

# NEPAL : Now is the time for consolidation and extension of democratic rights

After long 32 years people of Nepal went to the polls on 12 May last ushering in the multi-party parliamentary democracy in the country. This election, however, it is to be recalled, is the culmination of the last year's February uprising in which almost whole people of Nepal under the joint leadership of the Nepali Congress and the United Front of seven Leftist and communist parties took to the streets to demand democratic rights and scrapping of autocratic monarchical Constitution. Unable to resist the fire of this movement which engulfed the whole of Himalayan kingdom with rare intensity and unprecedented dimension, the palace rule of King Birendra despite its initial savage repression to smother the movement killing hundreds and maiming thousands gave in. As a mark of downfall of the absolute monarchy in Nepal an interim coalition Government of Nepali Congress and Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist) was instituted last year, and it was charged with

the responsibility of conducting free and fair poll and framing up anew of a democratic Constitution.

When a struggle against exploitation and repression develops in any part of the world, people of all countries of this globe feel identity with this movement and become vocal in extending their moral support to it. Our party along with other progressive-minded and well-meaning people of the world has extended its full moral support to the struggle of the Nepali people and also has welcomed their victory in achieving the democratic right to rule of their own choice.

At the same time, however, we cannot but remind the people of Nepal that parliamentary democracy of any form, whether of multi-party or of two-party system, is the bourgeois democracy. This bourgeois democracy has been established in different parts of the world centuries ago. But during the third phase of the intense crisis of capitalism this bourgeois democracy has become out and out reactionary and moribund.

This parliamentary form of bourgeois democracy has been in vogue in our country as well. As in different countries so in our country too its facade is historically exposed. To be more precise, the rule of monopoly capital is the essence of any bourgeois democracy as ours today. We see the democratic rights of the people of our country are the point of daily attack. They are being curtailed drastically and at the same time more and more fascist Acts are being enacted to serve the monopoly interest. This is the real face of the Indian democracy.

These inherent limitations and shortcomings of the bourgeois democracy notwithstanding the victory of the Nepalese people earning democratic rights after a long autocratic rule of a dynasty should in no way be undereestimated. For, democratic rights were denied to the Nepalese people under autocratic palace rule in the name of Panchayati Raj system there pretended to be a parliamentary structure.

(Contd. on page 2)

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## They dare at Kultali & Joynagar

Since coming to power in the state in 1977 the CPI(M) has been launching innumerable attacks on the SUCI to wipe it out from the soil of West Bengal. But its degree and scale has been largely stepped up particularly after the 1987 Assembly elections in which the CPI(M) candidate lost his deposit in Kultali Assembly segment (the lone example in West Bengal) and very narrowly escaped it in the adjoining Joynagar Assembly constituency both of which we won. Another reason of its naked onslaught on the SUCI has been the growing popularity of the party among the masses who have been showing tremendous response to the call of movement organised by our party, the SUCI, on different issues at different times against the anti-people policies of the Central government and the CPI(M)-led Left Front which is playing an out and out anti-people role in all fronts ever since it came to power in West Bengal. The CPI(M) is now engaged

(Contd. on Page 3)

## Hail this victory resplendent with glory !

We along with all well-meaning people of the country, hail this victory. Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar and Comrade Probodh Purkait have been elected for the fourth consecutive term from the Joynagar and Kultali Assembly constituencies of West Bengal with margins of 12,184 & 17,828 votes respectively giving a crushing defeat to the CPI(M) and the Congress(I).

This is one victory altogether different; unique, distinct and resplendent with glory and valour. To realise what it means to the people one needs to know the immensity of the odds, adversities, ordeals and tribulations the heroic people of the Sunderbans had to face up to make this historic victory possible. Threat, intimidation, arson, looting, killing of scores of important organisers and workers of the SUCI, even

raping of women—minors not spared too—belonging to the SUCI by the CPI(M) criminals and antisocials could not undermine, far less demoralise, the revolutionary zeal and the fighting spirit of the people who stood with rocklike solidarity and firmness by the side of their beloved party,

### VICTORY IN ASSAM

News received just before print: In Assam SUCI has won the South Salmara constituency by a margin of over 5,000 votes and Goalpara (W) by over 7,000 votes in Assembly segment.

the SUCI, built up by the departed great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This is a victory not of the kind the people witness now across the country, one that is backed by the vested interests, the

ruling class, the monopoly press, money, mafia and the muscle power.

