

# Recent Mid-Term Election in Kerala

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India and our beloved leader and teacher, has released the following statement on the recent mid-term election in Kerala.

On the 17th September last Kerala went to the polls for the eighth time after the independence of the country. Now that the results of the election are out and the fates of the contesting parties settled for the time being, it is meet and proper that the whole situation should be reviewed scientifically so as to find out the mistakes committed, rectify them and proceed correctly for the development of united democratic mass movements.

Our Party has started functioning in Kerala recently. During the short period of our work there it has not been possible for us to create solid extensive mass base. With no illusion about our organisational strength in Kerala we made a token participation in last mid-term election. Our candidate, Com. Kochi Cherukan, contested from the Eravipuram constituency. There was no question of winning the seat. But we felt that a political ideological campaign, in order to expose the reactionary character of the different wings of the Congress, the Congress (R), Congress (O) and Kerala Congress and the thoroughly opportunistic policies of the CPI(M), CPI and other so-called left parties as also to propagate as far as possible the correct proletarian revolutionary politics of the SUCI, we should at least put up a token fight in the election. This limited objective of ours has been fulfilled to a certain extent. We could reach so many people and explain to them our stand, at a time when their mind was more or less responsive to all the contestants.

The people of Kerala and other parts of the country

have gained an unique experience in the mid-term election in that tiny state. It has given them an opportunity to judge by their own experience the real colour of the so-called communist parties under revolutionary facade and test once again the correctness of our reading about these parties. Whatever may be the opinion of different sections of the people about the C. P. I., C.P.I.(M), R.S.P., S.S.P. etc., the people are all agreed on one point, namely that with the ultimate aim of *anyhow* winning more seats these political parties entered into all sorts of unprincipled alliances, adjustments and understandings in the last mid-term election in Kerala in utter disregard of the interest of the people and the legitimate democratic mass movement. And the worst part of it is that all this had been done in the name of fighting reaction and defending people's interests. The real interest of the people has actually been thrown into the winds by what they have done in Kerala.

To illustrate, the C.P.I.-led Front entered into an alliance with the Congress (R). The C.P.I. and other constituents of this Front some of whom swear by Marxism-Leninism had no compunction in forming alliance with the Congress (R), the ruling party in India, representing the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly capitalism—the common enemy of the left and democratic forces in the country. This alliance is, no doubt, an opportunist alliance fostered not by any necessity of development of the legitimate democratic mass movement in Kerala but by the exigency of parliamentary elections. But

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# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

(Fortnightly)

Editor-in Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 4  
No. 3

OCTOBER 1, 1970  
THURSDAY

PRICE 20 P.  
Air Surcharge 4 P.

## CONGRESS RECEIVES CRORES OF RUPEES FROM MONOPOLISTS

The Registrar of Companies has, of late, disclosed the amounts of political donations made by different companies in our country to various political parties. The figures speak for themselves.

During the 7-year period from 1962-63 to February, 1970 political donations made by the companies to 57 political parties and organisations amounted to Rs. 3,60,80,193. Of this sum, the Congress received Rs. 2,91,98,298 the Swantantra Party Rs. 56,86,698 and the Jan Sangh Rs. 2,58,998. In other words these three parties accounted for Rs. 3,51,43,994 or 97.4 per cent of the total amount of political donations, the Congress enjoying the lion's share.

The reason for making these political donations to these political parties is obvious. They are bourgeois parties wedded to the task of defending bourgeois vested interests and bourgeois rule. Naturally, therefore, the capitalists help them with money, so that they can win in the elections, capture governmental power and administer the country according to the will and dictate of the bourgeoisie.

Besides, in exchange of these donations, the monopolists secure licences and permits from the Governments with which they expand their empire. They also provide guarantees (clandestine arrangement with the powers-that-be) against any possible legal action for participation in anti-social illegal activities in which the donors indulge to make money. Thus, the political donations are investments for more profit also.

These figures do not show the respective shares of the Syndicate and the Congress(R) separately. In 1969-70 the two wings of the Congress together received Rs. 14,67,171. From the trend of the donations so far made, it can be said with certainty that the ruling Congress must have got the lion's share. For, it alone is in a position to distribute favour in exchange of money. Recently restrictions have been imposed under the

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For flood and consequent dislocation of work in the Press the issue which was due to be published on 15th of September last could not come out. We regret for this.

The Press will remain closed from 7th to 18th October for the Pujas. So the next issue due to be published on 15th October will not come out.

## POLICE VANDALISM ON PEOPLE

All the left parties including CPI(M) are protesting against the police oppression during President's rule in West Bengal. It is undoubtedly true that West Bengal is virtually under Police Raj after the Promulgation of President's rule. Police has let loose a reign of terror in the cities as well as in the country side. Police and Jotedars are in collusion and are systematically attacking democratic movements of the peasants. Photos in daily papers, showing pedestrians with raised hands are only testimony of indignation and humiliation suffered by the citizens at the hand of the police who behave like enemy troops in occupied territory. All these are true and democratic forces must strongly protest against the deployment of police, CRP and other para-military forces to let loose a reign of terror and to crush democratic movements. But the question is how the democratic movements have suffered such serious setbacks? CPM is quite vocal about police oppression but how far CPM politics helped the reactionary circle, police and bureaucracy to gain upperhand over the democratic forces requires critical examination.

