

## Assembly Election

# Build up Voters' Council, defeat Congress (I) and make SUCI and left democratic opposition candidates victorious

Elections to assemblies in eleven states and one Union Territory are scheduled to be held on 2nd and 5th March 1985. The elections were announced and are going to be held close on the heels of the Congress(I) having come to power and secured an unprecedented majority in the last parliamentary poll, reducing the Eighth Lok Sabha virtually oppositionless.

Raising of the two principal slogans of 'national unity and integration' and a 'stable government' at the Centre against the danger of secessionism at the last poll was a clever ploy of the Congress(I); for on the one hand it was to conceal the fact that it is this very party that has been working as the main and most active force to breed, induce or encourage by all conceivable means rabid parochialism, regionalism, separatism and even communal holocausts and on the other paint the parties in opposition guilty of committing these crimes.

Besides, with cool calculation the Congress(I) used the military operation in Punjab done on the ostensible plea of containing terrorist activities, the assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi and the bloody aftermath of mass killings of the Sikhs throughout the country for working up the Hindu communal sentiment, that was exploited at the poll.

The big monopoly houses as also the two super powers extended their backing and support to Sri Rajiv Gandhi. The monopoly press along with the government controlled media, the Radio and Doordarshan orchestrated to mobilise public support in favour of the Congress(I). Apart from focussing the needs of 'national unity' and 'stability at the Centre' these media, sedulously propagated the so-called 'Indira Wave' or 'the young and dynamic leadership of Rajiv Gandhi' in their frantic bid to pattern the electorates' mind in favour of the Congress(I).

The big opposition parties, on their part, failed to provide united opposition at the poll. They spent most of their time in talks for unity. Not that any ideological question stood in the way of achieving unity, but unity was not possible because everyone of them was trying for maximum number of seats to bag. That is why neither they could unite nor had they the necessary time to give a coherent and effective reply to the massive propaganda barrage let loose in favour of the Congress(I). At the national plane, not a semblance of viable alternative to the Congress(I), therefore, could appear. The disunity among the opposition parties, at this crucial juncture disappointed the people very much contributing thereby to a great extent to the Congress(I) making favourable ground.

Added to this were the concrete factors that the ruling party at the Centre, spending hundreds of crores of rupees, most of it black money, pressing into service the mafias or armed hoodlums and making arrangement for a centrally administered allout rigging machinery ensured its fantastic success at the hustings. Indeed the way the Congress(I) backed by the ruling capitalist class trampled all democratic norms, values principles to take recourse to allout rigging in such a countrywide scale and so brazenly at the last parliamentary poll is unprecedented in the history of this country.

In our pre-election document, "SUCI's Clarion Call on Lok Sabha Poll", we struck the note of warning thus: "Whether this election will be held at gunpoint as in Assam or under an elaborate arrangement of administrative rigging by the ruling class, making a mockery of the people's verdict only to install chosen party or parties at the Centre and at the states where elections will be held, is entirely its own choice."

Concrete experiences have corroborated that at the last poll, the ruling party resorted to both the means. Besides capturing booths for forcible stamping of ballot papers, the entire administrative machinery was geared for

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# ANTI DEFECTION BILL

The Anti-Defection Bill, proposed by the ruling Congress(I) Government at the Centre in the form of the 52nd Constitution Amendment Bill, was unanimously passed by the Lok Sabha on 30th January last. This enactment provides for disqualification of political defectors and for removing them as members of either the Parliament or the State legislatures on the grounds mentioned and listed in a new schedule, the tenth of the Constitution created for the purpose.

Unprincipled defection of legislators had been a long standing malaise in parliamentary politics in the country. Legislators opportunistically switching allegiance from this to that party with the sole motive of anyhow gaining pelf and power have been a common sight. There can be no two opinions about the desirability of effectively rooting out this evil from the body politic and although the malpractice of defection stems from the deep-seated immorality and corruption in the society and cannot therefore be eradicated merely by enactment without conducting a conscious movement for uplifting the standard of morality, ethics and culture, any effective enactment towards this goal deserves to be supported by all. The press has praised the opposition for not opposing the Bill just for opposition's sake. We too hold that there should not be opposition merely for the sake of opposition.

But on the other hand, mere scrutiny of the clauses and sub-clauses of the enactment in isolation divorced from the perspective will not be helpful. We have to understand in what situation who does what with what purpose, in order to grasp its true import and effectiveness.

This anti-defection enactment has come close on the heels of the last Lok Sabha poll. The only factor favouring Congress (I) led by Rajiv Gandhi on the eve of the poll was the fact that the parliamentary opposition parties failed to come to an understanding to unitedly confront the Congress (I) whereas the ever-increasing poverty and pauperisation brought about by long years of Congress (I) misrule in the aggregate interest of the ruling capitalist class at the cost of the people had created strong countrywide discontent and resentment against Congress(I)

and purposiveness demonstrated, than by hurriedly going through this anti-defection enactment, and that too to synchronise with the death anniversary of Gandhi to lend it moral significance and lustre!

So, lo and behold! What Smt. Gandhi could not do nor the Janata Party while in Government, has been accomplished by Rajiv Gandhi at one stroke right on the morrow of his election as Prime Minister!

Only the very gullible will be taken in by all this claptrap and fail to see that the myth that Congress(I) or its leader promises a new era as embodiment of conscience of the nation is all bunkum. Is it not the Congress rule of Centre almost uninterruptedly for about the four decades that have passed since independence, in the service of crisis-ridden moribund capitalism, that is squarely responsible for the allout degeneration and crisis in morality, ethics and culture we see around us and which is reflected in utter unprincipledness in politics amidst the bourgeois parliamentary politicians? Leaving aside earlier instances, who has forgotten that after the 1967 polls, when the Congress for the first time lost its monopoly of ruling at the Centre and in the states and was reduced to minority in some State legislatures that the spell of mass defection was organized by it to make up for the reverses of electoral fortunes, thus ushering in the era of Ayarams and Gayarams? When the Janata Ministry of Delhi fell owing to massive defection and Charan

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# Yet there is time, Comrades !

## An appeal to lefts to ponder over

The election to the Eighth Lok Sabha has brought to the fore the shocking reality that the usually left oriented masses of West Bengal, from their frustration and deep-seated grievances built up over the eight years of leftist rule are turning their face from the Left Front Government. Large number of educated unemployed youths under the spell of illusory expectations are rallying behind Congress(I). The trend is no doubt ominous. It can only be denied to the peril of the future of left democratic movement.

In such a crucial moment, what is needed is a sober appraisal of the errors in approach, outlook and activities and genuine efforts to rectify those, in the very interest of the left and democratic movement that alone can be the real bulwark against fascism knocking at the door. Instead of this criticism, which, not to speak of the Marxists, even the consistent democrats should not fear to do, most unfortunately however, attempts are preceptible on the part of the leadership, in particular of the CPI(M) to make self-contradictory statements to rationalise the failures and shortcomings. These can hardly satisfy even their rank and file members as well as those of other constituent parties let alone the common people smarting under a feeling of being let down.

