

Call of 5th August

Enshrined is 5th August in the hearts of our party workers, the working class, the toiling masses. Inscribed in pain, tempered in revolutionary resolve.

The approach of 5th August, memorial to the living spirit of the Indian Revolution, churns up a sea of emotions, strengthens pledge to accomplish the revolutionary task commenced.

He departed from us this day, who charted the path to our revolutionary goal, paved the way to cherished emancipation. He pointed to the root cause of all miseries and problems in our life: crisis-ridden, moribund capitalism. He showed the way: anti-capitalist socialist revolution to win emancipation from all sorts of exploitation. The only way before us.

His life, his entire existence was struggle in quest of truth, in applying what he realized to be truth. With unflinching determination amid odds and adversities of inconceivable magnitudes, and with a handful of revolutionary compatriots, he built up the genuine and only revolutionary party of the proletariat in our country, the SUCI—the indispensable instrument for revolution. Brick by brick he laid the foundation of revolution.

He identified himself completely with the party, the class, the revolution. To him party was the life, revolution the mode of existence. In the course of conducting a constant, relentless struggle for this identification, he exemplified a new height of communist character.

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KAMPUCHEA

Recognition to Heng Samrin regime tramples underfoot aspirations of freedom-loving people

—Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

Calcutta, 9th July '80:

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our party, SUCI, in a statement said:

"By giving recognition to the Heng Samrin puppet regime of Kampuchea, installed in power by the Soviet backed Vietnamese army, Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government has not only flagrantly violated its own declared policy of non-alignment but has also trampled underfoot the democratic aspirations of the freedom loving people of India whose tradition has all through been to fight against all sorts of aggression, intervention and interference and for independence, sovereignty and non-interference."

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

VOL. 13
No. 19

15th JULY '80
TUESDAY

PRICE 30 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

Central Committee's call for All India Movement

With every day passing problems in all aspects of people's life keep multiplying and growing more unbearable due to the increasingly ruthless onslaught of capitalist oppression while capitalist economy is reeling ever more under the impact of mounting crisis. When elections were foisted upon the people, the bourgeois parties, branded and otherwise, all posed the question of election before the people as a solution to their problems. But our party cautioned the people that election was no solution, rather the problems were bound to multiply in gigantic proportions, and election was imposed with the aim of diverting the attention of the people from the real problems.

This is being borne out with everyday passing. The unabated rise in number of unemployed is reaching staggering figures and prices have been rising continuously without any break. The recently adopted economic measures and policies along with the anti-people budget by the government at the centre and the states once more glaringly illustrate how the respective governments are shifting the entire burden of growing crisis in capitalist economy due to lack of market on to the shoulder of common people by increasing indirect taxation on essential commodities, wage freeze etc. Apart from these, the sharp price increase of diesel and petrol products, railway fare and freight alone will effect a steep price rise. In our country

where the great majority of people already live below poverty line this will further push millions and millions of toiling people to the brink of starvation and utter destitution. At the same time the ruling parties are granting all sorts of facilities and concessions to the capitalists and industrialists paying subvention and subsidies out of revenues collected from the common people to help the capitalist class tide over the crisis and keep profits soaring.

And to prevent an organised resistance of the people against these cruel economic onslaughts and enforce industrial 'peace' the ruling parties in power—all of whom including the so-called left parties in West Bengal, Tripura etc. vie with each other in serving the interest of the

ruling capitalist class—are resorting more and more to undemocratic measures and means and have introduced various hated black acts to suppress mass movements and are denying the workers' inalienable rights to raise their justified and legitimate demands even. In this way the ruling parties are all being instrumental in leading the country towards fascism. Moreover all the ruling parties are directly aiding and abetting the rabid parochial, communal and fissiparous forces in inciting parochial communal feelings, sowing disunity among the people and instigating fratricidal wars to break the class solidarity of the working people and prevent their resistance against capitalist exploitation which is growing day by day more ruthless. And then in the name of quelling the disturbances the ruling class is imposing naked autocratic rule over the country, rapidly advancing towards fascism, whatever be the form.

The only way out from this impasse lies in left and democratic movement which alone can yet turn the situation. There is no

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Com. Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Meeting

SAHEED MINAR MAIDAN

5th August

5 P.M.

Main Speaker: COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

President: COMRADE SUKOMAL DASGUPTA

Recent Diplomatic moves of India Government

To many in the country, the underlying aim and purpose of the policies and diplomacy pursued by the successive Indian governments is not clear. Some political elements interpret the Indian government and state as stooges of this or that superpower. Some, by judging the government's stand on particular issues or during a particular phase, pronounce it to be pro-Soviet. Others, by the same yardstick, call it pro-American on other instances. The government, when it strikes a middle course and assumes a posture of neutrality, is lauded by many, including so-called leftist and 'Marxist' parties, as the champion of non-alignment or even anti-imperialist and pro-people. The common man is perplexed by all these and the matter becomes something of a riddle to him.

Foreign Policy is the reflection of the aggregate interest of the ruling class

Analysed from Marxist angularity, there is no ground, however, for any confusion in the matter. Marxism teaches us that the political moves and diplomacy of any country, like all its other policies, cannot but reflect the aggregate interest of its ruling class and serve the same. Truth of this has been proved again and again in history through the twists and turns of events and situations. Now, the bourgeoisie is the ruling class in our country. What is its aggregate interest and what does this interest demand in the field of foreign policy and diplomacy? The aggregate interest of Indian bourgeoisie is to develop capitalism as quick as it can and to the fullest extent possible under the given circumstances. This the ruling bourgeoisie has been doing by all means at its disposal through wielding the state machine ever since it came into power in 1947. It should be remembered that in this age of imperialism and moribund capitalism, sovereign capitalism cannot thrive within the confines of any country—it must expand outwards in quest of foreign markets, it must try to exploit the people of other countries, it must have an inherent tendency to turn imperialist. Indian capitalism is no exception and it is no weakling. It has given

