congress Governments have ruled in the last two decades. But there has been no relenting of any of the burning problems in any sphere, no alleviation of miseries in the people's life. On the contrary, crises have deepened ever more in every sphere. A little analysis would reveal how the patently authoritarian and fascist policies and measures of the Congress(I) Government at the Centre led by Rajiv Gandhi in the last 5 years in particular, leaving aside the period prior to it, have led to unprecedented crises and complications in the political, economic and social life of the people. Whatever governmental control had been there on food grains has been lifted, for example in Maharashtra, leaving the common people at the mercy of the profiteers and black marketeers, and causing untold sufferings in their life.

Crisis, we should bear in mind, has been part and parcel of Indian capitalism since its inception. In its bid to sustain and consolidate this crisis-ridden capitalism in the post-Independence India, the Congress, the most trusted political agent of the ruling capitalist class, took recourse to 5-year plans and other measures, laying the economic, political and social foundation of fascism in the process. The drive grew stronger under the rule of Indira Gandhi. Under Rajiv Gandhi it has taken an uglier, filthier and more ruthless form. Everyone will recall how after the ghastly assassination of Indira Gandhi the ruling class brought Rajiv Gandhi to power in the best of its class interest with its money power and the full array of propaganda media orchestrated in his service, cleverly stirring up the people's emotions and sentiments for the assassinated Prime Minister, and rigging the elections in collusion with those in the highest echelons of police and Administration. The mastermind behind this bourgeois conspiracy and the string-puller behind everything has been the industrial-bureaucratic-military complex, which coterie has grown as the extra-constitutional authority in the topmost echelon and has been concentrating absolute power in its hands from the days of Indira Gandhi.

To consolidate fascism the ruling clique resorted to blowing up an image of Rajiv Gandhi as the saviour of the country. He was projected as 'Mr. Clean', 'the young Prime Minister', 'new blood in politics' and all that. On his part, Rajiv Gandhi too, started exhorting 'value based politics'. He got passed the Anti-Defection Bill as a preemptive measure to eliminate threat to stability of his Government. With much fanfare he announced his

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## Tax reliefs to capitalists, but burden of crisis all on people

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so-called 'new economic policy' and along with it his prescription for modernisation of industries and the defence. 'Leap to the prosperous twenty-first century' was his catchword. In reality this 'new economic policy' has provided tax reliefs and massive subsidies and subventions to the monopolists, rich farmers, business and corporate houses. Curbs on import-export licenses have been slackened. Fabulous sums have been advanced by the nationalised banks to help the rich become richer. Profits to the tune of thousands of crores of rupees have been reaped by them. Besides, the emergence of a parallel 'black money economy' is working havoc on the people's life. This 'new economic policy' is opening wide further the door to capital from the imperialist countries particularly from the USA, under the label of multinationals, on stringent and even humiliating terms and conditions. Clearly, this has been dictated by the interest of monopolists, and although the capital is flowing in the name of technological growth and development of the country, it is putting further burden on the common people and pushing the country into a debt trap of unprecedented kind and from which there is no way to escape.

The burden due to all these has been placed squarely on the common people's shoulder. Taxes on the half-fed millions have been increased more and more. Extra budgetary administered price hike and imposition of levies and surcharges have led to a monstrous spiralling of prices of articles of daily and extensive use. Railway freights and fares, other transport fares, postal charges have been repeatedly enhanced. Added to this is the impact of deficit budget and growing inflation. As a result, the value of rupee has gone down. The real wage of the working people has declined steeply. The internal capitalist market has correspondingly squeezed in, leading to closure of 1,80,000 industrial units in the last five years only.

Again, taking advantage of the Government's policy of modernisation, the capitalist owners are closing down old labour intensive industries and investing capital in capital intensive industries to earn superprofits in the squeezed-in market and also to enhance the competitive edge of their industrial products in foreign markets. The Government itself has introduced computers and automation in several of its establishments. All these have contributed to enormous swelling of vast multitudes of the unemployed. In the industrial and commercial sectors alone, several lakhs of people have been victim of this 'new economic policy'. Along with these, the misery, privation and destitution of the rural people as a result of the Government's policy, the swelling ranks of agricultural labours, the growing number of peasant families evicted from their homesteads and turned into pavement dwellers in cities expose the

hoax of the 'new economic policy'. In the countryside today the peasants do not get due prices for their produce. They have been thrown completely into the hands of the rich farmers who decide the things in rural life. The Government has failed to give them any relief worth its name.