Our party, SUCI, has always been alerting the left and democratic parties, but it is however regrettable that they failed to note that all the criticism and self-criticism that we made were guided by the sole intention to uphold the noble banner of Marxism-Leninism and leftism.

At this critical juncture we sincerely request and hope that the leaderships and rank and file-members and supporters of fraternal left and democratic parties as also the democratic-minded people of the state would ponder deeply

over the concrete views and opinions that our party has been presenting on concrete questions. We are of the firm belief that given the sincere will and efforts, the left citadel of West Bengal can yet be saved and save we must if we are to build up a real defence against fascism through mighty democratic movement, spearheaded from this state.

### THE PURPOSE OF A LEFTIST GOVERNMENT

The first and basic point that our party pointed out to the leaderships of the left parties, their rank and file and common people in the very year 1967 when the UF government was installed in the state for the first time about its limitations, the popular illusions to be fought and at the sametime in which way it can serve a useful purpose so far as people's genuine cause and interest, the cause of revolution are concerned. It is to be noted that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave this guideline when unlike the present 'Left Front Ministry' the UF Ministry was then composed of 14 parties including non-left parties like the Bangla Congress.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary, revered leader and teacher of our party and one of the foremost 'Marxist thinkers' of the era, removing all sorts of confusions explained in clear terms "...common people hold certain persons in the government to be dishonest and responsible for their miseries. They think replacements by some 'good' or 'honest' persons in the government will bring their well being." And there may be political parties and forces who may think also that from the governmental power, they may remove the distress of the common men in our country. But Comrade Ghosh continued: "if people are allowed to be deceived thus, it would

not only mean wastage of time but also helping parliamentary illusion to take deeper roots in mass mind" So, the people must be politically educated by the truth that: "The state and the government are not one and the same thing. The state is to be considered almost as a machine—the government's position here is just like an operator or a caretaker of the machine. It is a class instrument of coercion. And naturally by mere change of government through election, the class character of the state is never changed."

(People's Liberation Pledge Day Speech, 1967)

Should not therefore the Marxists or leftists join in a bourgeois caretaker government? And if they join, in what background and with what specific purpose they would do so that may prove conducive to the cause of revolution? These were and are still now the pertinent questions.

It was the unique contribution of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to resolve the apparent puzzle by providing a revolutionary guideline. Posing the real issue he said: "...should the government (where the Marxists join—Ed. P. Era) work as a faithful agent of the capitalist state as did the Congress government or should it give the discontent of the people against capitalism the concrete shape of an organized movement?" (The UF Government, its limitations—24th April Day Speech, 1967).

Explaining that the leftists or Marxists cannot shy away from taking the responsibility of conducting a bourgeois care-taker government when asked to do, in the midst of and as incidental to popular movement against the capitalist class rule of exploitation and the various anti-people measures, Comrade Ghosh pointed out where lie real distinction of a left

government from bourgeois government in such words:

"A left government can be basically different from the previous governments by patronising each and every legitimate movement of the people against the reactionary and privileged classes." Because, as he said "the pressure of people's movement is very vital as it has its impact on all concerned—the administrator, the legislators and even the judges." (Ibid)

Again, the progressive measures cannot succeed depending on laws only and within the confines of bourgeois legality that defends and protects the exploiting bourgeois class and class interests. Therefore, "the laws containing progressive measures fail to deliver goods if they do not meet the ends of legitimacy" as we must know, in the words of Comrade Ghosh, in the capitalist society, "what is legal may not always be justified and moral. Similarly, everything illegal in the eye of law is not necessarily unjustified, illegitimate and immoral." (ibid) For this reason, a leftist government if it is to preserve its vital distinction from bourgeois government, if it is to serve people's real interest and the cause of revolution must declare and adhere strictly to the policy that "Police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic movement" and see to it that the bureaucracy is not able to set any obstacle to such movements for genuine cause and social progress.

Although a known fact still we repeat that only on the acceptance of this proposal put forward by our party that we were in the two UF ministries in the state. People know also what a tremendous spurt came in the workers-peasants' movements during those days, notwithstanding various shortcomings and failures on other scores. We hold, therefore, that joining in the bourgeois care-taker government cannot be at the cost of people's legi-

itimate movements against the ruling capitalist class and its exploitations, rather to accelerate those by giving protection to the extent possible, from the governmental position as well as to bring some urgent reforms by the pressure of those to the benefits of the oppressed people, long overdue, without creating any reformist illusion at the sametime.

At this stage we would request the comrades in different parties of the Left Front, not to take us amiss. We refer to the guideline set by Com. Shibdas Ghosh as far back as 1967 and the outlook and approach based on it, not from a 'holier than thou' spirit but to show their relevance to non-performance or inability of the Front government on vital issues. Com. Shibdas Ghosh gave the caution that unless the Left government is guided by a completely new ethical concept and outlook "it will be impossible to acquire the land kept in possession by the jotedars in excess of the ceiling under Benami transactions and distribute it to poor and landless peasants" For, though it is an imperative duty, "it is impossible to do it with the help of law alone."—(Ibid.)

### TARDY SITUATION IN DISTRIBUTION OF VESTED LANDS

The Left Front government in the state erred exactly on this point. But what has been the result? In our issue (Vol. 14, No. 13) of March 1, '81 based on the report of the Secretary, Land and Land Revenue Department of the W.B. government and the findings of the Third Workshop on Land Reforms, organised by the government, we showed quoting the relevant extracts from those that although 40 lakh acres should be the distributable surplus of cultivable lands only 11.77 lakh acres have been declared so. And even out of this, only 6.31 lakh acres were claimed to have been distributed, leaving 3.74 lakh acres to the illegal possessors, (Contd. on page 3)

# An appeal to left and democratic parties

who according to the Secretary of the Department have been illegally earning an annual income to the tune of Rs 14 crores. Again, the Workshop, although noting the 'tardy' and 'unsatisfactory' progress in the distribution of vested lands in all the districts disclosed that the remaining 3.74 lakh acres could not be distributed, because of the Panchayats' reports that they are 'unfit for cultivation'. So, from the lands "unfit for cultivation" the illegal possessors have been fetching Rs. 14 crores annually. This is one aspect. The other aspect was the Secretary's acid comment that although the government had spent Rs. 1.20 crores towards fees for the lawyers (most of them call themselves 'progressive lawyers' and who were incensed very much for the comment—Ed. P. Era.) they showed only "professional outlook" instead of vigorously trying for the clearance of cases, 20 thousands in the High Court and 27 thousands in different Civil courts. We painfully commented that "reformist outlook is sure to find itself in the blind alley of legislation."

Taking other questions like the 'Operation Barga' (recording of names of the share-croppers —Ed. P. Era), enhancement of agricultural workers' wages, restructuring of land revenue system (which contrary to the policy of the UF government of 1969, raised one and half time the rate for the peasants possessing more than 6 acres) into consideration, we commented in the same article: "It is noticeable that they (the ruling parties) did not in any way hurt or antagonize the jotedars but their attack was mounted mostly against those middle peasants whose support or sympathy they failed to win".