Elsewhere, in the vast expanse of the country, the helpless masses have been victim of the machinations of the ruling class and the vested interests. Here standing on the firm ground of their own organisation and the correct base political line, they asserted their power against all moves of the class and their subservient parties. So, this victory demonstrates unto the people that everything is not lost for them, there is the ground of hope on which to stand with their head high and in full dignity. There is the silver line to the dark cloud hovering on us. There is the ray of hope, the beacon light for their struggle for existence and emancipation. Red Salute to the people of Joynagar-Kultali, Red Salute !

## NEPAL

(Contd. from page 1)

But in that 'partyless' legislative system the King was omnipotent. He was the law-maker, he was the law-breaker. What was the utter mockery under this system was that anybody could be formally elected to the 140-member Panchayet, but in practice nobody could be elected without the sponsorship by any of the government controlled organisations, which in effect was the sponsorship by the palace rulers. And in the event of being sponsored the prospective member was required to renounce all party affiliations. Moreover, by the decree of that Constitution, the Panchayet had no right to discuss any act of the royal family, and all members of the upper house were to be nominated by the King himself.

Hence, the replacement of such obnoxious autocratic rule with the multi-party parliamentary system is no doubt, a step forward.

Of course, it is to be remembered that this achievement of democratic rights, however minimal or hedged by number of limitations, is not the product of mere last year's uprising of the Nepalese people. The struggle for democracy in Nepal is, in fact, a long-drawn event, of more than 4 decades old. Ultimately the people forced the king to concede to their demand and hold elections.

In this connection it is to be pointed out that the Left parties and the Nepali Congress who fought shoulder to shoulder against the monarchical rule and who were even partners in the interim coalition government fell apart in the last elections. Again, Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist) came into being only six months back following the merger of the Nepalese Communist Party (Marxist) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist). While

the Nepali Congress got an absolute majority with 110 seats out of total 205, the UML got 69 seats while the Communist Party of Nepal (Democratic), known to be pro-Moscow, just won two seats out of 50 it contested. The United People's Front emerged as the third largest party by bagging nine seats.

It is significant that the two factions of the National Democratic Party of the ex-Panchas who were closely associated with the King for a long time had been virtually routed. These two factions fielded 317 candidates but won just four seats.

It is apparent that the Left forces did not contest the elections unitedly and more over the UML complained, as reported in the Press, that the Nepali Congress resorted to large-scale rigging including booth-capturing. This complaint of the UML deserves to be examined in view of the fact that the Nepali Congress after the installation of the interim government was very much compromising to the King who still exercises a significant influence in the election machinery. So had the Left forces fought unitedly and had there been no large-scale rigging, the Left forces might have attained absolute majority. This is a clear indication of the Left-leaning of the Nepalese people and on that count they deserve to be highly acclaimed.

In the joint movement against the autocratic rule of the monarch, the Left forces took a positive initiative in mobilising the people and launching an uncompromising struggle. This role of the Leftists in the movement as also their strong opposition to the Indian hegemonism and also their radical approach on the question of the framing of the new Constitution helped their emergence as a dependable force to the people.

Now that the elections are over, the Left forces must carry forward the

## 'Free and Fair Election !' (Excerpts from the Press)

### Ex-minister decamps with Ballot Box

Guwahati, June 8: A former Assam minister and

movement for further consolidation, preservation and extension of democratic rights of the people and also on all burning issues confronting the life of the common man. Again, the voice of the extra-parliamentary movement is to be reflected within the Pratinidhi Sabha (Parliament) to make the movement still stronger. This is the only path—the path of democratic mass movement—which alone can save them from falling a prey to the bourgeois design of parliamentarism by becoming part and parcel of the establishment thereby serving the reactionary interest of the bourgeoisie.

So when the new government has been formed by the Nepali Congress, the urgent task of this government is to take immediate positive steps for the uplift of the lot of the people of Nepal, happened to be one of the ten poorest countries of the world. The new government must also honour the expectation of the people of Nepal by fulfilling its election promises. Another point to be noted by the new government is that since Nepal is a land-locked country its dependence on its neighbours on the question of trade and transit is of vital importance. So the new government must maintain friendly relations with the neighbouring countries like India and China. Lastly all democratic and well-meaning people of Nepal must be on guard against any attempt of the restoration of monarchical rule as had happened in the Fifties and the consolidation of the democratic forces of Nepal through democratic mass movements alone can ensure that.

the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) candidate in the Kamalpur assembly constituency of the state Mr Moidul Islam Bora, today snatched a ballot box from a polling booth and drove away.

