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Mammoth Meeting at Esplanade East to Observe 5th August

The 5th August the day on which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, breathed his last 13 years ago was observed with due solemnity in Calcutta. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary was the main speaker. After the presentation of the song on the great leader and the guard of honour by AI-DSO, DYU, Komsomol, MSS, KKMS, UTUC-(LS) and Medical Front, Comrade Mukherjee rose to speak.

At the outset Comrade Mukherjee stressed the need to analyse the current international and national problems, in particular the crisis of capitalism in India casting its shadow on every sphere of life in the country, in the light of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder General Secretary of our party and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, who concretised, elaborated, developed and enriched Marxism on this soil, bringing its understanding to a new height. 'We ought to determine the root cause of this crisis, the root of the problems shaking life of the common people.'

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Mammoth gathering at Esplanade East, Calcutta on 5th August.
(Above) The leaders are seen on the dais while Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was addressing.



Comrade Nihar Mukherjee addressing the gathering on 5th August.

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Com. Ghosh had shown by his brilliant analysis how after Independence, since the days of Jawaharlal Nehru, the ruling bourgeoisie had been attempting for all round development and maximum possible consolidation of capitalism in the relatively backward capitalist State of India. He had warned that under conditions of the third most acute phase of general crisis of the world capitalism all attempts of the ruling bourgeoisie, including recourse to the five year plans, were historically destined to be accompanied by a shadow of crisis. Stark reality has shown how true was this analysis. Comrade Ghosh had shown that in the process not only did monopoly capital grow immensely in both the private and the public sectors, but through fusion of the State capital and the private monopoly capital was born the state monopoly capital, and the process of merger of the industrial capital and the bank capital gave birth to finance capital and financial oligarchy. The Indian monopolists are exporting not only commodities but also capital to exploit the cheap labour and raw materials of several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As Lenin taught, these were features of a growing imperialist character.'

Pointing to the privation, destitution and all-pervasive misery in the people's life today, Comrade Mukherjee emphasised: 'It is the crisis-ridden capitalism which, as a world system, has turned moribund today. That is the root cause of all the problems. Indian capitalism, being part and parcel of the moribund world capitalism, is plagued by an all-pervasive crisis. The more the bourgeoisie is trying to rid itself of the crisis the more it is getting enmeshed in it'

Comrade Mukherjee pointed to the grinding oppression perpetrated by the bourgeoisie in its bid to shift the entire burden of the crisis on to the common people, and observed: 'In all these years since the independence, the basic necessities of the people have not been met. Even such elementary necessities as food, drinking water, clothing, shelter, health and education have not been met. The purchasing power of the common people has declined to almost nil. Unemployment pervades every family. Scope of education is being curtailed to the minimum. On the other hand, the military budget is increasing every year. Like the imperialist rulers of the USA who have taken to the course of militarisation of economy as a measure to tide over the acute capitalist-imperialist crisis, the ruling

capitalist class of India, too, is taking recourse to increasing militarisation of economy to artificially stimulate the sagging capitalist economy. Economic crisis is not, however, the only distress afflicting the capitalist system of this country. It is riddled with corruption in the worst measure. To win a fresh lease of life for this crisis-ridden capitalism, the Congress(I), the most trusted political agent of the ruling capitalist class, is driving the country towards all-out fascism, concentrating draconian powers in the Executive to suppress the people's discontent against the capitalist exploitation and oppression, aiding and abetting communal casteist divisive separatist forces to disrupt the people's unity in their struggle against this exploitative and oppressive regime, spreading cultural depravity to wreck the moral backbone of the people and of the youth in particular, and trying to bring about regimentation of thought through such policies as the National Policy on Education. Comrade Ghosh had shown us the way out from this oppressive and suffocating situation. He showed us the correct road to emancipation, the road based on history, logic and experimental truth; the road that is independent of our likes and dislikes but is based on the correct scientific knowledge of the laws

Com. Nihar Mukherjee flays revisionist leadership

governing the growth and development of human society.'

Referring to the stages of development of human society, Comrade Mukherjee emphasised: 'The ending of all sorts of exploitation in the class divided society, and the true emancipation of women and true equality of man and woman, and elimination of all such inequalities as, for instance, inequality between towns and villages, between manual labour and mental labour in a capitalist society can be achieved only by revolutionary transformation of society into socialist society and then to communist society. This is the only historical course for emancipation and onward progress of the exploited people the world over.'

Pinpointing this historically determined onward course of human society towards communism, Comrade Mukherjee cited the instance of China, highlighting its advancement under the leadership of Mao Zedong along the correct Marxist base political line. 'In course of socialist construction under the leadership of Mao Zedong this erstwhile backward country has become a nuclear power, not to be a war-monger but for defence of socialism, peace and the cause of the world proletariat. All who have been to China and have sought to probe with an inquisitive and open mind the socialist construction in that country under Mao Zedong's leadership have been convinced that backwardness of the past is no insurmountable hurdle if the people were inspired with a noble ideology. And we should not forget that seizure of State power is not the end of proletarian revolution. Before revolution the class enemy has to be fought directly. After revolution, as Lenin taught, the class struggle becomes hundred-fold more fierce, because the ene-

my's attack then comes in a much more subtle and stealthy garb.'

Comrade Mukherjee reminded that the thoughts, ideas and habits of the old society never changed automatically along with seizure of the state power. He pointed out: 'As a step to bring about revolutionary transformation in the superstructure Mao Zedong initiated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. With great courage he undertook this task which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh hailed as 'magnificent'. Only genuine communists could undertake such gigantic and revolutionary tasks. Mao Zedong drew lesson from the developments in the Soviet Union under the Khrushchovite revisionist leadership and initiated a great struggle against the capitalist roaders within the party. Some excesses may have been committed here and there during the Cultural Revolution. Such things may happen during a revolutionary struggle. But does that entail giving up the revolutionary struggle? We must not forget that China became a mighty power and its social advancement reached a new height during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.'