Amid this all-pervasive crisis there is a growing trend of militarization of economy through artificial stimulation of the market to boost up the sagging capitalist economy. From Rs. 3718 crores in 1980, the military budget has leaped to Rs. 13,439 crores in 1987. Adding to this expenditures under the related heads of space research, nuclear research, etc., the figure goes up above Rs. 18,000 crores. Such colossal drainage of money from the taxes paid by millions deprived of their rightful elementary needs has indeed no precedent.

Thousands of crores of rupees are being spent to equip the military with sophisticated armaments. Docks and shipyards of the most modern kind are being built at huge expenses in Karnataka and Maharashtra for the navy. Hundreds of crores of rupees have been spent to set up missile test ranges in Orissa wherefrom the intermediate range ballistic missile 'Agni' was fired successfully recently. India, the land of half-fed, half-clad people, is a possessor of nuclear power today, and ranks fourth in the world in standing army, fifth in air force, and eighth in navy.

Besides, India is no longer only an importer of arms; it has emerged as an exporter today in the international arms market, especially in the third world countries. The Indian capitalist class is aspiring to play the role of a big power in this subcontinent and dominate the markets of the neighbouring countries. With the growing trend of militarization of economy, the hegemonist and expansionist character of the so-called champion of peace and non-alignment, that is the Indian capitalist State, is getting exposed more and more. The Indian army's role in Sri Lanka and Maldives, and the India Government's domineering attitude particularly to Nepal, among others, are alienating India from the neighbouring countries.

Whereas, this Government cannot make available to the people the vital necessities of life, 68.5 p.c. of the population subsist below the poverty line in subhuman conditions. Unemployment pervades every corner. This 'largest democracy' can also take pride in having the largest contingent of child labour. Drinking water is unavailable in most villages. Even in metropolitan cities it is not available in adequate quantities. In the vast countryside as also in the towns and cities electricity is unavailable. Medical facilities are another item wanting everywhere both in the rural and in the urban areas. No wonder mortality of infants and pregnant women are among the highest in the world. Education is something only to be dreamed of by the common multitude. Hunger, famine, drought, flood and epidemics constantly stalk the people as if they live in the dark medieval ages, although there is side by side a microscopic minority who are fabulously rich and lead an unbelievably luxurious life. However, to hide the fact of ruthless capitalist exploitation, the ruling Congress(I) does not lag behind in making a fanfare of its so-called popular projects, namely IRDP, NREP, 30 p.c. reservation for women reservation for backward castes and scheduled tribes, and, latest, the 'Jawahar Rojgar Yojana'. The fraud of these much vouted schemes gets exposed when one considers how little of the official allocation ultimately reaches the hands of the poor masses. Only the other day Rajiv Gandhi himself admitted that out of Rs. 6/- allocated only Re. 1/- reached the real recipient.

It is significant that the budgetary allocation for education, from 7.25 p.c. just after Independence, has steadily

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## Parliamentary democracy now a mere cloak for bourgeoisie and its servitors

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declined to a meagre 1.25 p.c. under the present Congress(I) rule. The ruling class, in its bid to sustain its class rule amid an everdeepening and allout crisis of capitalism, is driving the country towards allout fascism, and, to that end, is trying to bring about regimentation in the thinking pattern of the people. With this object, the Congress(I) Government at the Centre has introduced the anti-people National Policy on Education which our party has characterised as a blueprint of fascism that seeks not only to restrict the scope of education but also to destroy education, culture and all human sense of values. In fact, the National Policy on Education is accelerating the process of fusion of spiritualism and obscurantist ideas and the technological aspects of science, strengthening further the ideological foundation of fascism. To destroy the moral backbone of the people the Government is giving covert indulgence to trafficking in obscene literature, cinemas, magazines, theatres and advertisement through even T. V., Radio, etc. The menacing disease of drug addiction of the youths in particular has been eating into the vitals of human character. In a planned way the youth are being pushed to adopt unethical means of livelihood, and, at the same time, the parliamentary parties exploit them for their petty and illegitimate ends during the elections.

