

## Indira Gandhi Assassination

# PROBE FINDINGS RAISE MORE SUSPICION

Following the disclosure of a part of the Thakkar Commission report in a newspaper and the events in its wake, certain questions have been agitating the people regarding the mystery surrounding the assassination of the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Off and on Government hinted at a 'larger conspiracy' behind the assassination but, although more than four years have elapsed, no light has been shed on it, nor the people have been told what action the Government has taken about it. A Commission was set up to inquire into the case of assassination but the Government took the most outrageous course of amending the Constitution to withhold the Commission's report from the people. Moreover, having full knowledge of strong indictment by the Commission of a close associate of the assassinated Prime Minister, the Government rewarded him in the recent past with a high posting. Side by side, the Government pursued a court trial, *in camera*, of three persons it had arrested on charges of involvement in the assassination plot, and in its aftermath two were hanged to death but the Government had not made available to the court the findings of investigations which might have a bearing on this trial.

Before going into these circumstances which, among others, are giving rise to serious questions in the people's mind, we need to recall some developments prior to and subsequent to the institution of the Thakkar Commission. Indira Gandhi was assassinated on 31st October in 1984 amid tight security arrangement inside the campus of her residence and Rajiv Gandhi, then no person in the Government, became the new Prime Minister. Almost immediately after the assassination in a carnage in the capital and elsewhere thousands of people belonging to the Sikh community were murdered and public sentiment was whipped up against this community to point at it the finger of suspicion for the crime. Thereafter, elections to Parliament were called and in an atmosphere built up to rouse public sentiment for the son of the assassinated Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his party took full advantage of the State apparatus behind them and registered a thumping majority. Meanwhile, a Commission comprising Justice Thakkar was set up three weeks after the assassination to inquire into the circumstances of the assassination and to seek out those who perpetrated

this crime. Later, another Commission comprising Justice Ranganathan Mishra was instituted to inquire into the Sikh carnage which followed the assassination. More than a year passed before the two Commissions completed their proceedings and submitted reports which were required to be tabled in Parliament by the Government within six months from their dates of submission. But on the eve of the expiry of the six-month period the Rajiv Gandhi Government promulgated an ordinance and subsequently amended Constitution to expunge the relevant portion in the Commissions of Inquiry Act of 1952 which made it obligatory for the Government to table in Parliament a Commission's report within six months of its submission. The result was that both the pending reports were withheld from the people and sent to the cold storage on the plea that their publication would 'jeopardise national security'.

Our party strongly protested this most undemocratic and outrageous act of the Rajiv Gandhi Government as it struck at the very purpose and object of setting

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## Com. Mukherjee On Indo-Nepal Relations

Expressing grave concern at the fast deteriorating relation between India and Nepal resulting out of Government of India's persistent refusal to renew the trade and transit treaty which expired on the 23rd March, 1989, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary in course of a statement strongly criticised this unreasonable and obdurate attitude of the Government of India as it tantamounted to imposition of an economic blockade against a friendly landlocked neighbouring country and infringement on its sovereignty. Demanding immediate lifting of this undeclared economic blockade which had been causing untold suffering to the common people of Nepal, Com. Mukherjee in course of this statement also warned the people of the country about the imperialist tendencies and big power chauvinism which were manifesting themselves through these actions and measures being taken at the behest of the monopolists of the country, which would also surely isolate India and Indian people from the peace and freedom-loving people of the world and severely impair its relations particularly with the non-aligned countries.

## Com. Gian Singh Elected Control Commission Chairman

In the first meeting of the Control Commission held on 13th March '89 at Ghatsila, Bihar, under the conduction of our beloved General Secretary, Com. Nihar Mukherjee—Com. Gian Singh was unanimously elected its chairman.

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## Afghan Situation

# Some Pertinent Questions

It has been the daily affair to see in the newspapers the fierce battle going on between the government troops and the rebel guerillas in Afghanistan sometimes odds tilting to this or that side. The result is innumerable loss of human lives and property with no end in sight. All these things cannot but cause serious concern to the saner section of the people in general and the people of this sub-continent in particular who really wanted peace established in Afghanistan and the Afghan people decided their own destiny without further foreign interference from whatever side it might be.

We, on behalf of the Indian working class, while warning the people against possible danger welcomed the progress and preparation for peace accord and consequent withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and our party's beloved General Secretary, Com. Nihar Mukherjee, in his Report to the First Congress of our party held in Calcutta between March 25 and 29 last year said: "I take this opportunity to welcome the proposal of withdrawal of Soviet army from Afghanistan. But at the same time, we call upon the revolutionary and progressive forces of Afghanistan to create such a congenial atmosphere that ensures the development of the revolutionary working class movement to determine their own destiny on the one hand and guarantee the elimination of all possibility of the comeback of the US puppets and the reactionaries to power on the other".

The reactionaries and fundamentalist forces of Afghanistan have been gaining in strength being aided and abetted by the USA, Pakistan and Iran and occupied the major regions in the countryside

leaving the Najibullah government to control the towns only which have been encircled by the Mujahideen guerillas and are also experiencing daily rocket attacks and heavy shellings by the rebels. The capital of Kabul wears a look of a beleaguered city with trenches dug all around to prevent any enemy access. President Najibullah's offer for a ceasefire at the beginning of the 'holy Ramzan' has been turned down by the rebels and they with renewed vigour have started launching attack on the capital and other towns with US supplied rockets and other weapons. The government forces to repel the rebels are taking recourse to strafing the enemy positions with low-flying aircraft and helicopters and the infantry is not in a position to march to the battle front to counter the Mujahideens.