Drawing attention to the present revisionist Deng Xiaoping leadership in China, Comrade Mukherjee explained: 'This revisionist leadership cannot disown Mao Zedong publicly because of his great impact over the Chinese people. They have taken to an oblique and surreptitious course. They are giving lip service to Mao's thoughts, but implementing an open door policy and practising 'four modernisation'. When he advocated modernisation especially after the Soviet revisionist leadership had withdrawn assistance to China, Mao emphasised that modernisation had

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Observe Bharat Bandh

The CAG report has finally established that Rajiv Gandhi government is guilty of corruption charges. After this revelation in the CAG report this Rajiv Gandhi government has totally forfeited any legitimacy in continuing in office even for a single moment. But instead of gracefully stepping down from office in keeping with the democratic norms Rajiv Gandhi is most shamelessly clinging to his post and even inciting his sycophants to attack the CAG who is the constitutional watchdog of public spending. In such a situation all the opposition members of the Lok Sabha have tendered their resignation. This event is quite unprecedented in the post independence period and never has developed such a situation as this one when all the opposition members are forced to resign in protest against the unabashed refusal of Rajiv Gandhi government to step down after the revelation of the CAG report. It once again proves that they have scant regard for democratic norms and principles. Showing no regard for democratic norms and values Rajiv Gandhi is most shamelessly conducting the Lok Sabha without the opposition members. It is not expected that this most undemocratic government led by Rajiv Gandhi will resign after the resignation of the opposition members. In this situation the only course that remains is to compel this government to step down by mounting pressure of mass movement. We welcomed the resignation of the opposition members and in solidarity with other opposition parties we observed August 9 as 'Save India Day' throughout the country—we also appeal to the people in general to actively participate to make the 'Bharat Bandh' on August 30 next a grand success.

But it is not on this count of corruption charges alone that this Rajiv Gandhi government is guilty. After being installed in power with much fanfare about his clean image, this Rajiv Gandhi has been mounting attacks one after another on the people from all directions. The most oppressive fiscal policies pursued by this Rajiv Gandhi Government have pushed the people back to the wall. The policy of computerisation and automation alongwith the moratorium on fresh employment has swelled the vast army of the unemployed. The new economic policy of privatisation and open and wide invitation to the multinational corporations along with a huge deficit budget, abnormal tax hike, rise in administered prices and giving subsidies and subventions in greater proportion to the monopolists at the cost of the sufferings of millions of people of our country has brought about an acute intensification of the crisis resulting in unprecedented inflation, price rise, black money, unemployment, lockouts, layoffs and closures. This government has shifted the entire burden of the capitalist economy on to the shoulders of the common man. On the other hand to crush any legitimate movement of the people this government enacted a number of black Acts. Depriving the people of the minimum basic necessities like food, clothing, shelter, drinking water, healthcare, medicines and education, this government is spending colossal amount on military. When this government has criminally neglected and failed to arrange drinking water not only in rural areas but even in a number of metropolitan cities it is spending colossal amount for setting up TV centres throughout the country and by allowing obscene culture to thrive through obscene magazines, films etc. and by encouraging unethical means of livelihood among the youth this government is most p'antly spreading the rotten and decadent culture among the masses to break their moral back bone. This government has framed a new education policy which is

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Delhi High Court Moved for annulment of Representation of People's (Amendment) Act, 1988

The Delhi High Court has issued notices to the Election Commission and the Union Government to the effect that a notice to the respondents to show cause why rule nisi be not issued—returnable on 31st August 1989 (C.W. No. 2248/1989) following a petition by the SUCI challenging the constitutional validity of the recently amended representation of People's Act, which lays down a new procedure for registration of a political party.

The notices were issued on 9th August by a division bench comprising Justice Lila Seh and Justice P. K. Bahri after hearing Mr. Soli J., Sorabjee, Senior Advocate of Supreme Court and Mr. Anil Nauriya who appeared and argued on behalf of the Socialist Unity Centre of India. Mrs. Hemantika Wahi acted as Advocate on record. The petition was filed by Com. Prithish Chanda, member, Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of SUCI on 4th August, 1989.

It is sub-clause 5 of section 29A of the amended Act, which lays down that the political parties applying for registration under the Act shall incorporate in their respective constitutions or rules and regulations a specific provision that 'the party shall be in true faith and allegiance to the constitution of India established by law and to the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy and would uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India'.

The Act also stipulates that no party or association or body shall be registered as a political party under this Section unless the Constitution or rules and regulations of the party conform to the provisions contained in Sub-clause 5. The amended Act also

for the first time defines a political party as "an association or body of individual citizens of India registered with the Election Commission of India as a political party". It also stipulates some additional information that an applicant party will have to furnish to the Election Commission.

The petitioner has sought an order for restraining the Election Commission and the Union Government from enforcing Section 3 and 6 of the Representation of the People's (Amendment) Act 1988 and Paragraph 3 of the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) order 1968 and declaring them "null and void".

Com. Prithish Chanda submitted that the fallout of non-registration of a political party was that the party which will not be registered, would be denied a common symbol for its candidates under the new symbols order read with the newly amended Act.

In the context of the present political system and its working and having regard to the fact of illiteracy of a vast number of the electorate, symbols play a very significant and important part in the matter of election in our country.

In the petition it was submitted that since symbols play a vital role in elections, denial would "adversely affect the electoral chances of a party."

Further, with the new procedure, unrecognised parties denied registration by the Election Commission would lose the benefit of being allotted symbols over the independent candidates.

The amended sections of the Act and the consequent direction of the Election Commission were "without the authority of law and were unconstitutional and illegal", the petition said.