Facing growing discontent and resentment among the people against its anti-people pro-capitalist class policies, the ruling Congress(I) is systematically butchering the democratic rights and concentrating draconian powers in the hands of the Executive to suppress legitimate democratic movements of the people and serve the crisis-ridden capitalism. To ESMA and NSA have been added Terrorist Affected Areas Act, Disturbed Areas Act, Trade Union and Industrial Relations (Amendment) Bill and Hospital and Other Institutions (Redressal of Grievances) Bill, Amendments to Criminal Procedure Code and Evidence Act, among others. The burden of all these strips the workers of their right to legitimate trade union bargaining; empowers the Government to arrest a citizen anytime without adducing any reason whatsoever and to detain him upto 6 months without framing any charges against him, even increase the period of detention to 2 years as a step towards detention for an indefinite period; gives the Government a weapon to declare parts of the country as terrorist affected, to decide who are terrorists, to conduct secret trials, and to suppress any movements it may deem as promoting enmity between classes. Even the basic Constitutional right to natural justice has been denied, so much so that the onus of proving himself not guilty now lies with the accused and, in the eye of law, every person charged with guilt will be deemed guilty from now on. Besides, after the 59th Amendment to Constitution, the Government has reequipped itself, using 'terrorism' in Punjab as a pretext, with the power to declare internal Emergency at any time even by posing an internal crisis of the ruling party to be a national crisis. The portents of all these need hardly to be explained. Side by side, Judiciary is being systematically scuttled; the relative neutrality of Administration is being totally destroyed; and the freedom of Press is sought to be curtailed. Trampling the Supreme Court judgement on the Shah Bano Case, the ruling Congress(I) got the Muslim Women Bill passed to deny the Muslim women a basic democratic right they cherish. The omni-powerful industrial-bureaucratic-military complex is exercising remote and absolute control over entire Administration in violation of all democratic procedure. Just as it had enforced Press censorship during Emergency, so did the ruling Congress(I) of today take the step to introduce Defamation Bill in Parliament

to muzzle the voice of Press and take away its right to investigate and reveal truth. Although a countrywide public protest frustrated this bid, forcing the Government to retreat for the moment, the object of the ruling Congress(I) is clearly exposed.

The pillars of bourgeois democracy are being demolished one by one to lay in its place the foundation of administrative fascism. Parliament is being increasingly bypassed to vest more power in Executive. Elected bodies are viewed as mere rubber stamps to legalise illegitimate measures proposed by the ruling Congress(I) in the interest of the ruling class. A glaring instance is how the Central Congress(I) Government snatched away Parliament's right of access to reports of inquiry commissions by promulgating an Ordinance first and then amending Constitution and the Commissions of Enquiry Act to withhold reports of the Thakkar-Natarajan Commission and the Ranganath Misra Commission on the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984 and the Sikh carnage in its aftermath. Even the incumbent of the highest office of the State who is also the Commander-in-Chief of the three wings of the military, that is the President of the country, had been denied access to Government papers relating to the Fairfax inquiries and the Bofors gun deal. Parliament had also been kept in the dark about a parallel departmental inquiry being held into the case of assassination of Indira Gandhi by a Special Investigating Team (SIT) and the reasons for which the SIT is said to have cleared the principal suspect named in the Thakkar-Natarajan Commission remain yet undisclosed. The shady conduct of Rajiv Gandhi and his Government on these inquiry findings have only deepened a suspicion already agitated the people that the Government's arguments seeking to justify suppression of the inquiry reports were only an alibi to prevent unearthing a larger conspiracy in which people much bigger and much more thick and thin with the ruling hierarchy were involved in the assassination of Indira Gandhi. The Prime Minister himself has resorted to making false statements repeatedly in Parliament to shield himself and his party from charges of rampant corruption which came up against them over Bofors and other scandals. The series of disclosures in Press, the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG), and the revelations by a retired ex-Army Chief make clear how the leaders of the ruling party in collusion with those in the top-most level of Administration and military had entered into a contract with the Bofors company for purchase of guns to satiate their greed for fabulous sums paid as commissions. Had the Prime Minister least concern for democratic norms and values he would have resigned forthwith when the allegations were raised long before and more particularly following disclosures in the CAG and the latest Press revelations, but this he, like a shameless creature, refused to do. Instead, he and his associates have taken recourse to unabashed lying, shameless arrogance, and, then, to advancing the election schedule to diffuse the people's discontent.

The abuse of the office of Governors, making them act as tools of the Central Congress(I) Government, to engineer defection and to topple non-Congress(I) State Governments or even undesirable own-party Governments is another instance of a growing trend to reduce to farce the parliamentary system and Constitution, so often claimed to be sacrosanct and inviolable. To ensure absolute control of her own coterie over the party, Indira Gandhi had no qualms to bring down her own party Government in Sikkim. The same act was re-enacted in Jammu and Kashmir. Parliamentary norms and practices were buried in Andhra Pradesh to topple the Telugu Desam Government which had, how-

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ever, to be reinstated in the face of massive public protest. More recent in the series is the instance of Karnataka.