The startled presiding officer who saw the box full of legitimate votes being carried away from right under his nose, immediately lodged a complaint with police and suspended polling in the booth.

According to police sources, a search is on for Mr. Bora who was last seen driving away towards Nalbari in a Maruti car. It is said that Mr. Bora had attempted to replace the genuine ballot box with an empty one. (The Sunday Times of India—9 6 91)

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### Ballot papers found on road

Last Tuesday two stamped ballot papers belonging to Baharampur Lok Sabha constituency were picked up by BJP supporters in Ketugram. The West Bengal State Secretary of the party, Tapan Shikdar reported this on Tuesday, saying that these two ballot papers stamped in favour of BJP candidates here found in front of Malgram free primary school. Party members brought them to the party office. Mr Shikdar said the chief election officer of the state Mrs Leena Chakravarty was informed. Mrs Chakravarty denied knowing anything about it. Mr Shikdar said he apprehended the way the used ballotpapers are being found elsewhere, the whole election may turn into a farce.

(Bartaman 7.6.91)

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### Bihar booth-capturers to repeat show

Patna, June 10—...-po-

lling for the remaining 17 Lok Sabha seats in Bihar on Wednesday is going to be yet another battle of booth-capturers. Large-scale preparations by the contesting candidates for "stamping the ballots" have been given a final shape as "professional booth-looters" who did their job on the polling day last month, are now converging on the 17 constituencies. The balance of terror that helped keep poll violence on rather...a low key compared to the previous election is likely to ensure again a comparatively peaceful rigging of the polls.

The growing cult of booth-capturing, which has virtually reduced the electoral exercise to a farce in Bihar has also eroded the confidence of the political parties and their contestants in going for a graceful acceptance of the people's verdict. The reports indicate that the genuine turnout of voters on May 20 was not more than 25 per cent, as against 55 per cent recorded by the Election Commission. Little wonder then, that the major contesting parties are arming themselves to rig the polls once again. (The Statesman' 11.6.91)

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### Paid in their own coin

'No matter how angry the CPIM may have been over Mr T N Seshan's refusal to take note of its complaints of lawlessness in Tripura the decision to boycott Wednesday's polls is clearly a case of overreaction.....It may not be irrelevant to point out in this context that the CPIM is not always an innocent victim of its opponents' misdeeds, and that the party thinks nothing of using the same terror tactics in its own strongholds...'

The Statesman 11 6 91  
(Contd on page 3)

# KULTALI

(Contd from page 1)

in gaining the confidence of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, and vying with the Congress(I) as to who serves the cause of the bourgeoisie better, obviously at the cost of people's interest.

The CPI(M) knows it better that the SUCI is the only party which can expose its anti-people and pseudo-revolutionary character and can engage the people in movements against the CPI(M)-led Left Front. The movement organised by the SUCI against the anti-people language and education policy of the Left Front government combining prominent intellectuals of Bengal together, movement against the transport fare hike in 1983 and the last year's state-wide movement including the successful Bangla Bandh on 3rd September and the 'Great March' on 15th September combining the Left parties and forces outside the Left Front together against transport fare hike and price rise speak eloquent of the people's support the movements enjoyed.

All these things taken together made the CPI(M) very much scared of SUCI's growing strength and hence it made a 'master plan' to annihilate the SUCI organisationally and to any how unseat the party in the two seats it won in 1987 again. The bourgeoisie also experiencing a better service rendered to them by the CPI(M) lent all out support to it with its fake pro-people stance, progressive vocabulary and influence over the masses after it was saddled to power. And the rural bourgeoisie ie, the jotedars, were no exception. So in the countryside they switched their allegiance from the Congress (I) to the CPI(M) in order to protect their interest. And the CPI(M) is not so ungrateful as to deny them that.

So the onslaughts of the CPI(M) came down

heavily on our party, particularly after the 1987 elections and for this purpose it assembled all the antisocials, dacoits and pirates, some of whom owed their allegiance to the Congress (I) previously, by luring them with better returns and after arming them with sophisticated firearms and bombs swooped on the organisational bases of Kultali and Joynagar under the protective umbrella of the police moving nakedly in a partisan way. And to make things easier the CPI(M) posted police pickets in the name of maintaining law and order and got ready police help in these nefarious activities in the deltaic region of the Sunderbans which is not easily and swiftly accessible.

