

# To Restore, Preserve and Extend Civil Liberty and Fundamental and Democratic Rights **DEFEAT CONGRESS AT THE POLLS**

The election to the Lok Sabha is going to take place from 16th—20th March next, in an unprecedented suffocating situation. The country is still in the grip of internal Emergency, clamped some nineteen months back, in addition to the external Emergency which has been there for a long time—with thousands of Opposition party workers including contingents of important organisers and workers of our Party in Bihar, Orissa, Hariyana still behind the bars, warrants of arrests and cases against thousands others not withdrawn, Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act still in force, draconic Acts like DIR and MISA, after their amendments twice during the Emergency allowing detention for unlimited period without showing any reason to the detainee and the court, still being freely used against the people and particularly the opposition party workers, leaders and organisers. In short, the fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties have been totally negated through a spate of constitutional amendments and other measures resorted to by the bourgeois party in power.

So, when, in the midst of such a suffocating situation, election was announced only to serve the sectarian interest of the ruling party, our party demanded of the government to take, among others, ten concrete measures to restore congenial democratic atmosphere in which alone a relatively free and fair election is possible. All the opposition parties and forces voiced some of those demands. But it is one thing to raise demands and altogether a different thing to be steadfast on these demands by uniting all the opposition parties and forces as also the people to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the government which the people expected very much. For, here was the first excellent opportunity to translate into action what all the opposition parties, rightist or leftist, said and expressed from the platform of "People's Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights" which was formed in Delhi on All India basis and subsequently extended to different states, just sometime before the election was announced. But however much the people might have expected, this did not happen.

People witnessed a completely different thing. Leaders of some of the opposition parties who are among the constituents of the 'People's Union' met the Prime Minister, that too, not jointly but separately, to plead some of the common demands.

The united face of the opposition was not thus presented, for reasons best known to these leaders. We do not know what assurances they got from the Prime Minister, but immediately thereafter, they devoted their entire (Contd. to Page 2)

# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA ( FORTNIGHTLY )

*Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH*

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## SUCI Suggested Concrete Measures for Free and Fair Election to the Election Commissioner of India

Calcutta 1st March, 1977: Comrade Anil Sen and Fatik Ghosh, members of the West Bengal State Committee, SUCI on 1st March 1977 met the chief Election Commissioner of India at Calcutta and submitted a memorandum.

In the memorandum it has been said that none of the 10 demands raised by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary, of our party on the night of 18th January, 1977 just after the announcement of the Lok Sabha Poll by the Prime Minister, essential for creating a congenial democratic atmosphere for the holding of a relatively free and fair election has so far been fulfilled.

Not only this, on the contrary, all the propaganda media of the government instead of giving equal scope and opportunity to vindicate the ideological-political programmatic aspects of other parties, are playing a partisan role in favour of the party in power.

Moreover, as the election day is nearing cases of threats, intimidations and physical assaults by the agents of the party in power are increasing which is further aggravating the already developed fear psychosis in the general public. And this surely is adverse to the holding of a free and fair election.

On the 22nd February last the notorious Congress hoodlums, ransacked our party office at Sonatikuri in P.S. Kultali. A written complaint was made to the Home Secretary and to the D.M. 24 Parg. on 24. 2. 77. but unfortunately till this day no action has

been taken against the culprits.

In the afternoon of 28. 2. 77. Congress hoodlums attacked our election meeting at Raninagar Hat near Mohitnagar Rly. Station within Jalpaiguri Parliamentary Constituency with lethal weapons and brickbats. Comrade Dilip Bhattacharya, Dist. Secretary of Jalpaiguri, SUCI and Parimal Rani Roy received serious injuries. FIR was made at Jalpaiguri PS, the police arrested some of the miscreants and many others fled. On the intervention by the local Congress Leaders the miscreants were released by the police.

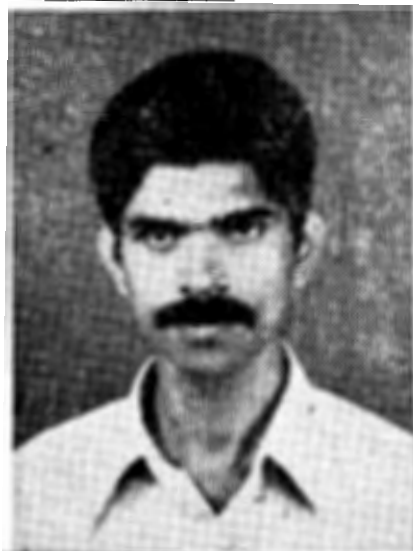
On 23.2.77 in Moyna P.S. under Tomluk

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## MAKE SUCI CANDIDATES VICTORIOUS



**Com. Ashutosh Banerjee**  
Bankura Lok Sabha (W. Bengal)



**Com. James Joseph**  
Quilon Lok Sabha (Kerala)



**Com. Siwanti Kerketta**  
Sundargarh (St) Lok Sabha (Orissa)



**Com. Balwant Singh**  
Rohtak Lok Sabha (Haryana)

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energy and attention to mere seat-adjustments among themselves without however clinching the issue which alone could create a congenial democratic atmosphere essential for holding even a relatively free and fair election.

It thus became apparent that these parties after airing their protests were already engaged in electioneering and were telling the people in justification of their stand that it was they who demanded the election since the time they were debating the 42nd constitutional amendment and now that the election had been announced their only complaint was that sufficient time was not given to them for poll preparations and that Emergency was still in force.

Viewing this development with utmost seriousness and concern, particularly in the concrete perspective that one of the very motives of the ruling party is to obtain, through a show of this kind of election, so-called democratic seal of approval for all of its anti-people, anti-democratic acts during the last nineteen months, particularly the burial it has given to the very limited democratic content that was still there in the constitution, our party took the positive political initiative to strive hard for the broadest possible unity of all the parties and forces—at least, those who were united on the platform of 'People's Union'—on the basis of the principle that the question of restoration, protection and further extension of civil liberty, fundamental and democratic rights of the people should be made the prime issue, as they are really so, which none is denying at least in their utterances.