President Najibullah in a desperate bid to protect his government from rebel attack is giving concessions to the reactionaries one after another, i.e., giving back confiscated lands to their owners—

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## THAKKAR COMMISSION

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up a Commission of inquiry and was thus a blatant violation of democratic norms and jurisprudence. In effect this amendment of Constitution made persons in the ruling hierarchy immune against law even if they perpetrated serious crimes or serious offence against the people and the country. Not until a leakage in a newspaper the Thakkar Commission report was kept hidden from public knowledge and the people could know nothing of the findings of the Commission, nor the follow-up actions, if at all any, by the Government. Even the then President of the country was denied access to the report in violation of all democratic norms and despite his repeated and express wish to see it. In the cabinet also it had not been discussed. The other report, that of the Ranganathan Commission has been still kept a secret.

The unusual circumstance in which the late Prime Minister was assassinated itself warranted unearthing the truth in the interest of the people and the country and that, too, in the quickest possible time so that no evidence of importance could get lost. The purpose of appointing the Thakkar Commission was to bring to light this truth. So, whatever the findings of the commission, the report ought to have been made public in the interest of the people and the country. Had the Commission found nothing tangible, the people should have been told the reasons in order that a more effective investigative approach could be adopted. Had the Commission established the identity of those guilty, the people should have been apprised so that vigil could be tightened to avert future recurrence. Had the Commission unearthed a larger conspiracy or the hand of a foreign agency it was incumbent all the more to apprise the people clearly of the gravity and the danger of the

situation, because it is the vigilant and alert people in every country who constituted the ultimate safeguard against any threats to that country's security.

So, no one with a sense of judgement could agree to the Government's plea that the Thakkar Commission report, whatever, its findings, could 'jeopardise national security'. But the Rajiv Gandhi Government withheld the report on this particular plea and to achieve its end amended the Constitution, trampling all democratic norms.

Whether the report as tabled in Parliament is the complete report submitted by the Thakkar Commission has become a question, too, and not without a basis or without any importance because the tabled version in 2 volumes and running into 657 pages mentions of 4 volumes of the report running into 8000 pages. The Government, had it any regard for democratic norms, would not have sought refuge behind a smokescreen of whether the remainder was to be technically called parts of the 'report' or called parts of the 'proceedings'. Naturally, the question has arisen whether the untabled pages contain some such thing which Rajiv Gandhi and his Government are bent on keeping secret.

All Rajiv Gandhi now tells the people is that the assassination of Indira Gandhi was part of a 'larger conspiracy' with aim to 'destabilise' the country and that he knew of it before now. This has led to a question to be asked: If he knew of it earlier why did not he alert the people earlier? Why does he speak it out only after the disclosure of the report? If 'security' were the reason for keeping this 'information' secret then how can he pass the 'secret information' to the people now in violation of 'security'?

At the same time, Rajiv Gandhi has started accusing the Opposition parties of 'abetting those

who had been helping the assassins of Indira Gandhi'. In one way it is nothing strange, because it is a practice grown into a hard habit of Rajiv Gandhi and his party, and it was a practice with the late Prime Minister, too, to accuse the Opposition of helping the country's enemies whenever the Opposition and the people at large made criticism for misdeeds of the ruling party and its Government. But is it not preposterous that the ruling party and its leader would seek to negate the right of the people and the Opposition to criticise the Government for what they consider its misdeeds? And is it not proper for the people to ask Rajiv Gandhi and his Government whether or not they are now resorting to this old practice because of a growing suspicion among the people about their conduct in the Indira Gandhi assassination case?

Besides, it was only after the disclosure of the report that the people came to know, for the first time at that, of the existence of a parallel Special Investigating Team (SIT) comprising police officials, and in effect a departmental inquiry. Under what circumstances could the people come to know of it? As is well-known by now, the Thakkar Commission report has pointed the finger of suspicion at R. K. Dhawan, the then Special Assistant to Indira Gandhi, saying that 'there are strong indicators and numerous factors which warrant grave suspicion as regards the complicity and involvement of Mr. R. K. Dhawan' in the Indira Gandhi assassination plot. When it tabled the Thakkar Commission report in Parliament, the Government, in a memorandum of action taken after receiving the report, cleared Dhawan, in a sentence, of being involved in the assassination plot on the basis of a report by the SIT. Therefore, uppermost in the people's mind comes the question: why had not the Government told earlier anything about the existence of the SIT and its task? Why did it disclose this information

only after the disclosure of the report? Very much pertinent to these questions the fact that immediately after the assassination of Indira Gandhi Dhawan was quietly removed from his assignment of Special Assistant to the Prime Minister. But only sometime before the report got leaked out he was inducted as Officer on Special Duty in the Cabinet Secretariat. A very significant and publicly discussed issue though, it was never made public why Dhawan was removed from his earlier position and why he was reinducted in a higher position and that his reinduction had any such basis as 'clearance' by a Government team called the SIT. This has stirred up in the people's mind a lot more serious questions to be asked. Dhawan may or may not have any complicity or involvement in the assassination case. But what reasons did induce the Government to accept clearance by the SIT in disregard of the strong comments by the Thakkar Commission holding Dhawan suspect? No reasons have been given by the Government. But why?

Is the assassination of the late Prime Minister an issue private to Rajiv Gandhi, his family or his party? Is anybody's suspected role an issue to be decided by Rajiv Gandhi's personal judgement or as per the view of his party and its Government? Or is the decision to be based on democratic norms, practices and the 'law of the land' about which they are so often vociferous? Is Rajiv Gandhi above the 'law of the land'? Is the Prime Minister 'democratic' unto himself? Is it his prerogative to be obeyed as the sole arbiter of democratic norms and processes?

Whether Dhawan is guilty or innocent is important no doubt. But far more important is the fact that Rajiv Gandhi and his Government have trampled at will all democratic norms and practices, showing least regard for the 'law of the land' about which they

are so eloquent. Moreover, it was not R. K. Dhawan alone, but several other high officials, too, who have been indicted by the Thakkar Commission for lapses in the security arrangement and dereliction of duty.