So the 'sacred duty' to wipe out SUCI organisationally once entrusted with the Congress(I) fell this time on the CPI(M) to protect the interest of the jotedars. And with all the forces at its command it launched barbaric onslaughts on the SUCI by resorting to all sorts of crimes. And these onslaughts got intensified as the elections drew nearer. They, in the recent past, killed 7 of our valuable Comrades, not to speak of 25 other valuable organiser Comrades who fell victim to the CPI(M) machinations previously. Hundreds of our Comrades including females were brutally assaulted, some of whom were maimed and two female supporters of ours including a minor were raped by the CPI(M) marauders. Hundreds of houses were reduced to ashes, hundreds of livestock looted, innumerable houses of our supporters and sympathisers were looted to the last

belonging including utensils and bedsteads. Local party offices and our supporters' shops were smashed to the ground and property looted. The CPI(M) storm-troopers forcibly took away paddy from hundreds of acres of land and the mechanised country boats, the only means of livelihood of the poor peasants, and forcibly extorted lakhs of rupees from thousands of our supporters and turned them virtually pauper. They even forced our elected panchayat members to resign at gun point. The CPI(M) predators openly declared that no electioneering would be allowed for the SUCI and anybody found doing that would be dealt with severely. And when some of our valiant comrades braved this and started even discussing among themselves regarding polls they were severely beaten up by the CPI(M) hooligans. The male comrades were driven out of their homes and had to take refuge elsewhere. The marauders openly declared that no SUCI polling agent would be allowed in the polling booths and everybody had to stamp on the CPI(M) symbols openly otherwise they would be taught a good lesson. Our present MLA Comrade Prabodh Purkait could not enter the area and was threatened with dire consequences. Even after elections the CPI(M) antisocials threatened our supporters and sympathisers that if the SUCI won in Kultali, they would be dealt with severely. And already they have fined our two comrades with a heavy amount of money after severely assaulting them. Their only 'fault' was they worked as our polling agents. All these things happened either in presence of or in connivance with the police and when any of our comrades went to police camp to lodge complaint they were severely beaten up and false cases instituted against them. So the CPI(M) antisocials after perpetrating all these crimes themselves implicated our comrades

in thousands of false court cases and thus have unleashed a reign of terror in the vast areas of Kultali Assembly segment, particularly in Moipith-Baikunthapur and Gurguria-Bhubaneswari Anchal Panchyets. Since these are all preplanned these are still going on unabated in Kultali even after the elections and hence all our repeated deputations were in vain. Even our repeated applications to the Election Commission to maintain law and order in the region in the interest of a free and fair election bore no fruit and thus the State administration turned a deaf ear to our appeal of posting of Central Police on the plea of shortage of police personnel.

But all these criminal assaults of the CPI(M) marauders could not deter the poor peasants and the landless labourers from protecting the interest of the party built on their blood and sweat and the barbaric onslaughts of all means could not break the organisation of their party built in a steel frame of invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism as taught by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Because the organisation of the SUCI developed here on the basis of the class struggle of the peasants and landless labourers against the landed gentry, jotedars, which blossomed here first under the SUCI in the vast expanse of the Indian peninsula. This struggle gave the poor peasants an immense source of courage, indomitable spirit and a sense of dignity to fight against the age-old injustice and oppression. As they grasped the revolutionary lessons they know how to turn the disadvantage into advantage in the most adverse of the situations and as true revolutionaries they adopted various methods and secretly continued election campaign in the dead of night after hard labour during the daytime elsewhere to earn their livelihood. In the daytime the valiant

## 'Free and Fair Election !'

(Contd. from page 2)

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### Utter bankruptcy of parliamentary politics

'It does seem odd that even while claiming that there is no sympathy wave to help the Congress(I) most non-Congress(I) parties in the southern States have hastily recast their strategy for the remaining phases of the Lok Sabha elections. The CPIM in Kerala, which is one of the loudest to deny the existence of any such wave, has, in particular, stepped up its efforts and even begun to play up the Mandal issue which for some reason it had understressed so far.'

(Ibid : 12.6.91)

peasant women with revolutionary zeal and their children could perform the responsibility of secret electioneering in the absence of their menfolk and played an exemplary role in their struggle for existence.

These predatory activities of the CPI(M) vandals would not stop there. Rather it would increase in future with greater dimension and ferocity. The blood-soaked earth of Kultali and Jaynagar will speak for itself how ferocious, barbaric, autocratic and anti-people the CPI (M) can be in protecting the interest of the jotedars nakedly violating all the canons of democracy and administrative neutrality. The valiant struggle of the peasant comrades of Kultali and Joynagar will work as the source of inspiration to revolutionaries of our country.

