

## 24th APRIL

### Mammoth Gathering at Calcutta Maidan

#### 22nd ANNIVERSARY OF S.U.C. FOUNDATION

(By A Staff Reporter)

On the occasion of the 22nd foundation anniversary of S.U.C.I. a mammoth meeting was held on 24th of April at the Saheed Minar Maidan, Calcutta. 24th of April is an auspicious day to the toiling masses and they observe this day in a befitting manner. Over three and a half lakhs of people congregated at the Saheed Minar Maidan, which was overflowed and many people went away disappointed for want of space.

Virtually throughout the day streams of people were pouring in from the various districts and from 3.30 P.M. traffic in this metropolitan city came to a standstill due to massive processions converging to the Maidan from all the directions of the city. These processions, with festoons, banners and red flags were observed by thousands of pedestrians and home bound stranded passengers and they heard the repeated slogans like S.U.C. Zindabad, 24th April Zindabad, Socialist revolution Zindabad, Com. Shibdas Ghosh Zindabad etc. After office hours, a large section of the office employees rushed to the Maidan, but much to their disappointment they found the Maidan fully covered and they had to listen to the speeches standing at far distant places, on the Surendra Nath Park and the Maidan opposite the Grand Hotel.

The meeting was presided over by Com. Subodh Banerji and Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the beloved leader, teacher and the General Secretary of our party, S.U.C.I. was the main speaker. The meeting started with the 'International' and then it mourned the death of the great leader of Vietnam, Com. Ho-chi-Min. Another resolution condoling the death of twenty one workers and supporters of S.U.C.I., who fell victim to the attacks of the C.P.I.(M) and Jotedars during the 13 month U.F. rule was adopted. Inaugurating the

meeting Com. Nihar Mukherji, Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of S.U.C.I. congratulated the people of Calcutta and the districts for their all out support to the party and for help both in cash as well as in kind for making this meeting a grand success. After this, leaders of different state units of our party addressed the meeting and congratulating the people of West Bengal, urged them to build up this party, the genuine vanguard of the proletariat. Those who spoke included among others Com. Jnan Singh Choudhury of Haryana, Com. Fateh Singh of Delhi, Com. N. R. Singh of Bihar, Com. S. N. Singh of U.P., Com. Ashit Bhattacharyya of Assam, Com. B. Jena of Orissa and Com. James Joseph of Kerala.

Then the main speaker, Com. Shibdas Ghosh addressed the gathering. In his speech lasting for one hour and forty minutes, Com. Ghosh dealt on many important subjects, which we fail to publish in this issue for want of space; some salient points in his speech are, however, reproduced below. In his speech Com. Ghosh analysed how C.P.I.(M) paid only lip service to class struggle and in reality launched a hate campaign against other constituents of the U.F. and even resorted to violent means with the backing of police administration and the anti-social elements for annihi-

# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA  
(Fortnightly)

Editor-in Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 3  
No. 5

MAY 15, 1970  
FRIDAY

PRICE  
20 P.

lating the other constituent parties of United Front allies and co-fighters in the democratic movement. This narrow sectarian attitude of C.P.M. resulted in the destruction of the internal co-hesion of the United Front. This sectarian policy of destroying the unity of the democratic Front and attempts to annihilate through violence backed by police and administration, the fraternal parties of the U.F., leaving the main enemy to bask in the sun and enjoy the inter-party clashes was mainly responsible for the creation of an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust amongst the constituents of the U.F. and disintegration of the Front. Being exasperated the Bangla Congress decided to leave the Front, which was certainly politically most unwise, and objectively helped the C.P.M.'s attempt to break the Front.

In course of his speech, Com. Ghosh also referred to the prevailing confusion regarding militant movement vis-a-vis revolutionary movement. He said that the leaders were able to create this confusion because of the low standard of the political cadres of the country. Otherwise it would not have been difficult to understand that had the militancy alone been the yardstick of revolutionary movement, Hitler would have been considered the greatest revolutionary of the world. People should realise that not only the revolutionaries

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### Dholai Bye-election, Assam

(By A Staff Reporter)

Very recently a bye-election was held in the Cachar district of Assam. It was caused by the death of an independent M.L.A. In the bye-election which was held on the 19th April, 1970, our party, the S. U. C. I. candidate Com. Suresh Ch. Chowdhury was actually engaged in a straight fight against the Congress. The Congress party having taken serious alarm at the growing strength of the party in the state concentrated all their resources. It seemed that on the eve of the 1972 general election the Congress regarded this bye-election as a struggle for survival. In their frantic bid to check the growth of the S.U.C. in Cachar they got all out support and backing of the leading money-bags of the state; all reactionary forces and the vested interest along with the whole administrative machinery rallied behind the Congress.