After the installation of UF Government democratic movement was gaining ground; in spite of the various limitations, the UF emerged as the genuine instrument of struggle of the toiling people. But how the left sectarian politics of CPI(M) struck at the very root of unity of UF is now known to all. This left sectarian politics of violent attacks on the co-fighters and partners of UF without disturbing the class enemy, shattered the cohesion of the UF and thus it struck the democratic movement from within. Moreover it was CPM which raised the police budget inspite of our opposition. During the UF regime, CPM used the administration and police and tried to increase its sphere of influence by annihilating other partners of UF with the help of police and anti-social elements. It is CPM leadership which painted the police as pro-people and thus helped it to gain a pro-people image which the Congress leaders

failed to achieve inspite of conferring various medals and national awards to them. It is CPM leader Jyoti Basu who thundered to give the police a free hand when a constable in liaison with Jotedar died in a clash at Bharatgarh, which was termed as death in 'duty' by Jyoti babu. On the very day, the police went berserk and ransacked the Assembly House, but the strongman of CPI(M) who was in charge of Home Department did not take any

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action against any of the ring leaders excepting dismissal of a few petty officers and constables. No action was taken against the known notorious police officials who were responsible for the incidents at Uttarpura, Durgapur R.E. College and at Brigade Parade ground after the fall of first UF Government. CPM is very vocal about the withdrawal of CRP from West Bengal. But is it not pertinent to ask why the same demand

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## By The Way

The CPI(M) leadership, that gave a call for strike for an indefinite period in Durgapur, unconditionally called off the strike with effect from 10 p.m. on August, 22 last. In the words of a CPI(M) leader, "in view of the continued repression by the C.R.P. and police, the curfew order and tortures on women it was no longer possible to continue the strike." This statement implies that at the time of giving the call for strike the CPI(M) leaders expected that the Government, bureaucracy and police would not take recourse to repressive measures to foil the strike, otherwise they would have made the necessary preparations to counter the possible police repression and continue the strike. One should not, however, be surprised at this naive expectation of the CPI(M) leaders. For, the memory of the strike call given by the CPI(M) on March, 17 last, when the Government, bureaucracy and police fully backed the CPI(M) to make the strike successful, still lingered in their minds.

Mr. A Raghavan, a CPI(M) leader and Convener of the Kerala United Front of which the CPI(M) is a constituent, is reported in the *Hindusthan Standard* to have said at a Press Conference that they would support, in the 43 constituencies in which the Front is not contesting, independents even if they are sponsored by the Syndicate Congress. The CPI(M) openly worked for the Congress (R) candidates against our candidates, only left candidates, in the by-election from Dholai constituency in Assam and Julana and Bahadurgarh constituencies in Haryana. The CPI(M) and the Syndicate Congress unitedly fought, on the basis of joint panels of candidates, elections to the managing committees of many schools in West Bengal. This is how the CPI(M) is fighting both wings of the Congress.

Sm. Indira Gandhi in the preface to the Fourth Five Year Plan document had said: "The benefits of development should accrue in increasing measure to common man and the weaker sections of society." Very pious utterance indeed! But what is the objective reality? Sometime back, according to the National Council of Applied Economic Research, more than 10 million people of our country had an earning of 27 paise, 50 million people in the next higher bracket 32 paise and the next 50 million people 42 paise per head per day. This is the sign of the benefits of three Five Year Plans accruing in increase measure to the common man of India.

It is reported in the *Link* dated August, 23 last that Shri V. P. Naik, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, owns over 700 acres of land in Selu and Pusad. Besides this, he is said to hold 150 acres of land in the name of his wife, Vatsalabai, at Yavat in Poona and elsewhere. Another minister of Naik Cabinet, Shri Y. J. Mohite and his brothers are said to possess 459 acres of land collectively. These gentlemen are stalwarts of the Congress (R) and are expected to enforce the Ceilings Act so as to acquire the excess lands of the Kulaks and distribute them to the landless peasants and agricultural labourers of Maharashtra. It proves how sincere the Indira Congress is in distributing land to the landless peasants and agricultural labourers according to the law enacted by itself.

## Recent Strikes In West Bengal And The Politics Of C.P.M.

In the last month the CPI(M) had sponsored a wave of movements like the 11-day strike of Durgapur workers, the 3-day strike of State Government employees under the leadership of Co-ordination Committee and the 7 day strike of secondary teachers organised by the A.B.T.A. Everybody knows that these various mass organisations which conducted the strikes have virtually become an appendage of CPI(M). It is also well known to every democratic minded person what had been the fate of these movements. Whatever might be the tall claim and proud posture of CPI(M) leaders, these movements have only landed the striking workers and employees into further despair and frustration and led the CPI(M) leadership to further isolation from the toiling people.

There is no doubt that some democratic issues have been incorporated as demands of these movements here and there but what is most important for us who stand by the progressive left movements in our country is to judge the method of struggle and the main political outlook which governed these movements. It is not unnatural that the CPI(M) leadership would try to cover up their bankrupt policies and petty sectarian outlook which had split the U.F. and various mass organisations also, by taking shelter in an insincere bid to raise some democratic issues of the people. But a correct and objective analysis of these movements will conclusively prove how hollow their claims are and how shameless their politics can be.

