

On The Occasion Of The 150th Birth Anniversary Of Karl Marx

In celebrating, along with the working men and women of all countries, the 150th Anniversary of Karl Marx, creator of the science of revolution by the exploited and oppressed masses of the people, we vow that we will remain ever faithful to the scientific system of integrated world outlook formulated by Marx, carry on relentless struggles against all revisionist and left adventurist trends and tendencies and continue to hold aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism.

On this auspicious occasion of the 150th Birth Anniversary of Karl Marx, founder of the International Working men's Association, the First Communist International, we also vow that we will strive our best to further strengthen and extend the unity of the toilers of the whole world and instil in them the great idea of proletarian internationalism.

We remember that it was Marx who in putting the socialist movement upon a scientific basis free from idealism ignorance and eclect-

icism discovered the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the logical culmination of the class struggle and the only way to abolish all classes and usher in a classless society. We vow that we will spare no effort to fulfil this behest of Comrade Marx.

Lenin says: "The main thing in the teaching of Marx is the elucidation of the worldwide historical role of the proletariat as the builder of a socialist society." This firm
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"Of all the classes that stands face to face with the bourgeoisie, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

—Karl Marx

Proletarian Era

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West Bengal State Committee's Letter

To

The Joint Conveners,
UNITED FRONT.

Date—28.6.68

Dear Comrades,

You are aware that in order to ensure victory of the UF candidates in the coming mid-term election and check future defection of M.L.A.'s returned on the UF ticket as far as possible in the prevailing situation we made some concrete suggestions in writing to the UF. One of these suggestions was that the party which would possess the maximum organisational strength in a particular constituency (except in Calcutta and in those cases where there are sitting UF M, L. A.'s who have not defected) would be given that seat. All the constituent parties of the UF more or less agreed to this principle of allotment of seats on the basis of organisational strength. But at the time of actual allotment of seats to different parties this agreed principle was thrown to the wind to the negation of justice to us and some other small parties.

Let us illustrate. On the basis of the above mentioned principle of allotment of seats generally agreed by all the constituent parties of the UF we submitted our claim for 19 seats. Of these 19 constituencies our Party is by far
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insistence upon proletarian leadership which can only operate through a genuine revolutionary working class party is fundamental for the struggle for emancipation of the exploited and oppressed masses of the people from slavery. We vow that we will expose the true colour of the so-called petty-bourgeois parties that are falsely masquerading as communist party and develop the Socialist Unity Centre of India as the real Communist Party in our country capable of leading the Indian people to power through revolution.

The Mid-term Poll And Some Questions Confronting The United Front In West Bengal

While conducting the national liberation movement against British imperialism, the patriotic people of our country not only wanted to end foreign rule and gain national independence, they also wanted to end all forms of exploitation of man by man and social injustice along with ending foreign imperialist rule. But this aspiration of our people has not been fulfilled ; it has been completely betrayed by the national bourgeois leadership i.e. Congress leadership. The country has, no doubt, gained political independence but the emancipation of our people from plunder by exploiters has yet to be achieved. During the long twenty years of its uninterrupted rule since the attainment of national independence, the Congress, in place of confiscating foreign capital and eliminating exploitation by foreign finance capital of the material resources and the people of our country has, on the contrary, allowed foreign finance capital to spread further its tentacles ; it has weakened national sovereignty and virtually sold out our country to the U.S.A. just to gain some concessions for the native capitalists ; it has consolidated and further strengthened the capitalist rule here resulting in unprecedented prosperity of a handful of persons and almost complete ruination of the common men ; it has kept in tact the bureaucracy-police-military apparatus infested with imperialist agents and unpatriotic and positively anti-people elements, which the foreign rulers of our country created in order to serve imperialist interests, to the negation of all healthy norms and practices of even parliamentary democracy ; it has resorted to every conceivable method to silence Congress-opposition ; it has used police and even military against just and legitimate and even lawful struggles by our people, killing and maiming thousands of citizens not sparing even women and children ; it has encouraged and indulged in the practice of bigotry, obscurantism and all other unscientific ideas to the great damage of secularism ; it has fanned communalism, provincialism, linguism and parochialism and fomented communal and provincial disturbances on a wide scale all over the country times without number ; it has refused to give protection to the minority communities from the communal rioters , it has patronised the growth and development of para-military Black-Shirt organisations almost in all the states ; it has plunged the country into corruption, nepotism, graft, etc. and caused irreparable damage to the moral fibre of the entire population ; it has flooded the country with foreign as well as indigenous so-called cultural production whose only stock in trade is sex and crime with deliberate intention of making the people turn their face from the reality and antipathetic to social action against social evils and injustice. This is the substance of the congress

rule in our country. It is certainly not administration in the interests of the people. The people of West Bengal have had enough of experience of this misrule. That they are not willing to put up with this sort of anti-people pro-capitalist administration any longer has been evident from the results of the last fourth general elections in this state.