rise to highly developed monopoly capitalism and financial oligarchy through merger of industrial and banking capital. It has acquired definite imperialist traits and has been engaged for years even in substantial export of capital to other countries, not to speak of commodities. In the present phase of intense general crisis of world capitalism, Indian capitalism too is crisis-ridden, in view of the static or even shrinking home market because of low purchasing power of the people and mass pauperisation in a relatively backward capitalist economy, the bourgeoisie of this country must secure market in other countries, must export commodities and capital to as many countries as possible. Non-alignment is the international line best suited for this as this allows trade and commercial activities to be developed with all countries and opens up alternative sources of goods, equipment, financial aid and military hardware. Non-alignment between the two blocs headed by the two superpowers has enabled the Indian bourgeoisie to have the best of both the worlds, so to say. This has provided them with better manoeuvrability and bargaining power vis-a-vis both the superpowers. This is the solid economic reason in aggregate interest of Indian capitalism that has made non-alignment the main plank of Indian foreign policy, and not any

inherent "goodness" or love for peace. That Indian capitalism is not averse to use of force when its cardinal interest is at stake has been seen again and again. Be that as it may, in this game of balancing the two superpowers, the aspirant bourgeoisie of a country like India must at times play between the two superpowers in order to gain by taking advantage of contradiction and conflict between them, and in doing so, its government may occasionally appear to have a 'tilt' towards this or that superpower. In this process, it may even get circumscribed by events, compromise its position and have to accept unpleasant things and condone particular actions of a superpower so much so that it may seem to be aligned with that superpower. But in the long run, the ruling class' aggregate interest must assert itself and prevail. Even during the phase when there is particular closeness with one superpower, the ruling class of this country, through diplomatic channels of its government, skillfully tries to balance the situation by contacts and liaison with the other superpower, and corrects the supposed 'tilt' and reverts to non-alignment at the earliest opportunity.

Features of aspirant bourgeoisie in the foreign policy

Over the years, the ruling bourgeoisie have developed exports to different countries and gradually more and more manufactured goods, machinery and equipment are being exported. Even arms, ammunitions and military hardware are in the export list now. Indian finance capital has been exported to a large number of countries including some of the metropolitan capitalist countries and a large number of factories with Indian capital are now running in different countries. Joint ventures by Indian capital and foreign capital, the multinationals, in third countries, is not uncommon. India has be-

come a member, a junior member but a member nevertheless, of international capitalist trusts and cartels. Indian technology, too, is being exported. A large number of projects are being executed, plants are being put up on turnkey basis in different countries with Indian expertise and also capital participation. In particular, South-East Asia, South Asia, middle-east and parts of Africa are the regions where Indian capitalism has secured foothold and has a growing stake. A concomitance to this growing economic power is the increasing leverage the Indian bourgeoisie and their state and government are having in affairs of these regions. The aspiration of the Indian ruling class is now to consolidate its position and move towards regional ascendancy. There has been a matching increase in the armed might of the Indian capitalist state, which boasts the world's fourth largest army and an evergrowing arsenal of military equipment and hardware much of which is produced indigenously.

Internationally the prime task of any Indian government serving the ruling class is to further the interest of Indian capital by augmenting continuously export of commodities and capital, to try to carve out regional spheres of interest for it to enable it to move towards regional ascendancy. This the successive bourgeois governments have sought to do through all means at their disposal including foreign policy and diplomacy. It is a measure of maturity of Indian capitalism and its sure grip over the country's affairs that irrespective of whether the "pro-US" Morarji Desai or the "pro-Soviet" Indira Gandhi is the Prime Minister, there is no alteration in the essentials of the foreign policy and diplomacy which pursue unswervingly the class aims of the ruling bourgeoisie.

Prospect of vast market behind the move for normalisation with China

Take the case of bilateral relationship with China. Like the monopolists of the USA and other developed capitalist countries, the Indian bourgeoisie too consider China to be a potential big market, as yet practically untapped, especially in view of the projected vast modernisation programme of that country. Further, continuing abnormality of relations with China may mean a constant pre-occupation and worry which does not allow the Indian bourgeoisie to concentrate on its tasks and aims in the region. Therefore, at least a detente and preferably some sort of closeness with China is called for. That is why, over the past few years, the Indian governments have silently shifted from the original position that there should be no normalization of relations unless the border question is resolved, and have set in motion the process of normalization of relations. Now, it is no secret that the Soviet are trying to do everything they can against China, to pressurize China and are even trying to encircle that country. Therefore, they must look askance at any Indian attempt to come nearer to China. But the Indian governments have gone ahead regardless. Interestingly, the moves in this direction were initiated when the "pro-Soviet" Smt. Gandhi was the Prime Minister, followed up with vigour during the Janata ministry by none else than Sri Vajpayee, the arch anti-Chinese tough liner, and have again been taken up now by Smt. Gandhi's government! We welcome normalization of relationship with China and cherish the friendship between the people of the two countries but the point here is that in moving towards normalization, the Indian government is actuated by the class interest of the ruling bourgeoisie and little else. Indian capitalism has substantial trading and investment interest in

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the middle-east and the Arab countries. It is this stake and not just support for the righteous Arab cause in the conflict against Israel that has brought successive Indian governments close to the Arabs on this issue. Iran is another point in the case. In view of the proposed embargo on Iran by the U.S., Iran's potential as a market has gone up. The Indian government, acting in the interest of the ruling bourgeoisie, has been quick to see the prospect of expanding export to Iran, taking advantage of that country's contradiction with the U.S. Recent press reports corroborate this.

Relation with the USA

At the same time, Indian diplomacy is maintaining contacts and liaison with the U.S. and trying to ensure that the huge aid from that country, directly or through various agencies like the World Bank, further goes up. The impasse over supply of atomic fuel for the Tarapore atomic power station by the U.S., which could not be solved by the "pro-American" Morarji Desai as Prime Minister, has now been resolved in India's favour under the Prime-Ministership of "pro-Soviet" Indira Gandhi amidst the present phase of so-called pro-Soviet "tilt" in Indian policies.