The issues which were mainly focussed in these movements are i) withdrawal of C.R.P. from West Bengal ii) withdrawal of C.I.S.F. from Durgapur iii) announcement of a date for the midterm poll in this state iv) Scrapping of C.C.R. in case of Government employees etc. Although these democratic issues are there in the recent movements conducted by C.P.M. it has to be ascertained however, how much the C.P.M. leaders are serious about fulfilling these demands.

It is also to be seen whether they are using these demands as a bait to win over the democratic sections of workers and employees who are gradually becoming alienated from the CPI(M) leadership. It is quite known to every Marxist-Leninist that the C.R.P., the military and the other armed forces in the present capitalist system are meant for perpetuating the rule of the capitalist class over the toiling people and for crushing the various democratic mass movements on some rightful demands of the people. Our experience of all the democratic movements since national independence, will corroborate this anti-people character of the state. So when the ruling class strengthens the repressive state apparatus and bring in various measures to reinforce the armed organisations on various pleas of national defence, maintenance of law and order and of up holding democracy from internal subversion—any serious minded democratic person, let alone the revolutionaries, cannot but object to it. It is not by depending on the mercenary national armies, but only on the patriotism of the people and their voluntary participation in organising resistance movements against foreign aggression, when really such an occasion arises, that

the defence of a country can truly be guaranteed. But the so-called Marxist leaders of both C.P.I. and CPI(M), on various occasions, not only did not try to unmask the real character of the reactionary move of the capitalist class to increase their defence budget from year to year and thereby strengthen their military and para-military organisations, but themselves lent active support to it. This constitutes a clear betrayal to the cause of democratic and revolutionary movements in the soil. Besides this support to the defence budget, the attitude of the big left parties, is quite revealing on some other issues. When our party, the S.U.C. demanded repeal of the Arms Act, (which is a most undemocratic act handed down from the Britishers and

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is meant to emasculate the people and leave them entirely at the mercy of the armed minority) this move of our party for a long time did not secure any support of these so-called leftist forces. Even when in the Western imperialist countries, the people are free to keep arms, our people have been debarred from the right of keeping arms. Of course, the jotedars and the moneybags in our country, are in actuality, free from such a restrictive imposition and very often use their arms against the struggling peasants and workers.

Apart from this, certain other features are discernible in the politics of C.P.M. The C.P.M. leaders are now raising a hullabaloo to remove C.R.P. from this state. But is it not a fact that even after the dastardly behaviour of police and C.R.P. at Durgapur when there was a tremendous popular swing in favour of withdrawing the C.R.P. from this state, it was the C.P.M. leader, Mr. Jyoti Basu along with Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee who

after having some discussion with Mr. Chavan, the Union Home Minister, agreed on the stay of C.R.P. in this state? Is it not the so-called Marxist leader, Mr. Jyoti Basu himself who as the Home Minister, mobilised the Eastern Frontier Rifles-men and the Border Security Force to crush the Naxalites' movement in Debra and Gopiballavpur, despite severe objections from some left parties including ours? The same leader of C.P.I(M) also did not hesitate to set up camps of police and C.R.P. to stem the rising tide of peasant movements in South 24-Parganas, Birbhum, Murshidabad etc. Innumerable more instances can be cited which will conclusively show how C.P.M. has backed C.R.P. and state police to the detriment of democratic movements of the people both during U.F. rule and in the recent past. The death of a Naxalite in the Bagbazar P.S. Calcutta, by the merciless beating of police, which evoked an immediate and intensive reaction of the democratically minded people against the police atrocity, did not however raise even a single murmur of protest from the C.P.M. circle. It seems that their attitude is, if the police and C.R.P. choose the Naxalites and other political opponents as their targets of attack it can, not only be trifled away with but even encouraged. It is with this petty political outlook that Mr. Jyoti Basu moved with eagerness to maintain the P.D. act in the state to use it freely against other left parties but ultimately had to give it up mainly due to the severe criticism which our party had raised then against its continuance.

As in the case of C.R.P., so also in the case of Central Industrial Security Force at Durgapur the performance of C.P.M. is equally shameless and hypocritical. No doubt, they are raising this slogan

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## C.P.I. and C.P.M's Policy of placating Indira Gandhi opportunist policy disrupting the fronts

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it must be said to the credit of the C.P.I and other constituents of this Front that they openly admitted this alliance with the Congress(R).

The C.P.I(M) and other constituents of the Front led by it did not lag behind, rather, it had gone a few steps further in this direction. The Polit Bureau of the C.P.I.(M) had earlier come with a statement that the party would have no truck with the Congress (O). This was an eye-wash and meant for consumption of the blind ranks of the party and credulous members of the public. So, a clandestine agreement was concluded by and between the C. P. I(M) and its other partners in the People's Democratic Front on the one side and the Congress (O) and other constituents of the Democratic Front on the other side. With the day of election drawing nearer this clandestine agreement became more and more visible.