Since the formation of the U.F. Government in West Bengal according to the verdict of the people in the last general election the Central Government, the bureaucracy and the privileged classes in combination with the congress and other reactionary forces of the state started hatching conspiracies not only to obstruct the U.F. Government in implementing the 18-point programme in every possible way, but also to topple the U.F. Ministry. All these attempts ultimately culminated, in the Governor's action in dismissing the U.F. Ministry illegally and in fraud of the Constitution. The Governor in utter disregard to all democratic norms and conventions

BY
Subodh Banerjee

of parliamentary practices, and on the basis of his whimsical 'pleasure' dismissed the popular U.F. Ministry and illegally installed the minority Govt. of P.D.F. under the leadership of notorious Dr. P. C. Ghosh. This anti-people act of the Governor was met with deep indignation and hatred of our people. After vainly attempting to run first the P.D.F. Ministry and then the P.D.F.-Congress coalition Ministry for nearly two and half months in face of the large-scale resistance in the form of democratic mass movement of the people the President's Rule had to be ultimately imposed. As the prolonged President's Rule is an infringement on the democratic right of the people, our people cannot allow prolonged President's Rule in the state, because as long as it will exist our people will be denied of the right to be ruled through the Government of their choice. Moreover, it will mean *de facto*

the congress rule from back-door because the President's Rule is virtually the indirect rule of the congress party, as the President is guided by the Central Government which is under the effective control of the Congress Party. As such one who stands by the people and the democratic mass movements cannot but strive for holding the mid-term election at an early date. Under the mounting pressure of mass movements, mid-term election has been ultimately agreed upon to be held in November this year. As the mid-term election is going to be held under President's Rule the popular movement is to be kept alive with a view to frustrating all unfair and illegal practices on the part of the administration and thereby ensure relatively free and fair election.

Now it is clear that the United Front in order to serve the people has to fight the mid-term election. Then it should know precisely what do the people want. Do the people want simply the defeat of the Congress at the polls? Certainly not. The people, along with the defeat of the Congress also want (a) a stable government—a government capable of controlling bureaucracy, checking corruption and effectively preventing police from interfering in the legitimate democratic mass movements under the plea of maintaining law and order, as is often done by the police at the instances of the vested interests and the privileged classes. (b) Moreover, our people want that the popular U.F. Ministry should bring in such reforms as will be conducted

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Keep The Popular Movement Alive To Ensure Relatively Free And Fair Election

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ive to the growth and developments of legitimate democratic mass movements and at the same time will provide relief to the people. Thus the U.F. which has emerged, with all its limitations, as the only instrument of struggle of our people must realise that the legitimate democratic mass movements are the only natural and justified expressions of our working people constantly fighting against the vested interests and privileged classes for justice and better living conditions. So the U.F. as an instrument of struggle in discharging duties and responsibilities towards the masses and in running the administration while in office in a qualitatively different way than that of the Congress cannot but fulfil these two above-mentioned postulates. This requires both wisdom and indomitable courage on the part of the U.F. leadership.

Few points should be kept in mind in this connection. Firstly, it should not be forgotten that the present capitalist social-political-economic system of our country is primarily responsible for all the ills that now afflict the lives of the common men in our country in various ways. So long as this system based on exploitation of man by man will continue to exist, there will be no lasting solution of the fundamental problems of the masses of the people and no real emancipation of theirs from slavery. Socialism alone can ensure solution of the basic problems of their lives and emancipate them. But the establishment of socialism presupposes the destruction of the present capitalist state machinery, the setting up in its place a new type of state machinery, the worker's state, and radical transformation of the social-political-economic system. This is possible only through revolution. Election is no revolution nor