Today it is crystal clear that parliamentary democracy is no better than a mere cloak for the ruling capitalist class and its servitors—the Congress(I) in the main. The more is growing the fascist trend of the capitalist State, the more are they scuttling the sphere of the parliamentary political system. Their design is to restrict parliamentary politics within two or three parties of their choice and, maintaining this parliamentary facade, to step towards the goal of allout fascism. As a measure to this end the ruling Congress(I) lately got passed in Parliament an Amendment to the Representation of the People Act. Under the amended law every political party is required to incorporate in its constitution a few clauses as directed by the Election Commission, failing which its registration will be cancelled. This premeditated and calculated design does not only negate the constitutionally guaranteed right to every individual to pursue and propagate his own political belief and to form a political organisation on that basis, it also seeks to undermine the multi-party system in vogue in the country since Independence; and it is a naked attack on the parliamentary process and constitutes naked governmental interference in the internal democracy of a political party and its ideology. Thereby, only political parties with a regimented ideology will be able to take part in elections and, consequently, any little scope still within the parliamentary system to oppose the anti-people policies of the Government will be done away with. The crux of the matter is that those political parties which will not abide by these terms stipulated in the newly amended Representation of People Act will not be treated henceforth as political parties and there will be attempts to eliminate these parties in course of time.

Again, the current phenomenal rise of communal, parochial, regional and sectarian tendencies almost all over the country, leading to almost daily recurrence of fratricidal strifes and bloodbaths, is a direct fallout of this fascist machination. The ruling class, with the object of dividing the people's struggling unity against the capitalist exploitation and oppression and arming the State to teeth with draconian powers to suppress the people's discontent, is fostering, fomenting, aiding and abetting the casteist-communal-parochial-separatist forces overtly and covertly. And it is a stark reality that the ruling Congress(I), as the most trusted agent of the ruling bourgeoisie, has emerged today as the main architect of his bourgeois machination. Posing itself as the champion of secularism and national integration, the ruling Congress(I) is pandering to communal-parochial passions to spark off communal-parochial violence anytime anywhere. This criminal game to exploit casteist-communal-parochial sentiments as one weapon among others to foist allout fascism was begun under Indira Gandhi's rule. Rajiv Gandhi has started almost to gamble with it. Such is where desperation born of crisis has pushed them to. The homicidal massacre in Punjab engineered by the Congress(I) goes on unabated because the Congress(I) is on its criminal pursuit to infiltrate the politics in Punjab, availing of the internal squabbles of the Akali Dal, and has unleashed a reign of terror there. Capitalising on the differences between the different linguistic minorities, tribes and ethnic communities the ruling party is cleverly channelising into secessionist agitation the pent up discontent and wrath of the toiling masses of the backward ethnic and linguistic minorities and nationalities against the ruthless capitalist exploitation, economic crises and unemployment.

Very cleverly this way mutual suspicion, mistrust and communal malice are being whipped up among the toiling people of different religious communities and ethnic groups. Taking advantage of the situation, religious fundamentalist organisations like the RSS, Shiva Sena and Vishwa Hindu

Parishad have spread far and wide in the country. It is the struggling unity of the exploited millions which is suffering most as a consequence. The social-political ethos for democratic mass movement is getting ruined. The capitalist class and its servitor political agents are reaping all dividends.

Our party has been attempting for long to build up united movements of all Left, democratic and Opposition parties and forces on the burning problems of the people's life. Clearly, in the absence of a countrywide democratic mass movement, the people's unity has been the worst casualty. And it is equally true that only such a movement, besides acting as a deterrent force against communal flare-ups, can foil the sinister bourgeois design. So, for the sake of survival and to restore a healthy democratic atmosphere the task was, and the task remains, to build up a countrywide united broadbased democratic mass movement against the corruption and the anti-people policies of the Central Congress(I) Government led by Rajiv Gandhi.