It is important to note that in this straight fight against the Congress (R) although the S.U.C.I. got support of the leftist parties like the C.P.I. the R.S.P. and some other leftist mass organisations, the C.P.I.(M)'s role was intriguing. At the very beginning it refused to support our candidate and later on under the pressure of the progressive-minded people it came out with a leaflet which in very vague general terms criticised Congress (R) and then elaborated the misdeeds and anti-people acts" of

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## C.P.M.'s Role of Disrupting the Unity of Democratic Front mainly Destroyed U.F.

The fall of U.F. Govt. in West Bengal after Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee tendered his resignation from Chief Ministership and the subsequent promulgation of President's rule in this State has not only dealt a severe blow to the democratic movements of the State but has also left the people in complete bewilderment. The confusion and shock of the people is deeper as they think that even though the U.F. had secured a very comfortable majority in 1969 election, and the U.F. Govt. was expected to continue for the full term of five years it had been dissolved within a very short period due to disruption of internal cohesion of the U.F. In 1967 when the first U.F. Govt. was overthrown the picture was somewhat different as the U.F. then had only a slender majority in the Assembly and defection and other factors had considerably weakened it. But in the present case, such a premature expiry of the U.F. Govt. which had to its credit, an overwhelming majority, cannot but call for serious probings which had led the U.F. to such an unfortunate end.

Some people may think and some parties of the U.F. are also indirectly focussing such an opinion that the U.F. Govt. could not exist because the U.F. itself, which ran the administration consisted of 14-different political parties having different and even opposite political views and outlook. It is these differences in their outlook and ideology which created trouble in the functioning of the U.F. and ultimately had broken up the Govt. We think that such an idea is erroneous. At the time of formation of the U.F., it was known that the various front partners had different political ideologies—some may believe in peaceful way of transition to socialism, others, in non-peaceful way; some party holds that the strategy of Indian revolution is People's Democratic revolution others, Socialist revolution. But whatever might be the differences in the respective political ideologies, every party, be it revolutionary or otherwise,

has felt that since it cannot alone, unilaterally lead the entire democratic sections of people for fulfilling their various economic demands and political objectives because of its relative organisational weakness at present vis-a-vis the main enemy viz. the ruling capitalist clique, the jotedars, the bureaucracy and other vested interests, formation of U.F. is a historical necessity for combining the various democratic forces and conducting the legitimate

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mass movements against the main enemy. So when these parties combined and formed the U.F. if any party entertained such a view that this unity prohibited any difference or struggle within the Front then such a view was completely wrong. Differences were sure to crop up while formulating certain policies, arriving at certain decisions and even while implementing those decisions. The point had not

been that the differences would not arise within the Front. The real point was how to resolve these differences keeping in view the unity of the U.F. and strengthening it, as the only available instrument of democratic mass struggle against the main enemy. Here in this regard our party gave its view clearly on innumerable occasions and even in our last concrete proposal giving guidelines for the functioning of U.F. as "one body" and cabinet as "one man" said that "it is not these differences that have created the present problem; rather it is the lack of understanding as to how to resolve these differences and for that how to conduct ideological discussions and struggles in various ways keeping at the same time the functioning of the Govt. the U.F., and the united struggles outside intact. We, the constituents of the U.F. could not develop this practice, the practice of conducting ideological struggle among ourselves and at the same time maintaining unity in our fight against the common enemy. Because most of the constituent parties have not only failed to differentiate the nature of the conflict between the U.F. as a whole and its common enemy from the nature of the conflict among the constituent parties themselves centring round their differences in approach and angularity as to how to implement the 32-point programme but also confused the nature of the latter conflict with that of the former one. As a result struggle among the constituents very often took the form of physical assault, violence etc., as if it was a struggle against the enemy. Any attempt to resolve these two different struggles in the same method, being guided by the same outlook, is sure to create trouble and this is exactly

what is happening .... Theories and ideologies cannot be combated with physical violence. And no party should take recourse to it. If it is so, then what is there to be afraid of in conducting ideological struggles? When we even being a small party are not afraid of such struggle, then why a big party should be when they are professing to be correct? No party, big or small, should be afraid of ideological struggle but at the same time they must feel it to be their bounden duty to preserve unity in the united struggle against the common enemy."