the capture of the Government through election is capture of state power. The Government and the State are not synonymous; they are two different words connoting two different ideas, the former being only the care-taker of the latter. Hence, to talk of solving the fundamental problems of the masses of the people and establish socialism by capturing the Government through election is to indulge in lying deliberately with a view to conceal the truth from the people and perpetuate capitalist exploitation or to chew the cud of unscientific confused thinking. Our people should take it into their head that it is impossible to radically transform society and solve the fundamental problems of their lives by capturing the Government through election, no matter, whatever may be the nature, character and composition of the Government. Secondly, it should also be noted that apart from the bourgeois character of the Constitution of India which imposes basic limitations on the powers and functions of a Government here, the powers of the state Government under this Constitution are very very limited. The Constitution is hedged with provisions, which make it impossible for a state Government to introduce reforms which can be achieved even under capitalist order, without the prior sanction of the President, i. e., the Central Government. Most of the matters relating to labour welfare come under the ambit of this Constitutional limitation. This is just to cite an instance. Thirdly, it cannot but be recalled that experience has confirmed our conviction and the note of caution sounded by our Party much before the formation of the United Front Government that the running of administration by the UF Government

would not be a smooth sailing. The capitalist class and other vested interests and reactionary forces, a section of top bureaucracy and police, the Congress Party, the Congress Government at the centre, the state Governor and even some foreign imperialist powers would make every effort not only to frustrate and foil the progressive policies of the UF Government but also to dislodge it from office. Threat, intimidation, violence together with cash would work towards this end. Events in West Bengal have more than established it. Such a combined sinister move by the vested interests and reactionaries can only be defeated by mighty organised movements by the people prepared and organised beforehand under thousands of people's committees, people's own organs of struggle, spread over the entire state. Such an organised popular force is also necessary to keep vigil so that the U.F. Government does not deviate from the accepted programme under pressure by the reactionary forces outside or some parties inside the Government. Fourthly, the thoroughly autocratic action by the Congress Government at the centre and the state Governor in dissolving the U.F. Ministry against all accepted norms and practices has once again established the utter hollowness of parliamentary democracy. It has exposed the true colour of parliamentary system and destroyed the myth that the Government is all-powerful capable of bringing in any measure in the interest of the people, if it so intends and that there is no need for revolution. In fact, the action by the Governor has proved that under capitalism even a popular Government can function so long as it is allowed to function by the permanent organs of the state and their

real master, the ruling capitalist class, the real wielders of state powers. These are in short the experiences of the past. Our people should realise them correctly.

But in spite of all these facts a revolutionary working class party has got to take part in elections and bourgeois parliament and even in a Government under capitalism, if such an opportunity comes to it, so long as the people are not completely freed from parliamentary illusions and grounds for successful revolution are not mature. There are some ultra-lefts in the country, the Naxalite group of 'communists,' who argue that to participate in bourgeois parliament is to practice revisionism and, therefore, have raised the slogan of boycott of elections irrespective of the political situation of the country. This is pure and simple petty-bourgeois revolutionism, an infantile disorder. When, let alone millions of intermediary forces, thousands of industrial workers follow the Congress and harbour parliamentary illusions, when the bulk of the people is not at all clear about the true character of law and order of a capitalist society, when it has not yet been possible for the vanguard of the proletariat to establish in society a sense of militant morality based on the idea that in a class-divided society founded on exploitation everything legal is not necessarily justified and moral and everything illegal in the eye of prevailing law is not always unjustified and immoral, a sense and an outlook necessary to create the social sanction for overthrowing the present capitalist system, when the petty-bourgeois parties have not sufficiently exposed and disgraced themselves before the people through their political bankruptcy and still retain their sway over the majority of the people, when right

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A Note Of Caution To The Big Parties

Do Not Violate Democratic Norms In The Interest Of The Solidarity Of The UF.

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the strongest organisationally in 14 constituencies in relation to all other constituent parties of the UF moving there. We are as strong as any other constituent party in 4 others while we are slightly weaker than the CPI (M) but stronger than other parties in the rest one constituency, namely Kalighat in Calcutta.

Our suggestion to modify the above-mentioned principle of allotment of seats in case of Calcutta and our claim for Kalighat are based on sound logic.

In Calcutta allotment of seats to the constituent parties of the UF should be made not on the basis of constituency-wise organisational strength of the parties but according to organisational strength and mobility of the parties in Calcutta as a whole. On the basis of this principle we can legitimately claim more than one seat in Calcutta. All the parties during bilateral talks accepted this organisational position of ours and time and again agreed that we could legitimately claim at least one seat in Calcutta. We could claim Vidyasagar, Manicktala or Kalighat where we have strong organisational bases. We preferred Kalighat. Because in the other two constituencies there are sitting left M.L.A.'s and we did not like to disturb them.