But we note with pain and anguish that the Opposition parties in general and the Left parties in particular not only did not respond to our call for unity when the findings of the Fairfax inquiry, etc., had come to light at the initial stage and there had been enough possibility to give the deep-seated resentment and grievances of the people the shape of an organised powerful mass movement, but, worst of all, parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI raised the bogey in tune with ruling party that investigation by an agency like the Fairfax dominated by the US imperialist clique into the Bofors gun deal would threaten the security of our country. This was the time when these parties raised the slogan on a number of occasions that 'there is no alternative to Rajiv Gandhi'. Consequently, whatever little prospect had been there to build up Opposition unity about which most of the Opposition parties had shown some interest at that time was lost and this attitude of the Left parties threw cold water on the prospect of a united movement, actually helping to disrupt this unity. Moreover, when the Opposition parties were showing some eagerness to forge unity against the misrule of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, the CPI(M) leaders in particular started arguing that they would not align themselves with the rightist forces and raised the slogan for unity of the Left, democratic and secular forces.

After some time, and very late at that, the CPI(M) and the CPI in particular demanded, albeit in rhetorics, resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government and mid-term polls. Even at this stage these parties did not only not come forward to build up a countrywide mass movement against the anti-people, utterly reactionary policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, which was the crying need of the hour, but obstructed this unity on the plea that they were ready to unite only with democratic and secular forces and with nobody else. But who does not know that the CPI(M) had made alliance with the BJP and even with the Muslim League in a number of States when electoral necessity prompted it to do so? This means that these parties going by the name of Leftism had no reservation or objection to unite with the BJP, the Muslim League, the DMK, the AIDMK etc., as the case may be, for electoral interest, but they could not unite with any such parties when the urgent necessity of building up a countrywide united movement of all Left, democratic, and Opposition parties demanded it to serve the people's interest. It is known to all that the CPI(M) had made alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala in the past, arguing that the Muslim League was not 'communal' but 'progressive', and the CPI(M) leaders had said that the League represented progressive 'Muslim Community' as, for instance, it had been defended by the CPI(M) leader EMS Namboodiripad. Later on they combined with the BJP through alliance with Devilal's Lok Dal in Haryana, with the Muslim League

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## Both BJP and CPI(M), from different positions, objectively serving Congress(I) in its game to keep Opposition divided

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through alliance with a parochial force like the DMK in Tamil Nadu, retained power in the Calcutta Corporation with the tacit support of the BJP. Their alliance with the Telugu Desam, another parochial force, is also well-known. In fact, such a policy of these Left parties appears as an enigma to the people as to why some parties are considered progressive, democratic and all that when unity with these forces is a necessity for petty electoral interests but the same parties are characterised as rightist, communal, untouchable, etc., when the question of building up mass movement comes uppermost. Clearly, this is a clever manoeuvre to hide their anti-movement character and has nothing to do with 'principled stand' or 'people's interest'. These are facts of history and there is no way to deny these facts.

Taking a look at the past we get more corroborations. Parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI always considered the rightist forces more reactionary than the Congress(I), the trusted agent of the ruling class. These so-called Left parties not only raised the slogan that 'there is no alternative to Rajiv Gandhi' but also praised the foreign policy as also some domestic policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government as progressive and supportable. True to their social democratic character of compromise between labour and capital they are boastfully claiming in the States where they are in the Government that they are conducting the Government in a better way than the Congress(I). When they make such claims what does it actually mean? It means that the Government being the caretaker of the capitalist system, they are thus serving the ruling class in a much better way than the Congress(I) is serving, and that, as social democratic forces, parties like the CPI(M), the CPI, etc., cannot like that the crisis-ridden capitalism gets really endangered and is at stake.

The important point is that a great opportunity had indeed arrived and the prospect of building up immediately such a movement had brightened up all the more following exposure of scandals and rampant corruptions of the ruling Congress(I), especially after the disclosures in the CAG report had come to light. Dissension and squabbles rent the ruling party. The monopoly houses were divided. Rajiv Gandhi and his associates had been panic-stricken and trying to divert the people's attention with slogans that the country was in danger, that communalism was on the rampage, that the Opposition were betraying the country. Now was the opportune moment to strike with all might against the anti-people authoritarian measures of the ruling Congress(I) by unleashing a tide of countrywide democratic mass movements. This alone could create the objective condition to end the misrule of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. Building up a powerful countrywide united mass movement alone was the guarantee for ouster of this Government. And why do we really press for ousting the Rajiv Gandhi Government? Because, we want to end corruption and all the anti-people, authoritarian and fascist policies pursued by this Government and to bring into its place a Government which will try to meet the people's basic needs, fulfil their aspirations, and will help develop legitimate democratic mass movements. Unless policies can be made to change, substitution for the ruling Congress(I) by any other party or combinations of parties will have nothing to do with the real interest of the people and the task of winning their legitimate demands.