India vis-a-vis ASEAN countries

Countries of south-east Asia like Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand etc. are good markets for Indian goods and capital export. Indian government is even selling arms to some of these countries in order to help the reactionary government crush popular revolt. These countries are concerned at the emergence of a strong, heavily armed Vietnam and view the same as a potential danger in the region, especially because of the massive armed intervention by Vietnam in Kampuchea. But the Indian government, while cultivating good bi-lateral relationship with these countries, is at the same time fostering closeness

Geo-political interests, aspiration to emerge as regional power, expansion of trade and commerce guide the diplomatic moves of India Government

with Vietnam. The reason is clear for all to see. Vietnam has been a market for Indian goods even from the days of anti-imperialist struggles. Now, rebuilding the war-ravaged country has made it a very important market. Recent Indian recognition of Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea dependant on the intervening Vietnamese army for existence, which raised many eye-brows, should be read in this context. Here Indian capitalism, guided by self-interest, has sided with armed intervention. India tried to influence the ASEAN countries into recognising the Heng Samrin regime, but failed. But economic compulsion is such that, in spite of this political difference bi-lateral relation between India and these countries has not been affected and Indian trading and economic interests in these countries remain secure.

India's tackling of Afghan situation

The Afghan situation is a different matter. It is on the door-steps of India so to say. Continued armed presence of a super power in a region adjoining the Indian subcontinent ill suits the plan of Indian bourgeoisie and state to extend its sphere of influence. That is why, after the initial phase when the Indian government seemed to be pro-Soviet on this issue, it has shifted its stand and has undertaken very considerable diplomatic activities, the objective of which is to find out mutually acceptable ways and means of getting the Soviets out of Afghanistan. Indian officials, emissaries and even ministers have visited Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and the Soviet Union and held discussions and conversations on the Afghan issue. Afghanistan's neighbours, and especially Iran and Pakistan are seriously concerned at the armed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. From

analysis of the press reports it becomes clear that Indian diplomacy has been moving with an integrated approach and definite aim. India has sought to convey to Pakistan that like Pakistan, India too is concerned about Soviet armed presence in Afghanistan, but mere condemnation of the Soviets will not help. The Soviets will have to be persuaded to leave Afghanistan. For this, a joint approach needs to be worked out between India and Pakistan. Again, Mr. R. D. Sathe, the Indian Foreign Secretary, on return from Kabul after conferring with leaders of Babrak Karmal's government, told the press that he was hopeful that, step by step, a modality could be worked out for rapprochement between Islamabad and Kabul and also hinted that India might become the mediator. Mr. P. V. Narsimha Rao, the Indian external affairs minister, recently had five day's extensive talks with the Soviet President and Foreign Minister at Moscow. On return, he told the Lok Sabha on June 17 last that the Soviet claim on the Afghan issue is not very strong, the Soviet presence in that country is a matter of concern to India and India feels a stage has come when ways "other than military" should be devised to bring about a solution to the problem. He said that the Soviet leaders had understood that it was natural for a non-aligned country like India to have a different perspective on some international questions and respected India's views. India is too vitally interested in the region to give up hopes or efforts, and would hold consultations to get dialogue started for a solution to the problem.

Thus it is clear that the Indian government is trying to project itself as an honest broker mediating between the conflicting countries. It is

trying to develop a regional approach, a regional consensus which would put diplomatic pressure on the Soviet and have leverage in achieving the objective. It is also not improbable that the Afghan crisis provides an excellent opportunity to mend bridges with Pakistan and China. The Indian bourgeoisie should like Pakistan to exist as a strong buffer state between India and Soviet-dominated Afghanistan. On the other hand, ties with the Soviet have served them well for quite a long time ranging over a number of issues from Kashmir to Bangladesh, not to speak of the economic and arms aid.

Therefore, the Indian government does not want to antagonize the Soviet. It also understands the Soviet predicament in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union knows that their presence in Afghanistan is internationally very unpopular. Outright military victory is eluding them and chances are that they would be involved in a protracted war. This they may not relish, but can they back out of Afghanistan just like that and not lose face? If Indian diplomacy succeeds in evolving a negotiated settlement with a face-saving device like

an international guarantee to the Karmal regime whereby Soviet would be able to wriggle out of Afghanistan "honourably", it would not be a bad thing for them. It is also not improbable that the Indian government played on the Soviet discomfiture on the Afghan issue and this helped in securing the recently announced massive Soviet arms package to India.

All these reflect the shrewdness and maturity of the Indian bourgeoisie. When the Indian bourgeois state seems to acquire a pro-Soviet or pro-American "tilt", it does in the class interest of Indian bourgeoisie. Again, when it behaves in a neutral, non-aligned fashion, it is actuated by the same class

interest and nothing else. Historically, there are two inherent tendencies in Indian capitalism. As a late entrant into the international arena as a capitalist country, it has a contradiction with the metropolitan capitalist countries of the world. On the other hand, it has itself developed imperialist character and acquired cosmopolitan traits. Analysing this duality in its character brilliantly, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us that "...the increasing political akinness of the national bourgeoisie of these resurgent nationalist countries to imperialism as such is no indication of their being satellite to foreign imperialist powers, as their growing antagonism, with foreign imperialists for economic reasons is no sign of their progressiveness. The two are different expressions of the same complex contradiction between a developing imperialist country and traditional imperialist countries".

(Free translation from a speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, 1960)
The truth, the significance of this teaching is revealed more and more as the days pass by. We request those who are fond of labelling the Indian Government as stooge of this or that superpower, or pro-Soviet at one instance and pro-US at the next, or discover its policies to be people and anti-impe-

rialist and the government a champion of non-alignment from time to time—to ponder over these. Has not the utter ideological bankruptcy of pseudo-left parties like the CPI and CPI(M) who hail Indian foreign policy as progressive, pro-people and anti-imperialist from issue to issue, been exposed time and again? It is they who, because of non-Marxist character and process of thinking are unable to read the situation, are confused. The bourgeoisie have no confusion. They are directing the state policies in accordance with their class aims and aspirations. The toiling people of the country will have to see through the game and take guard.

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The history of his life, we know, delineates the history of the proletarian revolutionary movement in our country.