Thus it is perfectly clear that we filed our claim for 19 seats not arbitrarily but on the basis of our organisational strength. We feel that with UF support we have fair chance of winning most of these seats. In any case the chance of victory is more in our favour because of superior organisational strength of our Party. In course of bilateral talks, as a token of our earnest desire to maintain the unity of the UF, we reduced our claim to 14 seats. It was further reduced to 11, then to 10 and ultimately to 9 which

is our irreducible minimum even though in 14 constituencies claimed by us our Party is organisationally by far the strongest compared to other constituent parties of the UF.

Out of the irreducible minimum of 9 seats finally claimed by us we have been given only seven seats; the 2 others, Canning and Para, have been allotted to Bangla Congress. These two are constituencies of defectors and there is no earthly reason for making a gift of these 2 seats to the Bangla Congress. For, take the case of organisational strength. The Bangla Congress has no organisational strength in these two constituencies. It could not even hold a single meeting in any of these constituencies against the defectors. Our Party had to organise meetings for that. We were agreeable to any method of determining organisational strength of the claimant parties through spot enquiry. We even agreed to accept what Ajoy Babu would say about organisational strength of the concerned parties after spot enquiry. But none of these suggestions was accepted by the Bangla Congress.

Then we said that unless the UF decided, these 2 seats could not automatically go to the Bangla Congress in view of the fact that we have not withdrawn our claim for these 2 seats. We requested the UF to solve the tangle by taking decision in an appropriate manner. The UF did not take any decision in this regard. Without showing any reason it simply said that it could not.

This being the position how could the 2 seats be allotted to the Bangla Congress? It is contended by some that it has been so allotted because of Das Gupta formula. But the Das Gupta formula has never been accepted by the Front; rather

the parties that are thus contending, namely the Bangla Congress and the CPI, went the whole hog to oppose it till recently. If the UF had formally adopted the Das Gupta formula and then on the basis of that formula given the said 2 seats to the Bangla Congress overriding our claim we would have nothing to say in spite of our strong feeling against such a decision. Because in that case the UF would have functioned democratically. But that has not been done. Only when the big three parties came to a mutual understanding between them with regard to allotment of seats the Das Gupta formula was imposed on other constituent parties of the UF as a *fait accompli* without having the formula ever been adopted by the UF. This is against all norms of democratic functioning of a body like the UF. This time such a manoeuvre might have helped the big three parties but it has created a dangerous precedent which in future may work against the very interest of the UF by creating conditions for back-door manipulation.

We strongly feel that great injustice has been done to us. We, therefore, request the UF to please reconsider our case

and allot at least the said 2 defector's seats, Canning and Para, to us. In spite of our strong disapproval of the manner in which the democratic norms of functioning of the UF has been violated, and the unprincipled way of allotting these 2 seats particularly to the Bangla Congress and our strong feeling against the injustice done to us we, however, have decided not to leave the UF but to continue our stay therein. For we still feel that the UF is the only organ of state-wide mass movements here. In the greater interests of development of legitimate democratic mass movements, the solidarity of the UF should not be weakened at this stage.

We cannot but at the same time sound a note of caution to the big parties in the Front to the effect that this solidarity will be weakened if the norms of democratic functioning are violated according to their convenience.

In passing, it must be stated that the UF did not comply with our request to postpone the publication to the press of its list of distribution of seats to the different constituent parties for two days or so on the ground of urgency and extreme shortage of time

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Statement about ownership and other particulars

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

Sd. Sukomal Das Gupta

Social Control Bill

—A Manoeuvre of
Morarji

The demand for the nationalisation of the banking industry by the progressive and democratic section of the people is a long-standing one. The small and middle capitalists have also joined the chorus though their interest is different. At present the big and monopoly capitalists are in full control of the banking industry and hence the small and middle capitalists are at a disadvantageous position in getting necessary credit facilities for running their business and industries. So in order to put an end to this state of affairs this section of the capitalist class is clamouring for the nationalisation of banks.

The progressive and democratic elements, on the other hand are voicing the demand for nationalisation with a view to breaking the total control of the monopoly capitalists over national economy as well as to bring the bank employees out from the clutches of the monopoly capitalists and make the Government fully responsible for them. The Government has been put to constant pressure by a large section of the people, for this just demand. In order to bypass this just demand of the people the heinous Social Control of Bank Bill has been introduced by the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai. According to him nationalisation of banks is not necessary; what is required is to control the credit policy of the banks in such a way as to prevent the growth of monopoly capital. But a close study of the Bill will reveal that the real purpose of this so-called social control is to accelerate the growth of monopoly capital with the help of state patronage on one hand and to curtail the legitimate trade union rights of the bank employees on the other. Attempts have been made to make the state machine a subservient instrument to serve the interests of the monopoly capitalists and give them unlimited power to apply

law of jungle in dealing with the employees and their legitimate demands and struggles.