This will be evident from certain facts. The *Kerala Kaumudi*, an important Malayalam Daily, in its issue dated 10th September last published a statement by E.M.S. Namboodiripad stating that the C. P. I(M) and the Congress (O) had jointly put up candidates in ten constituencies named in the statement. The names of the joint candidates were mentioned therein. Some of these candidates are known Syndicate leaders of Kerala. Besides, in Cannanore (2) constituency the official C.P.I(M) candidate was withdrawn in favour of the Congress (O) leader, N. K. Kumaran, who contested as an independent. The Congress (O), as arranged, did not put up any official candidate; it supported Kumaran. The same thing happened in Calicut (2) constituency. Here the official C.P.I(M) candidate, P. S.

Girish, was withdrawn in favour of the Congress (O)-sponsored independent candidate, K. Madhava Menon, Calicut Mayor and a well-known Syndicate leader. In Tirur, Tanur, Ponnampalayam and other constituencies similar tactics were adopted; the official C. P. I(M) candidates were withdrawn in favour of the so-called independents but really Congress (O) candidates. This was not an unilateral arrangement. The Congress(O) and other constituents of the Congress (O)-led Democratic Front reciprocated the C.P.I. (M) move by withdrawing their own candidates in favour of the C.P.I(M) candidates. In Pattambi constituency the Jan Sangh withdrew its candidate in favour of the C.P.I(M) candidate, E. M. S. Namboodiripad. In Arur constituency the Congress (O) candidate, K. Bhaskaran Nair, was withdrawn in favour of the C.P.I(M) candidate, K. P. Gouri. These and such other similar clandestine arrangements between the two parties are well-known to even a layman in Kerala. Then why the C.P.I(M) and Congress (O) leaders are at the top of their voice disclaiming the arrangements between the two parties? They are doing so perhaps with the sole objective of covering up such clandestine agreements before their respective rank and file, supporters, sympathisers and the public outside Kerala. Have they succeeded? I do not think so. Because these facts are too stubborn to be suppressed and concealed.

Not to speak of the political damage, these overt and covert unprincipled opportunistic alliances or agreements have done to the cause of the people and their democratic movements, they have not brought even electoral benefits to the left and democratic parties. An examination of the election

results will prove it. In 1967 general election in Kerala, the undivided Congress contested all the 133 seats but secured only 9 seats. Against this debacle of the Congress the CPI(M) got 52 out of 59 seats contested, the CPI 19 out of 22 seats contested, the SSP 19 out of 21 seats contested, the Muslim League 14 out of 15 seats contested. The RSP 6 out of 6 seats contested, the Kerala Congress got 5 out of 61 seats contested, the independents 6 out of 62 contested and others 3 out of 4 seats contested. It was a complete rout of the Congress and Kerala Congress.

But this time? The Congress (R) has got 32 out of 56 seats contested, the CPI(M) 28 out of 72 seats contested, the CPI 16 out of 31 seats contested, the SSP 6 out of 14 seats contested, the Muslim League 11 out of 20 seats contested, the RSP 6 out of 14 seats contested, the Kerala Congress 12 out of 31 seats contested, the independents 12 out of 92 seats contested, the KTP 2 out of 4 seats contested, the KSP 2 out of 3 seats contested, the PSP 3 out of 7 seats contested and the ISP 3 out of 11 seats contested. The election results show that the Congress (R) and Kerala Congress had tremendously gained at the cost of the left and democratic parties.

Mr. Namboodiripad in his characteristic fashion has tried to cover up the defeat of the CPI(M) by explaining that his party and the People's Democratic Front led by it have got this time more votes than in 1967. The CPI(M) leaders perhaps take our people to be fools otherwise they would not have indulged in this type of falsehood. It is true that the CPI(M) has got more votes this time. It is only natural; because it has contested more

seats than in 1967. Had Mr. Namboodiripad any respect for truth, he should have admitted that average votes polled per candidate by the CPI(M) has come down appreciably compared to that in 1967, while in case of the Congress (R) the average votes polled per candidate have gone up. In 1967 the undivided Congress contested all the 133 seats and obtained 35.43 per cent of the total votes polled. This time the Congress (R) contested only 56 seats and obtained 18.28 per cent of the total votes polled. This time the Congress is divided. Besides, the Congress (R) has not contested all the 133 seats as in 1967. It has contested only in 56 seats. So, naturally the votes polled by it this time would be much less. For correct calculation proportionate per centage should be calculated. The proportionate per centage for 56 seats on the basis of 1967 figures comes up to 14.56. But it has secured 18.28 per cent of total votes polled this time. That means that not only in respect of total number of seats secured (32 against 9) but also in respect of per centage of total votes polled (18.28 per cent against 14.56 per cent) the Congress (R) has improved its position.

What is the position of the CPI(M) and the CPI in these respects? Their position has become worse compared to 1967. The CPI(M) has lost not only in respect of total number of seats (28 against 52) but also in respect of per centage of total votes polled. In 1967 it got 23.51 per cent of total votes polled by contesting in only 59 seats. This time it secured 23.43 per cent of total votes polled by contesting in 72 seats. The corresponding proportionate per centage should have been 28.8 in place of 23.43.

The C.P.I. fares no better.

## and her Government as 'progressive' and C.P.M's left-helped Congress (R) regain lost position

In 1967 it secured 19 seats by contesting only in 22 seats and it secured 8.47 per cent of the total votes polled. This time by contesting in 31 seats the proportionate percentage calculated on the basis of 1967 figures comes up to 12.09. It has got 9.33 instead. Thus, both in respect of the total seats secured and the percentage of total votes polled the CPI has lost this time.