#### Our Central Committee's Proposal to Opposition Parties and Forces

The Central Committee of our Party thereafter, reviewing the present situation, when the very fate of democratic movement with which is intimately connected the

## Direct Election Battle to Pro-people Political Aim

struggle for people's ultimate emancipation, and when the future of the country also depends entirely on the success of people's struggle for emancipation, all these—the fate and future of the people, the nation and the country depend solely on the prime task of uniting all those who genuinely mean and stand for democratic values and norms, in one 'broadest combination' on the most vital issues of restoration, preservation and further extension of the fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties of the people, moved towards that. In order to present such a united face of all the opposition to the ruling party in the election battle, our party adopted a policy statement on 30.1.77. which stated *inter alia*—"The present situation marked by such unprecedented negation of civil liberties and democratic rights of the common people by imposition of spate of restrictive measures and by various other means, calls for, in the interest of the people, the broadest possible unity of all those forces who truly and firmly stand committed to restore, defend and extend these rights with a view to creating a congenial democratic atmosphere in the country.

"In order to present such a united face of all such opposition parties and forces to meet the attacks on the democratic rights, values and the people by the ruling party, it is incumbent, not only to have an adjustment of seats for defeating the ruling Congress at the polls, but in order to make this defeat purposeful, to adopt also such programme which would ensure restoration and preservation of civil liberties and democratic rights of the people.

"This necessitates immediate sitting of all such opposition parties and adoption of such programme and also criteria on the question of allotment of seats that can genuinely reflect the

present organisational strength of different parties necessary to ensure defeat of the ruling Congress and, also—selecting such candidates who are genuinely honest, sincere and dependable defenders of civil liberties and democratic rights of the people upholding a high standard of democratic values and norms".

The Central Committee of our Party, not only appealed to all the opposition parties and forces to sit together on the basis of this proposal for taking a united move but also directed all its State Committees, almost in all the States of our country, to pursue this effort by contacting the leaderships of all the parties and forces in the opposition.

It was the considered opinion of our Party, while offering the concrete proposals for adoption of this minimum principle as the basis of unity, a sound organisational criteria for seat allotment as also a norm in selecting candidate, that at least the parties and forces who are constituents of the 'People's Union For Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights' who are speaking of the urgency of the issue, would have no reasons whatsoever not to accept this just proposal. For by acceptance of this proposal not only the unity already made possible on this paramount issue would be sustained but it would be cemented and further extended on the basis of sound principle in the objective test of an electoral battle against the ruling party, in order to combine all sections of the toiling people against their enemy number one. This would definitely provide a concrete direction to the people and strengthen their struggle for the restoration, preservation and further extension of their fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties.

#### The Meaning of our Proposal and the Reaction of other Parties

Under the circumstances therefore, to ensure the

crushing defeat of the ruling Congress which represents the aggregate interest of the ruling capitalist class and thus has become the main enemy to the people, but also to make this defeat really purposive so far as the vital interest of the people is concerned, we placed our concrete proposal to all the Opposition parties and forces on 30.1.77 outlining therein, the principled basis of unity, a sound criteria for seat allocation and a norm in the matter of selecting candidates.

We proposed, that the parties and forces in the opposition who are speaking for restoration of fundamental democratic rights and civil liberties should sit together to forge the broadest possible unity on this paramount question. If they really mean what they are saying then they should feel no hesitation to publicly commit themselves to the people by written pledge that if they are voted to power, their first charge will be, if it is not possible to annul at the first instance all the anti-people and anti-democratic acts and measures that the Congress Party has adopted in its uninterrupted thirty year's rule at the Centre, at least to wipe out by one stroke all the anti-people and anti-democratic legislations and measures the party in power has taken during this period of nineteen months' Emergency. Not only this, appropriate measures are to be taken for the preservation and further extension of these rights and liberties of the people.

Further, in order to provide a real guarantee for the protection of these rights and liberties, the parties and forces in the Opposition would have also to commit publicly that they would not only subject themselves to the vigilance and counsels of the people's Committees but themselves would take active part in growing and developing these Committees down to the village level as 'watch-

dog bodies' in order to educate the people with democratic norms, sense of values and morality as also to mobilise them in the concrete shape of these people's own bodies.

On the basis of this principled unity of all the Opposition parties and forces, the criteria for seat allocation should be such as would reflect the latest organisational strength of the parties, as this alone can ensure the defeat of the Congress.

The question of selection of candidates, which is no less important, and should be guided by certain norms, as otherwise, instead of the real fighters for people's cause, worst type of career seekers and political turncoats can get themselves elected taking advantage of the anti-Congress swing.

But our proposal, however based on correct principle and justified, was cold-shouldered by all the opposition parties including those who claim themselves to be 'Marxist-Leninists'. They even did not say a single word as to the merit or demerit, if any, of our proposal. Rather, every effort was made to shut it out completely from public knowledge and consideration. It is therefore, one thing to talk of principles from public platform but it is altogether a different thing to put that principle into practice. Political morality demands consistency between the two.

It is to be noted that all the Opposition parties are raising the slogan of 'one seat—one opposition candidate' and have made this cry the sole issue and have devoted their entire energy for mere seat-adjustments and posing it as unity of all Opposition parties and forces before the people.

But, while nobody denies in today's perspective, the urgent necessity of giving a crushing defeat to the Congress Party, none can also deny that people who will be voting the Opposition will be doing so from a fervent expectation of a change-

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No party, therefore, swearing people's cause can have any moral right to do anything that will objectively frustrate this just expectation of the people. People's interest can therefore be genuinely guarded and upheld as also their just expectation fulfilled if the Opposition parties and forces provide a real guarantee. And it is exactly to provide this guarantee that our party offered the aforesaid concrete proposals.

If the Opposition parties and forces had any other proposal to provide this guarantee then they could very well place them. But the truth is, nobody other than our Party, SUCI, bothered about this. Nobody other than our party cared to provide a real guarantee that alone can safeguard people's genuine interest and ensure the fulfilment of people's desire for a change in the right direction.