Now let us consider whether the parties which are propagating a view that it is because of serious ideological differences within the front and as a result of intensification of class struggle, the crisis within the U.F. developed leading to its rupture—are right to say so. We have observed that the two major constituents of U.F. namely C.P.M. and Bangla Congress whose conflict became the sharpest at a later stage of development of U.F.—their conflict did not originate from any ideological differences on any question of policy or principle. When C.P.M. Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu increased the budget on his police department whose function is to serve the existing exploiting capitalist system, Bangla Congress did not oppose it. When the C.P.M. leader sent the police, on the plea of maintaining law and order, or complying with court's order, to crush the legitimate movement of the workers and to release manufactures from employer's godowns, Bangla Congress still did not oppose it. Bangla Congress along with C.P.M. disapproved the move of some other front partners, for reduction of land

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## Differences within Front need to be Resolved on Unity-Struggle-Unity Basis

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ceiling. Innumerable such instances can be cited like posting of police camps in 24-Parganas, Birbhum and other districts to crush the legitimate movements of the poor peasantry, issuing of new licenses for opening up wine shops etc. where Bangla Congress did not raise any slightest objection to C.P.M. It is rather some other front partners which opposed C.P.M. on these issues, but they did not leave the front. So the contention of some parties that it is due to ideological difference that the crisis developed within the front and Bangla Congress ultimately left U.F. does not correspond with the actual reality. Rather during the first U.F. regime Bangla Congress had some serious objection regarding the implementation of labour policy which our Party had followed through the then Labour Ministry. But this time no such ideological difference had occurred on the question of labour policy, and the handling of C.P.M.'s last Labour Ministry was conducted in such a way that it did not evoke any sharp class antagonism of the vested clique which was noticed in the first U.F. regime.

What then actually created the crisis of the U. F. and completely destroyed the internal solidarity of the front? Our party views that it is due to the constant use of the administrative machinery, specially the police for petty party interest, repeated unilateral violations of U. F. accepted decisions, ceaseless provocation and incitement of their cadres and supporters by raising the bogey of 'class struggle' against the constituent parties of the U. F. the allied forces in the democratic movement, keeping in abeyance the struggle against the main class enemy, and

above all continued atrocities perpetrated on the workers of U. F. partners with the help of police, and systematic slander and malicious propaganda against them—all these have contributed towards the disruption of the internal cohesion of the United Front and deterioration in the mutual relationship as a result of which the unity and solidarity of the U. F. has ultimately broken.

It seems that C. P. M. and other parties which directly or indirectly contributed towards the disruption of the front have failed to grasp the real significance of the U. F. It is the only available instrument for developing the democratic mass struggles defending the democratic rights of the people against the offensive of the right reactionary forces in the country at present. So the failure of the U. F. both in Kerala and West Bengal not only means a terrible setback for the democratic mass movement, as the democratic forces become disunited and tremendous frustration creeps in over the toiling masses, but it also paves the way for the emergence of the reactionary forces to crush the legitimate movements of the people and obliterate revolutionary party and organisation. So to keep the unity of the U. F. and further strengthen it against the main enemy is the fundamental task at the moment for every democratic and revolutionary party and organisations. It is only through intensification of democratic mass movements launched on various democratic issues and isolation of the influence of other left parties over the masses by means of ideological struggle that a revolutionary party firmly establishes its ideological and organisational leadership and only then the historical significance of the

present U. F. becomes exhausted. But such an outlook and approach on U. F. is not reflected in the activities of C. P. M. and other parties which indirectly helped disrupting the front. To these forces, U. F. is nothing but a political exigency to exploit for narrow party ends. The manner in which the U.F. administration was used by some parties, particularly by C. P. M., for petty party ends and provocative activities against constituent parties indulged in, clearly reveal that if the U. F. breaks as a result of petty sectarianism it is not at all any deep concern of these parties. Their only concern is to see that responsibility for breaking the U. F. does not fall on them. The eagerness with which they kept themselves busy to prove who had actually wrecked the U. F., the same eagerness was not reflected in their attitude to find out ways to protect the unity of the U. F. Such a narrow and limited understanding of U. F. and selfish, irresponsible act of some parties have brought the U. F. to such an unfortunate end.

C. P. M. not only pursued highly provocative and petty sectarian policies which created mutual distrust and rift within the front, but even at the last moment, when we along with some other constituent parties, were trying our utmost to save the unity of the front, C. P. M. did not co-operate with us and put forward any effective and concrete proposal for restoration of the front. Not only they did not take any measure to mend their behaviour and restore the front but also instigated their workers against those front constituents who were sincerely attempting for restoring the front by levelling a false charge of conspiracy of "formation of mini-front" against them.

Despite their hostile attitude towards our party, we even agreed that after C. P. M.'s sincere bid to revive U. F. by removing its erring outlook and method, if Bangla Congress did not respond to this attempt at restoration of U. F. then we were ready to consider the proposal for restoring U. F. minus the Bangla Congress. But it is specially because of C. P. M.'s adamant attitude, not to rectify itself and create the proper climate for restoration of U.F. that all our attempts for such restoration and saving the people of this state from the curse of the imposition of President's rule ultimately failed.