We would ask the leaders and workers of the fraternal left parties to compare the present frustrating picture of rampant corruption and nepotism by the Panchayat bodies, absence of struggle and movements by the land-

less poor and lower middle-peasants but on the contrary the murderous attacks being mounted by the rural vested interests on them in combination with police and armed anti-socials to the rural situation obtaining even during the UF Ministry days to find the reasons for growing erosion in rural left bases.

## ON THE LABOUR FRONT

The poll results also show such erosion of support in the industrial areas. What can be the reason? About 11,000 industrial units in the state have become 'sick'. More than three hundred fifty of factories remain closed or locked out for a long time but the left front government did not only not exert for reopening those but has at the same time discouraged the workers to go in for movement. This discouragement to struggles and movements came in various forms, direct and indirect. While the Left Front leaders including the Chief Minister again and again harped on the theme of maintaining industrial peace, calling upon the workers to exercise their right to strike as the 'last weapon', 'not to intensify conflicts in the interest of West Bengal's economy', appealed to the industrialists for meeting the minimum demands of the workers and in exchange of peace ensured by the workers, to make investments out of profits earned to provide some employments. Instructions were sent to the floor level workers not to resort to strike without previous permission from the central leadership (The Economic Times, 7.7.77 quoted in our article in 'Ganadabi', our Bengali organ in its issue of 4.8.77). Not only this, in all the agreements-industry-wise or in individual establishments, the workers in their anguish, saw that their vital interests were sacrificed at the dictate of the employers and all the agreements were virtually imposed on them by the government. We refer particularly to the

recent examples of jute, tea plantations, hosiery agreements among many others.

Thus while the government took pride in its success to bring down to the lowest among the states the numbers of strikes and mandays loss due to those, it could not conceal the fact that about 95 p.c. of mandays loss in the state, the highest among the states and even higher than the figure during the Emergency, was due to lockout and closure. Have the industrial investment gone up in exchange of this kind of industrial peace? The answer is clearly, no, because investment in industry does not depend on the workers' relinquishing the right to defence. It depends on profits. To be precise, on the fulfilment of the law of maximum profit under monopoly capitalism.

These facts have been brought to the notice of the left front government again and again by us through various writings in our journals as also on the floor of the Assembly by our comrades but to no avail.

Just compare this situation to that of 1967. The workers were rising in protest against arbitrary closure and lockouts, retrenchments, layoffs, denial of wage increase and on other genuine grounds. 'Gherao' appeared as the dominant feature in their movements, some excesses at times however unwanted notwithstanding. The monopolists were raising hue and cry and threatening flight of capital and ascribing it to be the reason for some imaginary flights later disproved by the government's labour department during the next Congress rule.

At that moment, the Labour Ministry conducted by our departed leader Comrade Subodh Banerjee, held steadfast to the principle enunciated by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in bold defence of the workers' cause.

Mr. Naval Tata as a spokesman of the monopolists called 'gherao', the 'law of the jungle'. Comrade

Ghosh retorted: "If gherao is the law of the jungle then the... 'law' that stands for this unfettered right of the owners to retrench without giving any protection for the right to work is the law of the deepest jungle. Such a law is uncivilised, primitive and brutal in nature...."

If the law instead of defending the interests of the workers stands as a bar, then if need be, they would defy such law and shall uphold the cause of justice—if need be they shall force a change in the law itself" (Speech at the Engineering Workers Conference, 1967). And what was the result? Did the workers put their hope for survival and justice in the arch reactionary Congress or in their own organised strength and movements? We request all concerned to give sincere and serious thoughts over this question, if not to witness the most painful and dangerous development of alienation of the working people from the Left Front.

## THE CENTRE-STATE RELATION CANNOT BE A PLEA FOR REPLACEMENT OF CLASS STRUGGLE

The Left Front Government, while discouraging the intensification of class and mass struggles of the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling masses, brought about a new thing, the Centre-state relation or the matter of financial deprivation of the states at the hands of the centre led by the Congress(I) and made it the central point of attention for the people. The slogan repeated frequently lost its appeal and appeared before the people in absence of a concrete direction of struggle as a mere excuse for various failures and non-performances of the government.

We wrote many times over this question as also alerted our leftist friends in the government about the danger hidden in it. Let us quote here only some salient points in this regard from one of our writings in our December 5, 1983 issue.

"The issue of the Centre-state relation, as posed by the CPI(M) and its allies has to be examined in the backgrounds of its two major aspects. The first concerns the Marxist-Leninist or the correct scientific approach to the question. The second relates to the Left Front governments' own performance in providing relief to the people within the limitation of the existing set up, now that they are ruling in two states for more than six years. There is also the question what the CPI(M) and its allies have actually done to resist the Centre's continuing injustice to the states.

"(Even) the bourgeois parties are demanding... review and restructuring of the Centre-State relation. The CPI(M) and its allies too are making it an issue... as if this is what stands as the main hurdle on way to solving the basic problems in the people's life. But if these parties were truly interested to uphold the people's genuine cause against the Centre's injustice they would have taken the initiative to build up and launch countrywide mass movements on the legitimate demands of the people raising this issue of the Centre-State relation as part and parcel of the legitimate democratic mass movements, on the burning issues in the people's life."

## SHIFTING THE BURDEN

Secondly, "Although no government within the existing capitalist system can solve... basic problems, it can adopt policies, if... guided by pro-people outlook, to create on the one hand, an atmosphere conducive to legitimate democratic mass movement and on the other to give the people some reliefs backed by mass movement in the prevailing oppressive situation'.

## A CONCRETE ISSUE

The failure of the state government in introducing state trading, both at wholesale and retail stages, in foodgrains has  
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total rigging of electoral results. The most glaring example of both the means being adopted was Amethi, the constituency of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Here the percentage of polling rose to the magical figure of 80 to 85 p.c. after counting of ballot papers in sharp contrast to the percentage of polling announced officially by poll personnel immediately after the poll. The capturing of booths in this constituency and forcible stamping on ballot papers were witnessed by the Press reporters and photographed. Similarly when due to severe cold wave in the northern states a large percentage of voters stayed away from voting, the polling in these states recorded an abnormally high percentage.

This time also, just like in the last Lok Sabha poll, according to the election schedule announced by the Election Commission, the elections will not be held in a day. There is a gap of two to three days in between election in constituencies besides leaving few more days before the date of counting which also coincides with the Holi festival. We have lodged our strong protest against this kind of election schedule with the Election Commissioner of India. For, in our opinion, the intention behind such schedule is quite clear and can be nothing other than making additional scope for manipulating election results wide open for the ruling party with the help of administration. The experiences in the last Lok Sabha poll clearly expose the motive.

But we hold at the same time that despite taking recourse to all the mean tactics it would have been well-nigh impossible for the Congress(I) to manipulate such a massive victory at the poll had the opposition parties set up one common candidate at constituency and sincerely worked in his favour to defeat Congress(I).