The two distinctly different approaches—that of other Opposition parties and of ourselves—should be amply clear to the people. Of these two approaches, the former stems from an attitude of exigency devoid of any principle and in place of making the question of restoration, protection and further extension of fundamental and democratic rights and civil liberties of the people, the central focal point, they concentrated their entire energy and devotion to seat adjustments only.

Our approach is to remind the people that, like so many other battles, election is also a political battle and it should be fought with a clear principle and political perspective. It is only this approach that categorically points out that to give defeat to Congress at the polls, it is also necessary to give a positive direction to our people, to place before them, an alternative politics which really upholds the cause of the people and meets the need of the hour.

So, it is for the people to grasp the real meaning,

## Free the Left Democratic Movement from the Opportunist Politics of the CPI(M)

significance and basic tenets in our proposal. They can well understand that had there been no material differences then perhaps all other parties in the Opposition would have no difficulty in readily accepting this in one voice. Otherwise, the question remains, why other parties including those who claim themselves 'Marxist-Leninists' did not respond to the proposal, despite our sincere and persistent efforts? How is it that they take meticulous care not to mention about this proposal anywhere in the public? Indeed, there is a material difference in as much as our proposal alone can stand as guarantee to the people whereas in the absence of this all proposedly important thing, all the promises now coming may melt away in the thin air—as they do and people know it by their past bitter experiences.

### Restoration, Protection and further Extension of Fundamental and Democratic Rights and Civil Liberties—Why they have become the central focal point of people's cause and struggle

It is our Party, SUCI, alone that has been consistently holding all these days—both before the declaration of the election and after it, be it the question of amendment to the Constitution or the question of turning the electoral battle into a political battle in the right direction, every other question should be deemed as secondary to the first and foremost question of restoration of Civil Liberty and Democratic rights of the people on which alone the democratic movement as also the future of the people and the country mainly depend. We repeatedly pointed out that unless the first thing comes first, i.e. a congenial democratic atmosphere is established in our country, it is not only immaterial, but suicidal at the same time to place, in the name of constructive approach,

some high sounding suggestions which most of the Opposition parties, left and right all alike, did on the question of amendment of Constitution. We wondered, without the democratic rights being restored, how can the formation of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of adult franchise help advance people's cause as suggested by some Opposition parties, particularly by the CPI(M)? Our Party did not fail to point out that the slogan of amendment of Constitution had not been raised from the platform of any democratic mass movement but was raised by the ruling party whose prime object was to divert the attention of the masses from the vital problems of people's life. It was only our Party that time and again pointed out that no question other than this very vital question of restoration of fundamental rights should deserve the top-most consideration at such a critical juncture. But it is a tragedy that nobody paid any heed to any of our suggestions. Only such a bold stand, if adopted jointly by the entire Opposition, could compel the ruling party to lift Emergency and restore all the democratic rights enjoyed so long by the people in which case our people could participate in the elections in a relatively democratic atmosphere. But we are sorry to note that excepting our Party, all the Opposition parties raised the demand for holding elections without caring a bit that the focal point ought to have been lifting of the Emergency and restoration of Civil Liberties and Democratic and Fundamental Rights of the people without ensuring which the slogan of holding elections was bound to be self-defeating.

### 20-Point Programme—a blue print of the crisis of twentieth Century capitalism

As Indira Gandhi's socialism was an "Old wine of Nehru's socialism in a

new bottle" named after Indira, as the slogan of "Garibi Hatao" has been able to fight out not 'Garibi' i.e. poverty in the least, but has thrown the 'Garibs' i.e. the poor more and more into a state of destitution, so also like all its predecessors in the past, the 20-point programme has met with the same fate as any such programme is destined to meet in the background of the crisis of Twentieth Century capitalism in a country like India. The diametrically opposite trends of suppression and persuasion of the people that fascism is always after blending together—the 20-point programme only manifested the aspect of persuasion, the attempt of the ruling party to win over, or at best hoodwink the masses under the fake promise of ameliorating the sufferings of the people. So it is not at all important what amount of so-called radical measures are promised to be implemented, or what progressive overtone is there in the language or pronouncements of the bourgeois leaders, whether in power or in opposition. But *all the same, so long capitalism is there, the exploitative system is there on which it is founded, all these slogans, programmes or promises can at best serve as palliatives but never as panacea of people's life.* But it is really amazing that excepting our Party all the left parties masquerading as Marxists, leftists etc., found in this 20-point programme not only the possibility of minimising the sufferings of the people to a great extent, but also the possibility of "radical transformation of the society" with far-reaching consequences.

Not only this, even during this period of Emergency, when people's fundamental democratic rights and liberties were being and planfully taken away, when thousands of political workers of Opposition parties were being hounded out, and thousand

others languishing in jails, the leaders from CPI(M)'s Polit Bureau met the Prime Minister on 9th April, 1976, to present her a memorandum which asserted that the "Party's record is one of consistently carrying on a political-ideological fight against Rightist policies, whether pursued by internal or external forces, and against policies of the extreme left (Peoples Democracy, April 25, 1976).

One who has eyes can see for himself that it is nothing but an attempt on the part of the CPI(M) to show the Prime Minister that though they have raised slogans for the withdrawal of Emergency, they do not basically differ from the Prime Minister's 'Contention' regarding the promulgation of Emergency on the apprehension of 'rightist danger.'

They also told the Prime Minister—"the party is of the opinion that if these points (meaning 20-points) relating to peasants and agricultural labourers are honestly and sincerely implemented, they would give some relief to these sections". (Ibid)

### Root cause of the crisis

Our beloved departed leader, teacher and one of the outstanding Marxist thinkers of the present era the founder General Secretary of our Party, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has time and again shown that ours is not only a capitalist country but capitalism here has already attained the stage of monopoly. Monopoly capitalism today, both nationally and internationally, is crisis-ridden and chaos-discredited. In the post-war situation when capitalism has lost the relative stability of market, which it enjoyed till the other day, due to some significant changes taking place in the international arena, there has been acute accentuation of crisis in the entire capitalist imperialist world. It can get rid of a crisis, only to be plunged into a greater and deeper crisis. In order to stave off the crises these

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countries whether advanced or backward, have taken recourse to concentration and centralisation of political and economic power leading more and more to fascisation. Fascism today, no longer represents any stereotyped pattern, it has assumed various forms depending on the specific situation obtaining in a country.