Contending that the amended Act violated Article 19(1) (c) of the constitution which guaranteed the right to form a political party and also right of effective functioning of a political party including the right to contest an election as a political party, the SUCI submitted that Section 29A restricted the fundamental rights and was beyond the scope of Article 19(4). Further, these restrictions were not in the interest either of the sovereignty or integrity of India or public order or morality. Thus the amended Section 29A was violative of the Constitution. It as a consequence deprived a political party of the right to contest elections as a political party. And no criteria or principles are prescribed by the amended Act for regulating or governing the power of the Election Commission or registration of a political party.

The Election Commission's decision regarding registration was given a finality without any remedy being provided in respect of an adverse decision of non-registration. Since no safeguards are provided in the use of such vast and despotic powers as have been conferred upon the Election Commission to refuse registration to a political party, this is clearly a transgression of the requirements of rule of law and natural justice.

The SUCI, it was submitted, believed in scientific socialism and adhered to the principles of the true secularism and in that kind of democracy which would protect and uphold the interest of the exploited and oppressed people against the exploitation of the vested interest of the ruling class. It objected to expression like 'Principles of socialism' as vague and nebulous. These might con-

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Build up broad based United Movement

to be carried out on the basis of self-reliance and under the dictatorship of the proletariat with class struggle as the keylink. He emphasised that technocrats must be not only experts but also red. The Deng leadership on the contrary is not only denouncing Cultural Revolution but advocating modernisation minus politics.'

'The present CPC leadership' Comrade Mukherjee pointed out, 'argues that they will implement the 'open door' policy on a limited scale. But once this policy was introduced along with the bourgeois material incentives, could its scope and extent be limited according to one's fancy or good intention?' — Mukherjee asked.

He observed: 'The policy of investment of foreign capital and of introducing foreign collaboration gave the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, a long rope to vitiate the socialist society of China with their rotten, decadent bourgeois culture. The Deng leadership has claimed on this occasion and previously, too, that they would fight liberalisation. But by introducing the open door policy how can they fight the influence of the vulgar culture of the western capitalist countries?'

Comrade Mukherjee reminded: 'Every particular social formative has its basic economic law which determines the entire course of its development. The socialist economy, too, is governed by its own law. The socialist economy can be advanced only in accordance with its own particular law and not by giving any capitalist incentive or by any fanciful idea. It is not possible to create abundance by skipping steps as per one's fancy or sweet will. To try to augment production or overcome stagnation in production by providing material incentives to pander to self-interest is to humiliate the sense of dignity of labour. Instead of rousing the sense of dignity and devotion for

work through allegiance to ideology it only helps fulfil petty individual interests and profit motive as in a capitalist society.

He observed further: 'What did one witness in China during the recent student agitation there? The impact of socialism on the people that was created under Mao's leadership is fast eroding. Could this happen if the ideological struggle were carried on and the ideological standard uplifted?' The demands for more 'democracy' and 'more liberalisation' of the political system, he pointed out, 'reflected nothing but the urge of the existing bourgeois class, strengthened by the birth of new bourgeois elements as a result of introduction of market economy and encouragement to private capital, however limited — all this eroding more and more the socialist sector of economy.'

'The Deng leadership', Comrade Mukherjee pointed out, 'has proclaimed that to be rich is glorious. One section of the Chinese people has become affluent, but unemployment and poverty are creeping into the life of the larger section. For one thing, under Mao's leadership, the basic needs of the vast population had not remained unfulfilled. China had been freed from its age-old curse of famine and starvation. The country was relieved of beggary, unemployment and prostitution. However, if the trend manifest today gets entrenched, it would not be astonishing to find poverty, unemployment, beggary and prostitution return.'

He explained: 'Economic construction and augmenting production after revolution can be achieved only with the correct understanding of the law of socialism. Any other means may yield temporary gains but is incapable of guiding the socialist construction and advancement to its logical culmination. Because, after revolution, the hangovers in the superstructure in the

realms of culture as also economy act as a brake on socialist construction. These forces of habit, superstition, outmoded idea of the old society have to be fought with the people's conscious role, and it is for this reason that Mao Zedong had initiated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The giant communist leaders have all emphasised this task to be essential for progress of socialism. Revolution is a painstaking task; the tasks after revolution are even more painstaking. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that inadequate level of culture was one of the basic factors for revisionism-reformism to gain ground and thrive. The only guarantee against it was a heightened cultural level of the people. Those in particular who feel confused and concerned at the recent developments in the different socialist states should realise the significance of this teaching.'

'No doubt', Comrade Mukherjee explained, 'there has been a widespread stir in the student community in China. The present CPC leadership which called this agitation a counterrevolution does not seem to have taken correct lessons from these developments. Rather they have reiterated their resolve to cling to the policy they have been pursuing. If they persist in pursuing the same revisionist policy then military actions alone will not save socialism in China from the danger of recurrence of counter-revolution in greater dimension in future.'

'Despite the orchestrated efforts of the capitalist-imperialist world to malign communism in the wake of these developments in China', Comrade Mukherjee observed, 'those who have sought to analyse these developments critically and with an attitude free from bias — some of them were present, too, in that country during these incidents — also hold the revisionist policy of the present

CPC leadership responsible for the developments. They have further observed too, that it will be a mistake, to the cost of communism to turn away from Marxism, seeing the activities of the revisionist leadership of China'.

Comrade Mukherjee observed that it would be detrimental to the cause of communism, if the people turn their face away from this noble ideology and fail to uphold the nobility of this great philosophy which alone can show the correct path of progress of human civilization — looking at the disservice to its cause by the revisionists.