In this regard we cannot but mention the utter inconsistency which was noticed in the various political stands of C.P.M. regarding U.F. While C.P.M. raised hue and cry against an imaginary formation of "mini-front Govt." they themselves made frantic effort to form such a 'mini-front' and foist a minority Govt. on the people even against popular will with the help of Governor Mr. Dhavan. This incident glaringly proved that the craze for power of these so-called Marxist revolutionary (!) leaders had developed to such an extent that they were frantically attempting to occupy the Govt. office through any means without having least concern for the critical political issue of defending people's interest and the unity of the democratic movement. And for its fulfilment and clinging to Govt. office by any method they tried to cause defection from other parties at any cost—the practice which is deplored even in bourgeois politics. And although they themselves were mainly and indirectly responsible for the imposition of President's rule

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## COM. SHIBDAS GHOSH'S ILLUMINATING SPEECH ON UNITED FRONT POLITICS

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but also the rabid enemies of revolution, the Fascists took recourse to militant movement. Hence the point is not militancy as such of which C.P.M. leaders had been waxing eloquent, but one of revolutionary militancy, militancy led by revolutionary ideas under the leadership of a genuine Communist party.

“While discussing on C.P.M.'s strategy of People's Democratic Revolution Com. Ghosh said that in their strategy for anti-imperialist, anti-feudal People's Democratic Revolution, not only the rich peasants i.e. the Jotedars but also the national non-big bourgeoisie was an ally according to them. If the Bangla Congress is a party of Jotedars even then according to this political stand of the C.P.I.(M), it would be an ally even for the overthrow of the present state through Peoples' Democratic Revolution propagated by them. This, being the position, what stood in the way of unitedly working

in the Front which is not a Front for the capture of power, but a Front for developing democratic movements, raising them to higher levels and creating conditions for revolutionary preparedness? To talk of class based Front as the C.P.I.(M) leadership had been doing was simply nonsense since every Front was a class Front in a class divided society. So, when the leaders spoke of class based Front, they meant a different Front, perhaps a Proletarian United Front which is against their political line of People's Democratic Revolution. Besides these leaders had been saying that the compromising parties had been isolated from the masses and the masses have come under the political and organisational leadership of C.P.I.(M). This meant that parliamentary illusion had been removed from the mass mind, that masses had been politically and organisationally, organised under the C.P.I.(M) and that the subjective and objective condition for seizure of power had been created,—

assuming that C.P.I.(M) is a revolutionary working class party, the claim the C.P.I.(M) leadership had been making. In such a situation the slogan would have been seizure of political power but C.P.I.(M) leadership has raised the slogan of a fresh mid-term election within six weeks. There can be no better example of political inconsistency of blowing hot and cold in the same breath.

Addressing the Naxalites Com. Ghosh said that among them were creams of the society and their devotion and dedication could not be doubted; but he deplored that these people were misguided. Com. Ghosh then contrasted the conditions of pre-revolutionary China with those prevailing in India as a result of which Chinese strategy of revolution was inapplicable to India.

The following main resolution on present political situation was adopted.

### MAIN RESOLUTION

“The common people of our country, who, being

thoroughly fed up and frustrated by the long spell of Congress misrule for 22 years shook off the Congress in the Fourth General Election and ushered in non-Congress Governments in various states, and especially in West Bengal where they installed two successive United Front Governments in 1967 and 1969, have witnessed with utter shock and frustration the ignoble fall of the United Front Government in West Bengal in spite of its overwhelming majority in the legislature, which has come as a severe blow to the entire democratically conscious people and to the legitimate democratic movements of the common people.

“This meeting is of the view that in the present stage of democratic movement in India where not a single party is able to contain on its own strength the combined, reactionary forces of the Congress, Jan Sangh, Swatantra and other parties on the one hand and the capitalists, jotedars and the bureaucracy



Com. Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary S. U. C. I. Addressing a Mammoth Gathering

etc. on the other, the only answer to the problem of building up, developing and strengthening step by step the legitimate democratic movements of the masses is the United Front. There can be no denying this truth, this objective reality.