So is he to us: Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our most beloved, great departed leader, teacher and guide, our party's founder general secretary, an outstanding Marxist thinker of this era:

"The oppressed, the proletariat have learnt the song of emancipation from you,
The downtrodden and exploited have been kindled with new life by you.

You herald India's new era,

Shibdas Ghosh you are great to us.

We all yearning for emancipation here

Pay your our respect in red salute".

No more is Comrade Shibdas Ghosh physically present before us; but his immortal teachings are our living source of inspiration, beacon light to our revolutionary goal.

5th August is the day to take vow to fulfil the behest of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh—to complete the revolutionary task he commenced, accomplish the anti-capitalist socialist revolution for emancipation of our toiling masses.

The legion of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh vows to plunge in the coming battle with all determination guided by his great revolutionary teachings and to fulfil his behest with the last drop of blood.

Today, extreme misery grips the people's life. An all-out crisis has struck at the root of the Indian capitalism, and the ruling bourgeoisie, in its bid to sustain its class rule, is shifting the entire burden on the shoulder of the toiling masses. The phenomenal price-rise coupled with high taxation and wage freeze is aggravating the economic hardship beyond measure. Onslaughts are mounting on democratic and economic rights of the people, and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties have struck an industrial truce with the bourgeoisie to help it mount more onslaughts on the working class.

The country's political reality today vindicates the correctness of the analysis of our party under the Central Committee headed by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee in the light of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The prevailing political situation is pregnant with two possibilities. Two antagonistic trends are emerging out of it. On the one side, there is the danger of fascism and authoritarianism menacing the democratic movement and the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

On the other, there is an evergrowing urge among the masses to stand up and wage struggle, guided by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, against the capitalist class oppression and tyranny. In ever-growing numbers are they gravitating towards the revolutionary party he built up, the SUCI. Because, this is the party, they realize, capable of

guiding their struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The task now is to build up democratic mass movement conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution on the firm foundation of proletarian culture, ethics and morals—the task Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed to.

Call of 5th August

So, it was the task of all parties claiming to be left to join forces at this crucial hour to build up a united democratic mass movement. But obstructions to realizing the task comes today from parties like the CPI(M) and CPI who are playing their game of class collaboration. They are endorsing all moves of the ruling bourgeoisie and helping in their implementation. Only the other day, before the last Lok Sabha elections, they were calling Indira Gandhi and her party authoritarian, and asking the people to fight against her. Today, they are lending all support to the same authoritarian force and perpetrating the worst kind of treachery on the working class—true to their social democratic character.

These are the parties collaborating with the bourgeoisie today to arrest the people in the illusion of parliamentarism-reformism. These are the parties crushing legitimate democratic mass movements in the states where they are in power.

Warning us long back about the role of these parties, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that following the exposure of the true character of the known social democratic forces and total isolation of theirs in the world communist movement, parties within this movement, who had turned into national communist parties and had virtually degenerated into social democratic forces, were the potential force to bring fascism, even as they waved the banner of Marxism. The naked role of the CPI(M), CPI and the like, in subserving today the ruling bourgeoisie proves once more the correctness of the historic analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

In the surrounding gloom where all other parties claiming to be left are avoiding the path of mass movement, only the SUCI upholds its banner. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh founded and built up the SUCI to fulfil the historic task of guiding the democratic mass movement on the correct base political line. The people's task now is, therefore, to strengthen the hands of the SUCI to advance their own cause towards the revolutionary goal. The conspiracy of the ruling class is spreading tentacles on every sphere in people's life. The bourgeoisie which upheld the banner of national solidarity in different countries in the period of building up of national state is trying

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School of Politics in Trivandrum

A School of Politics which was attended by the members and supporters of our party SUCI, Trivandrum District was organised by the Trivandrum District Organising Committee on 6th, 7th, and 8th June last in four sessions. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, an important organiser of our party conducted all the four sessions and Comrade James Joseph, Secretary, Kerala State Organising Committee, presided.

Comrade Chakraborty discussed Marxism as concretised on Indian soil, developed, elaborated and enriched and brought in its understanding to a new height by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, the beloved leader, guide and the Founder General Secretary of our party SUCI. Comrade Chakraborty also discussed the present political situation and the organisational tasks before us in the light of the teachings of Comrade Ghosh. Needless to mention, that the School created a great enthusiasm among the participants.

Public Meeting at Rajgangpur, Orissa

A big public meeting was held at Rajgangpur of Sundargarh District of Orissa on 8th June last. At this meeting, jointly organised by the Rajgangpur Local Committee of SUCI, Orissa Spinning Mills Workers' Union, Orissa Cement Workers' Union and the Rajgangpur Sramik Sangh, Comrade S. Sarkar, an SUCI organiser presided and Comrade Binapani Das, a renowned mass leader and an organiser of SUCI was the main speaker. Comrade Seikh Kasem, a renowned trade union leader of Sundargarh District also spoke.

The meeting urged all to develop movements on the following demands

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today in our country to destroy the struggling unity of the toiling masses by fanning up parochial, regional, communal, linguistic and caste fanaticism, only to stave off its all-out crisis. All the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, from the Congress (I) to the CPI(M), guided by their petty parliamentary interests, are fostering and fomenting these divisive tendencies among the people. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us that only anti-capitalist democratic mass movement can unite the masses on the class basis, give correct orientation to their grievances and, incorporating the programme of accomplishing the unfulfilled tasks of social cultural revolution, can foil the heinous bourgeois design to perpetrate such crimes on them.

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All the burning issues confronting the people point today to the urgency of building up class solidarity through democratic mass movement to face the bourgeois onslaught. Agitation, outburst, however massive or intense these be, cannot beget the people's alternative political power to overthrow the exploitative capitalist system. The task is, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us, to initiate and build up the democratic mass movement, organise the masses at the grassroot level in people's committees as people's own instrument of struggle. Through this will be born the political power of the people leading ultimately to the revolutionary mass upsurge.

The challenge has come before the people to face the bourgeois design and frustrate it. The Central Committee of our party headed by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee has pointed to the way to meet the challenge. The way is one, and the way lies in grasping and assimilating the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and building up mass and class struggle on the basis of his revolutionary thoughts. The Central Committee has urged the people to observe **5th AUGUST, COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH MEMORIAL DAY**, in a way conducive to development of countrywide democratic mass movement on the edifice of higher moral values, ethics and proletarian culture.