'The same is true for the present leadership of the Soviet Union', Comrade Mukherjee observed. 'The Khrushchov leadership, after Stalin's death, introduced non-socialist economic policies like material incentive, extended the sphere of commodity production and circulation, and, in the name of democratisation, introduced popular bourgeois democratic concepts and vulgar materialist culture instead of the proletarian culture. Now, under reformist programmes of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, the Gorbachov leadership has initiated a more advanced, more comprehensive and more thoroughly revisionist plan than that of Khrushchov. Lenin had formulated the New Economic Policy or NEP to fight the specific economic backwardness of the then Russia — viewing the NEP not as a model economy of socialism but as one with elements of capitalism under the State control and resorted to in a given situation for a limited period to pave the way to socialist economy. But the Gorbachov leadership argues that the NEP is the Leninist model of socialist economy and is trying to introduce that in a new form which can only help the process of restoration of capitalism and aggravate the maladies afflicting the socialist economy due to the long practice of re-

visionist policies since the days of Khrushchov. Can there be a greater vulgarisation and distortion of the Leninist policy than this?'

Comrade Mukherjee emphasised: 'Imperialism, in particular the US imperialism, with its war machinations, policy of nuclear blackmailing and Star Wars, stands today as the main enemy of mankind. The capitulationist policy of the Soviet revisionist leadership has only objectively helped imperialism to be more aggressive and to extend its lease of life. Whereas it was incumbent on the socialist countries to free the world peace movement from the illusions of pacifism and to integrate it with the revolutionary movements of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the colonial and semicolonial countries and thrust peace on the bellicose imperialist power, whereas in the existing changed international situation the possibility of preserving peace and the danger of outbreak of wars are both equally real, the revisionist leaderships of these countries, the Soviet leadership in particular, by negating the revolutionary significance of the world peace movement are rendering the working class and the revolutionary and national liberation movements ideologically disarmed.'

'But it is also true', Comrade Mukherjee observed, 'the present leaderships of the Soviet Union and China are encountering resistance to their revisionist policies from within. Whether they admit it or not, class struggle is going on within these countries and emergence of new revolutionary leadership is historically inevitable.'

Com. Mukherjee continued that even after the damage done by revisionist leadership — the overall economic — political system of Russia and China is, in the main, socialist and the duty to defend and strengthen it lies on the genuine communists of the soil.

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Convention against Undemocratic amendment to Representation of People's Act by CPDRS

CPDRS starts a countrywide Save Democracy movement to organise public opinion and launch protest against the Representation of Peoples' (Amendment) Act 1988 which is nothing but a death-knell of democracy in the country

This amendment snatches the basic right of the citizens to form association or political parties and preach their views and ideologies and gives the Election Commission an arbitrary and discretionary power to give registration to a political party and even to interfere with their internal affairs. The amendment has suggested some new stipulations for registration of political parties, which virtually amounts to surrender to the Indian State and abolition of the existing multi-party system and introduction of a single party system.

CPDRS has launched a very timely movement to fight against this heinous conspiracy to bring in fascism when all the Opposition parties barring the SUCI have signed this death warrant without raising a voice of protest.

NEW DELHI :

In New Delhi on 7th August at Pearilal Bhawan a largely attended Save Democracy Convention of eminent jurists, former judges, journalists, intellectuals and the people from all walks of life was held to protest against this black amendment of the RPA. The convention which was presided by Justice Tewatia, former Chief Justice of Calcutta, was addressed by the luminaries like Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, former judge of Supreme Court, Justice V. M. Tarkunde, former Judge of Bombay High Court, Hiranmoy Karlekar, Senior Editor of the Indian Express, Delhi, Pritish Chanda, Vice-President, CPDRS and Anil Nauriya, Advocate Supreme Court. Gyan Singh, Secretary of CPD-

RS introduced the speakers, moved the main resolution and read out the messages from Justice C. K. Gorg of Rajasthan High Court, Justice Ajit Singh Bains of Punjab High Court and S. Sahay, former Editor of The Statesman, Delhi.

We publish here the gist of some of the speeches.

PRITISH CHANDA

Com. Pritish Chanda said : I think in the amendment of the Representation of Peoples' Act in the guise of some nebulous or innocuous words such provisions have been inserted which have struck at the very root of whatever democratic norms and practices were there in the existing electoral process and above all has struck a blow on the political parties. The newly inserted Art 29 A forces all existing political parties to get them registered after fulfilling some ever

plurality of views is encouraged. I think different parties have different views and it is upto the people to accept it or not. I can't follow what is the need that all party must declare the same objective.

Regarding allegiance to constitution Comrade Chanda said : Present constitution is class oriented — for propertied class, for the bourgeoisie and not for the exploited. Then why should we have allegiance to this constitution. Secondly, say we declare our faith to constitution. But to what constitution? After a number of amendments what structure they have given to the Indian constitution? With utter disregard to the dreams of the constitution-makers the ruling clique at the centre continues to amend it to rob the fundamental rights of the people. One such is 59th amendment which was nothing less than emer-

gency regulation. Can we have allegiance to this constitution?

They are talking of socialism. But what type of socialism is it! Gandhian socialism or Marxian socialism? In the name of secularism the ruling class indulges in multi-theocracy. Parochialism, fundamentalism and all sorts of religious bigotry are being encouraged and fanned up. And still they claim to be secular!

Criticising the policy of giving enormous power at the hand of the Election Commission Comrade Chanda said : All the Opposition parties submitted many valuable suggestions on election reform. Even Mr. Sakder, when he was Chief Election Commissioner had some important suggestions. But the Rajiv Gandhi Government with utter disregard for the people's opinion and the Opposition view hastily amended the constitution and gives arbi-