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"This meeting holds the view that since the rupture in the U. F. has been caused not over any question of principle the C. P. I. (M) must, in the interest of mass movements, take the initiative and the leading role in the matter of rectifying past mistakes, give up its policy of disrupting unity and spreading hatred and, with a view to bringing about a sense of confidence in the minds of all, accept the very constructive proposals put forward by the S. U. C. and other parties. If the C.P.I.(M) decides to come forward in this way to the path of rectifying itself, the Bangla Congress too shall undoubtedly have to give up its present obdurate stance and the United Front of 14 Parties will have to be revived and this instrument of mass struggle

after being freed of its defects and errors, has to be developed anew and consolidated. For this meeting notes that in the perspective of a mid-term election, both the C. P. I. (M) and the Bangla Congress have admitted the necessity of forming a Front and have both expressed the view that no one party will be able to win a *bsolute* majority single-handed, which incidentally is the actual reality, then it can be taken as a foregone conclusion that there will have to be again a U. F. Govt., for the simple reason that the Congress stands no chance of coming back. Hence this meeting is firmly of the view that if it be possible to revive the 14-Party U. F., the mid-term poll can be avoided and wastage of lakhs of rupees of the exchequer (which is extorted from the people) can be avoided and common people can be spared the needless waste of time and energy. Because of this consideration this meeting calls upon the people to come forward and to mount pressure upon all the political parties concerned and force them to move forward with the imperative objective of bringing into existence again the 14-Party United Front. But if the programme of reviving the U. F. should ultimately end in failure because of the false

sense of prestige on the part of the concerned constituent parties, then in view of the fact that the undemocratic Presidential Rule can under no circumstances be supported for long, and which apart from causing other dangers and harms, does only strengthen the right wing reactionary forces, this meeting therefore, resolves that in that eventuality the President's Rule shall have to be withdrawn and recourse to mid-term election taken without delay.

"This meeting also notes with grave concern that right on the heels of the fall of the U. F. Government and imposition of President's Rule, the police, jotedars and capitalists have instantaneously combined and started their onslaught upon the workers, peasants and common people in different districts of this state with a view to robbing them of the gains earned during the regime of the U. F. Government. Already, in the districts of 24-Parganas, Birbhum, Purulia, Murshidabad etc, attack on S.U.C. workers and supporters by way of indiscriminate arrest, implicating them in false cases and armed attacks by police, jotedars and anti-socials has been launched. This meeting records its pride and satisfaction at the powerful mass-movements that grew up during the U. F. rule for the recovery of 'Benami' land and at the achievements

of the landless peasants, who after oppression, exploitation and suffering for ages, have succeeded as a result of those struggles in winning back lakhs of acres of 'benami' land. But this meeting is convinced that it is because of the failure to legally regularise during 13 long months the distribution of the land among the peasants already effected that the present uncertainty on the question of the preservation of the right of the common peasants on these lands has arisen. This meeting while taking a firm resolve to build up a strong united movement to defend the gains and rights earned by the landless peasants on the one hand and workers and employees on the other, also records its profound sense of disappointment and dissatisfaction over the failure of the U. F. Govt and the C.P.I.(M) leadership to grant prompt recognition to the demands of State Govt. employees for repeal of C. C. R. and Service Conduct Rules.

"This meeting calls upon the people to build up a strong and wide mass movement against police repressions and to defend and preserve the successes achieved during the regime of the United Front".

Also a resolution on Vietnam was adopted condemning the U. S. aggression on Vietnam and hailing the heroic struggle of the Vietnam liberation fighters.



at Sahid Minar Maidan Calcutta on 24th of April, S. U. C. Foundation Day.



## C.P.M.'s Politics—A Chain of Errors and Inconsistencies

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through their ill-considered political steps, they were telling the people diplomatically like bourgeois politicians with a view to conceal their own misdeeds to their honest cadres and supporters that the only motive which impelled them to try for such a "mini-front Govt." was to avoid President's rule.

Without taking any concrete initiative and necessary steps as should have been done by a real revolutionary party for the purpose of defending the U.F. as an instrument of struggle for the democratic movements, the C.P.M. instead, simply raised slogan against an imaginary conspiracy of breaking the U.F. which was nothing but a mere political hoax to hoodwink the masses. Even apart from these, they made utterly false and self-contradictory statements to confuse the public opinion. At first they stated that if the dissolution of U.F. eventually took place, there should be no attempt for forming a mini-front and a fresh people's verdict should be sought. And just after a few days, keeping a loof the issue of people's verdict (perhaps noticing the public mood) they themselves began telling with an innocent face precisely to confuse the people.—"Why the U.F. should break even if one party (i.e. Bangla Congress) leaves it?" As if their relationship with the other front partners were quite good and they had been able to maintain unity and solidarity with them; simply Bangla Congress had left. The C.P.M. leaders perhaps though that the people of West Bengal and the workers and supporters of democratic struggles were nothing but fools. As such, they were making some vain attempts to convince the population of this State in various methods and through false propaganda that after the departure of Bangla Congress,

those Marxist-Leninist, Communist, democratic, leftist and Socialist parties of the U.F. which did not agree to participate in the Govt. led 'exclusively and arbitrarily' by C.P.M. were nothing but lackeys of Bangla Congress.