Now let the measures of the proposed so-called social control to prevent the growth of monopoly capital be examined. In essence these measures are to vest more power in the Reserve Bank of India to control the operation of the private banks and to reconstitute the Board of Directors with certain restrictions on the membership of this Board. But even before this Bill was introduced, the Reserve Bank had this power of control of the operation of the private banks to a certain extent. Every one knows that this power has seldom been exercised by the Reserve Bank. Thus the extension of power of the Reserve Bank will not help in any way in preventing the growth of monopoly capital in India. As regards the reconstitution of Directors' Board, it is stated that no industrialist can be the Chairman of any bank and industrialists shall be minority in this Board. A close analysis will show that these measures are nothing but attempts to hoodwink the people. It is definitely not unknown to Mr. Desai that the reconstitution of the Directors' Board and imposition of some restrictions on the membership of the Board will not serve the desired

purpose. A study of the working of the Companies Act will reveal that instead of checking the growth of monopoly capital, its rate of growth has been accelerated after the introduction of Companies Act. So a man in the street can also conclude that the proposed social control measure will also meet with the same fate as the Companies' Act was done. Even after the introduction of the social control measures the illegal monetary transaction between the bankers and the industrialists will continue. An unholy alliance will develop between the bankers and the industrialists and the total control of the economy will be firmly established. So the professed object of the Bill to prevent the growth of monopoly capital is a hoax.

The real object of the Bill is to take away many of the existing trade union rights of the employees and forcibly crush these struggles. As a matter of fact Mr. Desai has presented a blank cheque to the employers and armed them

BY
R. K. B.

with Draconic powers to launch a massive onslaught on the trade union rights of the bank employees. In the said Bill the following provisions are incorporated in clause 36 AD.

- 36 AD (1) : No person shall
- (a) obstruct any person from entering any office or place of business of a banking company or from carrying on any business there, or
 - (b) hold any demonstration (including shouting of slogans) which is indecent or which amounts to the commission or incitement to the commission of any offence within the precincts of, or inside any building in which the office or place of business of any banking company is situated or within ten metres from any entrance to or exit from such building or
 - (c) act in any manner calculated to undermine the

credit worthiness of any banking company.

(2) Whoever contravenes any provision of sub section (1) without any reasonable excuse be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both.

(3) No court shall take cognisance of any offence punishable under sub section (2) except on a complaint in writing made to it by the Reserve bank or by any person authorised by it in this behalf.

(4) For the purpose of this section Banking Company includes the Reserve Bank, the Industrial Development Bank of India, the State Bank of India and any subsidiary Bank.

The capitalist economy of our country is now crisis-ridden. Crisis is inevitable in capitalist economy. The capitalist class is trying to pass on the entire burden of this crisis on to the shoulders of the employees by resorting to large scale retrenchment and economising the cost of production and establishment through automation etc. The employer of the banking industry are also going to adopt the same tactics and as such they are apprehending organised resistance from the employees to undo their evil designs. So the Government is equipping the employers with necessary powers to deal with the future situation. In order to foil this sinister motive of the Government the bank employers have been united in a body to resist this heinous attempt to curtail their existing trade union rights.

On 28th February last the bank employees observed one day's token strike in protest against this undemocratic and illegal action of the Government. The right to hold demonstration, the right to shout slogans and the right to strike—all these rights are fundamental rights of the bank employees long enjoyed by them. These rights have been acquired by them through many years of struggles and

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Participation In Bourgeois Parliament Is A Necessity So Long As Revolutionary Mass Organisations Remain In Embryonic Forms

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reactionary parties like the Jan Sangh are emerging stronger, when development of mighty democratic movement on an all-India scale is a far cry, when it has not yet been possible to establish an all-national militant leadership parallel to the Congress leadership, when the people are not subjectively and objectively convinced of the necessity of revolution and above all, when the revolutionary mass organisations are in embryonic form of nuclei here and there in small pockets in this vast country to talk that parliamentarism is politically obsolete in our country and to raise the slogan of boycott of election are merely babbling. Every real communist knows that slogan reflects objective reality and not the desire of the party raising the slogan. Clearly in this case these ultra-lefts have mistaken their desire, their ideological-political attitude, for objective reality. This is the most dangerous mistake for a revolutionary. In this connection we remind these comrades of Lenin's advice to the German Left Communists. He said: "Even if not "millions" and "legions" but a fairly significant *minority* of industrial workers follow the Catholic priests, and a like number of rural workers follow the landlord and kulaks (*Grossbauern*), it *undoubtedly* follows that parliamentarism in Germany is *not yet* politically obsolete, that participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle in parliament is *obligatory* for the party of the revolutionary proletariat *precisely* for the purpose of educating the backward strata of *its own class*, precisely for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant peasant masses. As long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and every other type of reactionary institution, you *must* work