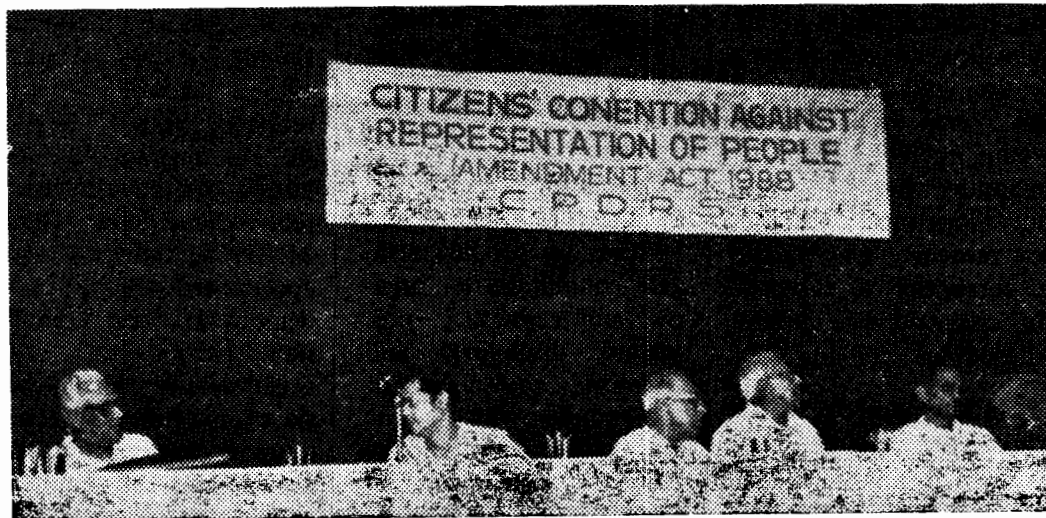
trary power in the hands of the Election Commission. From mere an agency of conducting electoral process like publishing electoral roll, holding elections and others the Election Commission is now empowered with administrative power like interfering into the internal affair of a political party, asking for its policy, membership, working field and even the discretionary power like refusal of registration of a political party. This will trigger off the process of elimination of political parties and the existing multi-party system is going to be abolished in the process and here lies the evil design of the ruling clique.

He concluded : To impose this amendment forcefully is not democratic. In bourgeois democracy of England, USA there is no such black act. It is nowhere in the world. Even during the naked military dictatorship of Zia the Pakistan government could not impose such an act under the pressure of militant mass movement. So this should be opposed tooth and nail. The jurists, journalists, intellectuals and the common people at large should come forward. They should raise a strong and determined voice of protest to foil this fascist design of the Cong(I) government.

V. R. KRISHNA IYER

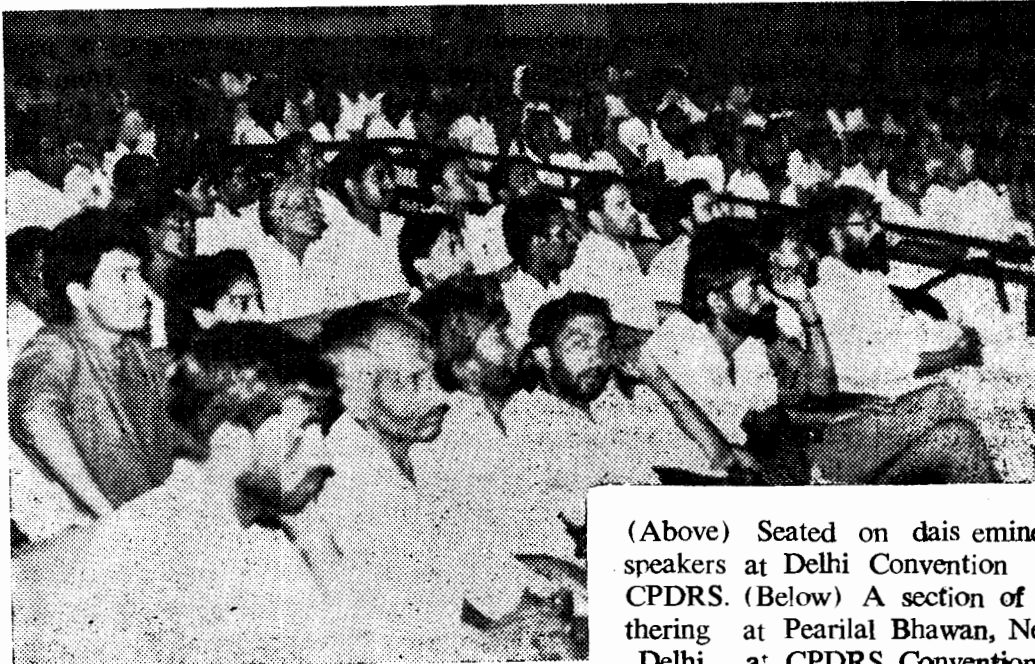
Sri Iyer said : Indian democracy means one

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newer stipulations. According to these regulations each of the party shall have to incorporate in its own constitution that it has full faith in Indian Constitution, has full allegiance in democracy, socialism and secularism and so also in India's sovereignty and integrity.

Superficially seen there is nothing wrong in it. But the point is if the aims and objectives of all the parties be same then all the parties will be same. So it will be a blow against the multi-party system. Again in the constitution



(Above) Seated on dais eminent speakers at Delhi Convention by CPDRS. (Below) A section of gathering at Pearilal Bhawan, New Delhi at CPDRS Convention.

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Coming back to the situation prevailing in the country today, Comrade Mukherjee observed: 'The Central Congress (I) Government led by Rajiv Gandhi, with its anti-people fiscal, economic, educational, cultural and all other policies and measures is acting as the most trusted agent of the ruling bourgeoisie to implement its fascist design against the people. The arms deal scandal has fully exposed the depth of corruption this Government is submerged in. It should be realised that as with every other evil of capitalism today, the root of this corruption, too, is the crisis-ridden moribund capitalism. The people have to be protected from the corrupting influence of this capitalist system by unleashing a counter-current of cultural-ideological movement, but the fundamental solution to all the basic problems lies in overthrowing of the exploitative, corrupt capitalist system. We have been appealing to all Left, democratic and Opposition parties to build up a countrywide united democratic mass movement against the anti-people policies and corrupt practices of the Central Congress (I) Government. We pointed out to them that if they had any reservation about 'the SUCI, let them build up the movement themselves, but do it because there was no alternative to mass movement to uphold the people's cause. In the absence of a powerful countrywide mass movement the ruling bourgeoisie would seize the opportunity, as before, to shift the entire burden of its crisis on to the people and foist its chosen alternative on them at the polls, taking recourse to artificial polarisation through media propaganda, money and muscle power, and rigging elections even, and thus try to instal the two-party system to push through its design of all-out fascism.'