Is it not also true that the activities of C.P.M. and day-to-day behaviour of its leaders stand in sharp contradiction with their accepted party thesis? The well-known political line of C.P.M. is People's Democratic Revolution, necessitating the formation of a People's Democratic Front. The forces which will constitute this Front are working class and poor peasantry as its core, and the national bourgeoisie and rich peasantry as its vacillating ally. So it is obvious that not only at this stage of democratic mass movement, but also at a higher stage of their so-called People's Democratic revolution, the C.P.M. is expected to develop an alliance with the rich peasants, meaning the jotedars who will continue to remain as an allied force of C.P.M. even upto a very long period. In a recent Polit Bureau resolution of C.P.M. also, while commenting on Bangla Congress, it has been clearly stated that the political role of Bangla Congress has not yet exhausted in the present phase of the democratic movement of the country. Later on the C.P.M. leader Mr. Jyoti Basu even at a time of grave crisis within the Front has publicly said that not to speak of other parties, his party does not consider even Bangla Congress as a party of jotedars, otherwise they would not have formed an alliance with Bangla Congress in the Front. Of course, we do not find any reason whatsoever, as to their difficulty for the formation of a Front with Bangla Congress when according to their thesis the rich peasants, meaning the

jotedars, are not only considered an ally in the democratic movement, but also they are supposed to be an ally, although vacillating, in their so-called People's Democratic revolution. Leaving aside this issue, from the statement of Mr. Jyoti Basu and also from C.P.M.'s Polit Bureau resolution it can be concluded that the C.P.M. thinks that Bangla Congress is not a party of jotedars, has not yet lost its progressive democratic character and is undoubtedly an ally of the democratic Front. But the manner in which C.P.M. behaved in the U.F. with the different front partners making them hostile, disgusted and exasperated and all in the name of their so-called "class struggle", unmistakably showed that the C.P.M. approached the other Front partners as if they were their main enemy and thus provided an opportunity for the main enemy to remain in perfect peace. When such is their behaviour, then where lies the validity of their own accepted party thesis? Does it not clearly indicate that their daily activity and conduct of their leaders are not at all in any conformity with their own accepted thesis, the basic guideline to action?

Furthermore, Mr. Promode Dasgupta's latest thesis of 'class-based Front' is a glaring piece of self-contradiction and complete muddle-headedness. When according to Marxism-Leninism, in a class divided society, any political Party, any Front, any thinking, is a class Party, a class Front and a class thinking, then Mr. Promode Dasgupta has definitely not uttered this word 'class-based Front' in that general context. In our opinion, the conditions in which the class-based Front emerges after the historical necessity of a multi-party democratic Front has been exhausted are that the broad section of the toiling masses

have been completely freed from the influence of all the petty bourgeoisie pseudo-revolutionary, social-democratic parties and have accepted the leadership of the revolutionary working class party, and also that the great majority of the people which exist in between the main forces of revolution on one hand and the enemies of revolution on the other have either come over on the side of revolution or have been made paralysed—only under these circumstances when a United Front is established on the closest alliance of the working class, the agricultural labourers and the peasantry under the leadership of the revolutionary working class party, then such a Front can be designated as Proletarian United Front or a 'class-based Front.' Of course this concept of Proletarian United Front is consistent with Socialist revolution. And this Front can only emerge when the intensity of the democratic movement reaches at a higher level than the present stage and the great majority of the people have been made free from parliamentary illusion as a result of which the various pseudo-leftist and pseudo-socialist parties lose their ideological influence and effectivity over the toiling masses. The development of such a situation implies that all the democratic mass movements should now be pushed to a higher level and streamlined to the struggle for seizure of power. But Mr. Promode Dasgupta, while on one hand was spelling out his new thesis of 'class-based Front' which indicates the situation which is ripe for an insurrection, also in the same breath demanded mid-term poll within six weeks—is it not an example of utter contradiction? What a sad end of Marxism-Leninism in the hands of these so-called Communist leaders!

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**KERALA****Statement of State Organising Committee of S.U.C.I.**

The Kerala State Organising Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India has issued the following statement :

"We are constrained to note that the Chief Minister Mr. Achutha Menon in course of his criticism against the Government Employees' mass casual leave movement has said that the Government employees may have their democratic right of struggle with their own demands but should not take part in politics directly lest it may disturb administration.

"Mr. Menon, the Chief Minister and a leader of the C. P. I. has not said anything than what the service rules say. But everybody knows that the present service rules are the remnants of the past British Colonial rule in India and our people so long struggled to change these rules and democratise them in conformity with the democratic principles of life which suggest right of the employees of having political opinion. What to speak of a Communist Party, even a Democratic Party cannot but support this right of the employees. Congress, being the most dependable political party of the ruling capitalist class of India negated this right of the employees. People supported the U. F., as against the Congress, with a hope that it would at least allow democratic right to all sections of the people, guarantee democratic environment and help to grow and develop democratic mass movement in the country.