What action has the Rajiv Gandhi Government taken against them? It may sound strange but it is the fact that most of them have been rewarded by way of promotion to higher positions—R. N. Kao, for instance; M. K. Wali, another instance. Whereas, there is a parallel instance in which, for similar charges, two other officials continue to remain under suspension despite the fact that the officially instituted Basak Committee entrusted to inquire into their alleged offences has exonerated them from all charges two years back. In either case, whether for reward or for punishment, the Government thought it appropriate to give reasons for why it had set up two different bodies, the SIT and the Basak Committee, to inquire into similar charges and why it meted out preferential treatment. This is why the question has arisen: Was it to conceal some larger crime by bigger people and for that to make some other people scapegoat in the eye of the people?

Now after the disclosure and in the face of strong public criticism and suspicion for its secretive conduct in the Indira Gandhi assassination case, the Government has filed chargesheets against a number of persons alleged to be participants in the assassination plot on the basis of findings of the SIT. All these years when the Thakkar Commission had been conducting its proceedings or when its report was lying in the cold storage the people had not heard anything about these findings. Nor, until the disclosure, had the people heard anything about the Government's contemplation to file chargesheets against some persons. Is it not natural that this strange coinci-

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dence of 'chargesheets' and the disclosure of the report and consequent public criticism has created deeper suspicion about the motive and conduct of the Government in this assassination case? Is it because the Government wanted to divert the people's attention from the main and real issues of the assassination case and to confuse them as regards its real intentions?

Yet another vital aspect of the case becomes pertinent in this context. Besides setting up the Thakkar Commission and the SIT, the Government pursued a Court trial *in camera* of 3 persons it had arrested in charges of involvement in the assassination of Indira Gandhi. Thus, basically on the same issue of assassination and seeking out or identifying the culprits, there had been parallel investigating bodies at work and also a court trial *in camera*. The first question that has arisen is: Why was the trial held *in camera* and why were of the persons charged with the crime not allowed to appear in person before an open trial? Besides, in such circumstances, the principles of jurisprudence and justice demand that for fair and effective trial all relevant evidence and material be produced before the court of law to assist the judges in drawing the correct conclusion and delivering the right judgement. It was the duty of the Government to submit to the court all material pertaining to the case. However, despite repeated petitions by the defence counsel to make the Thakkar Commission report available to the court, the Government did not comply, thus in effect blocking relevant material and, thereby, causing denial of natural justice. Is it how the Government intended to facilitate unearthing the conspiracy behind the assassination? The trial court was not furnished with the findings of the SIT, too. Nor was the SIT's findings made available to the Thakkar Commission, although, we are

told, one of the reasons for appointing the SIT was to assist in the work of this Commission by providing the materials gathered.

All these have specific relevance to the case of one of the two persons who had been convicted by the trial court and later hanged to death. In its report, so far as the same has to come to light, the Thakkar Commission has not mentioned anything about this person, Kehar Singh, as having had any possible complicity or involvement in the assassination of Indira Gandhi. And during the court proceedings a question arose repeatedly whether substantial evidence was produced by the Government to establish the involvement of Kehar Singh for the crime he had been charged with. However, Kehar Singh was executed, his mercy petition, too, having been turned down. Now after the disclosure of the Thakkar Commission report the case of Kehar Singh has naturally been agitating the people's mind again. In fact, it is a basic principle of jurisprudence that to provide all opportunity for self-defence to the prosecuted benefit of doubt shall be accorded to thousands, if needed be, but not one innocent man shall be punished. Is it not natural for the people to ask whether the Government did really feel concerned to do its part to facilitate application of this principle to the case of Kehar Singh? Was it not all the more incumbent on the Government to pursue an open trial of all those prosecuted after having completed investigation into the assassination plot? Or was the Government more keen to see them put on the gallows even before the conspiracy was unearthed?

There are other very pertinent aspects, too. Beant Singh; another security guard said to have been involved in assassination plot, was murdered immediately after Indira Gandhi was shot down. But the identity of the murderers of Beant Singh have not

been established. To put it more precisely, their identity has not been sought to be established. There is no evidence that the Government has ever been keen to seek them out and produce before the trial court, nor has the SIT thrown any light, not even the Thakkar Commission. But since there is no denying that veritably vital information could be unearthed if the murderers of Beant Singh were sought out and produced before the trial court, the question has arisen: Why has the Government been so lax in establishing their identity?

It is no less strange that, although the names of all those who were in company of Indira Gandhi at the time and place of her assassination were widely publicised by all media, none of them were produced as witness before the trial court. Despite repeated demands from the defence counsel, R. K. Dhawan who was immediately beside her, or Sonia Gandhi, for instance, who was also near to her at that time and that place were not called or produced to give witness. Was it not the duty of the Government to produce them as witness to facilitate the establishment of truth behind the assassination of the late Prime Minister?

If all these are pieced together some of the vital points emerge which cannot be brushed aside. *First*, at every stage, right from appointment of the Inquiry Commission to follow-up actions, if any, the Government has not acted promptly as a result of which much of material evidence has got lost in all probability. It is this which has led the people to ask: Was the systematic delaying intentional on the part of the Rajiv Gandhi Government?

*Second*, parallel inquiry bodies were set up but there was no coordination between them. The question is: Why?

*Third*, after having received the report of the Thakkar Commission the

Government decided not to make it public and even amended the Constitution to that end. This again has led the people to ask: Whatever the truth regarding the indictments in the report was the Government so keen to keep the report secret because it came to know from the report who and which way 'the needle of suspicion' was pointing at?

*Fourth*, at every stage the Government violated democratic norms and practices, even showed scant regard for the 'law

ces'. The question naturally arises: Is it to divert the people's attention from the real issues of the assassination case and level this convenient charge of 'national security' and 'destabilising forces' against the Opposition at this time when the next parliamentary elections are round the corner? Is Rajiv Gandhi and his party trying to play this card like they played on the people's whipped up sentiment before the last parliamentary elections?