inside them, *precisely* because in them there are still workers who are stupefied by the priests and by the dreariness of village life; otherwise you run the risk of becoming mere babblers." (*Left wing Communism, an infantile disorder*) A revolutionary working class party participates in bourgeois parliament precisely for the purpose of carrying the extra-parliamentary movement by the toiling millions into parliament, linking the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of movement together in order to strengthen the latter, giving fillip to mighty mass movements outside, educating the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people about the hollowness of parliamentary democracy and making them convinced through their own experience of the essential necessity of revolution. A revolutionary working class, while moving in parliamentary system whether in the opposition or in the Government, works for this very purpose.

Thus the task of the UF Government shall be to control bureaucracy and police, prevent police from interfering in legitimate democratic mass movements, which it does on plea of maintaining law and order at the instance of vested interests, help the growth and development of mighty movements to introduce such reforms as will give fillip to these movements and secure relief to the people. In passing, it must be said that the stability of the UF Government in the face of attacks by the capitalist class and other vested interests and reactionary forces, bureaucracy and police, the Congress Party, the Congress Government at the centre, the state Governor and foreign imperialist powers, the successful implementation of its agreed programme and the carrying on the day-to-day adminis-

tration in the interests of the people depend on organised mass forces and their organised legitimate democratic movements. To depend solely on bureaucracy for them would be simply suicidal. Hence, it should be the best endeavour of the United Front and the UF Government to form People's Committees with representatives of political parties and mass organisations at all levels, from the district to the Gram Sabha level, in order to mobilise public opinion in favour of the United Front and the UF Government, organise the masses for developing mighty legitimate democratic mass movements aimed at carrying out the agreed programme of the UF Government, defend the UF Government against all conspiracies by the reactionaries to frustrate and foil its progressive policies and to dislodge it from office and keep vigil so that the UF Government does not deviate from its declared path under pressure by vested interests.

But this calls for, as we have already stated, two things—(a) clear-cut policy declaration regarding the UF Govt's attitude towards bureaucracy, the police administration vis-a-vis its attitude towards the legitimate democratic mass struggles and (b) to chalk out the details of the programme in such a way as will be conducive to the growth and development of all forms of legitimate democratic mass struggles against social, political and economic exploitation. So it absolutely depends upon the acceptance of a definitely left-oriented programme instead of being a programme which simply expresses certain vague and pious wishes as the 18-point programme of the last UF Government had been.

Nor should it be such as cannot be achieved in the existing circumstances. It

has been commonly noticed that most of the parties, including some left parties, make tall promises and place programmes containing popular demands unachievable in the present social-political-economic system before the election in order to get more votes which they abandon as soon as the election is over as unpractical. Such a behaviour only worsens the situation. For, this makes the people suspicious of the sincerity and honesty of the left parties, resulting in loss of their confidence in the left parties and consequent frustration among them to the great political advantage of the capitalist class and other reactionary forces and their class parties. The United Front, while drawing up the programme, cannot indulge in such an anti-people game. The programme of the United Front should be based on reality containing concrete measures achievable even in the existing capitalist system but nonetheless a left-oriented programme expressing in concrete terms pro-people i.e. pro-workers and peasants, truly democratic and patriotic outlook towards the masses of the people, their just demands and legitimate democratic movements.

The drawing up of such a real programme is a must for the stability of the United Front and effective functioning as a team of the UF Government. Past experience confirms it. We have earlier stated that last time the UF Government could not function as a team. But why did it happen? The 18-point programme then adopted all on a sudden did not contain concrete and detailed measures to give material shape to the pious wishes expressed therein as policies. So the programme left much room for the different parties constituting the the United Front and the UF Government to interpret it

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It Is Impossible To Be Truly Democratic Being Hostile To The Ideology Of Communism

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in their own respective ways. When the United Front, which is not a homogeneous body but a combination of several parties having different class character and expressing different class outlook and class approach, with the help of Government began to implement the various provisions of the 18-point programme, controversies and conflicts in the understanding of the programme, in framing the correct outlook to carry out the programme and in formulating the concrete measures to give material shape to the provisions could not be avoided. These controversies and conflicts assumed alarming proportions on vital questions like the attitude of the Government towards legitimate democratic mass movements, attitude towards bad employers deliberately closing down or locking out mills and factories with the avowed aim of discrediting the UF Government to the people and foiling its progressive labour policy, attitude towards jotedars, black-marketeers, etc., all out state trading or whole sale state trading of rice and such other questions, with the result that the unity of the Front was badly shaken to the chagrin of the commonmen of West Bengal who expected better performance from the United Front and its Government. To avoid repetition of history this time we must take all possible precaution so that the programme leaves no scope for different interpretations on the same question. This is possible only when the programme contains concrete measures to be implemented expressed in unambiguous terms.