And it should also be realised that in the event of an

alternative Government being installed, may be a Government of different parties to even look a hotchpotch combination, it can be made to adopt a pro-people orientation under impact of powerful united democratic movements on the burning and legitimate issues of the people. History will corroborate that it is indeed possible to run a multi-party combination Government with a pro-people attitude, provided it can be made, under impact of democratic mass movements, to depend not on bureaucracy but on the strength of legitimate mass movements. The UF Governments of West Bengal of 1967 and 1969 are examples to show that with the participation of our party, the SUCI, in them with the policy that 'police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements' real relief to an extent could be provided to the people and, above all, a tide of democratic movements on the people's legitimate demands could be unleashed to advance the people's real cause. This was a unique experiment in our country based on the thoughts of our beloved, departed leader, teacher and guide and an outstanding Marxist thinker and philosopher of this era Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Ghosh also explained that everything legal might not be always legitimate, rational and justified. Similarly, anything illegal in the eye of law may not be necessarily immoral and unjustified. The history of jurisprudence had shown, he observed, that laws too, did undergo changes under necessity of social justice.

Emphasizing the imperative historical task of building up unity of all Left, democratic and Opposition parties and forces on a minimum agreed common programme and a code of conduct to organise and launch a countrywide broadbased united democratic mass movement against the anti-people and authoritarian policies of the Central Congress(I) Government headed by Rajiv Gandhi, our party has made the appeal time and again, not only from platforms of mass meetings or in letters to the Opposition parties but, getting no response from any quarter and as per the decision of the Central Committee, our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee approached all Left, democratic and Opposition parties with the call for movement. While welcoming the resignation of the Opposition MPs en masse from Lok Sabha following the CAG report disclosures, we again urged them to step forward to unite and launch a countrywide movement against the anti-people policies and measures of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. We pointed out repeatedly that if parliamentary elections came in course of this movement then we had to view the election battle as one complementary to this movement and take part in the elections so that in the event of an alternative Government being formed through elections, it could play the role of a genuinely pro-people Government. The people's expectation for united countrywide movements were roused further following the countrywide observance of the Save India Day on 9th August and the Bharat Bandh on 30th August. This was a glaring testimony to the fact that people were ready for movement. We, therefore, proposed that the movement should be continued further and should not end simply with the programme of one day's Bharat Bandh. The situation called for developing the movement further, widening and elevating it step by step. With all its strength our party took part in these programmes, and we tried to develop the movement further with our limited strength. Close on the heels came corroborations of involvement of the ruling

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## *Defeat Congress(I)*

### *Prospect of ending this dark regime depends upon successfully channelising popular discontent into progressive united democratic mass movement*

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Congress(I) in the Bofors scandal from ex-Army Chief General Sundarji, and even bigger revelations in 'The Hindu.' Rajiv Gandhi and his party had evidently become nervous and panic-stricken and their main object became to prevent growth of an all-out Opposition unity. The situation had thus become conducive to unleashing a united country-wide movement. But it is a painful reality that the Opposition parties preoccupied themselves all with dialogues on electoral alliances and seat adjustments.

At this time the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi issue flared up on a wider scale and communal tension built up throughout the country and it became too apparent that the BJP had its support behind the Vishwa Hindu Parishad's programmes on Ramshila Puja and erection of a temple at the site of the Babri Masjid. No doubt, this role of the BJP to patronise the Hindu religious communal organisations is injuring further the minority community's sentiments and portends danger for the unity and security of the common people of all religious communities particularly of the minority communities. All secular minded and peace loving people should condemn it in one voice. In fact, BJP's role of active participation behind Ramshila Puja and the VHP in particular cannot but evoke strongest condemnations from all well-meaning and democratic minded people of our country. Because, secularism recognises religion as the private affair of a believer. Forcing religion into social activities only helps grow religious fanaticism and bigotry. It has nothing to do with the needs and objects of the democratic movements of the people and directly goes against the people's struggling unity against the common enemy—the ruling capitalist class and its servitor political agents. The BJP's role only helped raise the majority Hindu community sentiments to a high pitch, inviting fundamentalist reaction from the minority Muslim community sentiments. It is clear that this rabid Hindu revivalist approach of the BJP in recent times has helped blunt its anti-Congress role. If the BJP leadership pursues this course further they will eventually isolate themselves no doubt from democratic mass movement to the glee of the Congress(I).