A little analysis of the whole thing will reveal, in our opinion, the fact that it is the class compulsion or desire of the crisis-ridden ruling capitalist class that played the decisive role for the Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi to romp home with such massive majority at the poll ensuring absolute powers. Smt. Indira Gandhi during her life-time was giving concrete shape to the bourgeois design to bring about fascism in the country. Her departure from the political scene, sudden at that, created undoubtedly a void in bourgeois politics. The bourgeoisie was therefore in dire need to induct another person who would be helpful to carry on all the anti-people acts and measures which are in the very scheme of the class. This is but natural for the bourgeoisie of any country, seeking fascist authoritarianism as the last prop for its survival. The compelling need of the ruling class was clearly evident from the zealous propaganda through the media—the Press, Radio, T.V.—for the projection of a popular image of Rajiv Gandhi almost overnight and by securing his position with massive electoral majority with the help of crores of rupees spent and an elaborate rigging machinery.

An impression is being tried to be created even after the poll by systematic propaganda as if Rajiv's 'youthful leadership' is different from the old and can open a new vista of development and progress. Such tactics of the bourgeoisie are not unknown or new. One can very well recall that before Smt. Indira Gandhi rose to power and prominence, the Congress had lost its popular image and became very much discredited and the faction led by Smt. Gandhi after the split of the party was similarly advertised to be a new one, a 'New Congress' unlike the old one, holding out the hope of something new. Confusing thus the people, the bourgeoisie did every thing to rally the popular support behind Indira Gandhi. Smt. Gandhi on her part, with her personal charisma, thus built up, tried to fulfil the bourgeois class aspirations to her best, pushing the country steadily to the road of all-out fascism. She did this by shifting the entire burden of all-out crisis of moribund capitalism on to the people, robbing them at the same time of their basic democratic rights and liberties through concentration of absolute powers in the hands of the administration adopting authoritarian measures one after another.

The duplicity and deceit of fascist tactics—outwardly, 'democratic' gesture and authoritarian intention behind—is evident in the manner Rajiv Gandhi is dealing with the opposition. After reducing the parliamentary opposition

to insignificance by adopting means most foul, he talks of 'giving respect to opposition'! The consultations, at least the show of them, with the opposition leaders are only to rope in their support for the policies and measures, decided long back. And it will be the most sad day for the country if the opposition, already humbled, is reduced to the role of endorsing whatever comes from the rulers and the people accept it as 'democratic process'.

Similar is the intention behind calling the assembly elections in states the rulers consider to be easy enough for manipulating the results. It must not be forgotten that the idea of a constitutional dictatorship in the form of a Presidential system has not been given up. But for this, grounds are to be prepared both by ensuring the fulfilment of the constitutional requirement as also manipulated results in states by the rigging machinery to be interpreted as so-called 'popular sanction'. Anybody missing these fascist tactics will be committing blunder, perilous not only to him but to the country as a whole.

Sri Rajiv Gandhi after coming to power has assured this 'continuity' of the basic policy of Indira rule. The basic policy of Indira rule being authoritarianism and pushing the country towards all-out fascism, its continuation has only been assured by him. The hallmarks of Indira's rule were—trampling all democratic norms and principles the gubernatorial power and position were misused, MLA's were purchased by huge sums to cause defection so that the unwanted elected governments could be toppled; the notorious enactment, NASA was further amended to wipe out the least chance of avoiding detention without trial. And by bringing to statute book an enactment like 'Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Court) Act., empowering the Central Government to declare any area, it likes as 'terrorist affected', and making provision for holding the farce of a trial in camera of arrested persons even outside their states, the candle of democratic rights and values was extinguished fully. Along with this came virtual burial of justice in the land when the judiciary robbed of its relative independence was brought under the subjugation of the administration and by the amendment of the Evidence Act, the onus of proving 'not guilty' was placed on persons accused and/or arrested by the administration. Censorship on the newspapers, declared or undeclared, came from her as the Prime Minister. It is she who handed over the administration of Punjab to the military in the name of containing terrorist activities after keeping the civil administration virtually non-existent there for years together. It was under her rule that corruption, nepotism, bribery and the politics of cowardly violence became rampant and polluted every aspect of public life to smother minimum norms and values. And to cap it all it is she who introduced a 'coterie' rule and a personalised style of administration at the top to wipe out the last vestiges of democracy, paving thus the path of unabashed fascist rule—all in the best interest of the crisis-ridden bourgeois class.

The capitalist class in our country which is part and parcel of the world capitalist system which has been passing through the third intense phase of crisis i.e. crisis overall and all-out finds no other prop than fascism to lean upon for its bare survival. Indian capitalism, too, is enmeshed in unprecedented deep crisis. It cannot get out of it by any kind of planning. The moribund capitalist system is incapable of solving any of the burning problems in people's life. The social life as such faces total disruption under the impact of overall crisis of moribund capitalist order. Ever-soaring prices of daily necessities to alarming proportions, serious aggravation of unemployment problem in cities and countryside, galloping inflation, appalling erosion in people's purchasing power, slowing down of production rate in industrial establishment, closure and lock out of hitherto running factories, lay-off of wage-earners on a massive scale are nothing but the symptoms of the depth of crisis of the moribund capitalist economy. In the rural side also, while miseries and destitution of common people are mounting beyond descriptions, lands are being illegally alienated and further concentrated in the hands of very minor percentage of rural households of the jotedars and rich peasants. The landless, agricultural workers in thousands are crowding

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in the cities in search of work but having got no work are reduced to beggars and die of starvation. In such a suffocating situation a big section of the unemployed youths and students are taking recourse to unethical means of livelihood getting themselves trapped thereby in a suicidal course. Corruption has permeated the social life through and through. Fair principles and justice are going out of the social life. In their place, 'money and money alone' rules, it determines everything.

On the other side, the capitalist class is amassing wealth, mountain high, when there is poverty and hunger all around. The rich are becoming richer, the poor poorer, all over the country. During the long Congress rule the Indian capital had already reached the stage of monopoly and the characteristic features of imperialism-fascism also are very much manifest in it. Changes in governments through elections, once at the Centre and several times in some states have not and could not hurt in any way this tortuous process of development of capitalism more so at its present moribund stage. Rather, under the rule of capitalist exploitation and corruption the people have suffered more erosion in their purchasing power, more acute has become the crisis of capitalism, but nonetheless the ruling capitalist class has further consolidated its grip and tentacles not only over the economy but extended further over the politics and the system of governance in the country.