In this connection it cannot but be noted that there are parties in the United Front which are hostile to the ideology of communism and oppose popular struggles on legalistic consideration. We request them to learn from history. In the present era

marked by sharp polarisation of world social forces into two camps—the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism—it is impossible to be truly democratic, even in the sense of liberal bourgeois democracy by being hostile to the ideology of communism. Anti-communism now is historically destined to ultimately push one to the camp of imperialism and make one an enemy of democracy. Look at Chiang Kai-shek. This gentleman, once the right hand man of Sun Yat-sen, father of Chinese nationalism, is a close accomplice of the USA and an enemy of democracy. Anti-communism has pushed him to this position. Turn your eyes to the Indonesian scene. You will find there the same thing. Anti-communism has pushed the present Indonesian rulers on to the lap of the USA, the most reactionary power in the world and the worst enemy of democracy. Similarly, patriotism now demands of everyone to shun hostility to the just class struggles of workers, peasants and other sections of the exploited masses of the people against their respective exploiters and oppressors. To oppose these struggles objectively means to side with the exploiters and oppressors. The United Front cannot take such a stand. And if it takes such a stand then it will have little difference with the Congress, which on the plea of maintaining law and order has been siding with the exploiting class whenever the exploited classes have been waging just struggles against their exploiters and oppressors. The United Front should be clear in mind about it and, hence, its constituent parties must not function from bias against legitimate class struggles of the working people against their exploiters and oppressors or from attitude of hostility to the ideology of communism.

It is generally said that the stability of the last UF Government was imperilled due to defection of some members of the Legislative Assembly from the UF Legislature Party to the Congress. True, it was defection that ultimately provided opportunities to the reactionary forces to dislodge the UF Ministry from office. But one question still remains to be answered. Was it fatalistically inevitable? If not, what were the conditions and factors which ultimately strengthened the hands of the reactionary clique and led to defection? In our opinion, the following factors were responsible for it—(1) lack of organisation even to the minimum extent which is required for the day-to-day functioning of the UF Ministry; (2) failure of the United Front, because of absence of minimum organisations, to provide guidance to the tide of mass movements released since the formation of the UF Government; (3) complete failure to co-relate in a scientific way the Governmental measures to bring about administrative reforms with relief to the people. So while implementing the programme the United Front and the UF Government will have to ensure that these defects do not occur in future.

Then about defection. But why did defection take place? Apart from the three factors mentioned above, defection took place because most of the constituent parties of the United Front did not follow the correct principle of giving nomination to their candidates for election. These parties give nomination to persons having no political antecedent and even to persons with history of anti-people movement and who till yesterday had moved in close liaison with the Congress. There is every possibility of such members defecting to the

Congress after being returned on the United Front ticket. It is true that no scheme can be full proof. But still then honest and sincere attempts should be made by all the constituent parties of the United Front to ensure that no defection can take place in future. And the only way to ensure it to the best possible degree is to give nomination only to those persons who by their participation in legitimate democratic mass struggles have established themselves as tried and tested political workers possessing political honesty and integrity. Persons who have defected from the United Front or shown vacillating tendencies during crisis or worked against legitimate democratic mass movements shall in no case be given nomination. If adoption of this principle of giving nomination means less number of seats to some parties even then these parties in the greater interest of the good name of the United Front and stability of the future UF Government should accept this principle with all sincerity. It is a pity that though our Party is seriously moving for the acceptance of this correct principle of giving nomination to candidates for election, most of the other parties, especially the big parties, are not serious about it. We, in the circumstances, urge upon the people to take up the issue and see that the constituent parties of the United Front accept this principle so that the best possible means to stop defection can be enforced. It is ultimately the people who suffered and will suffer for defection from the United Front. So it is to their interest to make sure that defection does not occur in future. And that requires the acceptance of the above-mentioned principle of giving nomination to

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Organise Militant Movement Of The Bank Employees

(Continued from page 5)

sacrifices. These rights are even conceded in the Indian Constitution. So any attempt to curtail these fundamental rights has got to be resisted with all might and all out support must be extended by all sections of people in this just struggles of the bank employees.