Referring, in this context, to the resignation of the Opposition MPs from Lok Sabha

recently, Com. Mukherjee said: 'While hailing this move, we approached the Opposition parties, urging them to spare no time to launch a united democratic mass movement on a minimum agreed programme and code of conduct to frustrate the design of the bourgeoisie.'

'If an alternative government is installed at the Centre through the next parliamentary polls', Com. Mukherjee explained, 'in the wake of the widespread popular resentment against the rampant corruption and the anti-people policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, the people cannot expect radical changes because mere change of Government cannot solve the basic problems. But they would expect, in that event, a break from the oppressive rule of the Congress Government, a break marking a pro-people Government which would not serve the vested interest like the Congress Governments of the past which would not burden people with price-rise, tax-hike and inflation while giving subsidies and subventions to the industrialists and the rural rich, which would not rob their democratic rights, would not adopt most reactionary measures and plunge in corruption to subserve the crisis-ridden capitalist class.'

In this context, Com. Mukherjee reminded that the UF Governments of West Bengal in 1967 and 1969, although they were admixtures of political parties professing different ideologies, had assumed a distinctive character because of the participation of the SUCI guided by the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, including the policy that 'police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements.' The people are to take lesson from this. The people would expect from the alternative Government a pro-people attitude formed of elected representative having integrity of character, providing relief to an ex-

tent at least, repealing all draconian Acts enacted by the Congress Governments in the past and restoring, preserving and extending democratic rights and values including incorporation in the constitution of the right to recall the people's representatives. Only this approach can pave the way to fulfilment of people's aspirations.'

Comrade Mukherjee pointed out that the Congress (I) had appeared as the main architect of Communal - casteist - parochial - divisive - separatist strifes in the country today. So, the anti-communal and anti-authoritarian struggle had become interwoven against the Congress (I) Government and any plea whatsoever which objectively obstructs the growth of unity among all Opposition parties to build up democratic mass movements against the Governments run by the main enemy of the people, the Congress (I), only went against the true interest of the people.

'The prime need of the hour is, therefore, building up countrywide united democratic mass movement against all anti-people policies and measures of the Central Congress (I) Government, building up people's struggle committees to organise and strengthen protracted, disciplined and organised movements of the people which in its wake can develop as people's instrument of struggle and function as watchdog during the entire period. In course of these movements the people will know from experience which is the genuine and correct force of struggle. When the leadership of the correct force will be established on mass and class struggles, this exploitative and oppressive capitalist order will crumble down and emancipation be won'.

Comrade Provas Ghosh, delivering his presidential address, told the gathering that simultaneously in sixteen State capitals people in lakhs

were paying homage to the great leader the same day. 'Comrade Ghosh taught us', he explained, 'that revolutionary politics demanded higher emotional response. Struggle, unflinching struggle waged from deepest concern for the suffering multitude, from unrelenting protest against injustice and oppression—this should be the object of life.'

'The bourgeois politics has reached an abysmal depth', Comrade Provas Ghosh observed, 'This crisis-ridden moribund capitalism is the

breeding ground of all corruption and malpractices. Our party has been explaining that mere resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and calling elections cannot take us out of this situation. Democratic mass movement, united and countrywide massive movement is the way out. Nursing the pain of millions of people in our heart and treading the correct course in the light of Marxism-Leninism—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts we shall have to build ourselves and the class and mass struggles. This is the call of 5th August.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's reply to Sri V. P. Singh

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party sent a reply to the letter of Sri V. P. Singh on 23.8.89. The same is given below:

To
Sri V. P. Singh,
Convenor,
National Front.

Dear Friend,

Thanks for your letter dated 17.8.1989, seeking our party's cooperation for making 'Bharat Bandh' on 30th August, 1989 a success. I have received your letter in the evening of 22.8.89. Surely you have already received my letter dated 24.7.1989, wherein we approached all the Left, democratic and Opposition parties to forge broadest unity on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme and a code of conduct with a view to developing a countrywide, protracted highly democratic mass movement against the anti-people and draconian policies of most corrupt and utterly reactionary Central Government led by Rajiv Gandhi.

From your aforesaid letter, we find that, you have mentioned "the National Front, the Left Front and B.J.P. have given separate calls for observing 'Bharat Bandh' on 30th August, 1989". Unfortunately, you have missed to mention the fact that, our party the S.U.C.I., too has already given call for observing

'Bharat Bandh' on 30th August, 1989, and all our party units in different states, including the mass fronts of the party, i.e. trade-union, peasant front, students', teachers', youths', womens' front etc. are engaged seriously with all might to make the 'Bandh' a success. We hope, you know that we have already observed 9th August as the 'Bharat Banchao Dibas' in all the states throughout the country.

We hope that you would agree with us in carrying forward the movement from the grass roots level subsequently after completion of the 'Bharat Bandh' programme, give it a united shape, and intensify it to such a magnitude as to force Rajiv Gandhi Government to quit along with its anti-people and draconian policies covering all spheres of economic, political, social and cultural life.

We would be glad if you would let us know what the National Front is contemplating in this regard. Expecting an early reply.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Nihar Mukherjee
General Secretary,
S.U.C.I.

Observe Bharat Bandh

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aimed at snatching the right to education, bureaucratic control on educational institutions and ultimately at regimentation of thought by destroying the logical bent of mind. In order to ensure that the people do not burst forth in spontaneous movements, being confronted with such an all embracing crisis this government is attempting to break the moral backbone of the people through active encouragement of the vile and rotten culture and spreading obscurantist ideas on one hand and on the other by fomenting and engineering communal strife and tension the unity of the people is destroyed. As a matter of fact the Congress(I) has emerged as the main architect of communalism parochialism casteism separatism in our country. This government led by Rajiv Gandhi has created an unbearable and suffocating situation in the life of the people. To-day Rajiv Gandhi government has appeared as the greatest danger before the people. Hence the ouster of this government brooks no delay and no opposition party can shun the responsibility of a united action under any plea whatsoever to accomplish this urgent task.