5th AUGUST is the day to take vow to grasp and assimilate the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and to carry them deep down into the masses in every nook and corner of the land.

5th AUGUST is the day to take vow to engage ourselves, individually and collectively, to acquire the communist character in order to be equal to our historic task. We must engage in a constant, relentless struggle to identify ourselves, happily and unconditionally, with the interests of the proletarian class, party and revolution. Thereby we can merge our personal lives with the revolutionary life. Thereby

MOVEMENT AGAINST BUSFARE RISE IN WEST BENGAL

The Congress(I) Government at the centre raised the railway fare and freight, enhanced price of petrol, diesel and other oil products. The 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal also did not lag behind. It increased the sale tax on petrol and diesel followed by rise in bus fare in the state, ranging from 25% to 50% and even more in some cases. In such a situation it is our party SUCI and SUCI alone which has come forward to raise voice of protest and organise people's movement against these economic onslaughts on people's life while all other parties simply kept mum or at best made some face-saving statements criticising the Central Government. They are now all busy minding other business like appeasing the ruling Congress(I) at the centre or the ruling class in general that will bring dividend in their petty parliamentary politics. But SUCI, the only genuine communist party on Indian soil cannot shirk off its responsibility and obligation to the people. That is why it is SUCI alone which came forward last year to build up mass movement in West Bengal on the burning problems of people's life like price-rise, power crisis and anti-people language and education policy of the 'Left-Front' Government in West Bengal. 15th June '79 and 31st August '79 bear testimony to it. This time also SUCI did and is still doing its utmost to organise people's resistance against the conspiracy of the ruling class and its governments to pass the whole burden of crisis-ridden capitalism on to the shoulder of the common people.

Mass Deputation to the Governor

The Calcutta District Committee of our party SUCI organised on the last 17th June a large protest demonstration and deputation to the Governor against the railway fare and freight rise, rise in price of petrol and diesel by the Central Government, imposition of additional taxes on sale of petrol and diesel and above all bus fare rise by the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal. This first and only organised protest demonstration on this occasion against the increased sufferings imposed on people's life created

great enthusiasm among them. Besides this mass deputation, from 15th June last innumerable street corner meetings were organised to mobilise public opinion against these anti-people acts of the Central and State Government.

Arrest in Calcutta

The government did not waste time and let loose its oppressive machinery over the movement. When our party workers on 26th June night were, as a part of this movement, protesting against the bus fare rise in a bus of route No. 3D police arrested them along with the passengers who

joined in the protest.

Attack and Arrest in Midnapore

Not only in Calcutta, but in the districts of West Bengal our party organised similar type of protest movement on the same issues and offered resistance to the bus fare rise. When on 23rd June last the SUCI and DSO workers of Midnapore town were peacefully holding a street corner meeting at the Midnapore central bus stand in protest against the bus fare hike, a huge contingent of police forcibly dispersed the meeting and arrested two SUCI and a DSO organiser.

Mass Deputation in Nadia

The Nadia District Committee of SUCI also organised a large mass deputation to the District Magistrate protesting the bus fare and train fare rise and on other demands on 21st June last. A largely attended mass meeting was also held before the deputation led by the Nadia District Secretary, Comrade Sujit Bhattasali submitted the memorandum to the Addl. District Magistrate in absence of the D. M.

Over hundred arrested in Jalpaiguri

On 26th June the Jalpaiguri District Committee of DYO staged a stay-in demonstration before the district collectorate from about 1.30 P. M. demanding withdrawal of higher bus fare and on other demands. As there was no officer present in the office to receive the memorandum, after waiting for a pretty long time the demonstrators went to submit the same to the District Collector at his bungalow. But he refused to accept it. So the stay-in demonstration continued and around 4.30 P. M. the District Collector let loose a huge contingent of police on the demonstrators, dispersed them forcibly and most heinously arrested

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we can attain the higher standard of communist character, so essential to accomplish the revolutionary task in the complex battle of today.

5th AUGUST is the day to resolve to resist the treachery and onslaught of the bourgeoisie and its social democratic collaborators. The people shall not yield to the bourgeois conspiracy, shall not allow themselves to be misguided by the social democratic parties. They do not have to despair, for they have their party before them—the SUCI. Armed with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh they shall fulfil the behest of the great leader.

Speech delivered by Com. Pritish Chanda at the meeting of P.M. with central T.U.s

[The Prime Minister met on 1st July the leaders of the central trade unions. The meeting was hurriedly called, sending notice telegraphically with the only vague agenda "economic actions." In the name of 'economic action' came the demand for co-operation for productivity increase. The next day, bourgeois press carried the news that all the attending trade union leaders assured the P.M. to give their full co-operation. Below we publish the full text of the speech delivered by Comrade Pritish Chanda, General Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) at the meeting of 1st July. It will be obvious from the speech that UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was not a party to the deal tried to be worked out. Barring UTUC (Lenin Sarani) all others piped the same tune as the P.M. expected of them to do. Mr. Ramamurthy, General Secretary, CITU said at the meeting that the nation was in great danger and the country on the point of being torn to pieces. He deplored that he expected that the Prime Minister would give direction to the working class as to the role it would play now but that was absent. Mr. Ramamurthy may, however, take credit that the lead his organisation CITU in its West Bengal Conference as also the 'Left Front' provided in the matter of approach and orientation to productivity increase by the working people in three states where CPI(M) was in power, was sought to be extended by the Prime Minister at the meeting of 1st July in New Delhi.