Now what accounts for the improvement in the position of the Congress(R)? There are two reasons for it. First, the CPI and CPI(M) hold the Indira Congress as progressive. The only difference between them is, while the CPI makes no bones to admit the so-called progressive character of the Congress(R) and Government at the Centre led by it in public and act accordingly (e.g. the alliance with the Congress(R) in Kerala) the C. P. I(M) also moves on the same track under cover of different words and phrases. To illustrate. The C. P. I. hailed the nationalisation of banks by the Indira Government as a bold and progressive measure, as a step forward and urged upon our people to rally round her and strengthen her hands against the arch reactionary Syndicate. The C.P.I(M), without getting down to class reality at the bottom of bank nationalisation, declared it as a progressive measure and assured Indiraji and her Government of support by the C. P. I(M) behind such "progressive measures." Furthermore, in a resolution the Central Committee of the C.P.I(M) held that "the Indira Gandhi wing also contains within its fold healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolies. \*\* it has raised certain slogans and taken certain measures which are in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspira-

tions of the people." A revolutionary analysis indeed! The C.P.I and C.P.I(M), by thus constantly presenting the Congress (R) and the Central Government run by it as progressive compared to the Syndicate, have helped Indira Gandhi, her Congress and the Government headed by her to have a progressive image to the common men of our country and gain popularity.

It should be realised that the conflict between the Syndicate Congress and the Indira Congress is not a struggle between the monopolists collaborating with imperialism and the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie" or in general terms between reaction and progress. Both the Congress (O) and Congress (R) are parties of the Indian bourgeoisie and the conflict between them is nothing but a reflection of the contradiction between the conservative section of the Indian bourgeoisie representing individual interests of the monopolists and the so-called radical section of the Indian bourgeoisie representing aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism.

It is, therefore, the duty of genuine left and democratic parties of our country not to preach (and behave as drum boy of) Indira Gandhi and her Government to the people as progressive but to take advantage of the contradiction between the Syndicate Congress and Indira Congress, try to increase the rift between them still further to the point of no return, if possible, and utilise it in developing mighty democratic mass movements. If the left parties harbour no illusion about Indira Gandhi and her Government as progressive and if the parties do not create such illusion among the people then

and then only it will be possible for them to take advantage of the contradiction between the Congress (O) and Congress (R) in intensifying class struggles, developing massive democratic movements and helping the revolutionary preparation in our country; otherwise, the Congress (R) will take advantage of the weaknesses of the left and democratic parties, rehabilitate itself and gain further strength at their cost. The election result in Kerala is a glaring instance of it.

Secondly, it is an undeniable fact that it is impossible to carry out our revolution bypassing the present democratic phase of mass movements in our country. A party, which is a really revolutionary working class party, cannot, forget that the masses of the people, including even a major section of the working class, are still under the influence of various non-revolutionary ideas and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. Unless the people are freed from their influences and ideologically, politically and organisationally organised under the leadership of a really revolutionary working class party, victory of the revolution is impossible. But the only way to do it, in the present condition of our country, is to organise the broad masses under a broad democratic front of parties, that still have positive role in the democratic movement, conduct united mass struggles against the common enemy and at the same time carry on relentless ideological struggles, without disturbing the unity of the democratic front, in such a way as to expose the political bankruptcy and true colour of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and isolate them from the masses. This

complicated process of unity-struggle-unity is the only way of establishing ideological and organisational leadership of a really revolutionary working class party over the masses. So, no party, that claims itself to be a working class party and wants to liberate the people from the yoke of capitalist exploitation, political, economic, social and cultural, can shirk the responsibility of forming broad democratic front with parties having positive role in the democratic movement for conducting strong united democratic movements against the main common enemy. But the left opportunist politics of the CPI(M) are the greatest obstacle in the path of developing united democratic mass movements. When there was the possibility of forming a broad democratic front of left and democratic parties on the basis of an agreed programme covering the important democratic demands of the people as an effective instrument of united democratic movements in Kerala, the left opportunist politics of the CPI(M) destroyed that possibility.

Thus on the one hand, when the Indira Congress, representative of the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly capitalism, is trying to pass the same old Congress on to the people as progressive under the facade of so-called radicalism, and when it is the bounden duty of all the left and democratic forces in general and CPI and the CPI(M) in particular to tear off this progressive cloak of Indira Gandhi and help the people to see the real face of it, they, on the contrary, by their various deeds and utterances which I have mentioned earlier, have actually helped the Indira Congress to have a progressive image to the common men of

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# FALSEHOOD AND OPPORTUNISM OF C.P.M.

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now to exploit the mounting popular discontent of Durgapur workers and employees against posting of C.I.S.F. But only the other day, when the bill for posting the C.I.S.F. at Durgapur was introduced in the Parliament, did the members of C.P.I.(M) and other big 'Marxist' parties seriously try to block the passage of this bill? The role of C.P.I.(M) in this regard is the most condemnable. When a movement against the introduction of C.I.S.F. was launched at Durgapur, the C.P.M. leaders of H.S.L. workers' union did not lend any support to this movement. Not only they were quite reluctant to render any support to this demand of the workers but they also withdrew the anti-automation movement which was raging then in Durgapur, for favour of recognition of C.P.I.(M)-led H.S.L. worker's union by the steel management. So this also shows that the main objective of C.P.I.(M) to raise this issue afresh, does not primarily follow out of a genuine concern for this demand, but of a pragmatic necessity to exploit the widespread resentment of workers, to suit its narrow political end.