With a view to hoodwinking the people Rajiv is now saying that the opposition parties are also corrupt. But Rajiv or in other word the Congress(I) has no moral right to cast aspersion on the opposition parties since it is the Congress(I) that has monopolised crime and corruption. We however know that in the existing system no fundamental problem in the life of the people can be solved. But even in the existing system a propeople government can be installed by the people to give them a breathing space from the present suffocating situation if mass movement can be organised with a definite orientation and direction. And in this people's movement the masses will have a positive role. It is wrong to think that political parties will do everything and the people will be just spectators. All political parties must seriously consider people's active involvement in developing sustained and protracted movements on the burning issues confronting them. The demand for redressal of all the antipeople activities of the Rajiv Gandhi government must be incorporated in the programme of the united movement of all the opposition parties. Again this unity of the opposition parties must not be an unprincipled one. We know different opposition parties have different ideologies. So the unity is to be based on the minimum common programme and with a definite code of conduct. While these opposition parties will actively participate in the movement against the main enemy of the people viz. the Congress(I) on the basis of the agreed common minimum programme, they at the same time carry on ideological struggles among themselves for thrashing out the ideological questions, keeping the unity against the main enemy intact. And when the broad masses of the people are involved in such movements they will be able to judge for themselves what is right and what is wrong. In course of conducting these movements people's struggle committees are to be developed and these struggle committees will be the watchdog in conducting the movement. Immediately the opposition parties must come forward to develop a broad based united movement throughout the country on this line on the burning issues in the life of the people and if the election is held while the people are in the vortex of movements they will participate in the election as incidental and conducive to the movement. If a countrywide united movement can be built in the way involving the broad masses of the people it is possible to install a propeople government and the pressure of this countrywide movement will keep this government in the right track. Those who will be in the movement must commit themselves positively. They must commit that all draconian

Convention By CPDRS

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man democracy. The present political scenario indicates that there is a counter democratic push. Parties are the lungs of democracy. Political parties are vital factor in democracy. When Pakistan is allowing the political parties to come, our country is imposing more and more restraints.

Election Commission has the last word on the fate of a political party. It is clearly mentioned that the decision of the Election Commission shall be final. Election Commissioners are usually the choice, pet favourite and nominee of the Prime Minister of India. So far on the works of Election Commission Supreme Court had the last word. But now the Election Commission will have the final word in this regard. So virtually the executive underlings chosen by PM becomes

the Election Commissioner and he is allowed to eliminate the political parties who are disagreeable to the party in power. If a political party applying for registration must be honestly socialist, honestly secular, honestly democratic, the first political party to be disqualified must be unfortunately the Cong(I). Is high-technology from USA and multi-nationals socialism? One man who matters in that party is against socialism. He is not for democracy but 'Doonocracy'.

Secularism? Come to Kerala, one party which comes close to the Muslim League and never parts is the Cong(I). But Nehru said that the Muslim League was dead horse and should be fought out. This time everywhere Muslim League is a communal party, but in Kerala it needs them and so is not at all communal.

V. M. TARKUNDE :

While supporting the main resolution Sri V. M. Tarkunde said : The amendment is hypocritical. According to the Cong(I). Tata, Birla, Ambani are most socialist in the country. What is the meaning of Socialism? There are at least two types and one of them is Marxist socialism which is also scientific. Some among us may not believe in that but this only ensures liberty, equality and fraternity. Obviously our Prime Minister doesn't mean this socialism.

For secularism there are two meaning also in our country. One in separation between politics and religion as Mr. Chanda told. In politics there should not be any interference of religion and similarly no interference of politics into religion.

I have full allegiance to most part of the constitution but some parts like 59th amendment should be condemned and rejected. The Nagarpalika Bill, i.e., the 64th amendment which is in the process of enactment is out to snatch the municipalities from the state list and how shall I extend my support to it when it will be passed.

ASSAM :

On 30th July '89 under the auspices of Assam State Committee of CPDRS a state-level convention was held at Bardoloi Hall, Guwahati to protest against the introduction of the fascistic regulation in the RPA. The convention which was convened by Mr. Munin Borkatoky, an eminent litterateur, Dr. Hiren Gohain, Dean of the Faculty of Ar.s, Guwahati University, Prof. Ajit Sarmah, former member of the Rajya Sabha and Prof. Bhupendra Nath Kakati, was presided by Mr. Prabhat Khataniar, a renowned journalist. The main resolution was moved by Prof. Bhupendra Nath Kakati

measures of Rajiv government must be repealed, that the police shall not interfere in the legitimate democratic mass movement, that there shall be provision for right to recall, that neutrality in administration, judiciary, TV and AIR is to be restored, that all antipeople amendments of the constitution are to be nullified, that the new education policy of this government is to be scrapped and alternative propeople education policy is to be implemented, that privatisation and surrender to the multinational corporations are to be reversed and corruption is to be fought out at all levels. These commitments will not be declaratory but oath to implement these commitment is to be taken and when masses are involved in the movement they will keep constant watch to see these commitments fulfilled. This is the direction in which the countrywide movement is to be developed. In this way the grand design of fascism of the ruling class can be fought and in this direction the base and vile communal politics of Rajiv Gandhi government is to be defeated. It must be borne in mind that today fight against authoritarianism and communalism has become interwoven and without giving defeat to the Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi authoritarianism and communalism cannot be fought out.

This moment is historic and the opposition parties must come forward with utmost sincerity and dedication to discharge their responsibilities. It is the expectation of the people and this is the need of the hour.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We regret to announce that the price per copy of the Proletarian Era will be 80 P. from next issue. We are compelled to increase the price because of all round price escalation.