Indian monopoly capitalism is faced with two-fold crises—one, as a part and parcel of the international capitalist system and the other, for it being a relatively backward capitalist country compared to the countries of the West. Naturally, whatever measure may be adopted by the ruling class—be it the Five Year Plans, programmes of industrialisation, the various land reform measures or be it impounding of DA and wage or bonus cut of the employees or any other conceivable means—every bit of it is bound to be associated with a shadow of crisis which our beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh predicted long ago. But the entire burden of the crises is every time passed on to the shoulder of the common people making their life absolutely unbearable.

The strong foundation of monopoly capitalism that the Indian economy has given birth to, through nationalisation and various other means, the complete denial of democratic rights the ruling party has resorted to, the so called radical slogans of "socialism" that manifests the typical social democratic approach and the foundation of a fascist culture "through a fusion between spiritualism and technological aspects of science"—all these are symptomatic of the growth of fascism in India. In the field of culture not only the putrid and decadent culture of vile individualism, depravity and unethical means of livelihood is given calculated indulgence by the ruling party but what is more, all sorts of revivalism blended with blind fanaticism which eats into the very vital of the faculty of reasoning and

## DEFEAT CONGRESS AND ALL SHADES OF OPPORTUNISM SECTARIANISM

logic is carefully fostered to pave the way for fascism.

But even after all these we must remember, as pointed out by our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, that there are a few factors which are working as brakes and obstructing the very process of complete fascisation under the present circumstances. These factors are, vastness of the country, its multi-nationality feature, the phenomenon of regionalism, the role of small production and last but not the least the absence of the typical fanatic spirit of sacrifice, dedication, crusader's zeal on the part of the ruling party to achieve even their class objective. As a result of all these what has taken shape today is short of complete fascisation, marked by a complete absence of administrative neutrality leading to administrative fascism and constitutional dictatorship. Those who pose it as a danger simply of one party rule or one-party dictatorship without explaining the entirety of the complex situation, really fail to see through the class nature of the danger.

Concretely speaking, they fail in their duty to place before the toiling people the very important and useful education at this juncture which was taught by our great departed leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh long before—that because of the very many factors we have mentioned, a bourgeois party in power may face, at a given moment, acute crisis of its stability. It may try, however desperately, to some how stave off the present crisis by going to the electorate for a face lift. But the bourgeois class can not take this chance because the stake is heavier for it. It cannot be expected to witness the disintegration of a political party in power which though stands discredited today, was once placed to power by it as a political instrument of the class.

It, therefore must strive

hard by backing another or two political party or parties with all its resources e.g. money bag, paper publicity etc. so as to project the one or the two as the alternative to the existing one. Anybody who has eyes to see and modicum of intelligence can well observe this phenomenon.

The bourgeoisie is well aware that no matter the differences and even at times wide differences in name, banner and phraseologies of these parties, they all serve the same class interest. This bourgeois device of two-party system in the parliamentary politics, in the present era, does not obstruct the least, the possibility of fascism striking its roots in the body politic as can be corroborated by the concrete experiences in different bourgeois countries.

So, in the context of this lesson of history, it is no doubt a very important matter that perpetuation of a one-party rule must be ended forthwith but the people must be politically armed, alerted and organised so that the bourgeois tricks are defeated, so that instead of the alternative, the bourgeoisie tries to build, people's own power gathers strength through building up and developing of people's own class conscious instruments of struggle, i.e. people's own bodies and herein lies the real guarantee of people's real interest.

A party, genuinely upholding the cause of the oppressed people feels it a bounden duty to remind and caution the people that whoever now speaks against the anti-people and anti-democratic acts and measures of the party in power must be prepared to undo those acts and deeds themselves whether in power or in opposition. For this, mere electoral promise is not enough, because people have had bitterest of experiences about these promises. What the people

should therefore demand of these parties in opposition, is that they should, openly and unreservedly stand pledge-bound and committed to the electorate, at least to the extent of restoration, preservation and extension of the fundamental democratic rights and civil liberties that have been robbed of during the last nineteen months of Emergency.

In the midst of the strong anti-ruling party wave because of its persistent anti-people and anti-democratic activities particularly during the last nineteen months, if this very vital point is missed then it is the people who will have to suffer, it is only they who will have to pay the price dearly.

### Growing imperialist character of the Indian Bourgeoisie and its Foreign Policy

Through merger or coalescence of banking capital with industrial capital Indian capitalism has given birth to not only finance capital but financial oligarchy which is exporting capital, the latter being distinctly different from the export of commodity and bringing in its wake some imperialist features. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist genius has characterised Indian bourgeoisie as aspirant in nature, being the most powerful among all the resurgent nationalist countries of Asia and Africa. When Indian bourgeoisie, in accordance with its policy of non-alignment, hob-nobs with USSR and the socialist countries on the one hand and USA and its allies on the other, it does so, being the consistent champion to serve its own class interest of strengthening the competitive power of the Indian monopoly capital thereby manifesting more and more its aspirant nature. So, as friendly relation with socialist countries has nothing to do with 'progressiveness' of its policies, so also its growing ties with USA does not reflect its satellite nature, as the CPI and

CPI(M) very often conclude. These are nothing but reflections of very many complex contradictions between the traditional imperialist countries on the one hand and the developing imperialist countries on the other. The twists and turns of the recent foreign policies of the Government manifested even in the face of the serious internal crisis of the ruling party during the last one and half years can only be correctly explained and judged in this historically established perspective.

### Crucial Historic hour reveals which one is the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party

The period that began since the end of June 1975, would ever remain marked in the history of our country as a period when unprecedented reign of terror engulfed the whole of the country, over-shadowing the mass mind with acute frustration. During such a period when most of the political parties including even those masquerading as Marxist-Leninists and leftists, shelved their political activities it was only our party the SUCI, which, guided by the brilliant thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our most beloved leader, the founder General Secretary of our party, held aloft the noble banner of Marxism-Leninism. When the leaderships of most of the parties claiming Marxist-Leninists and leftists even did not hesitate to lend support, either directly or indirectly, privately or publicly to the Prime Minister's contention behind the promulgation of Emergency and her 20-point programme it was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, who gave a thorough exposure to the motive underlying the promulgation of Emergency and the real purpose behind the various social democratic aims and objectives including the 20-point programme.

In his famous historic speech that he delivered at Suri, West Bengal on

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## Crucial Historic hour reveals which one is the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party

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the 20th and 21st June 1975 on the occasion of the West Bengal Youth conference organised by DYU which was held just a couple of days earlier to the promulgation of Internal Emergency, Comrade Ghosh through a brilliant analysis of the problems facing the mass movements of our country, elaborated in detail the different ideological organisational measures that should have to be adopted for conducting these mass movements at critical moments of history of any country. He gave a clarion call for the fulfilment of the historic task of developing people's own instruments of struggle up to the grass root level for giving birth to the alternative political power of the people, a task which is inseparably linked up with the task of accomplishing the anti-capitalist socialist revolution. In his deep, penetrating, concrete analytical speech, Comrade Ghosh elaborated how SUCI upholding this historic task entrusted upon it, developed, braving all odds, as the correct revolutionary party. Just on the eve of emergency this brilliant analytical historic speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, which would always be remembered as an invaluable document in the history of struggle of our people, was published by our party in the form of the famous booklet under the name "Gana Andolan Prasangey (meaning thereby "on the question of People's movement"). The said booklet published in different languages and sold and circulated throughout the length and breadth of the country, was received with tremendous response from a very large section of the left & democratic minded people who saw in it not only an eye-opener but a ray of hope, a real guide for leading them in such a situation.

It is noteworthy that in the international communist movement

Comrade Ghosh has occupied an outstanding position by exposing the real character of fascism, and by providing an integrated concept about this arch enemy of humanity. During this period in four articles that were published in our party organs, Proletarian Era and Ganadabi (Ganadabi 28th yr. 2nd issue to 5th issue, Prol. Era 9th yr. 1st to 4th issue) Com. Ghosh's brilliant scientific and comprehensive analysis of the different aspects of fascism, its historical genesis, its ideological basis with its political, economic and cultural aspects, the diverse form through which it manifests itself in different countries obtaining different objective conditions was elaborately discussed. In the background of the first historical emergence of this arch enemy of the humanity in Italy and Germany, while highlighting the lessons of Comrade Ghosh particularly it was emphasised that famous observation of Comrade Ghosh, in which he observed that at present in the capitalist-imperialist world fascism had become a general phenomenon, in all capitalist imperialist countries, whether developed or undeveloped. While highlighting these brilliant historic lessons of Comrade Ghosh, those articles exposed the real character of that particular force, under the garb of a radical cloak, which Com. Ghosh through his brilliant analysis exposed and identified as the force threatening to develop the menace of all out fascism in the country.

The said articles which were published in our organs earlier were later compiled together and published in the form of a booklet under the name of "On Fascism". It was also published in different leading all India languages. At a moment when the people all over the country were earnestly seeking the lessons and proper guidance on the question of understanding the real nature of this danger and the way to give it a defeat, the said booklet for obvi-

ous reasons, was sold in thousands in different parts of the country. In fact it made a record sale.

It was during this period again that another series of articles appeared both in the Proletarian Era and Ganadabi, highlighting another important lessons of Comrade Ghosh. In all these articles it was elaborately tackled what Comrade Ghosh taught regarding the bourgeois democracy, its emergence in the past, the present features which being completely devoid of the civil liberties, fundamental and democratic rights, norms, values etc. were being transformed into replicas of fascist states. It was Comrade Ghosh who taught further that the bourgeoisie who once in the pre-monopoly era of capitalism stood for civil liberties and democratic rights, in the era of monopoly capitalism and fascism the same bourgeoisie for preserving their existence, were trampling down even the formal democratic and fundamental rights that were still in existence in the capitalist countries. Comrade Ghosh further taught that the bourgeoisie in the present era, with the sole object of concentrating and centralising absolute fascist power in their hands would engage themselves in bringing about suitable amendments of their constitution to meet their desired end, replacing their old model of constitution with separation—and so-called check and balance—of power between the different organs of the state. In this regard he particularly cautioned about the

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Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper PROLETARIAN ERA to be published in the first issue after last day of February.

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Name and Address of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital.

I, Sukomal Das Gupta, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

1st March, 1977

## SUCI'S MEMORANDUM

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Parliamentary Constituency, in Midnapore District while Sri Chandan Das along with two other workers of our Party were engaged in displaying posters they were forcibly taken to the thana. The O.C. of the Thana threatened and confined them for several hours illegally.

Reports of incidents of threats, intimidations, tearing of our posters and placing of posters over ours, creating obstructions to our workers in election propaganda are coming to our office everyday from all the Constituencies—we are unable to publish those due to short of space.

The memorandum urged upon the Chief Election Commissioner to promptly intervene and take necessary actions and make such effort as to create a normal healthy atmosphere congenial to holding a free and fair election.

The memorandum further urged upon the commissioner to at least adopt the following measures which are highly essential to meet the desired objective of a free and fair election:

1. Guarantee of equal scope and opportunity of using the Government controlled media like Samachar, AIR and TV to all political parties failing which, such media should not be allowed to be used by ruling party only.

2. Stoppage of propagation of news items inclu-

ding so-called "achievements of the Government" which may directly or indirectly help to promote election prospect of the ruling party.

3. Stoppage of airing, publicising or visual propaganda of the so-called programmes, plans and relief measures which the Government with a definite motive behind has proposed or is going to propose particularly at this time when the country is in the midst of the ensuing election.

4. Setting up of a suitable all Party Committee to look into, intervene and whenever necessary to stop the recurrence of the incidents of intimidation, threat and physical violence that are gradually increasing both in number and intensity, in different parts of the country.

5. In our opinion, this all Party Committee should include different poll Committees at different levels, which should include representatives of all the political parties, of both recognised and unrecognised registered political parties and representatives of the independent candidates of a particular constituency should also be included in that Committee.

6. The administrative authority and police at all levels will have to promptly take into cognizance the complaints of the opposition and always will have to be neutral and also extend best of their co-operation.

7. Government should provide vehicles for the accredited representatives of the candidates to go along with the vehicle carrying ballot boxes from the polling stations to the place of storing and counting.

8. For each parliamentary constituency one separate room should be allotted for storing the ballot boxes of that constituency.

9. After the arrival of all the ballot boxes of a particular constituency the store-room should be immediately sealed and locked and the representatives of the candidates should be allowed to put seal on the lock. Under no pretext no one should be allowed to open the rooms till the counting starts.

10. The accredited representatives of the candidates should be allowed to guard the ballot box store rooms from not only within the visual distance but also from within the audible range.

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CENTRE OF INDIA  
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Sd/- SUKOMAL DAS GUPTA  
Signature of Publisher.



# Defeat Congress to Ensure Restoration, Protection and Extension of Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights

(Contd. from Page 5)

possible attack on and the complete negation of, civil liberty, political freedom, democratic and fundamental rights of the people. Later events including the 42nd amendments and other various steps taken during this period confirmed what Comrade Ghosh observed much earlier and cautioned the people.

In all these articles while reflecting on the historic lessons and contributions of Comrade Ghosh, in the course of his teaching that was pinpointed was that it was the need of the hour, the historic task of genuine communists to hold aloft the banner of civil liberty and democracy, the banner that was left to the ground by the bourgeoisie. At such a moment the bounden duty of the genuine Marxist-Leninists was to unite all the patriotic and democratic minded people on a broadest possible platform on the question of restoration and extension of civil liberty, fundamental and democratic rights. The genuine Marxist-Leninists alone did really understand that the restoration, preservation and extension of civil liberties and democratic rights were essential for reviving a democratic environment in the country. Again it was only through participating in the democratic struggles that one day following the exhaustion of the democratic phase, the struggle might be lifted to a higher plane for developing struggle for anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

The fact that our party undertook the responsibility to fulfil this objective once again confirmed that it was our party, armed with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the greatest Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, that alone had been entrusted with the historic mission of bringing about anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country.

In the other series of articles published during

this period both in Proletarian Era and Ganadabi the historic teachings of Comrade Ghosh regarding the agrarian problem of our country and the way to resolve it were reflected. On many occasions Comrade Ghosh observed that the so-called programme of agrarian reform raised by the bourgeoisie and even supported by the parties claiming Marxist-Leninists and leftists were nothing but palliative measures aimed at providing the crisis-ridden capitalist agrarian economy with temporary respite. And it was only through the overthrow of capitalism that necessary modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture could be undertaken in the country for resolving the basic problems of our capitalist agriculture. Another illuminating article elaborately discussed the historic teachings of Comrade Ghosh where in it was shown the reasons for the utter failure of these so-called programmes to meet the need of our poverty stricken, ill-fed, ill-clad people of the country groaning under the wheel of capitalist exploitation.

Throughout this entire period, when most of the political parties and particularly the parties claiming Marxist-Leninists and leftists were never to be seen anywhere near the arena of political activities it was the dedicated workers and cadres of our party armed with the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, reflecting a high standard of proletarian ethics, morality and culture instilled in them by our great leader, who braving all odds consistently carried out widespread literary and political campaign, to educate and organise the masses on the correct base political line of the proletariat, and the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Ghosh upheld by our party. Comrade Ghosh taught that

he is the real revolutionary who knows how even in the midst of most adverse situation with unique revolutionary style of work, inspiration and dedication can serve the cause of revolution and thereby transform even a most disadvantageous situation into an advantageous one and forward the cause of the basic interest of the people.

No adverse situation, not even the serious onslaughts and heavy attacks, even not the loss of precious lives of Comrades could restrain the real revolutionaries from pursuing their revolutionary objective and ideal when all other left parties claiming themselves Marxist-Leninists deserted the arena of political activities out of fear and apprehension. The price that we had to pay was indeed high.

Starting from Comrade Shankar Singh, member of the Central Committee of the SUCI, one of the top most leaders of our party, a large number of our party cadres were arrested in Bihar, Orissa, Assam, West Bengal, Haryana and Kerala. The warrant of arrests' list, included the Secretary of our Orissa State Committee and other leading committee members, was also heavy. In all these states a large number of our cadres and workers were intimidated, threatened or physically assaulted. That a part when the Police could not get hold of the persons they 'wanted', they attached the movable properties and the household belongings of our Comrades. Even that was not all. What our Comrades experienced in West Bengal was perhaps the most barbaric attack, in the district of Purulia under Neturia P.S. within Bankura Parliamentary Constituency, Comrade Ramjatan Singh, Vice-President, K K M F and Comrade Guhram Bauri, a leader of the teacher's movement and a peasant

organiser, when these two eminent organisers of our party stood up by the side of the poor peasants to guard their crops. The Congress hoodlums engaged by the Raj Family of Cossipore, connected with the ruling Congress party, attacked them with lethal weapons and our Comrades died martyr's death. Similar incidents occurred in other parts of the same state. In the area of Joynagar Parliamentary Constituency, Comrade Sahadeb Mondal, Comrade Badal and his parents were beaten severely by the ruling party hoodlums, the vested interest. These are some of the incidents which shows with what revolutionary dedication, zeal and purposiveness our Comrades carried their revolutionary tasks during a most adverse period of history of our country. But the most astounding part of the whole thing was that those political parties even claiming themselves Marxist-Leninists, who during this entire period completely shelved their activities and retreated from the arena of political activities, who with the announcement of the poll had come out from their shelter and being backed by the big bourgeois and monopoly press and publicity media are trying their utmost to warming up the environment in their favour by shouting at the peak of their voices—all these parties are now actively engaged in naked and heinous attempt of slander and hate campaign against our party with cooked up stories and lies. They are also trying hard in vain to distort our stand during the Emergency of remaining with the people to firmly uphold their just cause and interest.