—Ed. Board, Proletarian Era]

Madam Prime Minister, other Ministers and friends from the Trade Unions,

On behalf of my organisation, the UTUC (L.S.) and on my personal behalf I at the outset express thanks for inviting us in this meeting. I presume this meeting has been arranged in great haste, the invitation sent telegraphically reached us hardly 48 hours before and that communicated no concrete issues for discussion other than a vague reference to 'economic action', because of which we got no time to consult our colleagues and other executives. The Labour Minister during yesterday's meeting told us that the issues concerning the economic situation would be discussed today in this meeting and other trade union issues were discussed in that meeting. Hope that you have received notes of what we discussed yesterday. I expected that you, while inaugurating the meeting, would describe the economic scene objectively as it stands today, and tell us your Government's ideas and measures to confront the problems. I have followed carefully your speech and I am sorry to note that your contention does not come anywhere near the real problem.

Madam Prime Minister, you have called upon the Trade Unions to cooperate with the Government to increase production and productivity, you have also reminded us that Trade Unions have a key national role and so you have urged upon us to extend cooperation to pull out the economy from the present morass. Is there anything new in this call? Have you not said the same thing in the past when you have headed the Government

continuously for eleven years or for that matter your predecessor Prime Ministers had also the same approach.

You have said there has been severe set back to Industrial and Agricultural production last year due to International oil crisis and drought. No Madam, here I cannot agree. None can deny that the country's economy has sunk into a very deep crisis—true, crisis is all over the capitalist world. Our economic crisis is not just

sudden nor for a particular year. The crisis has set in just not overnight. It is gradually and persistently going deep for decades, only the cumulative effect today has landed the country into this horrible position. What is the real cause of it? Who is to be blamed? Is it due to the refusal on the part of the working class to produce industrial or agricultural outputs? None can honestly say that.

I remember during early fifties, Panditji—country's first Prime Minister, urged upon the people to 'produce or perish'. Working class has definitely produced, agricultural and industrial production has definitely increased both in terms of gross production and productivity since then, and statistics show during the decades, production has increased more than 65% in a modest estimation. Yet, working class is perishing! Where have the gains of industrialization and increased production gone? Only the monopolists are deriving super profits. Madam Prime Minister, this crisis is inevitable, it is due to the inherent law of the capitalist economy that exists in our country and I want to emphatically say unless this socio-economic system is changed and radical transformation takes place, none can pull the economy out of this morass.

We are called upon to extend cooperation to increase production. Does it depend upon the working class? Working class is neither the master of the economy nor of the means of production. The controlling factors for production are not in the hands of the working class. Otherwise, why is the installed capacity of our industry not fully utilised? Even in key public sector 50% of the installed capacity are not utilised. Our economy has been geared to export—

(Contd. to page 8)

Productivity, Profit and all that

The monthly index of industrial production for February this year at 150 (base 1970=100) fell by 1.4 p.c. compared with the same month in 1979. The growth rate during the first two months (January-February) this year over the corresponding months last year showed a fall of 2.2 percent according to a press note issued by the Department of Statistics of the Ministry of Planning.

What this fall in production really means will be obvious from the figures of about 421 large public limited companies given in a survey by the Reserve Bank of India :

a) While **physical production** of industrial output by the CSO's (Central Statistical Organisation) index rose by 3.9 p.c. in 1977-78 and 7.5 p.c. in 1978-79, **value of production** rose by 7.6 p.c. and 12.6 p.c. respectively.

b) Operating profit (i.e. profit arising from principal manufacturing or processing activities) rose by 25.5 p.c. in 1978-79 as against rise of 0.6 p.c. in 1977-78. In absolute term, **profit before tax** rose from Rs. 744 crores in 1977-78 to Rs. 907 crores in 1978-79 and **profit after tax** rose from Rs. 349 crores to Rs. 465 crores in the same period. **Retained profit** during the same period, despite an increase in dividend distribution by Rs. 30 crores, rose from Rs. 156 crores to Rs. 244 crores i.e. by 56 p.c. or Rs. 88 crores—a height possibly never reached before.

c) Yet the government gave **tax concessions** to these companies by which the companies saved Rs. 45 crores in a year, 1978-79.

d) **Addition to total assets** of these companies worked out to Rs. 296 crores (Rs. 1307 crores in 1978-79 from Rs. 1,011 crores in 1977-78).

e) Despite huge profits, these companies increased their borrowings from the public sector banks and financial institutions by Rs. 185 crores in 1978-79.

f) But despite this huge profit and asset building, fiscal concessions, help of bank credit and all other backings from the government, according to the CSO's Monthly Abstract Statistics for December 1979, the **number of persons employed** in the manufacturing segment of the private sector declined from 43.21 lakhs in March 1978 to 41.87 lakhs (i.e. by 3.1 p.c.) of the 6.7 lakhs additional employment created in 1978-79 the private sector's contribution was only 20 p.c. i.e. 1.3 lakhs.

These are bare facts provided by the government's own agencies in the concrete background of which is to be judged the call for co-operation of the working people that has come from the Prime Minister. It means co-operation to be robbed, to be destituted, and to bear cheerfully the life of subhuman species for the toiling people. Slavery of worst kind is the demand. What will be the people's answer?

Public meeting at Rajgangpur

(Contd. from page 4) among others :

1. Make immediate agreement with the workers of Hari Yantra Udyog and Orissa Spinning Mills ;
2. Hazards of cement dust should be controlled ;
3. Adequate arrangements must be made regarding the supply of drinking water, electricity

and road ways in Rajgangpur Municipal Area ;

4. Supply of rice and wheat through the ration shops ;
5. Resist price hike ;
6. Non-interference of police in legitimate democratic movements.

Before the meeting was held a big procession trekked the main thoroughfares of the town.

C.C.'s call for movement

(Contd. from page 1)

other way that can give people some respite from capitalist oppression, save them from the impending rule of fascism and lead them towards ultimate emancipation. Now, more than ever, united left and democratic mass movement is the crying need of the hour. Therefore our party has repeatedly called on the left and democratic parties to change the course of their politics and come forward to build up mighty wave of united democratic mass movements, as yet there is time. But as none of these parties responded to our call the Central Committee of our party, deeply feeling its historic commitment to the people, has resolved to take up the responsibility of organising democratic mass movement singlehandedly on an all India plane. The historic 15th June civil disobedience movement last year in West Bengal as well as the consequent movements there and also in different states, all organised by our party, have amply demonstrated the capability of our party to provide not only ideological leadership but organisational leadership too. Shaping out the plan to organise an all India movement this year the Central Committee has instructed the State Committees to proceed on the following demands and following lines:

1. Resist anti-people budget, high price and inflation.
2. Resist rise of railway fare, freight, bus fare etc.
3. Raise your voice of protest against the undemocratic Acts and measures of the Central and State Governments.
4. Protect the legitimate demands and aspirations of different linguistic, religious and racial minorities to pave the way to further cohesion and unity among the people.
5. Contain the parochial and divisive forces as also the same tendencies among the people.