Therefore, it has ari-

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of the land', and took decisions as could suit the convenience of the decision makers. This is another reason why the people are asking: Is it merely an authoritarian style of functioning or is there something more in it about which the Government is particularly cautious and ruthless?

*Fifth*, it has now come to light, the Thakkar Commission report, or at least what has been tabled in Parliament as the report, does not contain anything which can be prejudicial to 'national security'. But it was on this plea that the report was withheld from the people. The people ask: Why this keenness to keep it so secret? Is embarrassment to the then Special Assistant to the late Prime Minister synonymous with jeopardy of the country's interest or embarrassment of the whole people? Or was it a compulsion for the Rajiv Gandhi Government to suppress the report to prevent unearthing a larger conspiracy in which people much bigger than the former Special Assistant and much more thick and thin with the ruling hierarchy were involved?

*Sixth*, after the disclosure of the report Rajiv Gandhi and his Government have started blaming the Opposition and issuing cautions against 'destabilising for-

sen as the prime question: Why this secrecy? What is this hide-and-seek all about? What is the truth behind the conspiracy?

The report of the Thakkar Commission has not shed light on it. The Special Investigating Team has not solved it. The trial court *in camera* sentenced two persons to death, but that did not unearth the conspiracy. It is a principle of judicature to look for the possible beneficiary in such circumstances. Is it from this angle that there has been a growing suspicion in many people's mind that the assassination of the late Prime Minister could be sort of a palace coup?

The real point is, the people want the entire conspiracy unearthed. Immediately after hearing the news of the ghastly assassination of Indira Gandhi our beloved General Secretary had issued a statement in which he said: "We urge the Central Government to set up, immediately a high power Enquiry Commission to probe thoroughly into how the miscreants could creep into and break through the tight security arrangement and attempt on her life, to find out the culprits and we also demand that an open trial be held so that the

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## Bhagat Singh Day Observed

Thorny is our journey towards socialism, towards communism and onwards. For this we need wisdom, endurance and courage, so that whatever be the pitfalls, our forward march is not hindered. This we can achieve by, among other things, acquiring what great revolutionaries of the past endowed. This is the great teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, and with this teaching in our heart of hearts we observe Saheed Bhagat Singh Day every year. This year too our party organisers held celebrations of the 23rd MARCH—day of martyrdom of Saheed Bhagat Singh and his close comrades-in-arms Rajguru and Sukdev, with more earnestness, with more seriousness. For, the ruling capitalist class's conspiracy to erase Bhagat Singh's memory has been more conspicuous and their all-out attempt to plunge the country in degeneration has been alarmingly increased.

### BIHAR

Muzaffarpur of Bihar, the place that recalls in our minds another inspiring name Saheed Kshudiram, witnessed a week-long celebration of Bhagat Singh martyrdom from 23rd March to 29th March. A series of programmes including morning marches, meetings, seminars, symposia, debates, essay competition etc. were taken up participated enthusiastically by students, youth and common people.

On 29th March a mass meeting was held at Kanti Hospital Ground attended mostly by young people and school students who listened to the speeches with rapt attention. Professor Shailendra Kr. Srivastava, Reader, Department of Physics, Bihar University was the Guest-in-Chief. It was presided over by Com. Baleshwar Rasoolpuri, Advocate and popular leader. Com. Chhaya Mukherjee, Central Staff of SUCI, the main speaker, in her discussion on Saheed-e-Azam roused the audience implanting in them a spirit of dedication for the revolutionaries of the country. Com. Arun Kumar Singh, President, All India DSO, also spoke.

The meeting was initiated by Sashibhusan Chaudhury, local youth leader.

### PUNJAB

The martyrdom day was observed in Punjab, the home-soil of Bhagat Singh. On the occasion meetings were organised

at village Charason (in Patiala Tehsil), Samana (Sub-divisional HQ in Bhatinda Dist.) on 24, 25, 26 March respectively. Com. Aminder Pal Singh and other organisers arranged the meetings and Com. S. D. Gautam as the main speaker placed his revolutionary tributes to martyrs. Com. Gautam criticised the role of Mahatma Gandhi and the then undivided CPI leadership in helping the British rulers in physically annihilating the revolutionaries upholding uncompromising struggle against imperialism. Still now the conspiracy was on even after the attainment of national independence.

Com. Gautam explained how the British rulers made efforts to divide Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukdev as Sikh, Sanatani and Arya Samaji on the communal lines, whereas Gandhiji declared them terrorist and violent. Today, Indian ruling class and its defenders are trying their best to convince the people that Bhagat Singh and his comrades were terrorists. Com. Gautam explained with regret that the so-called communists could not understand and are not trying to understand the conspiracy against these martyrs. It is very painful to note that some communal forces were very active in painting these revolutionaries as Hindu and Sikh, while the clear evidence proved very much that these revolutionaries were neither Hindu nor Sikh but materialists and were in the

process of becoming Marxists.

Com. Gautam urged that it would be the real tribute to fulfil the unaccomplished tasks of Saheed Bhagat Singh and his comrades by overthrowing ruling bourgeoisie and establishing socialism.

### ORISSA

To observe 23rd March the martyr's day, the AIDS, Pattamundai Committee, Orissa organised an attractive torch procession and a public meeting at Pattamundai bazar on the day. Com. Sukanta Nayak, member of AIDS State Secretariat and local DSO organisers Com. Rajendra Burma, Com. Khageshwar Sethi, Santanu Jena, Pyusa Kanto Nayak, Gopinath Tripathi and others were the speakers of the meeting. The speakers analysed the fighting character of Saheed Bhagat Singh.

They also condemned the illegal arrest of the Ravenshaw College students implicating them in false cases in regard to the incident of arson in the college and demanded its judicial probe.