Such inconsistency and duplicacy in the role of C.P.I.(M) is even more glaring in the recent movements of State Government employees and Secondary teachers of West Bengal. Scrapping of C.C.R. and undemocratic Service Conduct Rules for Government employees are long-standing demands of the employees since Congress regime. But surprisingly enough, when the U.F. was in office not a single C.P.M. Minister raised this demand or tried to implement in his own departmental administration such measures which will reflect the democratic outlook of these demands, as it was done in P.W.D. under the leadership

of our party. With the advent of the first U.F. regime, when Mr. Jyoti Basu the C. P. M. leader controlled the Finance Department, it was primarily his responsibility to effect changes in the Service Rules for democratising the administration. But unfortunately, no effort was made on the part of C.P.M. leader to change the nature of administration by curbing bureaucracy and meeting these demands of the employees forthwith. It is quite paradoxical however, to see that the C.P.M. leaders after they are put in office are found to be not in favour of scrapping of C.C.R. & Service Rules altogether, but keeping it in an amended form. The Co-ordination Committee of the Government employees led by C.P.M., in accordance with the changed position of the C.P.M. leaders also did not hesitate to make suitable adjustment of their demands sacrificing the interest of the employees. Also in the case of implementation of Pay Commission's recommendations, when the last U.F. Government was in office, it was Mr. Joyti Basu himself who commented that this was an absurd proposition and the State Government was not in a capacity to implement those recommendations. But now, when the C.P.M. is not in the Government anymore the same party's leadership in the Co-ordination Committee is building up an agitation on this issue which is in total disregard with the earlier stand of their own party leaders. Is it not then a petty-selfish and inconsistent policy of C.P.M., to make contrasting statements on the same issue for exploiting the popular sentiments of employees with a view to further its narrow political end? Just in a similar way, many of the present demands of College and University, Secondary and Primary teachers, which could have been fulfilled during the U.F. rule were virtually ignored by

the concerned C.P.M. Minister, and no movement on this ground was seen to have been built up by the C. P. M. leadership to fulfil these demands. The business of the C. P. M. ( Education ) Minister Mr. Satyapriya Roy was then only to give employment to his own party members, include the C.P.M. members and sympathisers in various committees of educational institutions, however callous, ignorant, and unconcerned they may be in regard to educational affairs and to spread canard against other ministers of other parties to conceal his own inefficiency and opportunism. This in brief was what was achieved during the 13-month U.F. rule under the guidance of a C.P.M. Minister who did not make any move to meet some urgent demands in the sphere of education. But is it not hypocritical that unutilising the most advantageous situation for fulfilling at least some of the legitimate demands of various sections of people of the teaching world the same C.P.M. leadership is now posing as the champion of the cause of the teaching staff? Is it not a fact that the C.P.M. leaders allotted increasing fund for the Police Department (the police—the protector of the interests of reactionary capitalist class had by a magical touch of C.P.M. leader, Mr. Jyoti Basu, become in the estimation of the C. P. I.(M). 'people's police' overnight) but did not meet up the most vital and long standing demands of education on the plea of shortage of fund? Just after the fall of the U.F. Government the C.P.M. leaders were raising slogans that they would resist all attempts to deprive the peasantry of their gains earned during U.F. regime. Although there cannot be two opinions from the democratic sections of the people regarding the necessity to wage fierce battle against any encroachment by the

jotedars and the ruling clique on the rights already attained by the toiling peasantry, is it not also to be borne in mind that the C.P.M. leader Mr. Harekrishna Konar, who was in charge of Land and Land Revenue Department in the two U.F. regimes, failed miserably to advance the struggle of the peasantry and protect their rights? It is natural to ask why did he fail to bring in any such legislation, during the long 13-months of U.F. rule, for giving legal entitlements to the poor peasants and agricultural labourers who recovered and occupied the surplus lands. If such legislation was made beforehand acceding legal ownership of land to the toiling peasantry, then the present conspiracy of the jotedars along with the local police administration to regain their surplus lands could have been countered more effectively. It is high time that the people should choose whether they can allow themselves to be led astray by the same leadership which has proved itself to be completely bankrupt and has even betrayed the just cause of various sections of the toiling masses.