6. Be on guard against the growing danger of fascism. (Other burning demands of the people in the respective states may be incorporated).

In the first phase All India Protest Day will be observed on 2nd September 1980. On this day protest demonstrations will be organised in all the state capitals and also in District and Sub-divisional (Taluk) Towns and memorandum will be placed to the respective government authorities (Chief Minister, District Magistrates, SDOs etc.) Intensive campaign movement through large scale wall-writings, poster, distribution of leaflets and sale of literature, street corner—and public meetings will start immediately with a view to mobilise and involve people on a mass scale in movements on the above mentioned demands or other burning issues.

In the second phase of movement our party will organise mass squatting, mass violation of law, general strike, Bandh etc. wherever possible, in the different states of India, along with intensive campaign movement. Squattings will be organised before the offices of the government authorities starting from the State Secretariat down to Block levels throughout September until early October depending on the respective conditions in the different states. These movements will culminate in a massive rally and mass deputation before Parliament in the third phase.

The Central Committee of our party appeals to the people: Do not give way to despair and frustration. In this suffocating situation legitimate democratic mass movement is the only way out; there is no other way. At your own side is SUCI, capable of giving leadership to democratic mass movement. Give your all out support and actively join in these all India movements.

Brutal Police attack on SUCI Organiser

Jaunpur (UP):

On 16th June, 1980 the police made a sudden attack on the family of Comrade Shyambahadur Singh, a member of Jaunpur District Committee, SUCI and the President of Kishan and Khet Mazdur Federation, beat him, his elder brother Viswanath Singh and nephew Ramesh Singh mercilessly, and arrested all the three on false charges. According to the version of the local people who witnessed this savage attack made by eight armed policemen under the stewardship of the Officer-in-charge of the Badlapur Police Station, Comrade Singh, his elder brother and the nephew were beaten so inhumanly that had never been seen by them either before or after independence. They were even beaten on the way while taken to the police station and also in custody. The story does not end there. It is reported that the police also looted from their house cash of Rs. 1500.00, some movable properties and damaged the rest.

Although there was no apparent reason for this wanton attack, it is not difficult to guess what infuriated the police, the protector of the big land-owners. The growth of SUCI and its peasants' wing KKMf was causing great anxiety to the big land-owners and the police for quite some time. But the recent growth of the Party and the KKMf, and the growing movement of the exploited masses have so much infuriated the police, the protector of the ruling class that they required virtually no pretext to make such a barbarous attack on the organisers of the SUCI and KKMf.

This unprecedented savagery created such deep hatred in the local people that they burst out in protest and led the largest ever protest demonstration of the area denouncing the police atrocity. They also gathered in large numbers in a protest meeting on 3rd July at Badlapur Inter College ground to

condemn the heinous act. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Jagdish Asthana, Secretary, Jaunpur District Committee, SUCI. Comrade Sankar Singh, member of the Central Committee SUCI addressed the gathering as the main speaker. Referring to such

police atrocities in different parts of the country he appealed to the people to unite and get organised against the exploiters and the police. The meeting was also addressed by Comrade N. R. Singh MLA, Comrade Rekha Singh and Comrade Dinesh Kant Dubey.

Protest Demonstration in Ghaziabad against anti-people Central Budget

Ghaziabad 21st June 1980:

Under the auspices of the Ghaziabad Local Committee of SUCI a protest demonstration of hundreds of industrial workers and other sections of toiling people was organised here today against the anti-people Budget of the Central Government and this created great enthusiasm among the common people here.

Odds were many—the district administration set many obstacles to thwart the demonstration, the permission for holding the demonstration did not come till 9-30 AM on the scheduled date. Added to it there was heavy down-pour. But defying all odds the determined workers and the toiling people assembled at Urvasi Park Navyug Market at 9 AM. Comrade Man Mohan explained before the gathering the anti-people character of the Central Budget beneath its pro-people stance. A disciplined and impressive demonstration then started towards the city Magistrate's Office to hand over a memorandum to him. It may be noted

here that permission to meet the District Magistrate was also denied by the administration and route of the demonstration was also changed thrice by the administration arbitrarily. But all these could not break the moral of the demonstrators.

After reaching the city Magistrate's office a seven member delegation went to meet the city Magistrate and submitted a memorandum to him. The memorandum demanded of the government among others:

1. Contain continual price hike and introduce all out state trading, both retail and whole sale, of essential commodities to enable the people to get them at cheaper rates:
2. Provide employment to all unemployed;
3. Introduce old age Pension.
4. Curtail Defence and Police Budget and enhance provision on Education and Health.
5. Reduce Railway fare and freight.
6. Reduce the prices of Petrol, Diesel and Petrol products etc.

Movement against Busfare rise

(Contd. from page 5) more than one hundred DYOW workers along with the District Secretary, Comrade Tirthankar Mukherjee. Again when on 9th July last at Jalpaiguri SUCI organisers were urging the common passengers in the buses not to give excess fares police arrested eleven of them along with some passengers who joined in the protest.

All these police attacks on legitimate movements against the bus

fare rise, no doubt, demonstrates the totally anti-people and pro-bus owner policy of the 'Left Front' Government of the state. But people have taken up the issue and have come forward to resist the bus fare rise specially in mufasil areas. Faced with strong resistance the bus owners have withdrawn buses from many routes in the districts while the government is shamelessly protecting them and trying to suppress the movement. But the movement goes on.