"Everybody knows that callousness, indifference, dishonesty and finally corruption grow in the society not because of politics. But on the contrary, they grow due to

the very lack of political consciousness and sense of social obligation. Every student of social science knows that the above said vices grow due to the system and the struggle for changing the existing system can only imbibe the masses with a new sense of morality. But this does not come without political consciousness and conviction. So it is political consciousness which can alone bring back new sense of morality, honesty, sincerity, social obligation and patriotism among our employees and the masses. Therefore the stand of the Chief Minister, Mr. Achutha Menon is thoroughly against the democratic sentiments of our people. We demand to the Government to immediately democratise the service rules and call upon the people of Kerala in general and the employees in particular to mobilise opinions for changing the service rules.

"We are also very much aggrieved to see that the Police has been used to suppress democratic struggles of different sections of the masses, both during the Nambudiripad Ministry and also by the present Ministry. The only exception with the Nambudiripad Ministry was that he did not use police where the movement was organised by his own party. The people defeated the Congress and supported the U. F. surely not with the hope that it would bring socialism or solve the fundamental problems of life. We know that so long capitalism exists fundamental problems of life cannot be solved by merely

changing the Government or through reforms. In a capitalist country like ours where capitalist exploitation is the cause of these fundamental problems of life, an anti-capitalist socialist revolution can only solve these problems of life by freeing the society from exploitation of man by man, and such a revolution can only grow when democratic environment is ensured and democratic movements are growing. The people supported the U. F. with a hope that unlike the Congress it will at least take a pro-people attitude and will not allow the Police to interfere into the legitimate democratic struggles of the masses and thereby will ensure democratic environment in the country, conducive to the growth and development of revolutionary movement and social progress.

"In India 'the policy of non-interference of Police into the legitimate and democratic struggles of the masses' was for the first time advanced by the Socialist Unity Centre of India, the only genuine working class revolutionary party of the country and afterwards was accepted by the other constituent parties of the West Bengal, U. F. and the U. F. Government. But in Kerala neither the Nambudiripad Ministry nor the Achutha Menon Ministry has introduced this policy so long. On the contrary both these Ministries used Police in the name of maintaining so-called 'law and order' (which protects the interest of the exploiters against the vast majority of the exploited) only to suppress the democratic struggles of the masses. We vehemently condemn the use of Police for suppressing the legitimate democratic mass movements and demand to the Government to immediately accept and introduce the policy of 'non-interference of Police into the legitimate democratic movements of the masses'. We also call upon the people of Kerala to mobilise opinion in favour of this demand."

**X' Ray on U.F.**

(Continued from page 6)

Regarding the question of general breakdown of law and order during the period of last U. F. rule our party completely disagrees with the observation of Bangla Congress. We rather think that despite some excesses in the agricultural movement here and there, the organised militant struggle of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry, who were for centuries being oppressed by the rural vested clique along with the help of police, had been in the main directed in the right way and earned certain gains through democratic means for toiling section of the peasantry. Here to have a proper outlook on what should be our approach to the question of law and order and democratic mass movement, we are quoting from the Speech of our great leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh, delivered on 24th April, 1967, for its tremendous importance.

"In conducting mass movements it is necessary to have the outlook perfectly clear on certain points. Every student of ethics and jurisprudence knows that what is legal may not be always justified and moral. Similarly everything illegal in the eye of law is not necessarily unjustified, illegitimate and immoral..... It should be realised that in a capitalist society to depend on law and law alone will not deliver any good to the people. Because whatever is legal is not necessarily justified, moral and humanistic. It is more true in a capitalist society of the present day where order has become injustice."

It is very unfortunate that the then Land and Revenue Minister Mr. Hare Krishna Konar, a leader of C. P. M. who speaks so eloquently about their supposed class struggle did not make

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**BIHAR****Birla Employees resist Govt.-  
Employer offensive**

Com. Prithish Chanda, Secretary, All India Committee, U. T. U. C. (Dharmatalla) has issued the following statement to the Press.

"The workers of C. E. Morton & Co., a Birla concern at Marhowrah under Chapra district of Bihar have been in the midst of grim struggle against the management-Government combine.

"The company is a complex of engineering, sugar and food staff industries. The workers have taken to the path of militant struggle for reinstatement of 38 retrenched workers, implementation of the Wage Board Award in engineering and sugar as well as Profit sharing Bonus in all the three concerns.

"Before being pushed to strike struggle, the S.U.C.-led U. T. U. C. affiliated union tried to settle the issues through negotiations. The efforts were foiled by the precipitate action of the management when it came out with dismissal notices against 58 workers in November, last year and as a result of their militant struggle which drew wide scale support from the struggling people, the D. M. had to intervene. An agreement was reached whereby all the 58 dismissed workers were reinstated and it was made perfectly clear in the said agreement that there would be no victimisation.

"But the topmost monopolist management had scant regard for agreement. It again served dismissal notices against 40 of those workers in clear violation of the agreement in March, this year. Under the circumstances, the workers were left with no other choice but to go on general strike from 19th March, 1970 which is still

continuing peacefully. The workers under the banner of U.T.U.C. launched, in defence of their jobs, mass fasting programme near the gate, and the supporting hartal call in Marhowrah Town was a complete success. But the Birlas instead of settling the dispute amicably made further attack on the workers in the form of victimisation of the union officials. Faced with the determined resistance of the workers the management declared lock-out of all the three concerns on 7th April, 1970 and simultaneously Police repressions were let loose. 45 (Forty five) leaders, leading workers including Sri Amar Pandey, Secretary, U. T. U. C. Bihar State Committee and member of the State Committee, S.U.C.I. were arrested and their bails were refused. Meanwhile the whole of Marhowrah township has been literally converted into an armed police concentration camp under four magistrates. 144 cr.p.c. is still in force in the whole of the township.

"Undaunted by this unprecedented deployment of armed police forces and intensive vile propaganda of the management the workers trekked 50 miles on foot and all the way to stage a massive demonstration before the Patna Bidhan Sabha. Sri Daroga Rai, Chief Minister, at first refused to meet but later came to advise the worker to change the S. U. C. I. leadership from the union. It is good to remember that Sri Daroga Rai was once the leader of a union of these workers but he has since been rejected by them

due to his anti-working class role.

"The bureaucracy is also playing its subservient role. The Labour Commissioner, Bihar, himself convened two conciliation meetings but did not attend those meetings, presumably under the influence of the Chief Minister. The Daroga Rai Ministry is lending all possible support to the management in a bid to crush the legitimate struggle of the workers even with the help of armed police.

"The press is obliging the monopolist management by giving wide publicity to the canard against the leadership and workers of the union. It has been alleged by management that workers resorted to subversive activities but on personal spot enquiries by me they were found to be baseless and motivated.

"We cannot, at the same time, fail to mention peculiar attitude of the Bihar C. P. I. & P. S. P. in their continued support to the anti-working-class policy of the Daroga Rai Ministry. It is really regrettable that C. P. I.-led Bihar State A.I.T.U.C. leaders did not agree even to accompany us in a joint deputation to the Chief Minister nor their M. L. A's, without whose support the Daroga Rai Ministry cannot exist for a single day, had any time to raise a single voice of protest against the intervention of armed police in legitimate trade union movement during the last session of the Assembly.

"We appeal to the struggling people in general and employees of Birla Concerns in particular to extend their fullest support to the valiant workers of Morton & Co. We further appeal to the political parties extending support to Daroga Rai Ministry to put pressure on the ministry so that it can retrace its vindictive steps and force the Birlas to stop their unfair labour practices."

**X' Ray on U.F.**

(Continued from page 7)

any such legislation within 13 months of U. F. rule to regularise the 'benami' land recovered and occupied by the peasantry. With the promulgation of President's rule, which is nothing but an indirect rule of Congress, a virulent attack of the jotedars and other vested interests along with police has been launched on the poor peasantry. Large scale arrests of fighting peasants and political workers, assaults and violence of police on innocent people are assuming larger proportions and a move of conspiracy of the ruling class, the jotedars and the bureaucracy against the people is already afoot to take away the gains of the people, however limited, earned during the last U.F. rule. The task for restoring the old U.F. has appeared as more urgent, for ending the President's rule and safeguarding the democratic rights already achieved by the people and extending those rights through intensification of mass struggles. We appeal to the democratically conscious people of this State to mount an effective pressure on the various U.F. constituents for the restoration of the erstwhile U.F. with an assurance to rectify itself from its past mistakes, failing which an immediate mid-term poll, as the only alternative, should be held for saving the people from the curse of President's rule.

**DHOLAI BYE-ELECTION**

(Continued from page 1)

S.U.C.I. in West Bengal). In the concluding paragraph instead of asking the people to vote for the S.U.C. candidate, rather called upon them to vote according to "conscience". It is heartening to note, however, that this sectarian, narrow-minded and anti-people attitude of the C.P.I. (M) received the unequivocal condemnation of the progressive forces who condemned it as an act of utter betrayal.