### CHANDIGARH

On the occasion of 58th Martyrdom day of Saheed Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukdev; a morning procession (Prabhat Pheri) was organised by the Democratic Youth Organisation (DYO) Chandigarh unit. The procession started from Sector 40 via Badheri, 41 & 37 and concluded at the Dharmasala of Sector 24. It was attended by people from all walks of life. It was well decorated with banners, and fastoons. Slogans were raised against obscenity: withdrawal of New Education Policy and for providing employment to all and demanding 23rd March as a National Youth Day.

A memorial meeting was also organised in the evening in Sector 24. In the main speech Com. S. D. Gautam highlighted the revolutionary trend in the freedom struggle,

specifically in today's context and to take lesson from them as a guide to a change in the society. Mr. Om Prakash, Convenor, DYO Chandigarh, also addressed the memorial meeting and gave a call to participate in the Haryana State level rally on 27th of March, 1989 at Rohtak.

### BHOPAL

Bhagat Singh Martyrdom Day was observed on the historic 23rd March at Shahjehani Park, Bhopal. It was jointly organised by UT-UC(LS), All India DSO, DYO, MSS, Jahareeli Gas Kand Sangharsh Morcha, Gas Pedit Berojgar Naojawan Morcha, Gas Pedit Railway Mahila Sangharsh Samity, Dristikone, Madhyapradesh Sashakiya Karmachari Manch, Premchand-Saratchandra Jayanti Samoroha Samity and State Bank of India Staff Union.

Com. Alok Pratap Singh, one of the Vice-presidents of All India DSO and an important party organiser, the main speaker, urged upon the audience to take lessons from the revolutionary life of Bhagat Singh and build up revolutionary battle to fulfil the dream Bhagat Singh cherished and for which he laid down his life.

### MAHARASHTRA

Gurgaon unit of Saheed-e-Azam Bhagat Singh Memorial Committee observed Saheed Bhagat Singh Day on 23rd March evening at Lalji Mourya compound of General Arun Kumar Baid Marg, Gurgaon East, in which Sri Tarakeswar Choubey was the Chief Guest and eminent Marathi poet and teacher Sri Bal Hate was the main speaker. At the beginning the Bombay Committee Convenor, Dr. Madan Kumar, welcomed the audience, and the DYO music squad sang song on Bhagat Singh and other songs.

Mr. Choubey appealed for national integration in his speech. Sri Bal Hate appealed to the youth to come forward to fulfil the unaccomplished task of Saheed Bhagat Singh i.e. to free the

society from exploitation of man by man by establishing a workers' and peasants' society and this should be the best respect to Bhagat Singh.

Dr. Madan Kumar said that the dream of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukdev still remains unfulfilled. And the ruling class is trying to degenerate the youth through spread of obscenity and drug addiction so that they would remain aloof from politics. He appealed to the youth to come forward to destroy this exploitative system.

Com. Om Prakash, Secretary, Gurgaon unit, thanked all for making the programme a success.

### BANGALORE

AIDYO Bangalore District Organising Committee organised series of Public meetings in different localities of Bangalore, involving hundreds of youths in campaigning, sale of Bhagat Singh Badge and group discussions and attractive wall writings extensively.

On 16th March '89, a Public Meeting was held at Padarayanapura Circle, where more than 400 people including workers and youths gathered. Com. K. Uma, State Secretary of AIDSO, was the Chief Guest, Com. N. Ravi, AIDYO Bangalore District in-charge was the speaker and Comrade Prasanna Kumar of DYO District Committee, presided over the meeting.

A Hall Meeting was organised on 19th March 1989, at Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Gandhi Bazar, where Com. Uma Sherieff, Com. N. Ravi and Com. M. S. Prakash, Member, SUCI, Bangalore District Committee, addressed the gathering, while Com. Shashi Kumar, Member, AIDYO, Bangalore District Committee presided over the Meeting.

The Public Meeting at Kamakshipalya on 20th March, had created a good impact on the people. Com. K. Surendra Babu, Member, AIDYO, Karnataka State Unit, was the Main Speaker.

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## ASSAM STATE UTUC(LS)

### *Holds Its First Conference*

The first Assam State Conference of the UTUC (LS) was held at Silchar with much enthusiasm on 9th and 10th March, 1989. The delegate session started on 9th March at Gandhi Bhaban under the presidentship of Com. Asit Bhattacharya, a renowned public leader of the state and member of the Central Committee of the SUCI. Earlier, red flag was hoisted by Com. Siddheswar Sarma and Com. Bimal Nandi garlanded the martyrs' column. The session started with placing of wreaths on the portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great departed leader of the proletariat and late President of UTUC(LS). The *Internationale* and the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh were sung by the music squad.

Com. Ahin Ghosh, Convenor of the Reception Committee formed for the Conference welcomed, at the outset, all the delegates and leaders present. Com. Tapas Dutta, a renowned trade union leader, General Secretary of the UTUC (LS) and Member of the Central Committee of the SUCI inaugurated the conference. In his inaugural speech Com. Dutta dealt at length about the class divided social structure of the country and how the ruling capitalist class extracting maximum profit had already pushed the entire working people of the country to utter distress. He emphasised on leading the working class struggle with revolutionary fervour and ideology so as to bring an end to the present exploitative system.

After that, Com. Siddheswar Sarma placed the Secretary's report for consideration. Delegates participated in it and afterwards accepted it unanimously with some modifications and incorporations.

The second day of the delegate session started with adopting a condolence resolution on the premature death of Com.

Pabitra Kalita and Com. Arpin Ali.

This session took up 8 different resolutions demanding rapid industrialisation of the State and with this in view extension of broad-gauge railway line upto Dibrugarh and Barak Valley and switching over to electric rail; scrapping of Black Acts; withdrawal of the provision of the Police Act empowering them to decide on permitting to hold demonstration and procession; scrapping of new education policy of the Central Government; to introduce total state trading for all essential commodities; to open all closed industries and to take over all sick industries etc.