Consequent on ruthless exploitation of the capitalist class, popular resentments are accumulating everywhere in the country and the simmering discontent of the people is often bursting forth like explosion of gunpowder. The ruling class conspires day in and day out lest the accumulated wrath of the people takes the concrete shape of countrywide democratic movement. From this evil design, it breeds, induces, foments and encourages in every possible way, covert and overt, all the communal, regional, separatist and other parochial forces to drive wedge in the unity and good feelings among the exploited and oppressed. It is the Congress(I), the most trusted representative of the ruling capitalist class that has been the chief architect in giving rise to a rabid regional movement in Assam and a religion-oriented fanatic secessionist movement in Punjab. In Assam and Punjab, it has not only nurtured and helped to gain in strength both the parochial leadership of AASU and the religious fanatics like Bhindranwale and his followers by not making any worthwhile effort to clip their wings and isolate them from the mass of the patriotic and well-meaning people fulfilling speedily their just demands and aspirations and eliciting their moral support but instead did everything to set the Assamese against the non-Assamese and the Sikhs against the Hindus from communal parochial feelings whipped up with sinister motive. In Punjab a war like situation, was created and virtual military rule imposed. All the well-meaning Sikhs must be deeply shocked at the killings of thousands of innocent Sikhs, looting and destruction of their properties and outrage upon women after the assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi. Anguish, deep enough, grown from the sense of alienation, torments them. The way the Congress(I) spread anti-Sikh feelings through the country during the last parliamentary poll in order to exploit the Hindu communal feelings, stirred up thus, for the heinous purpose of anyhow grabbing power at the Centre has undoubtedly receded further the possibility of honourable and early political settlement of the Punjab issues. A sense of loneliness born out of extreme insecurity clouds the minds of the Sikh people. Not only in Assam and Punjab but in every part of the country, the Congress(I) is both directly and indirectly giving all encouragement to different communal and separatist forces and is playing the role of saviour to those affected, at the same time.

Apart from the immediate object of reaping dividends in electoral battle by these nasty divisive tac-

tics, the real object is to defend and preserve this crisis-ridden, chaos-discredited moribund capitalist order from the danger of mass upsurge by the anticipatory move of wrecking the class unity and class solidarity of the exploited and oppressed. To serve this purpose, it is trying on the one hand to divide the unity of the toiling people by stoking the fire of communalism, separatism and on the other hand drowning the country in the darkness of pervert decadent culture and morality to break the moral backbone of the people in general and of the students and the youths in particular while parroting about morality all the time! Despite all these, wherever a people's movement on just cause is developing it is being ruthlessly suppressed with the help of the coercive organs aided by extra-legal forces. To contain popular democratic movements, and hasten the task of bringing allout fascism in the country, the government, is arming itself with all sorts of draconian black enactments, one after another.

The ruling capitalist class, by introducing one-party rule through virtual elimination of parliamentary opposition in the last Lok Sabha poll has created a situation which means nothing other than a sort of 'constitutional dictatorship' and the danger of allout fascism becomes more imminent. Whatever myths and high expectations about the capability of the Rajiv ministry to solve the burning problems in people's life may be advertised, that cannot alter the irrevocable law of capitalism and by this law, the problems of unemployment, high prices of essential commodities, increase in tax burden, inflation, etc. instead of being abated will further accentuate. The apprehension that high dose of taxation is coming on the people becomes real from the very decision of the Central Government to defer placing of Central budget till after the assembly election. There should therefore be no doubt about it that in the days to come, the ever mounting burden of crisis of moribund capitalism will come down more and more heavily on the people exploiting and oppressing them beyond measure. And along with it to wipe out the possibility of any organized resistance and smother the voice of dissent even, the country will be led speedily towards a dark fascist rule.

It is well known that towards the end of Indira-rule, Rajiv Gandhi acted as right hand man of Indira in all heinous deeds including toppling of elected governments in Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra through defection. Now, after sweeping the polls through total rigging, the same Rajiv Gandhi is trying to create a smokescreen of honest image through enacting the Anti-Defection legislation. This is a pointer to typical fascist tactics of deception and carries a danger signal of the shape of things in days to come.

Against this concrete political perspective it is incumbent on all the left democratic and the parties opposed to the Congress(I) to unite for unleashing a united movement of resistance to the impending danger of fascism to defend, preserve and further extend democratic rights norms, values and civil liberties. We appealed to these parties long before the last parliamentary poll, for this united movement to be taken up seriously against the fascist onslaughts, spearheaded by the Congress(I). Our initiative did not meet with success. After the election to the Lok Sabha was announced we made another effort for an overall electoral unity of the opposition parties at least to the extent of setting up in each constituency one agreed opposition candidate against the Congress(I). This too did not succeed. We have appealed again to these parties, after the Lok Sabha poll for initiating unitedly countrywide movement in defence of democracy. Though the response from these parties on all-India basis is yet to come, we are still striving hard for this need of the hour to be fulfilled. Side by side with our persistent efforts for unity of the opposition parties, we have been organizing mass movements in different states on genuine popular issues.

This is the background in short, against which the election to assemblies in eleven states and one Union Territory is going to be held. After the declaration of this election we repeated our appeal to the left, democratic and opposition parties to face the Congress(I) in the election unitedly. This appeal too has gone unheeded. Under the circumstance, we have decided to contest the Congress(I) in a very limited number of seats in different states and appeal to the people to defeat the Congress(I) in the other seats to make the left, democratic and opposition parties' candidates victorious.

Our appeal goes to the left, democratic and opposition parties for building up their unity everywhere at this crucial hour in the country's political development, to ensure the defeat of the Congress(I), without any further loss of time. It is our sincere hope and desire that if they can form non-Congress(I) governments at the states through these assembly elections, they will play their due role in the fight against the dark design of the government at the Centre to bring allout fascism, by opposing resolutely the black enactments which form a part of the design as also stand four square in defence of the legitimate democratic movements of the people against all sorts of tyranny and oppression. If they fail to do so what difference will be there between the governments run by them and those run by Congress(I)? Mere anti-Congressism cannot make any government a different one and pro-people. A government within the present state structure can be really pro-people when striving earnestly for the modicum of reliefs for the common people, that can be possible, it guarantees non-interference of police in all legitimate democratic mass movements for their growth and development. This is essential; for so long the capitalist state machinery remains not a single of the fundamental problems in people's life can be solved by change of government through election. That is why if the non-Congress(I) parties forming government do not encourage people's own instruments of struggle to grow and develop through democratic mass movements, then willynilly they serve the vested interests.

Taking advantage of the absence of democratic mass movement at present in the country the ruling class, exploiting illiteracy, lack of education and poverty of the common people is pushing them down to the abyss of immoral and unethical living. It was for this very reason, the ruling class could so easily place its chosen party to power by all sorts of manipulations and malpractices. Had there been a torrent of mass movements in the country, it would have been not that easy and even if attempted, the people certainly would have hardly believed it.

Our appeal to the people is therefore—build up countrywide democratic movement against the sinister design of the bourgeoisie to lay the firm base of allout fascism in the country, enrol volunteers, join the assembly election as incidental and preparatory to the movement, form 'Voters Council' in all constituencies, make sure the defeat of Congress(I) by mobilising public opinion in favour of our party candidates as also those candidates who can carry the voice of the democratic movement to the legislative forum, who will resolutely oppose the anti-people fascist steps and measures and in the event of non-Congress(I) governments formed, will stand resolutely for keeping the legitimate democratic movements of the people free from police interference to help those to develop in strength and what is more will fight for the adoption of policies and measures conducive to the genuine cause and interests of the people.

Our party SUCI, while striving on the one hand, to our best, to build up allout unity and countrywide united democratic movement which alone can be the real deterrent to impending danger of fascism, has also been, on the other hand, organising mass and class struggles on concrete issues concerning life and living of the people. Our party always takes part in the election as incidental to democratic movement to make the voice of movement

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emboldened the hoarders, and blackmarketeers to turn the state into a virtual paradise for speculative profits.

But how is it that the state government does not make any serious dehoarding drives with the help of the people and enforce the Essential Commodities Act to bring to book these enemies of the people. Is it not within its powers?

The procurement of rice can also be made by the government by purchase at a remunerative price from the poor and lower middle peasants who are forced to make distress sale, to save them from the exploitation of the jotedar and businessmen.

We urge upon the leaders, workers and supporters of different left parties in government to judge for themselves whether our party "makes always unfair criticism of the Front government" when it appeals actually for taking up such urgent pro-people measure, well within its powers.

#### VIRTUAL COLLAPSE OF POWER SYSTEM

Regarding the virtual breakdowns in power and state transport services, which, in our opinion have been one of the major reasons for the anger and disgust of the urban common people who were the traditional supporters of the lefts, we have again and again drawn the attention of the Government to be serious and up and doing. We have urged again and again to take the matter on war footing as the casualties of the power crisis have been thousands—workers, small entrepreneurs students, patients and who not other than the monopolists and the rich people! The government has not heeded our suggestion. The situation has deteriorated further since then even after addition of productive capacity of 900 M.W. This only shows either the Left Front's lack of political will to hit the vested interests grown around the power plants with the combination of contractors-top bureaucrats-industrialists and some unscrupulous employees or

its sheer incompetence, heavily dependent as it has become on the bureaucracy instead of relying on the power of the organized people on strong ethical base.

#### SHIELDING OF CORRUPTION, INEFFICIENCY AND YIELDING TO THE PRESSURE OF IMPERIALIST AGENCY

The Front government within its six years' rule has increased the bus-tram fares thrice to make them more than double on the plea that prices of motor parts and accessories and fuel had gone up. The plea was the same when the Congress government in the past enhanced fares. The leftist parties who are now in government, when in opposition, opposed the fare hike and the movement on the one paise rise in tram fare—it cannot be forgotten.

Without weeding out the corruption and inefficiency and toning up administration and the subsidies now risen to the extent of Rs. 22 crores notwithstanding, as we have shown successive fare hikes cannot improve the service. The government instead of taking the right steps to plug the loopholes, was imposing the burden of fare hike at the threat of the World Bank, an imperialist agency. But at what cost? Three lives were taken and hundreds grievously injured and maimed. Of course, the government had to scale down the increase under the cover of 'rationalisation of fare structure'. But what was very much painful is that the government or party leaders stood in the way when the private operations in the districts, at the pressure of movement were willing to withdraw the latest hike.

Still more painful was the method and means adopted by the Front Government to suppress brutally a legitimate democratic movement. We addressed to the Chief Minister memorandum and letters bringing to the notice of his government that in flagrant violation of the Police Code by wanton police firings, before alerting previously

## An appeal to left and democratic parties

the people in legitimate democratic movement with the palpable object of not dispersing but to kill them, the persons in uniform have committed, various criminal acts aided and abetted by the extra-legal forces—the cadres and anti-socials engaged by the party in power, posing grave danger to democratic mass movements.

We request the cadres, supporters and even the leaderships of the parties in power to ponder deeply how such acts square with their preachings of democratic principles and what is more, will those acts encourage or not the fascist forces rising in the country?

#### UNBRIDLED POWER OF POLICE AND BUREAUCRACY

We request the left and democratic forces in the state to give a serious thought to whether or not this approach to democratic mass movements revealed in so glaring distortions particularly on the occasions of the Bus Fare Resistance Movement or the Junior Doctors' Movement, leaving apart on other occasions, has actually encouraged and emboldened the bureaucracy more so of the police department so much so that it could go to the extent of killing a crucial witness in the Garden Reach murder case within the lock-up in the police Head Quarters. Could this unprecedented thing happen causing enormous loss of prestige of the political leadership of the Front in the public eye had not the highups in police administration felt sure of going scot free after such incident?

#### EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE POLICY

The supersession of the elected Senate, Syndicate of the Calcutta University and replacement of those by a nominated body before an election was held on the basis of a new enactment, similar removal of elected bodies of the schools and colleges in hundreds, only to be run by

party nominated persons, making the schools and colleges wholly dependent on the government financially and for administration and what is more, government's or party's interference in selection of Vice-chancellors of the Universities have robbed the educational institutions of their autonomy and the relative independence of the academic world.

But what has hit most the people's right to education including higher education and the loftier cause of intellectual progress and advancement of civilisation is the Front government's language policy. We have repeatedly pointed out these facts but to no effect. Naturally, we had no course open other than organising movement, participated by eminent educationists, men of letters, leading intellectuals along with wide sections of the teachers, guardians and students. We need not repeat what we have said and written over the years against the government's decisions e.g. the withdrawal of study of English at the primary stage, making the mother tongue and English optional at college level, virtual doing away with examination system at primary stage, diminishing the importance of literature study, devaluing the standard of education by change of syllabus including that of the Honours course etc.

We must reiterate what we wrote at the very inception of the policy: "If it were true that English had lost any role in our life or that its role had been exhausted, its utility and importance withered away then the government's bid... could have been welcome... (But) at the higher levels English remains still today the medium of instruction... students with weak foundation in English will find themselves ineligible for higher education.

.....The language policy (would therefore) restrict the higher education to minimise arti-

ficially the pressure of educated unemployed which is in tune with the desire and policy of the Central Government." (Proletarian Era, August, 1978). Dispelling the confusion deliberately spread that as if we are opposed to mother tongue becoming the medium of instruction, we showed in the same article that as "English gives us access to the highly developed thoughts in modern science, technology, art, philosophy etc.... its association with the nationality languages including our mother tongue will be conducive to their further development as it has been actually". And that is why we stand for two-language formula—mother tongue and English while other parties—Congress (I), CPI, CPI(M) demand three language formula. We hold "...if English is arbitrarily replaced by Hindi or by any other nationality language for that matter, the development of these languages will only be retarded". And the consequences will be disastrous. For, with the fall in the standard of education, culture and detachment from advanced thoughts and ideas, a situation will be created when "it will be easier for the reactionary forces... to give birth to revivalism, fatalism, absolutism, and religious fanaticism, conducive to the march of allout fascism." (ibid)

#### OUR APPEAL

In sum, we appeal to the leaderships, rank and file members, supporters and sympathisers of the left parties as also the freedom-loving democratic-minded people of the state to take note of the danger signals of allout fascism clearly visible after the parliamentary poll.

We urge upon the common people to realise as we have been urging them repeatedly over the years to do that while the non-left attitude and policies of the Left Front Government must be fought, if need be, through organized movements even, but it will be a suicidal step

(Contd. on page 7)

# ANTI DEFECTION BILL

(Contd. from page 1)

Singh at the head of the defectors formed a government of defectors as Prime Minister without facing the Parliament, it was the Congress-I along with others who supported him. More recently, we have witnessed the Congress-I Central Government toppling the elected Ministry in Sikkim through defection. Only the other day, the Congress-I Central Government bribed legislators en bloc and engineered large scale defections rampantly misusing the office of the Rajyapal to topple elected ministries first in Jammu and Kashmir and then in Andhra (although abortively). It is well-known that Rajiv Gandhi acted as her right hand man in all such nefarious acts of Smt. Gandhi. About the morality and culture reflected by Congress-I leaders and workers, the less said the better. Instances of their utter corruption and depravity are too numerous to need elaboration by citing examples. How, during the Youth Congress conference in Nagpur a few months back, the Youth Congress workers, clad in their khadi and Gandhi caps, made a beeline for cheap grade film shows and brothels going on a rampage through the city even while the Conference session was on, is fresh in public memory. And has not Rajiv Gandhi made repeated public avowals that he would pursue the legacy and policies of Smt. Gandhi ? ,

Is it believable that this party has suddenly turned into an apostle of morality and honest code of conduct in public life ? Or is it the truth that the moralist invocations of the anti-defection enactment form the facade behind which some ulterior motive is at work ?

A study of the clauses of the 10th schedule of the constitution enacted, bears this out. It has been provided that a legislator belonging to any political party shall be disqualified

for being a member of the House if he has voluntarily given up membership of such political party or if he votes or abstains from voting in such House contrary to any direction issued by that party. We like to state that the forum for enforcing party discipline is the party itself and not the legislature. Only when the quality of leadership and ideology of a party is such that it cannot hold its legislators against the allurements of quick gain of pelf and position does it seek to enforce discipline with the threat of stripping the partyman off the status of a legislator. If a party commits a grievous wrong, does not a legislator, even if he is alone, has the right to dissent ? Have we forgotten how Smt. Gandhi went against the party decision of Congress at the time of election of V.V. Giri as the President in the name of conscience vote ? Will she not then go down in history as the greatest defector this country has ever produced ?

The enactment also provides for disqualification of an independent or nominated legislator if he joins a political party attracted by its ideology and not by the lure of power and pelf ?

It is a cruel irony that as per this same enactment, if not less than one-third of the members of a legislative party defect, it is considered to be not a defection but a split, being exempt from disqualification of membership of the House! Again if not less than two-thirds of the members of a legislative party decide to merge with another party, it is considered to be not defection but a merger,, the incumbents being exempt from disqualification of membership ! Strange logic ! If a few defect, it is punishable as the heinous crime it is, but when a large number commit the same crime of defection it is sanctified and legalized by this much trumpeted Anti-Defection enactment! Does this not encourage the intending defectors not to defect alone or in small numbers

but to try to rope in as many as possible to be exempt from disqualification and thus give a spurt to largescale defection ? We like to remind that it is the Congress-I that is the most adept among the corrupt bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parliamentary parties in organising large scale defection.

In the bid of the ruling class to cook up a "massive mandate" for Rajiv Gandhi, adopting every sort of heinous and corrupt method and practice even in flagrant and naked violation of electoral rules and the opposition has virtually been wiped out in the parliament. Even so, the charisma and stature of Rajiv Gandhi being what they are, orchestrated hand work of the mass-media rather than real, his ability to hold together in practice even this manufactured brute majority may be suspect and there lies the danger of this artificial stabilization brought about by the ruling class through the sham election to be set at naught by possible future defections. The present Anti-Defection enactment is a stringent measure designed to check future resentment against Rajiv Gandhi within the folds of Congress-I so that none in the party can disobey him. On the other hand, it keeps the field open for large-scale defection which can be organised by a party only with the full backing and money-power of the ruling class. And we wish to point out that defection of stray individuals, though reprehensible, it is the organized defection of legislators en bloc that has been eating into the vitals of the body-politic like a cancerous growth.

A revealing feature of the exercise for adoption of the Anti-Defection Bill has been the show of dialogue and consensus with the parliamentary opposition, what remains of it, so assiduously projected by the monopoly press and the other mass-media. Last Lok Sabha

poll has virtually brought about one-party rule by means of an oppositionless Parliament, a variant of constitutional dictatorship keeping the facade of parliamentary democracy, minus the opposition. The resentment such a move would have evoked has otherwise been brought about through the "election", peacefully. Now this show of dialogue with the opposition is for keeping them pleased. This tactics has a place in the design of the ruling class to usher in two-party parliamentary system in the country for which it has been striving ever since it first tried on a national scale to provide rule by a second party acceptable to it by propping up the Janata Party in the 1977 Lok Sabha poll. Now, due to the circumstances, the two-party scheme has failed for the time' being and they have had to bring about virtually one party rule through the last polls but even so, the two party design safer for prolonging the capitalist class-rule by throwing up the ruling class's alternative within parliamentary framework for the disaffected people to keep them diverted and appeased, has not been given up. Although numerically the present Parliament does not have a bi-partisan composition, a bi-partisan approach as in the USA, implying that the opposition too is a part of the government, of the Establishment, is being sought to be introduced in the psychological make-up in politics. If they succeed in this and can rope in the opposition to an overall consensus with the ruling party even while one-party rule prevails, it would make for all-out consolidation of capitalism. During the time of Indira Gandhi groupism, cliques and dissensions became rife not only in the Congress organisation but got entrenched in the administration as well. Now, through ushering in one-party rule they are trying to eliminate dissensions and create a monolith on the one hand while on the other they are trying to pattern the parliamentary opposi-

tion into two party psychology for securing its acquiescence for allout consolidation of capitalism, constitutional dictatorship towards fascism.

We wish to draw particular attention of the opposition parties to this dangerous aspect. In Jammu & Kashmir there was an anti-defection legislation. When the Congress-I Central Government toppled the Farooq Abdullah ministry through organising defection and installed GM Shah as the Chief Minister to head the defectors' government, they made much about the difference between defection and split in justification of the misdeed obtaining approval of the Supreme Court by arguing that since a large number of legislators defected, it was not defection but a legitimate split! The opposition parties condemned this ope-

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## Appeal to left, democratic parties

(Contd. from page 6) to turn their face against the leftist camp. This will only hasten the process of allout fascism to make it a reality in the country and in that fateful eventuality it is they, the people, their democratic rights, freedom and liberties will be the worst casualties.

Therefore, if the leftist citadel of West Bengal is to be revived in its past glory, if a concrete direction to the oppressed and exploited is to be provided, if the onrush of fascist forces is to be stalled then the only course left open to us is the course of organized democratic mass and class struggles based on firm ethical footing. This alone can defend, preserve and further extend people's rights and freedom. On to this course of mass and class struggle, we appeal to them. to turn, rectifying past mistakes, wrong policies and shortcomings.

We say to them : Yet there is time, comrades ! Delay may prove fatal.

## ASSEMBLY ELECTION

(Contd. from page 5)

heard and its cause taken up in right earnest within the legislative forum.

We sincerely hope and believe that those who would like to uphold the genuine cause of the people and their legitimate democratic movement will come forward, defying all odds, to make our party candidates as also the candidates standing for democratic right, norms and principles victorious and ensure the defeat of the Congress(I).