Significantly, this communal race is taking place under the nose of Administration and the Central Government but, as is widely known, no firm step has been taken by them to stop this menacing course and the resulting flare-ups. It has been reported in Press that the Central Home Minister, Mr. Buta Singh, 'is putting up pressure on the VHP to carry on its Ayodhya March programme on 9th November.

Clearly, the BJP wanted to reap electoral dividends by making the Hindu religious sentiments its main plank at the ensuing polls. But their latest communal patronage has given the ruling party at the Centre a greater leverage. The Congress(I) the main architect today behind communal-parochial-secessionist strifes, now poses itself as the innocent champion of secularism.

Whereas, communal flare-ups continue to take tolls of lives and more and more an uglier form. Nobody knows what awaits in future. No well-meaning person can remain content with merely protesting it. All should immediately come forward, irrespective of religion, region, language, caste, etc., to join strength and build up a united resistance in the form of a powerful mass movement involving the people at the grass roots level and save the country from

this course of communal holocaust. True, all the branded communal forces must be condemned outright but it is painful that parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI are shielding the role of the Congress(I) which is the main architect and perpetrator of all sorts of communal-parochial violence. We note with pain that when communalism has been rearing its ugly head in absence of a countrywide mass movement the leadership of these Left parties are frustrating time and again all prospects and possibilities of such movements. The CPI(M) and the CPI are raising the slogan in tune with the Congress(I), a party which is fanning up, fomenting, aiding and abetting all communal forces and thus acting as its main architect, that communalism is the main danger in the country. This is a clever device to hide the sinister game of the Congress(I) from the people and also to confuse the most important point that it is only a powerful united mass movement that can fight out the communal menace. We would urge the rank and file of these parties to pause and reflect as to who is going to reap maximum dividends in this situation. The latest spurt of communal violence and the political patronage it is getting from the BJP have given a bigger leverage to the Congress(I) although it is the main culprit behind the game—all this obstructing unity of the Opposition forces at the ensuing elections, making the Congress(I) its largest beneficiary.

Is it not suicidal in this situation to consider the Congress(I) as the party of 'national integration'? No one should forget that it is impossible to fight the danger of communalism-parochialism-casteism-separatism etc. without spearheading movement against the Congress(I), and, at the same time, stepping up vigil on all religious communal organisations and their political patrons. Obviously, the fight against communalism has been historically interwoven today with the fight against authoritarianism represented by the Congress(I), the mainstay of reaction and the main enemy of the people. Besides, building up a broadbased united mass movement on the legitimate demands of the people is the only way to arrest the communal-parochial forces and their divisive role.

The tragedy of the situation is that both the BJP and the CPI(M) are objectively serving the Congress(I), although from absolutely different positions, in its game to keep the Opposition divided and reap maximum benefit by coverly fomenting communalism-parochialism while raising slogans against communalism-parochialism and putting on an innocent cloak of secularism.

These are the principal questions before the people now faced with Lok Sabha elections. The prospect of building up a united democratic mass movement, so bright before elections were announced, has now virtually receded. Immediately after announcement of the elections our party again approached all the Left, democratic and Opposition parties to fight the elections on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme and a code of conduct. This appeal of ours fell again on deaf ears. But this is the main task at this moment. Our party has consistently tried to build up movements against the anti-people policies of the Central Congress(I) Government. At the same time our party has tried to organise movements against the anti-people policies of the Opposition party ruled State Governments, too, to make them abandon these policies and forge unity of all Left, democratic and Opposition parties against the ruling Congress(I). The people must realise

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that if the Congress(I) is returned that will be the source of greater danger still. So, the Congress(I) must be defeated at these elections both in Lok Sabha and in Assembly elections. What will be the choice of the ruling class at these elections is, however, an altogether different matter. Whether the ruling class will choose the Congress(I) to come back again with an absolute majority or in combination with its allies or whether it will prefer the Opposition alliance will be clear in due course. But one point must be made very clear that in the event of a non-Congress(I) Government being installed until and unless a really pro-people attitude is taken by the new non-Congress(I) Government, then the change of Government alone cannot ameliorate the genuine problems of the people. Rather unless there is a basic change in the outlook and policy of the Government the problems of the people will aggravate further to result in greater pauperisation of the common people. Even at this hour, although it is late, if the Opposition parties can move with honest commitments to the people on this line so as to make a definite break with the policies so long pursued by the Congress(I) Government may the people expect then some benefit out of it. But had the CPI(M) leadership been serious to uphold the genuine aspirations of the people they would have come forward to ensure defeat of the Congress(I) on the basis of a minimum common programme and a code of conduct and would have voiced the burning demands of the people.