It is gratifying to note that the bank employees have raised the slogan of fighting the advance of monopoly capitalism and fascism in our country. These slogans are very appropriate and reflect the reality in the Indian situation. Because the growth of monopoly capital has been rapid since independence and fascism is rapidly advancing here resulting in the curtailment of democratic rights of the people by systematic legislation of such black Acts as the P. D. Act., D. I. R. etc. The monopoly capitalists are at the helm of affairs and fascism is the last resort of the capitalist class in the present era to save capitalism which is destined to die. The Indian capitalist class is up and doing to save capitalism along the fascist path. So is it not sheer foolishness to seek a progressive section amongst the Indian bourgeoisie as an ally of revolution? The capitalist class as a whole has turned out and out reactionary and it is this class which is to be dislodged from power in order to gain emancipation of the toiling population. To raise the slogan of fight against the growth of monopoly capitalism and fascism while conducting day-to-day struggle and at the same time to propagate the idea of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist people's democratic revolution is the height of confused political thinking. This inconsistency in theory and practice requires immediate correction. And to do it is to understand that our revolution will be anti-capitalist revolution. So all the day-to-day democratic

movements are to be conducted keeping in view the broad strategy of anti-capitalist revolution so that preparation for this anti-capitalist revolution is strengthened by these democratic movements. Each and every movement is part and parcel of the greater movement, the movement for emancipation of the masses. So the success of day-to-day movements does not mean much if it does not help the struggle of liberation of the people from the yoke of

capitalist oppression. As such every struggle is to be synchronised with this struggle of liberation. But this cannot be done if the character of the Indian revolution the correct disposition of social forces is not made. To talk about anti-feudal and anti-imperialist peoples' democratic revolution is to prepare the masses against an imaginary enemy, keeping them unprepared against their real enemy, the capitalist class. It is

fighting a non-existent enemy in the air.

Thus, the main question before the working class movement in our country is to establish correct leadership, the leadership of a genuine revolutionary working class Party. We request the bank employees to consider this question seriously in the context of their struggle against the so-called social control of banks and take proper steps.

Defeat Congress At The Polls

(Continued from page 7)

candidates for election by the constituent parties of the United Front. Our people must try for it.

We all know that the United Front is the sole instrument for developing state-wide mass movements in West Bengal notwithstanding its limitations and weaknesses. There is no other organisation at present that can replace the United Front in this respect. This being the reality, it is the sacred duty and responsibility of each constituent party of the United Front to see that the Front is not disrupted. In the greater interests of developing mighty mass movements, which in other words means the interests of the common men of this state, the unity of the Front should be preserved.

Lastly, it must be understood that unity does not negate the idea of criticism. A party that is really serious and sincere in getting its mistakes corrected never discourage criticism rather it invites criticism from its members as well as from its class and the masses. It has nothing to fear from criticism, if it wants to learn from the people, if it is desirous of its mistakes and defects, it is getting rid of determined to move correctly, if it wants to educate and enlighten the masses and improve their political consci-

ousness. A party that wants to conceal the truth from the people is afraid of criticism. So the constituent parties of the United Front must have the freedom to criticise each other on issues where unanimity cannot be reached. It may however, be conceded that this criticism should be fair in a sense that it is a criticism on the line and policies directed not to discredit and vilify others but to help others in overcoming their mistakes and defects. The blanket ban placed on criticism will do more harm than good to the United Front. It will weaken the very basis of its unity, voluntary conscious discipline mellowed by correct political understanding among the constituent parties of the Front.

We earnestly hope that the constituent parties of the United Front and particularly the people of West Bengal will seriously strive for an all out unity against Congress in the coming election but not for unity's sake alone but for the adoption of a left-oriented programme which alone can reflect peoples interest on the pledge of which the tried and tested comrades of the democratic mass movements should contest the seats distributed on the just basis of organisational strength of respective parties.

Read

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Regularly

(Continued from Page 4)

necessary for making preparations for election campaign. Now that the list has been published there should be no delay in finally selecting the candidates and giving their names out in the Press. For, without final selection of candidates proper election campaign cannot start. The Congress also has published the list of its candidates. The UF can ill afford to lag behind. So we request you to please call a meeting of the UF immediately to finally select the candidates for election.

With revolutionary greetings,

Comradely yours,

NIHAR MUKHERJEE

Secretary,

West Bengal State Committee
S. U. C. I.

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