The delegates elected a seventeen member State Committee with Com. Siddheswar Sarma as President, Com. Bimal Nandi as Vice President and Com. Saradindu Biswas as Secretary.

The delegate session ended with the presidential speech. Com. Asit Bhattacharya, the President of the Conference in his speech dealt with the problems of working class movements of the state and the task before the working class. He also explained how one could become a good revolutionary and thereby lead the working class movement to its cherished goal.

At the end of the delegate session, a well-decorated workers' procession paraded the main streets of the Silchar Town raising slogans on different demands. The procession terminated at the Gandhi Bagh where the open session of the Conference took place.

The open session of the Conference was presided over by Com. Asit Bhattacharya. The main speaker of the meeting, Com. Tapas Datta, dwelt at length on the nature of capitalist exploitation being perpetuated and how the people of our country are groaning under ruthless exploi-

tation of the capitalist class. In his speech, Com. Datta explained how the capitalist class is fast moving towards bringing all-out fascism in the country and enacting Black Acts thereby curtailing the democratic rights of the people in general and the working class in particular. Com. Datta while warning the people to remain alert against the ill-design of the class of disrupting the unity of the people in the name of language, race, religi-

on etc. appealed to the working class to strengthen the UTUC(LS) as it was the only genuine workers' organisation to safeguard the working class interest.

In his presidential speech, Com. Asit Bhattacharya, explained the role of pseudo communist parties viz. CPI and CPI(M) and analysed how these parties along with other social democratic forces were causing immense harm to developing working class movement. He urged upon the people to remain vigilant against the misdeed and social democratic role of these forces.

Com. Kalyan Choudhury, Secretary of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI, in his brief speech analysed the present abnormal political situation of the State and urged upon the people to remain alert against all these separatist forces.

At the outset, Com. Siddheswar Sarma read out the resolutions taken in the open session and Com. Saradindu Biswas read out the names of the newly elected body. Com. Radha Kanta Tanti, well-known trade union leader of the state also spoke in the meeting.

## Demonstration before Orissa Assembly

At the call of the UTUC(LS) a massive workers' demonstration was held before Orissa Assembly on 15th March. Thousands of workers from different industries of the state participated in the demonstration to raise their voice against closure, lock-out, lay-off and burning of SUCI office at Dhanamandal by Congress hoodlums. The demonstrators also demanded rapid industrialisation and demanded ban on lock-out and closure.

In a disciplined procession the workers gathered before the State Assembly where a protest rally was held with Com. Bishnupada Das on the chair. Eminent trade union leaders Com. Mayadhar Nayak, Com. Sambhunath Nayak, MLA Com. Debendra Sahoo, Com. Bijay Kumar Sahoo and many others addressed the rally. They vehemently criticised anti-working class policies of the State Govt. and demanded judicial probe into the burning of the SUCI office by Congress(I) antisocials. The speakers highlighted the closure and lockout, computerisation and machine mining which had killed lakhs of job opportunities in the state.

A delegation led by Com. Mayadhar Nayak

and Com. Sambhunath Nayak met the State Labour Minister to submit a charter of demands. The delegation discussed with the Minister about the alarming industrial situation. The Minister assured to look into the problems and do the needful.

Briefing the discussion to the workers Com. Mayadhar Nayak said the workers must be prepared to launch sustained movement if to face the anti-working class policies of the Congress(I) Govt. Com. Bishnu Das urged upon the demonstrators to strengthen the organisation for broader struggle.

### *Anti-Famine Demonstration*

On 16th March last a massive demonstration was organised by the All India Krishak Khetmajdoor Sangathan, Orissa State Committee, against acute famine in the state, in front of Orissa Assembly. More than five thousand people including about a thousand women participated in the demonstration from different parts of the state. A colourful procession started from Bhubaneswar Railway Station and marched through the

main thoroughfares and reached P.M.G. Square, where hundreds of policemen cordoned their way. A protest meeting was held there with Comrade Mayadhar Nayak, the prominent SUCI leader as the President. Com. Raghunath Das, Asst. Secretary, AIKKMS, in his speech demanded action on warfooting against famine situation of Koraput, Phulbani, Ganjam, Bolangir and Sambalpur and urged upon the Government to provide mid-day meal, adequate relief, test relief, food for work, supply of essential commodities through control and supply of seeds, fertilizer and to write off agricultural loans to the people along with proper irrigation facilities and arrangement of drinking water, to stop eviction of people from forests and plantation in their occupied lands, record their lands without tax and also to withdraw the proposal of enhancement of hospital fees. Comrade Sambhunath Nayak, SUCI MLA, strongly demanded before the government to stop eviction of the people from the forests of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Sundergarh.

A five-member delegation under the leadership of Com. Balaram

(Contd. on page 8)



## International Women's Day OBSERVED IN STATES BY MSS

### KARNATAKA

The Karnataka State Unit of MSS observed International Women's Day on March 8th last. At Bangalore group meetings were held in various localities prior to the day. Finally a public meeting was organised on March 8th at NGO Bhavan, Bangalore, attended by women from different walks of life.

In her Presidential address Com. H. G. Jayalakshmi, Secretary, MSS Bangalore District Organising Committee explained about the struggle of the women since the time subjugation of women started in history.

Mrs. Nupur Basu, Staff Reporter, Indian Express, expressed indignation over the increasing incidents of atrocities on women.

The question of either education, job or marriage posed before the women is highly ridiculous, said the Associate Professor of Institute for Social and Economic Change, Mrs. Usha Rao.

Com. Krishna Chakraborti, member, Central Committee, SUCI the main speaker of the day, in his illuminating speech said to achieve total emancipation all women would have to conduct struggle inseparably linked up with the struggle of the working class to overthrow this exploitative capitalist system to establish Socialist system as shown by an outstanding Marxist thinker of this era Com. Shibdas Ghosh.

Dr. Sudha Kamath, President, MSS State Committee expressed and emphasised that women have to win their emancipation themselves.

Dr. Uma Sheriff, Advisor, MSS State Committee and Smt. Vinoda, Head Mistress, Nivedita High School, expressed the need of

the hour to organise women to fight against their growing problems.

### GULBARGA

On 10th March International Women's Day was observed by Gulbarga city organising committee at KEB Colony presided over by Com. Lalitha Bajjargi, In-charge, M.S.S. Gulbarga city organising committee. The main speaker was Com. Sheela S. Vice-President MSS Karnataka State Committee, and guest speaker was Smt. Neeraja, Secretary, KEB Mahila Mandali.

It was attended by women from different working areas.

### YADGIRI

On 11th and 12th March a two-day schooling was organised by the MSS, Yadgiri City Organising Committee.

On 8th March in Khaddapa a meeting was organised by the MSS attended by a good number of women.

### M.P.

On the occasion of the International Women's Day a week-long programme was taken which included seminar, group discussion, quotation exhibition culminating in a meeting at Patrakar Bhawan, Bhopal. Com. Chhaya Mukherjee, All India leader of the MSS and central staff of the SUCI, was the main speaker. Other speakers included Dr. Laxmi Jha and Smt. Nandini, a teacher.

### BIHAR

International Women's Day was observed at Srikrishtapur Railway Line Maidan, Patna, on 8th March. Working women rallied there in a large number. Com. Rekha Sinha, President of the MSS, Bihar State Committee, was the main speaker. Other speakers included Com. Mithilesh Thakur and Com. Kumari Sidam.

A meeting was held on this occasion at Galtang near Chandankeyary of Dhanbad. Com. Hem Chakraborty, member of the state secretariat, Bihar, SUCI, was the guest-in-Chief. Com. Sarala Mahato was the main speaker.

International Women's Day was observed on 8th March at Bhawanlal Smarak Pustakalay Hall, Muzaffarpur, Bihar, presided over by Sabitri Devi. Com. Shivshankar, Secretary, District SUCI, was the main speaker. Other speakers were Bibha Sinha, Nilam Sinha, Manju Bharti and Rani.

The speakers appealed to build up movements against dowry system, obscenity, unemployment and torture on women etc. The meeting was attended by a good number of women.

At Ghatsila subdivision a series of meetings were held from 7th to 12th March in different places under 5 police station areas attended by Com. Sarala Mahato, district MSS leader. On 13th March a large well-decorated procession of women from Chakulia, Dhalbhumgarh, Ghatsila, Musabani, Dumuria etc. traversing Ghatsila town reached SDO's office and a delegation of 14 women discussed with SDO their 10-point charter of demands including drinking water.

Thereafter the procession marched to the Ghatsila Rly Station where a mass meeting was held in which Com. Sarala Mahato was present as the main speaker.

On 14th March a large number of women from Patka, Parmada and Jamshedpur demonstrated in front of the Jamshedpur Court and a memorandum containing 10-point charter of demands was submitted at the court office. In a meeting held there Comrades Sarala Mahato, Renu Sarkar and Lily Das spoke.

## Proper compensation to evicted people demanded

The NTPC Kshatigraha Ganasangram Committee, of Kaniha in Talcher area of Orissa which is fighting for the people affected due to the establishment of thermal plant, organised a big demonstration before Orissa Assembly on 14th March demanding due compensation at the rate of Rs. 2.5 lakhs per acre, employment to at least 1 person of each affected family and proper rehabilitation to the distressed families. The procession started from Bhubaneswar railway station at about 11 a.m. and was obstructed at the P.M.G. square by armed policemen. A delegation led by

the Committee's President, Com. Mayadhar Nayak and comprising Com. Bishnu Das, Bhagirathi Prodhan, Bibhendra Prodhan, Kulamani Sahu met the Revenue Minister and submitted a memorandum. The minister assured to give proper compensation to the affected people within one month after investigation.

In the meeting held there under the Presidency of Com. Bhimsen Behra, speakers urged upon the people to stand by the affected mass and demanded of the government to stop police atrocities on them and fulfil their just demands.

## Joint Initiative By Steel Workers

The Rourkela Workers' Union, Durgapur Steel Workers' Co-ordination Committee comprising Alloy Steel Plant Unit and DSP Unit, Bokaro Ispat Central Workers' Union and Hindustan Steel Coal Washeries Employees' Union observed a Demands Day on 24th February '89 after taking a 4-week long first phase of programme starting on 27th January '89 on the following demands :

1. Introduce need based minimum wage for the Steel workers as per recommendation of the 15th Indian Labour Conference—Basic Wage Rs. 1800/- per month.

2. Adopt scientific and correct method of calculation for determining Consumers' Price Index (CPI) and implement 100 percent neutralisation of increased cost of living.

3. Reconstitute N.J.C.S. and include UTUC (LS) because it represents substantial number of steel workers in 6 Steel Plants and is recognised by the Central Government.

4. No increase in work-load in the name of Cluster system Promotion Policy.

5. Fill up the vacancies caused by death, retirement etc.

6. Restore all facilities enjoyed by the steel workers and stop curtailment of trade union rights by introducing Black Bills in different names.

7. All the Contractors' workers should be regularised in permanent roll.

8. No automation at the cost of retrenchment and source of new recruitment.

Later, the General Secretary, UTUC (LS), Com. Tapas Dutta in a meeting on 4th March at Durgapur stressed the need for development of co-ordination amongst all our affiliated unions by initiating common programme of action in all steel plants where we are working. In this process he also stressed the need for common leaflet to be issued jointly by all the unions, common propaganda and common convention. After that a central programme can be arranged at Delhi, he suggested. He directed the representatives to initiate active drive for membership in all steel

(Contd. on page 8)

## BHAGAT SINGH DAY OBSERVED

(Contd. from page 4)

Com. K. Venugopal, Member, SUCI, Bangalore District Committee and Com. V. Nagammal, Member, MSS, Karnataka State Committee, also spoke. Com. Bhasker Herale, Member, AIDYO, Bangalore District Committee presided over the meeting. More than 500 people all through stood with rapt attention to hear the speakers.