But not only any such united effort has not been made from any quarter, there has not been even a complete adjustment of seats among the Opposition parties. Curiously, the CPI(M) leaders have expressed that they can make adjustment of seats with the National Front but will not support its Government, if one such be formed after the elections. This shows that the CPI(M) is only interested in grabbing as many seats as possible. But the tragedy is that even today the people take these parties to be communist or Marxist parties despite very many such opportunistic policies of theirs. As a result, the common people not only lose faith in politics but also in Leftism and communism, wrongly believing these parties to be communist parties. We appeal to the rank and file of these parties to realise that when it is incumbent on them to build up a strong movement against imperialism, capitalism and fascism the leadership of these parties are but maligning the nobility of communism only to fulfil their petty parliamentary interest.

People have been experiencing that it is only the SUCI which always stands by their side, which is showing the correct path and stressing the urgency of building up mass movements on edifice of higher ethics and culture, and is always fighting against the anti-people policies of both the Central and the State Governments. We appeal to the people to make victorious our party candidates to help raise the voice of extra-parliamentary battle inside Parliament and expose the role and design of the parties defending the interest of the ruling capitalist class.

In the constituencies where our party has no candidates, we appeal to the people to defeat the Congress(I) and elect those who are honest, trustworthy, tested in democratic mass movements, able to voice the demands of the people and of their democratic struggle and are pledged to resign seat in case they forfeit the trust of the electorate.

The people should come forward to build up struggle committees and their own volunteer corps from the grass roots level in every corner, every village and every township, involving every section of the toiling people.

With the object of defeating the anti-people policies of the ruling party the struggle committees will support those candidates at the election who are known to the people as active workers and trusted soldiers of democratic mass movement for the last five years at least; who are free from allegations of corruption and nepotism; who are not influenced by communal and parochial outlook, nor have connection with any such organisations; who will be pledged to resign seat in case they forfeit the trust of the electorate, or of the people for that matter.

Whoever may be installed in Governmental power through the election, replacing the ruling Congress(I), the struggle committees will highlight before them the people's democratic aspirations and their specific demands and work as watchdogs over them. The prospect of ending this dark regime of despair and suffocation and creating in its place a healthy democratic atmosphere depends entirely upon successfully channelising the popular discontent against the misrule of the authoritarian and corrupt Congress(I) into a truly progressive, organised, united and broadbased democratic mass movement the ground of which should be prepared even during conducting this election battle. We fervently hope that all Left, democratic and Opposition parties and forces and all democratic minded people would ponder over it and step forward to build up this movement the only course for survival and play an active and conscious role in it.

## On Hungary

(Contd. from page 1)

Poland to realise the nefarious designs of the counter-revolutionaries who masquerading as socialists are trying to hoodwink them and hide their real intention of restoring capitalism. We fervently urge the working people of Hungary in particular to close their ranks, to give birth to their own political power, launch a new offen-

sive against the usurper capitalist class and save socialism from this imminent danger.

We also appeal to the working people and genuine communists throughout the world to rise up against this onslaught of the capitalist class and the U.S., imperialists in particular who are behind all these counter-revolutionary moves, to develop mighty militant people's movements everywhere to defend the cause of world socialism. We also urge them to

correctly realise the grave counter-revolutionary potential hidden in the scheme of so-called glasnost and perestroika which, the dangerous counter-revolutionary moves in Hungary have once again shown, if not resisted through fierce ideological struggle at once, would strike at the very root of the socialist foundation not only of other East European countries but the U.S.S.R. too.

We recall once again in this connexion the

timely warning of the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who in course of a deep, penetrating analysis of Chinese Cultural Revolution which he characterised as 'magnificent' strongly opined that a new type of economism and a new type of individualism were brewing in the socialist states, which, if not eliminated through sustained ideological struggles would strengthen further the grip of revisionism and in the ultimate analysis

was sure to endanger the very socialist foundation of all the socialist states.

We deem it our bounden duty to remind the workers of the world in this hour of a grim crisis about this historic warning of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era, realising whose thoughts we strongly believe that the working class movement can today extricate itself from the grave crisis in which it finds itself engulfed."

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Edited and Published by Sukomal Das Gupta from 48, Lenin Sarani Calcutta-700 013 and Printed by him at Ganadabi Printers and Publishers Private Limited 52B, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-700 013.