We convey our revolutionary congratulations to them and appeal to the progressive and well-meaning people to condemn this barbaric onslaught of CPI(M) on SUCI and to express their solidarity with the poor peasants and land-labourers engaged in writing a brilliant chapter of the history of our party in the letters of blood.

## COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH ON PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS

In his address to the Delegate Session of the first annual conference of the Durgapur Steel Workers' Co-ordination Committee, held in Durgapur, West Bengal, in 1974, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had touched upon, as an illustration to explain the style of organisation of the proletariat vis-a-vis the style of organisation of the bourgeoisie, the outlook with which the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the toiling people should take part in elections when it has been imposed on them or has come as an event incidental to democratic mass movement. In view of the importance of this brief discussion in the background of the present elections, we produce below an English version of it.

[ Editorial Board, Proletarian Era ]

"So long as the revolutionary situation is not matured people are dragged into elections and they get involved whether they want the elections or not, they like the elections or not, welcome it or not. A revolutionary situation means when people have realised that elections are irrelevant to their cause and can deliver no good to them, when they are organised on this realisation and organisedly take the decision to reject it—reject it not from a negative approach but from a positive approach, when they are set for an uprising and their cry is: "not elections but seizure of power" then and only then elections are of no use. Otherwise, people get entangled in elections again and again.

And because people get involved, all have to take part in elections, both the non-revolutionaries and the revolutionaries—even the genuine revolutionaries. Only, those, who practise sectarian truism and not genuine revolutionary politics run away from the responsibility—all else have to take part. But does participation mean that all will do it with the same outlook? Outwardly, all are in electioneering—we, the Marxist-Leninists, the social democrats, the bourgeoisie as well as the pseudo-socialists, the genuine as well as the pseudo-revolutionaries. And each would claim; "We are right, others are wrong. So, any means we adopt to defeat the opponents are surely correct". But if you will argue like this there will not be any difference in class approach between you and the bourgeoisie, there will not be any difference in the outlook even. But a deep probe and thorough analysis reveal that this approach is totally wrong.

In reality, the strategy and tactics of struggle, organisational methods, outlook on elections, tactical line of victory or defeat of both the bourgeoisie and of the proletariat are determined on the base level of consciousness of the people and the objective stage of the revolutionary struggle in a country. The main aim of the bourgeois parties is to anyhow grab as many seats as possible in the elections and capture the governmental power. And by coming to power the bourgeois parties aim and strive to retain the existing system through some reforms and under cover of various slogans. That is to say their object is to prolong the existing system by employing such rhetoric as would give them a pseudo-progressive image to befool and misguide the people for some time. Naturally, their sole object becomes to anyhow grab the maximum number of seats in the elections. Besides, they offer some political programmes and immediate programmes too for implementation. But whatever the programmes and slogans, all this boils down to the principal objective of grabbing the maximum number of seats.

But when the proletariat, guided by

their revolutionary objective, are left with no other alternative than to participate in the election battle in order to be with the masses, they do so on the basis of a definite revolutionary base political line of the toiling people. They also try utmost to win as many seats as possible. But never does the focal point of their objective become to anyhow grab the maximum number of seats. Their focal point is to educate the people to fight the election battle on the mass revolutionary line and in course of this, if they can win the maximum number of seats so much the better. If they cannot win it, not even a single seat, no matter. If the revolutionaries can win a few seats they will do it. But, the focal point can never be to grab some seats by hook or by crook.

What is that mass line and mass style of activity which we shall have to carry to the people at the elections? We shall go to the people to tell them that when they are taking part in the elections they ought to do so on the revolutionary base political line of the proletariat. And while doing it they are to guard their bases. They are to try to win as many seats as they can, win the maximum

number possible, even win all if they can, but they are to win on this base political line. It is on this base politics alone that they are to win, not confusing it ever.

If you make a plea to adopt whatsoever means to defeat the enemy on the pretext that you are fighting the enemy, donning thus the mask of a revolutionary, you are adopting the same tricks, the same tactics, the same means which the bourgeoisie do—but in the name of revolutionary politics. Do you think you can become a revolutionary in this way? Does it advance the cause of revolution in any way? NO, you cannot, it does not advance revolution. We say that we participate in election to expose the bourgeois parliamentary politics but does this kind of politics lead to our professed objective? Are the deeds consistent with the words? There are some who give only the lip service, there are others who practise what they profess. To educate the people politically so that they become conscious about who are giving only the lip service and who are really putting it into practice is the real task.

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