History has taught us the great lesson, that in any country, the fighting people is the best judge and they have already seen the role played by our party vis-a-vis the other

so-called left parties. We are confident that the people would never fail to ascertain, who have discharged the responsibility of a real revolutionary during this entire period, and would never fail to grasp the unprincipled opportunist role of these parties and their pseudo-revolutionary character and aversion to struggle and who at the most crucial moment deserted the people and even at this critical moment which one is taking the right path.

## Our Appeal to the People

We would now appeal to the people for taking into their most serious and urgent consideration the fact that it is our party, SUCI, that alone, in the concrete background of the growing menace of complete negation of democratic norms and sense of values in the country and that the future of the democratic mass movement the people, the nation and the country at large very much at stake, approached all other Opposition parties with concrete proposal for forging broadest possible unity and to place it on a sound basis of political organisational principle.

This sound political organisational basis of unity is very vital to act as guarantee to the people as also to ensure defeat of the Congress at the polls. Not only that, it is all the more necessary to uphold political morality which has been the first casualty of politics of exigency or pragmatism. This polluted political atmosphere has injected pessimism, indifference and cynicism amongst the masses. But, however painful, none of the Opposition parties, we approached, did respond. People are well aware of the nasty politics of defection and other variants of unethical and immoral politics of the party in power. They witness today once more that the ruling party which was so much vociferous about its fight against feudal lords, Rajas and Nawabs, feel no qualms to nominate those elements

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as its candidates in the coming election. The ruling party who spoke so loudly against communal politics feels no hesitation to enter into electoral pact with the Muslim League. No need of lengthening the list any further. In our opinion any right-thinking mind in the country should have no illusion about this party in power from its long and previous records.

But the people expect that at least the parties and forces in the Opposition should be free from this polluted politics of exigency and show their respect for political morality in practice which alone can be a ray of hope to them.

In order to place the Opposition parties and forces on this firm footing of political morality as also to uphold the genuine left-democratic political trend in our country our party came out with the concrete proposal for a principled unity instead of mere seat-adjustments between the parties. Our party felt and wanted others to feel that in the absence of minimum principle, not even the seat adjustment can be a cementing factor between the parties because want of principle is sure to breed sectarianism, mutual bickerings, dissensions, disarray and immorality.

People, today, can very well see exactly these things from their bare experiences. Bourgeois newspapers much lauded and publicised the Janata Party-CPI(M) accord but people with dismay see that in UP and Bihar, CPI(M) has come out openly against the Janata Party, accusing it of reactionary role. It has also set up candidates against Janata Party in those states. And Janata Party is accusing CPI(M) of helping the Congress. In West Bengal, a left party candidate nominated by Janata-CPI(M) combination in Jalpaiguri seat has been forced to withdraw in favour of an ex-Congress minister and according to the statement of that candidate after withdrawal, as also from newspaper reports, the local CPI(M)

## Make SUCI Candidates—Most Dependable Fighters of Democracy and Peoples' cause Victorious

elements were behind this trick.

But on top of all these is the case in Joynagar (S. C.) constituency where a District leader of our party is contesting. According to Janata-CPI(M) combination which refused to sit with our party, CPI(M) was to field its candidate which it announced it would do. But instead, CPI(M) supported Sri Sakti Sarkar who was a Congress M.P. in the just dissolved Lok Sabha. This time also he tried frantically for Congress ticket but was refused. This gentleman is quite familiar as a political weather-cock and because of his past record perhaps, even Janata Party refused nomination to him when he approached them. But CPI(M) has given support to this gentleman only to block our party. We wonder, bias against SUCI and pragmatic politics have brought CPI(M) down to what a depth! But casualty to all these sectarianism and unprincipled politics has been the very moral and ethical foundation of left politics in our country.

So, at this juncture, it is our party, SUCI, that has taken upon its shoulder the solemn and historic responsibility as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party of the toiling masses of the people of our country, of keeping the banner of political morality, the supreme concern for people's genuine cause, high and flying. Pressed from all sides, even, our party takes courage, to field in seven states only 18 candidates in the Lok Sabha and 4 in the Kerala Assembly, although from our organisational strength we could have fielded more. We have restricted our fight only in those constituencies to sharpen our election battle against Congress.

We are confident that people in our country who stand for political nobility of principle and morality and left-democratic trend in politics will appreciate our stand and come forward to make our candi-

dates, who are all tried and tested workers, organisers and leaders of the oppressed people, victorious.

By electing them, people can ensure their voice and interest heard, felt, and projected within the legislative forums. They will integrate their movements inside the forums with the democratic movements of the people outside.

Guided by the teachings of our great leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh they will also stand and fight for the principles and objects which have been evolved from democratic mass movements and class struggles and always strongly upheld by our party and all other issues concerning people's life and interest, of which some salient and vital ones are given below.

### Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights

i) Repeal of all the anti-democratic acts and measures taken by the ruling party in the period of Emergency. Particular mention may be made of a) 42nd Amendment to the Constitution b) Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act c) D.I.R d) MISA e) Essential Services Act f) Government Servant Conducts Rules and such like anti-people Acts and measures.

ii) Ensuring Freedom of Press, Platform, Association, Faith, Religion and legitimate democratic movements including the right to strike and acceptance of the guiding administrative principles of "non-interference of police in democratic movements" as also encouragement to all democratic movements for realising popular demands.

### Economic Policy

i) Right of all citizens to work.

ii) Nationalisation of basic and heavy industries, banks and general insurance and confiscation of foreign capital.

iii) Reduction of indirect taxation, like Excise duty, and abolition of Sales

tax on essential commodities.

iv) All out state-trading including the retail trade in all essential commodities to ensure regular supply to the people at fair and fixed prices.