### List of SUCI Candidates

#### UTTAR PRADESH

KHUTAHAN	Sri Dinesh Kant Dubey
GARWARA	Sri Sakal Deo
MACHHLISHAHAR	Sri Surendra Nath Maurya
MARIAHA	Sri Jagadish Chand Asthana
KERAKAT(SC)	Sri Hari Lal
JAUNPUR	Sri Dinesh Kant Pandey
RARI	Sri Rajendra Prasad Yadav
BIRAPUR	Sri Ram Samujh Gautam
PATTI	Sri Ram Kedar Verma
CHANDA	Sri Jagannath Verma
KADIPUR(SC)	Sri Ram Chandra Harijan
SAMBHAL	Sri Harswaroop Singh
MAZAFFARNAGAR	Sri Sagwa Singh

#### BIHAR

KANTI	Prof. N.R. Singh
MINAPUR	Sri Diwakar Singh
SAKRA(SC)	Sri Kuldip Paswan
MARHAURA	Sri Amar Kumar Pandey
BARHARA	Sri Jagadish Sharma
DINAPUR	Sri Baidyanath Sharma
PHULWARI SHARIF(SC)	Sri Vijoy Kumar
KHARAGPUR	Sri Sukhdeo Yadav
TARAPUR	Sri Mithilesh Singh
LAKHI SARAI	Sri Mahendra Prasad Mahato
BAKHRI(SC)	Sri Jogendra Paswan
AMARPUR	Sri Shankar Prasad Modi (Shankar Dayal)
SULTANGANJ(SC)	Sri Lakshmi Kant Majhi
CHANDAN KIYARI(SC)	Sri Mahindi Rajwar
BOKARO	Sri T.K. Dey
GHATSILLA(ST)	Sri Sitaram Tudu
BAHARAGORA	Sri Purna Tudu
KARAKAT	Sri Brijnandan Singh
NOKHA	Sri Mahendra Singh
HATIA	Md. Ishaque

#### ORISSA

JASHIPUR(ST)	Sri Sambhu Nath Naik
SUKINDA	Sri Mayadhar Nayak
BINJHARPUR(SC)	Sri Surendra Mallick
PIPLI	Sri Raghunath Das
BIRMAHARAJPUR	Sri Sanat Panigrabi
TALSARA(ST)	Sri Banamali Dandasena
ROURKELA	Smt. Chhabi Mahanty
ANANDAPUR(SC)	Sri Prafulla Sethi
BALASORE	Smt. Tarulata Behera

#### ANDHRA PRADESH

KURNOOL	Sri B. Sreenivasa Rao
AMARCHINTA	Sri K.G. Ramachandra Reddy
VUNUKURU	Sri Majji Suryanarayanana

#### KARNATAKA

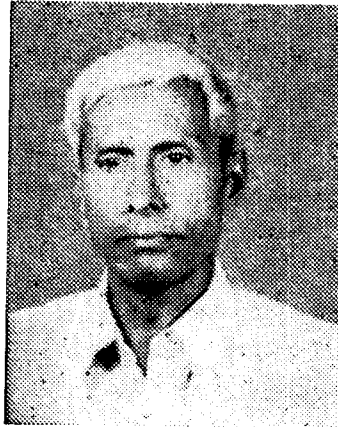
GULBARGA	Dr. S. Jahagirdar
MALLESWARAM	Sri K. Surendra Babu

#### RAJASTHAN

PILANI	Sri Dharampal Singh
SURAJGARH	Sri Joyprokash

## Red Salute Comrades !

Comrade Jamini Roy



Comrade Jamini Kanta Roy, member, State Organizing Committee, UP and in-charge, Allahabad district Committee SUCI breathed his last due to an attack of Cerebral thrombosis on 29th January last at the Nazarat Hospital of Allahabad.

Comrade Roy joined the Freedom movement at a very tender age when he was a school student. Since then he was imprisoned many times either during the Freedom movement or while leading the non-gazetted Central government employees during the '60s. As the leader of the Assam-Surma Valley Students' organisation Comrade Roy played a very important role du-

ring the '42 movement and suffered imprisonment.

In the Central government employees' strikes of 1960 and 1968, Comrade Roy played a leading role in Allahabad in particular and was kept imprisoned for 11 months on the latter occasion. He was suspended from service and after winning a legal battle was restored to service later on.

Age, serious ailments and other odds could never dampen the spirit of this veteran fighter. He was at onetime associated with the united CPI and AISF but attracted by the noble ideas, teachings and life of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh joined our party, SUCI, and worked for it till he breathed his last. In his death, not only our party but the democratic movement as such has lost a veteran and indomitable fighter.

Red Salute Comrade Roy!

#### Comrade Mani

Comrade Mani, a party worker in Singhbhum district of Bihar and one of the founders and a member of Mosaboni Copper Mazdoor Union (affiliated to UTUC-LS) himself a veteran and indomitable worker died of a mine

accident while he was on duty on 28th January last. Comrade Mani hailed from Tamil Nadu to work at the Copper mine of Mosaboni. Coming in contact with the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh he became an applicant member in 1965. While organizing the workers and in connection with the various movements in which he took a leading part, he suffered severe police tortures and imprisonment several times.

The loss of this valiant worker will surely be felt. The red flag was dipped paying revolutionary homage to the departed.

Comrade Mani  
Red Salute !

#### Comrade Kumkum Roy Chawdhury

Comrade Kumkum Roy Choudhury, an important worker of SUCI in Jabalpur, MP. breathed her last on 9th February, '85. She was at one time a member of the West Bengal State Council and Vice-President, Calcutta DSO and General Secretary of Muralidhar Girls' College Students' Union, Calcutta. She died of a severe attack of diabetes.

## Anti Defection Bill

(Contd from page 7)  
ration of massive defection and its subsequent legislation utilising the loophole in the interpretation of what constituted defection and what was a split and shift of allegiance, and rightly so. But now, when large scale defection has been virtually legalised, almost institutionalised, by the clauses of the 52nd Constitutional Amendment—why are they blind to such provisions and why are they keeping mum? As the Rajiv Ministry perpetrates an elaborate hoax upon the the people in the name of righteousness as part of the overall fascist design of the ruling

class and passes it off as the "national consensus"; why do they, instead of exposing it, acquiesce in order to please Rajiv Gandhi? What kind of politics is this, we like to ask. Political morality stems from social morality. Even if a model anti Defection legislation, which the present one is decidedly not, is adopted—even then many a loophole in it may be discovered and utilised by the self-seeking corrupt politicians in the absence of a general upliftment of the social morality which can come about only through sustained democratic mass movement on the edi-

fice of higher morality, ethics and culture creating a strong countercurrent in the society against the all-out degradation around us. To this end, we have been representing for long for comprehensive electoral reform including provision of the right for the people to recall a legislator if he goes back upon the electoral pledges he made before the poll. We appeal to all right-thinking and democratic-minded people with the good of the country at heart in general and to the left democratic and all other opposition parties in particular to join hands.

Editor in Chief—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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