Another issue which had been focussed in these movements, conducted by C. P. M. was the demand for a fresh mid-term poll for ending the President's rule prevailing now. The noise and fury with which the C.P.M. rank and file are raising this demand may create an impression in the public mind that they are genuinely concerned about holding another election very soon. But in reality it is just the opposite which is working in their mind. It is now the usual tactics of C.P.M. leaders to put before the people such slogans and such demands, which on close scrutiny are found to be not at all occupying their mind. It is no doubt a very genuine democratic

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## Despite fanfare CPM attempts to defer midterm poll

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demand of the people and all the left parties are supporting this demand, that an immediate mid-term poll should be held to end the present tyrannical rule of police and bureaucracy. It is also true that the C.P.M. is outwardly adding its voice to this popular democratic demand. But do the C.P.M. leaders really mean it? Are they not by their actions opposing the very possibility of holding another election? What is most significant is that they on the plea of movements on popular issues are simply creating chaos disrupting unity of all democratic movements. Is it not true that many of the incidents which go in the name of Naxalites have been really perpetrated by the C.P.M. to create disturbances in the city and paralyse the civic life? Such a deterioration in the law and order situation deliberately created by C.P.M. in the name of Naxalites (of course the wrong political outlook and adventurist activities of the Naxalites have added to this worsening of situation from the point of view of law and order) has given further scope to the Central Government to declare that so long the law and order situation does not improve a fresh election cannot be held in this state. If C. P. M. was really serious about holding an immediate poll it should have joined hands with the other leftist forces, built up an united movement against the present unwilling Centre to arrange a fresh poll and disengaged itself from their anti-social rowdy activities which had further worsened the present law and order situation in the state. Their active participation and encouragement to such activities commonly known as Naxalite attacks have contributed no less to the machinations of the police and the bureaucracy to find a favourable ground for increasing its repressive actions on the demo-

cratic movements. Whatever might be the damage to the cause of left movement the C.P.M. calculated some benefits out of it. It would not only help the party to exterminate the Naxalites, their strong political adversaries by causing to attribute more power in the hands of the police but it would also help them to erase some dark memories from the people's mind. People can very well see that the despicable conditions of law and order prevailing at the time of Mr. Jyoti Basu's handling of Home portfolio, which made the public disaffected about the C.P.M. are even worse in President's rule. This would at least wash out the bitter memories of the people and help to re-establish the image of C.P.M. however tarnished it may be. But be that as it may if C.P.M. has to face an immediate election it has to reckon with its own predicament. Although financially, the party is quite prepared to meet the poll, organisationally now it is in a very weak and disintegrating state. The incident at Durgapur and the failure of State Government employee's strike has set in a tenor of frustration within the party and an almost certain defeat at the Kerala poll was well in the view of the C.P.M. leaders even before election. So when such is their organisational position and the party is still suffering from political isolation, it is foolish to expect that the C.P.M. would really want an immediate poll in this state, in which case it is sure to fare very badly and return its candidates in a much more diminished strength than before. It is more natural that the C.P.M. would on the other hand favour the President's rule to continue for a longer period and utilise its present good relation with Mr. Dhawan and high officialdom to set right its own organisation in the meantime. In actuality both the C.P.M. and

the Congress (R) are not in favour of holding another poll just now. But the best method to cloak it on the part of C.P.M. is to canvass just the opposite of its intended object for confusing the people and mobilising their support in its favour and act in a way which will virtually strengthen the present unwillingness on the part of the Central Government to declare a date of poll immediately.

It is high time that the various democratic sections of the struggling masses, be it the workers, the Government employees and the teaching staff should decide whether they will allow the present opportunist leadership and the disruptionists to hold sway over them or come out in a bitter ideological fight for exposing the hypocritical and sinister role of this leadership. It is because of C. P. M.'s present sectarian and domineer-

ring attitude, that the unity of the democratic front has broken and the various mass organisations, which the fighting workers and employees have developed as their instruments of struggle are almost on the verge of total collapse. Every person who upholds the democratic aspirations of the people and stands by their legitimate issues cannot but condemn the method employed by the C.P.M. leaders, who simply terrorised the workers and employees to make their strike call successful. It is a fascist way of compelling the employees to accept the dictates of present C. P. M. leadership. But this leadership has got to be challenged. The workers and employees must assert their democratic rights and change this putrid leadership with a view to develop united, democratic and mighty mass movements against the ruling class and the vested clique.

## Crisis in Leadership in Left Movement

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was not carried through during the UF rule. During UF rule Jyoti babu came to an understanding with the then Central Home Minister Mr. Chavan when it was agreed that Industrial Security Force would be introduced in Durgapur after absorbing the existing staff of the security guards and the CRP would also continue to stay in West Bengal. The exigency which prompted Jyoti babu to take recourse to this decision was to use the CRP against the political opponents and this was conclusively proved by the deployment of a large contingent of CRP in South 24 Parganas and other districts to crush the peasants' movement led by KMF, the peasants' wing of SUCI. CPI(M) Home Minister did not feel any prick of conscience to use EFR to crush the Naxalite movement in Debra and Gopiballavpur against our

protest. Thus CPI(M) violated the declared policy of that of non-interference by police in democratic movements, used the administration and the police for petty party interest, helped this oppressive police force to gain a pro-people image, increased the budget of the police, the organ of repression of the capitalist state machinery and finally wrecked the UF from within, which paved the way for the establishment of Police Raj in the state of West Bengal.