### Labour & Employment Policy

i) Withdrawal of Bonus (Amended) Act.

ii) Withdrawal of compulsory deposits scheme.

iii) Right to strike.

iv) No retrenchment of workers without providing them with suitable alternative employment.

v) Forty hours' work a week.

vi) Fixation and payment of need-based minimum wage to all workers and employees. Upward revision of existing wage scales as per rise in price scientifically computed. Penal measure including jail for the defaulting managements.

vii) Housing scheme for all industrial labourers.

### Agrarian Question

i) Ensuring regular works throughout the year to agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

ii) Fixation of minimum wage of the agricultural workers and setting up of appropriate machinery in Block level with representation of peasants' organisations to implement it.

iii) Protection of Bargadar's rights against eviction etc. by ensuring receipts from the landowners as also legitimate share of crop to them.

iv) Reclamation of current fallow and cultivable waste, confiscation of Benami land and distribution of such land and land vested in the state to tillers free of cost.

v) Revision of the present land revenue system so as to ensure no taxation on account of land revenue on uneconomic holding, moratorium on revenue in arrear.

### Cultural & Social Security Policy

i) To free education from religious tutelage and through democratisation of education system. Compulsory free education upto the highest standard

for all throughout the country.

ii) To prohibit literature films, TV shows and other cultural media that circulate obscenity, criminal psychology and other moral depravity.

iii) To promote secular democratic sense of moral values and ethics calculated to foster and encourage reasoning faculty and scientific bent of mind through Radio, films, TV and other mass media.

iv) Radio, TV and other mass media would be freed from one-party grip and would present the viewpoints of different parties on equal footing.

v) Social security for all, including pension for old age and physical incapacity, unemployment insurance etc.

vi) National health service scheme ensuring free medical treatment for all, sinking of wells and tube-wells for supply of drinking water to the rural population.

### Foreign Policy & International Affairs

i) Repudiation of all secret treaties with imperialist countries.

ii) Active support to all struggles for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism by peoples in dependent colonial, semi-colonial and metropolitan countries.

iii) Consistent opposition to all shades of revisionism-reformism on the basis of correct base political line of the proletariat, nationally and internationally.

iv) Prevention of hegemonistic influence and military bases and espionage services within the country.

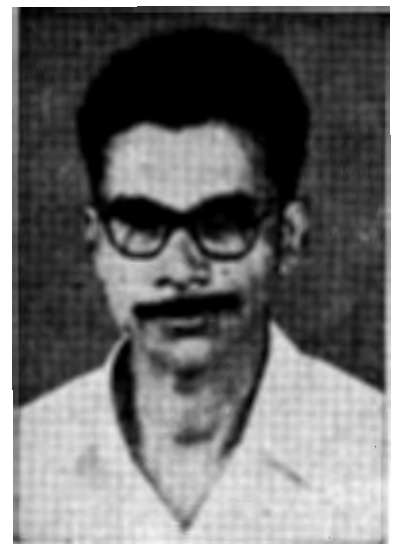
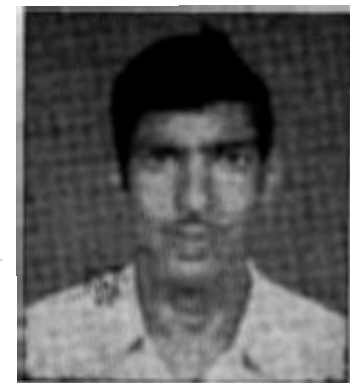
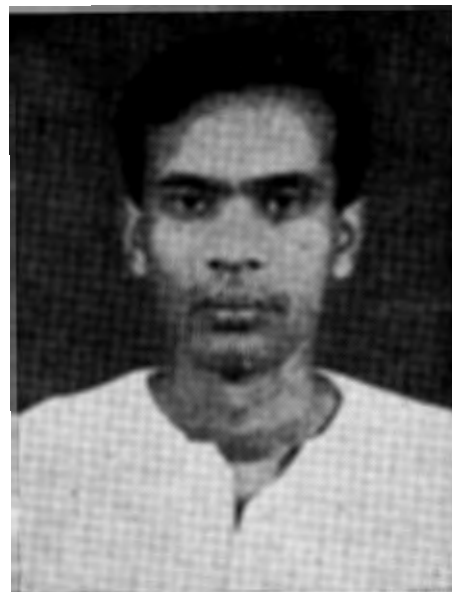
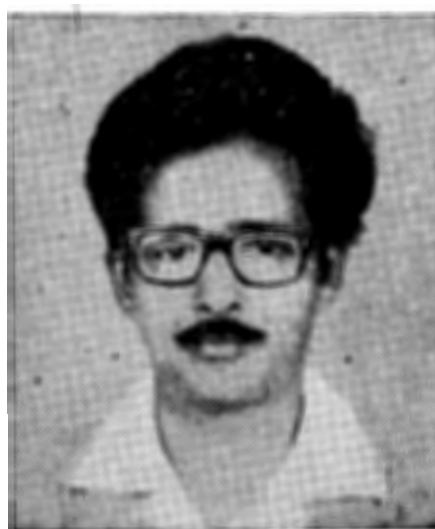
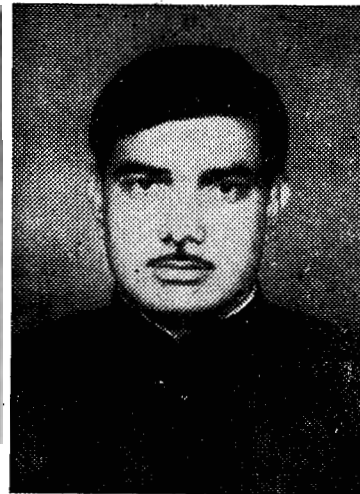
We would further appeal to the people to inflict crushing defeat to Congress in all the constituencies. We would also appeal to the people to defeat the ruling Congress by voting the Opposition where we have no candidate. But they must take caution that the parties and candidates whom they will back and support must make public pledge and commitment on the line of our proposal as that alone can serve as a real guarantee of the peoples' interest. [Adopted and Released by the Central Committee on 24.2.77]



**MAKE SUCI CANDIDATES VICTORIOUS**

PARLIMENTARY CONSTITUENCY

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