DELHI HIGH COURT MOVED

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vey different meaning to different persons.

A political party has also the right to demand and preach for bringing changes in the existing Constitution of the country and the political system but under the amended Act the Election Commission is empowered to deny the registration of such parties as political parties and debar them from contesting elections, the petitioner contended. These provisions in effect and substance 'curtail the right of dissent which is an essential feature of democracy'.

The petition said that 'a political party may be constrained to describe the Constitution as a 'class constitution' or one with a bias in favour of the propertied class'. 'It would be a grave restriction of political freedom if parties were deprived of their right to present their honest appraisal of the Constitution and what it implies to the people.'

The petition further held that 'in selecting certain phrases and ideas for special allegiance the amended Act of 1988 offends against elementary principles of democracy since no citizen or body of citizens can be required by law to commit themselves to a particular provision in the Constitution or in a statute. It asked whether it would be permissible for the Representation of the People Act to be amended to require that all political parties affirm their commitment to Articles 359 of the Constitution which relates to suspension of the enforcement of the rights conferred by Part III during an emergency'.

The petition also contended that 'for the rea-

son that the pattern of parliamentary democracy with a cabinet system is based on the party system as it is essentially composed of the representatives of a party which is in the majority and as such, an attack on the plurality of views and existence of multi-party system is an attack on the entire system of parliamentary democracy. The constitution visualised the presence of political parties as a basic and essential feature and part of its basic structure'.

'For the reason that the infringement of fundamental rights of the petitioners has taken place consistent with the enactment and enforcement of the above-mentioned amendments and the petitioner political party is in imminent danger of political extermination', the petition further stated.

For the reason that the amended Act 'imposes an unconstitutional sanction upon political parties not registered with the Election Commission by depriving them of the status of political parties', 'is arbitrary, discriminatory and denies equality before the law to all political parties' and 'confers unfettered power upon the Election Commission', 'is founded on an arbitrary, unreasonable and capricious classification whereby restrictions are imposed upon the views and objectives expressed and pursued by political parties while other associations and unions, like companies and societies, are not required' to do so 'in order to obtain registration', 'is violative of freedom of conscience' 'freedom to profess, practice and propagate diverse philosophies, ideologies and aims and objects', for the reason that 'it does not confer any po-

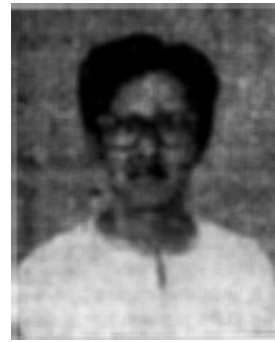
RED SALUTE COMRADE BRAJAGOPAL SAHA

Comrade Brajagopal Saha, the secretariat member, Birbhum (WB) District Committee of the SUCI, and member of the West Bengal State Committee of the UTUC (LS) and the KKMS passed away on 16th July at mid-night at Siuri. His death caused by cerebral thrombosis was sudden, plunging the people of Siuri in deep sorrow.

With Comrade Brajagopal Saha's demise the exploited people, particularly the workers, peasants and the agricultural labours of Birbhum lost their most beloved struggling leader. People reposed such faith in him that time and again he was elected municipal commissioner. As the elected chairman of the Siuri municipality he became a symbol of duty and responsibility within a short span.

While in teens Comrade Saha came in contact with the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and the SUCI. Coming from a very poor refugee family he used to hawk during whole day and study at evening. At the call of Comrade Ghosh he unhesitatingly took up the flag of revolution, and bore it to the last day. He started as a Komsomol member, then a

DSO organiser. He was the member of the first West Bengal State Committee of the DSO. He was sent to Birbhum, along with Comrade Prativa Mukherjee in the 50's to build up party organisation there. The task was arduous, people terrorised by the jotedars and vested interests. Comrade Saha was attacked by armed hooligans several times and once he was so inhumanly



beaten that he was almost dead. People saved and nursed him to life. In this way he fought to build the base of revolution along with people.

A condolence week, from 17th to 23rd July was observed and a memorial meeting was held on the last day at Rabin-dra Sadan, Siuri. People from different corners thronged the meeting. Eminent men of Siuri, leaders of other left parties also attended the meeting. The meeting

was presided over by Com. Prativa Mukherjee, the member, SUCI West Bengal State Secretariat and Com. Sukomal Dasgupta, the Central Committee member, was present as the main speaker. Wreaths were placed in memory of the revolutionary life of Com. Saha on behalf of party local committees, mass organisations, other political parties, many eminent people, representative of the district newspaper, so on and so forth. Com. Jiad Ali Bakshi, the Secretary, Birbhum District Committee, SUCI also placed wreath. Comrades Prativa Mukherjee and Sukomal Dasgupta paid homage to Com. Saha. Forward Bloc leader Sri Bhakti Bhusan Mondal also placed wreath. Abdul Gaffar of the CPI(M), Mihir De of the CPI, Sushil Mondal of the Forward Bloc, Kanchan Sarkar and Bimal Bishnu, journalists, Sabitri Bhattacharya, Headmistress, Municipality Girls' High School and Ambika Mukhopadhyay on behalf of the eminent citizens spoke in memory of Comrade Saha.

The meeting started with the song composed a Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, and ended with the Internationale.

wer upon the Election Commission to enquire into the philosophy or political principles of political parties or about their membership or about their relation with the voters' — 'para 3 of Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968 is ultra vires

the powers of the Election Commission.'

It is submitted further that the arbitrary power of registration of political parties, and by implication non-registration of political parties, has been struck down by the highest court even

in the political system prevailing in Pakistan. A reference was also made in the petition 'to the judgement of the Pakistan Supreme Court in Benazir Bhutto versus. The Federation of Pakistan delivered on 20th June, 1988 and reported at PLD 1988 SC 416'.

Observe BHARAT BANDH on August 30

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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