On 21st March, a public meeting was held at Kamalanagar Bus Stand, where more than 300 people, gathered. Com. Aparna, B. R. Member, AIDYO, State Unit, and Com. K. Venugopal, spoke, while Com. Rangappa, Member, AIDYO, Bangalore District Committee, presided.

A central public meeting was held on 23rd March, at Government Law College attended by

Com. Venkatesh, in his speech said the present bourgeois rulers are conspiring to wipe out the memories of Bhagat Singh's life, character and struggle from the public mind. He called upon the youth to uphold the great ideals of Bhagat Singh.

Com. K. Radhakrishna, Secretary, SUCI, Karnataka State, gave a comprehensive understanding about the two trends in the freedom struggle and called upon the youth to make a thorough cult of martyrs' life and character in order to fulfil their life-long dreams by upholding the banner of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution on the basis of the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. Com. N. Ravi, In-charge, AIDYO, Bangalore District presided over the meeting.

### GULBARGA

In Gulbarga, AIDYO and AIDSJO jointly observed the Bhagat Singh Day on 29th March '89. A well decorated procession was taken out. Later a public meeting was held at Thimmapur Chowk in the city. Com. K. Uma, Secretary, AIDSJO, Karnataka State, who was the main speaker on the occasion, dealt in detail on the heroic struggle of Bhagat Singh and emphasised the need and significance of cultivating the life and struggle of the great patriots in the context of the present situation. Com. H. B. Chandankar, Secretary, AIDYO, Gulbarga District, also spoke. Com. Bhagawan Reddy, Secretary, AIDSJO, Gulbarga District presided over the meeting.

A public meeting was also held at Gandhi Chowk, in Yadgiri on 31st March.

## Protest against Central Budgets in Kerala

Raising voice of protest against the deceptive and anti-people Central Budgets, SUCI workers held fervent demonstrations in different parts of the state.

In Cochin city, the demonstration started from near the Ernakulam South Rly Station and it covered M. G. Road, Banerjee Road and Shanmugham Road to converge near Boat Jetty. Com. G. S. Padmakumar, Ernakulam District Secretary and member, Kerala State Committee SUCI, addressed the gathering.

In Quilon town demonstrators including

many female comrades after covering the main thoroughfares with vigorous slogan-shouting assembled in front of Head Post Office and squatted there for a few hours. Com. B. K. Rajagopal, member of the State Committee of the party, addressed the gathering there. Comrades N. Vijayakrishnan, S. Radhakrishnan and K. Badaruddin also spoke. The speakers pointed out that the railway budget and the general budget along with pre-budget administered price-hike for so many items were going to bring about a totally suffocating situation of unprecedented price rise

of all essential articles of daily use. People, now pushed to the wall, are left with no alternative than coming forward to build up mighty mass movements against the anti-people policies of the Centre and the state government.

The SUCI, under the able leadership of Com. Nihar Mukherjee was showing the path and striving hard to build up countrywide democratic mass movements on people's burning issues. The speakers urged upon the people to forge their own instruments of struggle by giving shape to people's committees.

## Movement Against Hospital Fee Hike

Recently, the Government of Orissa has, in an unusual haste, enhanced bed charges steeply in the hospital situated at Ramchandrapur in Keon-

jar district, Orissa. Under the initiative of the leadership of our party local people raised their voice of protest against this anti-people measure. After sustained campaign movement, they decided to organise a massive demonstration to press for withdrawal of the enhanced fees. Accordingly, it was decided to meet, in a deputation, the State Minister Mr. Niranjan Pattanaik against the increase of fees in the hospital.

On March 2, 1989 about 4000 people in a massive demonstration under the banner of SUCI proceeded to meet the Minister at Ramchandrapur in Keonjar district. On their way, the police resorted to indiscriminate lathi-charge in order to stall the advance of the huge procession. Having failed to break the firm determination of the processionists, the police then resorted to firing making innumerable people wounded and injured. Among them, 25 persons sustained severe injuries. The police

also took into custody 9 of the injured persons including Com. Dushmantha Jena.

### ANTI-FAMINE DEMONSTRATION

(Contd. from page 5)

Sahoo, State Secretary, AIKKMS and comprising Comrades Raghunath Das, Sambhunath Nayak, Jagabandhu Borral and Govinda Maharana met the agricultural minister and submitted a memorandum on the above demands. Com. Sahoo on behalf of the delegation told the demonstrators that the Government was utterly callous towards the problems of the peasants and labouring class. He urged upon the demonstrators to build up mighty movement against such attitude of the Government and to achieve their just demands.

The speakers also included Comrades Bishnu Das, Govinda Mahapatra, Jagabandhu Baral and other leaders of AIKKMS.

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hundreds of youths from different localities. Before the meeting, Com. Venkatesh, Convenor, AIDYO, Karnataka State Unit, garlanded the Martyrs' Column amidst thunderous slogans shouted by hundreds of youths. Then the meeting started with Songs on Bhagat Singh and other Revolutionaries presented by the DYO Music Squad.

### Joint Initiative By Steel Workers

(Contd. from page 7)

plants upto 15th April 1989.

It was decided to continue the propaganda campaign with our 9-point demands particularly highlighting the issue of the wage settlement and the inclusion of UTUC(LS) in the NJCS. It was further decided that another all India meeting will be held in the middle of April when a decision for all steel convention and decision for other joint programmes will be taken.

Meanwhile a vigorous movement against cluster system is going on under the auspices of Bokaro Ispat Central Workers' Union affiliated to UTUC(LS).

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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