Police, the CRP and other para-military forces are the repressive machinery of the state and as such our apprehension was that they would attack the democratic movements during the President's rule. The Naxalite adventurism has, undoubtedly, provided them with an additional handle to let loose a reign of terror. But the point is whether all the

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## POLICE RAJ IN WEST BENGAL

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vandalisms are committed by the Naxalites or the CPI(M) under the garb of Naxalites are doing this mischief? Reports, so far collected by us, show that the CPI(M) is involved in these incidents under the garb of Naxalites with some ulterior motives. Firstly they like to show to the people of West Bengal that the condition of law and order prevailing under President's rule is worse than that under the UF regime when Jyoti Basu was the Police Minister. Secondly CPI(M) likes to get the Naxalites crushed by the Police and through their action under the garb of Naxalites they are only precipitating police action on the Naxalites. CPI(M) is also directly attacking the Naxalites and acting as police informer to detect and crush the Naxalites even in this President's rule. In order to get social sanction for crushing the Naxalites with EFR violating the declared policy of UF Jyoti Babu termed them as half political and half anti-social. Naxalites are, no doubt, misguided and their programme of actions are not at all suitable to the Indian conditions and as such they are to be politically fought out; but to brand them as anti-social and help the police in perpetrating barbarous atrocities on them is a heinous crime. But curiously the known notorious anti-social elements were given protection within the fold of CPI(M) during the last UF regime. The notorious anti-social elements with red scarfs in CPI(M) led procession were a common sight in any locality and the reaction of the sober section of the citizens was so strong that Promode Babu had to ban the use of the red scarf to avoid the discomfiture thus created. The recent spurt in anti-social activities is nothing but a legacy of the last U.F. when CPI(M) instead of curbing the anti-social elements shamelessly

sheltered them for petty party interest. In the name of dealing with the anti-social elements police would not have been provided with a plea to get a free hand if CPI(M) politics would not have actively helped the anti-social elements to thrive for their party interest. Moreover it is known to all that with the emergence of correct political leadership, the anti-social activities are curbed and the youth energy is channelised into a purposive direction. This was observed in the hey day of nationalist movement when the whole youth of our country were seething with nationalist fervour. But today with the increase in the sphere of influence of CPI(M) as claimed by them, the anti-social activities are also in spurt. This is because the politics of CPI(M) is encouraging purposeless desperateness. As a matter of fact this crisis in morality as observed in West Bengal and elsewhere is mainly due to the crisis in leadership. This crisis can be solved only when the so-called big left parties are isolated and the hegemony of the real revolutionary party is established. Big left party like CPI(M) is only a stumbling block in the way of emergence of a real revolutionary party.

Thus it is clear that the CPI(M) politics is directly and indirectly providing handle to the police for establishing Police Raj and as such however much vocal the CPI(M) may be in protesting against the police oppression, it is clear that this is primarily meant to hoodwink the democratic masses through propaganda stunt. CPI(M) can not be absolved of the heinous crime which they committed against the people of West Bengal in paving the way for police repression.

Police repression, however, has got to be stopped and this can be effectively done through the development of united movement within the country. As such everybody must come forward to defeat the left sectarianism of CPI(M) which is standing in the way of unity of the democratic forces.

## Take Lessons from Kerala Election

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our country and gain popularity and on the other hand the CPI(M) by its left opportunistic policies has destroyed the democratic fronts in Kerala and West Bengal and thereby created political vacuum in the states advantages of which have been taken by the Congress (R). These two have been instrumental in reviving the Congress (R) from its position of virtual extinction in Kerala.

The left and democratic parties in our country must take lessons from it. Disunity among the anti-Congress left and democratic parties has

given the Congress and other forces of reaction opportunities to raise their ugly heads again in many parts of the country, including West Bengal. The wrong policy of the CPI and CPI(M) is helping the Congress (R) to pose before the people as progressive. It is high time that this wrong policy is rectified. It is also essential that the CPI(M) rectifies its mistakes, revises its left opportunistic politics, shuns big party chauvinism and creates favourable conditions for the development of really anti-Congress democratic mass movements. Situation demands it.

## Book in Advance for the NOVEMBER REVOLUTION SPECIAL issue of the Proletarian Era

### DONATION OF MONOPOLISTS

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Company Law on political donations by the companies to political parties and organisations. But that is just an eye-wash. The monopolists' patronage will only avoid open path and flow underground are reach the 'radicals' like the Congress (R) leaders in time. There is no doubt about it. And with such uuderground patronage much black money of many big guys will be white and make the 'radical' plumage of the Indira Congress dazzlingly 'progressive'.

Our people should realise that the parties, which regularly receive political donations of crores of rupees from the monopolists, exploiters of the people, can never be their own. They are the parties of the enemies of the people. Whatever the CPI and the CPI(M) may say in placating Indira Gandhi and her Government at the Centre as progressive is downright falsehood. Our people should not harbour any illusion about the Congress (R) as progressive. To forget this historical truth is to commit political suicide.

### Statement on Kerala Poll

Com. J. James, Secretary of the Kerala State Organising Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India has issued the following statement:

The results of the mid-term poll just concluded in this state, clearly show that while the parties in the CPI-led Front with some losses have retained almost their old position and the Congress (R) has emerged stronger, the strength of the CPI(M) however has been reduced to a very great extent. The success of much-hated Congress (R) after a state of virtual extinction in Kerala, is the result of wrong politics of almost all the left parties including both the CPI(M) and CPI regarding Congress (R) and Indira Government, of painting them as progressive and popularising it before the masses.

### Read Ganamukti

Assamese Organ of the S.U.C.I.

Contact : S. U. C. Office  
A. T. Road, Paltanbazar,  
Gauhati-1, Assam,