Comrade Pritish Chanda's Speech

(Contd. from page 6)

orientation. Almost every item of industrial and agricultural products are exported; right from vegetables, fruits, fish to essential commodities like sugar, clothings etc. are today exported and the real producers never get a taste of it. Due to decades of extreme exploitation, over taxation, rise in prices, unemployment and under employment, the purchasing power of our people has gone down miserably, domestic consumption has not increased, more than 70% people are living below poverty line. The net result is that despite being a vast country and huge population, due to lack of domestic consumption, there is lack of urge for increased production on the part of the owners. Unless concrete measures are taken for immediate increase of the purchasing power of the common people and thus domestic demand raised, urge for more production cannot be set in. Industrialists today are deriving high rate of profit by low quantum of production through irrational price rise. Our economy must be free from dependence on foreign market and from export-orientation. Aiding fuel to the fire, the power crisis has set in due to wrong planning, mismanagement, utter callousness, negligence and corruption at the level of top hierarchy which has adversely affected the workers' earnings and jobs. The net result of all these is that the workers real wage are eroded. Real wages are falling steeply. No Government till now, has ever attempted to check price rise. What is the position today? Wholesale price rise in 1979 had been 16.7%; this year already there is 20% further rise. This is also a very modest estimate.

Above all comes the problem of inflation and recession. We have always maintained that

inflation is not caused by workers' pay packet. It is rather caused mainly by deficit financing, over taxation, circulation of black money etc. Even this year, your government through current budget has provided for more than Rs. 1400 crores deficit finance. Over and above, several hundred crores in the last April's interim budget, this budget too imposes additional taxes all of which will certainly further aggravate inflation. And the burden of all these are quietly passed on to the shoulders of the working class and the down trodden people. This is the law of capitalism and the real picture existing in our country. Already we are tasting the effect of additional duties on petrol and diesel and increase in railway fare and freight.

The working class has long since tightened their belt—tell us, how far they can tighten the belt! We shall be happy not demanding more DA etc. if only your Government can effectively check prices, lower it and arrange to supply at least the essential commodities to every door at low prices, within the limit of the purchasing power of the people.

True, that even the Western developed capitalist countries today are facing severe inflation and recession. Great Britain this year is confronted with 20% inflation. Yet the British workers or the French workers or the workers in West Germany got compensatory pay rise with every point of rise in prices. Are we getting the similar deal? Rather, we have experienced and are experiencing attempt of wage freeze, over and above already eroded wages.

Now, Madam Prime Minister, tell us whom should we co-operate with—the profit hunters? How we can work for more production when shifts are

closed, factories are locked out, working days reduced not for any workers' agitation rather on the plea of want of electricity, coal, bottleneck in transport and above all want of orders and lack of market. When the employers eat up the capital or divert it to some other more profitable trade and declare the industry sick—it is again not for any agitation by the workers. The government never catches hold of such basically dishonest employers; on the contrary, help them with subsidy and capital from State Finance Corporation. When the employers after eating up the employees' provident fund are allowed to go scot free or are only punished with a fine of meager amount of Rs. 50/-—in such a situation whom should we co-operate with? Madam, while referring in your speech to stagnation in production growth in some of the key industries like coal, fertilizers, you have blamed the workers, you also further blamed in general terms the workers in public sectors for alleged 'claiming more benefits without due performance'. But the reality in the public sector is just the reverse. The top bureaucrats in the Public sector appear to be modern Mughals—the culture and psychology of the public sector bosses are no different from that of the private sector. You say there is no profit motive there. But can you claim that there is no exploitation there. Our experience in coal, copper, steel, fertilizer in the public sector is that the workers yet do not get many a time a hearing to their grievances. Joint decisions are not implemented, agreement between the union and management even at the ministerial level are dishonoured and blatantly violated. Concrete instances of Hindustan Copper and Steel Authority of India, I am referring to. There

exists rampant corruption, wastage and mal-administration in the nationalised coal where contractors and corrupt officials in combination are plundering the industry as well as the workers, and this is the general picture in many public sector undertakings. But who is there to look after all these? It has become a fashion in our country to blame the poor workers for every misdeed happening anywhere. The workers resort to strike only when they do not get remedy from any quarter. It is not proper to describe them as anti-social. In our country where elections are held under sten-guns and bombs, it is useless to blame workers' agitation as violent.

This is what I am to speak about the present economic condition and have already said that we do not expect anything radical or novel within the existing set up. At the same time, I have concretely suggested certain measures for the government to take if it really desires to bring at least some relief to the people. In short, stop deficit financing, withdraw additional taxes and duties, do something concrete to check price rise, supply essential commodities at cheaper rates and introduce public distribution system, both at wholesale and retail stage, increase workers' pay-packet at least to put off the load of high prices, improve power generation and distribution. And these small things may go a long way to bring a lot of improvement.

Now with regard to certain concrete issues concerning trade union demands that are raised in this meeting. On behalf of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) we just want a fair, reasonable deal and treatment with the trade unions on the part of the government. Stop all sorts of discriminations between trade unions. We do not want any favour, nor any undue

privilege. What we want is, dealing of trade unions should not be on the basis of political patronage or on the weightage of political lobbying. Stop for good the formation of club system from amongst trade unions, whether that be club of three or that of four. We have seen enough of it. Now it will deliver no further good. Recognition of trade unions has yet remained a knotty question. Still now there is neither any law nor any commonly agreed basis or method in practice for recognition of unions either at the plant level or at the national level. Everything done in this respect is done arbitrarily, unilaterally, and in a very discriminatory way. This should not continue any more. I request that some principle should be evolved without further delay, method of secret ballot at the plant and industry level may be adopted, but, at the national level the same may not be feasible. So, at the national level there should be some commonly agreed democratic and scientific method of verification of membership. Also a commonly agreed criterion for recognition should be evolved. For this, immediate consultation by the government with all the central trade unions without any exception should be made, wherefrom this method and criterion should be decided. Till this is done, the representations of all central trade unions should be taken in the national tripartite machinery as well as in the industry-wise tripartite bodies. In the industrial committees, representation from all functioning unions in that industry should be taken. After the adoption of method for recognition at all levels every union will have to pass this test and none should be given undue privilege nor any favour. That's all. Thank you.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE