

UNITED FRONT— It's significance and necessity

The fall of Mr. Namboodiripad-led U.F. Ministry in Kerala once again proves the bankruptcy of political leadership of the so-called big Marxist parties specially C.P.I. (M) and C.P.I. which failed to prevent the wrecking of the U.F. in Kerala and develop it as an instrument of democratic mass struggle of the toiling people against all sorts of oppression of the vested circle.

The attitude of C. P. I. (M) as well as of the mini-front partners instead of being solely directed towards the consolidation of the U. F. and keeping its unity on the basis of an agreed common minimum programme for the sake of launching vigorous mass movements was unhelpful and hindered the growth of democratic movements on a large scale. Subsequently it was observed that both sides i. e. the C. P. I. (M) on one side and the C. P. I. led mini-front partners on the other began to accuse each other for precipitating such a situation leading to the dissolution of the U. F. Government in Kerala. The so-called Marxist forces which dominated the Ministry namely C. P. I. (M) C. P. I., R. S. P. etc. were found to have concentrated most of their energy not in an effort to promote unity or devise ways and means to accommodate the democratic forces of the Front for fulfilling its accepted democratic tasks, but to painstakingly create an impression that it is really the other U. F. partners which had disintegrated the Front. Thus, from the politics of C. P. I. (M) and others, it is evident that if a party can successfully make itself appear to the masses as innocent and hold the other Front partners responsible for disrupting the Front then it will satisfy the party and will be counted as a victory of its political stand. None approached the problem of unity of the Front very seriously or tried its best to preserve the unity in spite of complex and heterogeneous

nature of it. If the unity is broken, whichever forces might be responsible for the wreckage of the Front Govt. the real Marxist-Leninist forces cannot but view it as a tremendous setback of the democratic mass struggle.

There is no denying the fact that at the present stage when not a single political party has necessary strength to provide political and organisational leadership to effectively counter the growth of the reactionary forces represented by Congress, Jan-Sangh, Swatantra and others, the formation of a United Front is the only alternative before the people. So long as this vacuum is not filled up and there is an emergence of a political force that can correctly and effectively lead the democratic struggles of the people to their logical culmination—the slogan of United Front is not an exigency but an imperative necessity with a view to developing the democratic struggles of the masses. Those Marxists who believe in the theory of peaceful transition to socialism and those who do not seem to have equally agreed on one point, (barring the Naxalites), notwithstanding their fundamental differences, that the necessity of United Front and the present form of democratic mass movements on the basis of an agreed minimum programme among the political parties known as Lefts, Socialists or Communists is sure to continue for a long time to come in the process of developing revolutionary

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Reply by Com. Yakub Pailan, Dist. Secy. 24-Parganas, S.U.C. to the slanders of C.P.M. published in People's Democracy

In two consecutive issues on 30th November and 7th December, of "People's Democracy", the English organ of C. P. I. (M), Sri Santimoy Ghosh, the C.P.I. (M) leader of 24 Parganas wrote series of articles under the headlines "Who are these supporters of S. U. C. I.?" and "Jotedar attacks on peasants—S. U. C., Right C. P. I., B C. side with oppressors, shout about inter party clashes."

In these articles Sri Santimoy Ghosh took pains to prove by presenting fabricated and distorted stories of these incidents in South 24-Parganas that S. U. C. completely sided with the Jotedars and the clashes between C.P.I.(M) and S.U.C.

occurred as C. P. I. (M) was championing the cause of the poor and the landless peasantry. But these are total lies and so in order to get a clear picture of the actual state of affairs, the facts are presented below for the

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Contribute generously to our Press Fund

Comrades,

You all know that our party, the S.U.C. as the only correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the Indian working class, has been able to present before the working class and other toiling masses on Indian soil, the correct revolutionary theory, and hold aloft the banner of working class ideology in a critically deteriorating situation and vindicated it through fierce ideological struggles with other opponent views and opinions.

But it is regrettable that as against the powerful propaganda machinery of the reactionary clique we are still handicapped to bring forth our views to the broad masses of toiling people. This is primarily due to the fact that we have no Press of our own due to paucity of fund. But the present situation demands publication of large numbers of periodicals, booklets and other party organs. So we appeal to you to contribute generously and regularly to our Press fund in the following address, and thus carry forward our struggle for final victory.

Nihar Mukherjee

48, Lenin Sarani,
Calcutta-13.

Secretary, W. B. State Committee
S. U. C. I.

7th All India U.T.U.C. (Dharamtala) Conference at Jharia

(By a Staff Reporter)

The seventh session of the all India Conference of the United Trades Union Congress was held at Jharia, Bihar, on 29th and 30th Nov. 1969. On 29th the delegate session was presided over by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the General Secretary of S.U.C.I. and the Vice-President of U.T.U.C and more than five hundred delegates coming from U.P., Delhi, Haryana, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and Orissa representing different categories of workers engaged in various industries and services attended the session.

Com. S. K. Pramanick, the beloved General Secretary of U. T. U. C. while making a report to the delegates briefly outlined the background which necessitated the formation of U. T. U. C. (Dharamtala St.) and the glorious role played by it in all trade union activities. He specially stressed on the need to establish working class unity with a view to "Co-ordinate, unite and lead the militant working class movement of the country on a broad, democratic and non-party basis". He strongly condemned the sectarian attitude of other central trade union organisations like A. I. T. U. C., H. M. S. etc. which are disrupting the unity of the working class and are spreading opportunistic tendencies in the labour movement. After the report of Com. General Secretary, U.T.U.C. was placed before the delegates, Com. N. R. Singh, the delegate who attended the last W. F. T. U. conference held at Budapest in November, 1969, gave a brief account of his experience gained through deliberations with other fraternal delegates of different countries, who were present in the Budapest conference.

The main resolution was moved by Com. Subodh Banerjee, member of all India working committee of U. T. U. C. and Secretary of W. B. State Committee and it was seconded by Com. Pritish Chanda of Bihar, Secretary U.T.U.C. We are giving below

the main resolution excepting the demands, unanimously adopted in the conference.

MAIN RESOLUTION

"The Seventh All India General Conference of the U. T. U. C. places on record its firm conviction that capitalism brings in periodical crisis and that the present crisis here is basically the outcome of the capitalist economy of our country. The conference is also of the considered view that anti-people and defective planning by the Government has its share in making the crisis more unbearable to the masses of the people.

"The Conference notes with deep indignation that the capitalists are shifting the entire burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the toiling people, more so, workers including agricultural workers by locking out hundreds of concerns, laying off and retrenching thousands and thousands of workers, ruthlessly increasing the workload on the workers almost to the extent of sweating, freezing their wages and curtailing in every possible way the existing benefits enjoyed by them, resulting in continuous fall of the real earning of the workers and the worsening of their working and living conditions.

"The Conference emphasises on the vitally defective nature of the incomplete democratic revolution glaringly marked by failure of giving land

to the massive number of actual tillers, mainly agricultural labourers, landless and poor peasants, and the deprivation of the benefits of the proceeds of the land. The weakness of the Indian economy is inherent in the continuation of agriculture as still providing employment to the largest majority of the working people, thus condition remaining intolerable even after twenty two years of Congress rule since independence and increasingly aggravating due to the very nature of exploitation of the Indian national economy.

"The Conference records its emphatic protest against the pro-employer, anti-labour and, for the matter of that, anti-people attitude of the Congress Government. The Government, far from coming to the help of the workers against the mounting attacks on them by the capitalists, are siding with the employer class. Legitimate democratic trade union movements are being forcibly suppressed with the help of the Police and armed personnel; trade union leaders are being detained in jails without trial; false court cases for participating in peaceful strikes are being instituted against the workers and their trade union leaders; departmental proceedings are being drawn up against Government employees and workers for participating in strike; victimisation through suspension, discharge and dismissal for trade union activities is being made; existing democratic right of freedom of expression, association and demonstration is being curtailed and withdrawn by bringing in Draconic pieces of legislation like Essential Services Maintenance Act, indiscriminate lathi-charging, tear-gassing and firing and thereby killing of struggling workers is being resorted to.

On the top of these political persecutions of the workers, the Government in the name of planning is driving to bring about greater and greater economic concentration, coalescence between the state and monopolies and even militarization of the economy in the interest of the capitalists as means to stave off at least temporarily the mounting economic crisis and thereby laying the rock bottom economic foundation stone of fascism. The Government is also giving wider scope to foreign finance capital to exploit the natural resources and the people of India to an even greater degree and helping neo-colonial exploitation to the detriment of the interest of the people of our country.

"The Conference notes with regret that a section of the working class in our country being misled by the I.N.T.U.C. is committing themselves consciously or unconsciously to these anti-people, anti-working-class policies and activities of the Government. The Conference cannot but note also that A. I. T. U. C. and the H. M. S. have not only miserably failed to actively oppose these anti-people, anti-labour policies and activities of the Government but, in many cases, lent support to them under the smoke-screen of revolutionary verbiage. It cannot be forgotten that these two Central Trade Union Organisations are co-signatories with the I.N.T.U.C. to the vitally defective and motivated Code of Discipline seeking to take

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TEHRİK

The organ of the State Organising Committee of S. U. C. I. Haryana.

Contact : S. U. C. I.

48, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-13

Bankruptcy of the leadership of CPM & other big left parties mainly responsible for present crisis in UF

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struggles and revolutionary organisations of the toiling millions. It is only through this process that the democratic movements can be given a momentum, can be pushed to a higher level and the real revolutionary party can establish its political and organisational hegemony by isolating the pseudo-revolutionaries from the masses. Then and then only the necessity of the United Front will become historically exhausted. To the genuine Marxists this is the only correct concept of the theory of United Front.

Now it is evident that those who accept this theory, the responsibility of protecting the unity of the United Front and propagation of United Front politics before the masses as the only alternative objectively lies on them; there is, of course, no doubt that among those who accept the responsibility of a big party is more simply because it is big. Those political parties who claim themselves to be "genuine" Marxists and assert them to be the major partner of the United Front, at least at the time of distribution of portfolios etc. should share the greatest responsibility in this matter. Nobody should grudge their enjoying the major portfolios in the Government as the major partner of the U.F.; but is it not their major responsibility as well to protect the unity of the United Front? Should it not be their sole concern if they are genuine Marxists, how best can they combine these heterogeneous forces, maintain the unity of the Front which is so very urgent at this present political juncture? We are convinced that at the present moment when nobody can singularly provide this leadership, the task of keeping the politics of the United Front most alive and

active is a necessary prelude for the intensification of the democratic mass struggles for the emergence of a revolutionary situation. Naturally, the task of this United Front shall be two fold:—

(1) To mobilise the people under the banner of the Front in their legitimate democratic struggles as massively as possible and (2) While conducting such battles, to expose simultaneously, the real character of other forces of the Front, whatever may be their signboard or vocabulary, with the help of fierce ideological struggles. Nobody can deny that due to very low level of political consciousness of the masses different parties representing varieties of political shades have been able to exert their respective political influence over the masses. Thus it is incumbent upon the real revolutionary party to organise these forces into a broad platform for conducting democratic struggles of the people and to take up this occasion as an opportunity to expose the real face of these political forces.

The politics of C.P.I.(M), C.P.I. etc. as experienced both in Kerala and West Bengal will glaringly testify that they have utterly failed to carry out the vital task. The attitude of these parties smacked of bourgeois parliamentary diplomacy and failed to serve the urge of revolutionary mass struggle. It has been already stated that in Kerala these parties were ready to consider their politics to be highly victorious if they were able to put the blame of wrecking the Front on the other. None was so much interested in keeping the unity of the United Front as they were serious to defame the other partners and hold them responsible for the disruption of the Front as if they were

themselves opposed to such disruption. They failed to understand that the crux of the problem was not to prove which party was responsible for the wreckage but to maintain the unity of the Front itself. Had these parties been really revolutionary they would have definitely realised that it is the real revolutionary force that would suffer most from the dissolution of the U.F. Govt. But to our utter surprise we find that the C.P.I.(M), probably preferred even to break the Front in Kerala in the event of their becoming successful in putting the blame on the Mini-front partners possibly with the expectation to push Kerala to another mid-term poll and come out, so much coveted by them, as an absolute majority. Such an attitude clearly proves that these are not at all revolutionary parties otherwise they would not have been swayed by their local, provincial, sectarian, narrow or immediate interest which the genuine Marxist-Leninists always detest. The first lesson that one should derive from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism is that the Marxists should always shun local interest as opportunist when it runs counter to the ultimate object of revolution.

Even in West Bengal the same politics is being pursued by the C.P.I.(M). In a press release dated 30.11.69 the General Secretary of C.P.I.(M) has raised the slogan of mid-term poll in West Bengal before any leader of the Congress could offer such an offensive against the Front, accusing in the same breath the other partners as enemies of the United Front. We do not know what can be more farcical than this!

We like to raise few questions to our C.P.I.(M) Comrades in this connection. Even assuming their contention

to be theoretically correct that they may emerge as an absolute majority in the event of a mid-term poll both in Kerala and in West Bengal, how this politics breaking the backbone of the United Front will react on all India scale on the prospect of developing United Fronts in different States, particularly in those States where democratic movement is still in its infancy? What disastrous effect can such politics create in the mass mind when they will find that neither Congress nor the U. F. has any prospect to function? Will it not lead to serious demoralisation, frustration and cynicism the fruit of which will be best gained by the right reactionary forces in their attempt to develop military dictatorship in India? We do not understand how the interest of becoming an absolute majority in two States (if we place the question as a mere hypothesis) can far outweigh the revolutionary interest of developing

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Delhi School of Politics

(By a Staff Reporter)

Com. Shirdas Ghose, General Secretary of S.U.C.I along with Com. Shankar Singh and Com. Pritish Chanda, conducted the School of Politics held at Delhi on 26th, 27th & 28th Dec. 1969. Party comrades and supporters from Haryana, Delhi and Gaziabad attended the school. Apart from subjects on fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, Com. Ghose dealt on the development of the Indian society up to the present stage, Communist movement in India and present political situation. The historical necessity of formation of S.U.C.I. was also touched on after exposing the bankruptcy of the politics of C. P. I., C. P. I. (M) & C. P. I. (ML).

REPLY TO THE SLANDERS OF C. P. M.

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readers to judge who has sided with the Jotedars and who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the poor and the landless peasantry.

Before the incident on 26th June, peasants were carrying on movements under the leadership of S. U. C. against the Jotedars like Daud Molla, Abbas Ali, Daud Ghorami of Voleya. Finally through the pressure of movement those Jotedars agreed to distribute 350 bags of paddy to the poor peasantry and excess benami land is to be distributed amongst them. The news about the success of the movement was announced in open meetings and this created keen enthusiasm among the poorer section in the surrounding localities. Being afraid of the possibility of the growing influence of S. U. C. I. in adjoining areas, Sri Sudhanshu Chakraborty alias Bantul Chakraborty, the C. P. I. (M) leader of Belgachi, P.S. Barui-pur and a local Jotedar who was a Congressite but at present a C.P.I. (M) supporter, asked the above named Jotedars to scrap the agreement with S. U. C. I. and demanded 60 mds. of paddy for C. P. I. (M). They, however, assured these Jotedars to crush any movement against them by the poor peasantry with armed volunteers and police if they side with C. P. I. (M) and give them the paddy. Daud Molla and others, however, declined to accept this offer as they were quite conscious of the organisational strength of S. U. C. I. and K.M.F., the peasant's organisation of S.U.C.I. So in order to weaken the organisational base of K. M. F. and thus to make these Jotedars free from the fear of K. M. F. Voleya village was attacked on 26th June, by C.P.I.(M) along with Jotedars of the adjoining areas and anti-social elements. At first, being confronted with organised resistance of the villagers, the miscreants fled

away but again they came back along with an armed police party. This time the police resorted to indiscriminate firing and as a result the villagers fled for fear of life. The attackers, in the mean time, ransacked the village, looted and burned 50 houses including those of the supporters of S. U. C. The anti-social elements, recruited by C.P.I.(M), were given feasts by Bahadur Saha of Hatpukuria and Majid Sheik, notorious Jotedars who are supporters of C. P. I.(M). Incidentally it may be mentioned that a notorious dacoit, Ashmat Molla was killed when the villagers were resisting the first phase of the attack. But in 'People's Democracy' all the criminal activities of Asmat Molla were branded as class struggle since he had been recently enrolled as a supporter of C. P. I. (M).

As regards the plot to kill Sri Arun Ghosh

In a fabricated story, Sri Santimoy Ghosh stated that S. U. C. workers plotted to kill Sri Arun Ghosh on his way to a meeting on 30th August but as he diverted his route, the attempt was foiled and then the plotters tried to kill him in the meeting but he was saved at the intervention of the villagers. But this is far from the truth. The fact is that on the very day i.e. 30th August, a meeting of all Jotedars and anti-social elements of the locality was convened at the residence of Kalo Mondal, a Jotedar of Gardoan to discuss about the ways and means to counteract the growing influence of S. U. C. I. & K. M. F. Sri Arun Ghosh of C. P. I. (M) joined that meeting. Those present in the meeting were all big Jotedars, including notorious anti-social elements like Kartick Chandra Mondal and Panchu Gopal Baidya, a convicted dacoit. A poor peasant asked Sri Arun Ghosh why he, a member of C. P. I. (M) joined in such a meeting. This, however,

enraged him and he was beaten by his new found supporters in that meeting. As this news spread, the villagers including the poor and landless peasants rushed to the spot, but due to timely arrival of S. U. C. I. local leaders, no untoward incident occurred and Arun babu was helped to go away from the meeting.

In his article, Sri Santimoy Ghosh described Imbrahim Sheik, a notorious culprit, as a great fighter. In support he stated that the vested interests always tried to brand the revolutionary fighters as the criminals and in that perspective, the activities of Ibrahim Sheik is to be judged. It is true that the ruling class tries to convict the revolutionary fighters on criminal charges but the people of the locality remain quite aware of the pro-people activities of the persons and, as such, they do not accept him as a convict; on the contrary they pay him the regard of a hero. The people of the locality know about the criminal activities of Ibrahim Sheik as he was associated with a number of criminal activities like communal riots, decoities, forgery, mis-appropriation of agricultural loan etc. By painting these criminals as heroes, C. P. I.(M) is only making its position ludicrous to the local people.

2nd October incident at Chapla

In pursuance of his mission of presenting false and fabricated stories to confuse public opinion, Sri Santimoy Ghosh stated that the death of Anukul Paik, a supporter of S.U.C. was not due to clash between Jotedars and poor peasants but it was due to an incident centring round the sale of rice by the poor peasants. According to him a settlement of the dispute was attempted by a local teacher but local S. U. C. leader who happened to be once a student of that teacher did not accept his mediation and the teacher, in consequence, slapped him. This, however, enraged the

S. U. C. men who attacked the village but one S.U.C. worker was killed as a result of the resistance of the villagers. This is Sri Ghosh's version of the incident. But this is wholly untrue and the fact is otherwise. The village, Chapla is under the influence of local Jotedars. The poor peasantry under the leadership of S.U.C.I. was agitating against bari system (a practice of usury) and demanding the distribution of benami land. The Jotedars, in turn, were crushing the movement with the help of the Congress Govt, when in power. This time also, the poor peasants started movement under the leadership of S.U.C.I. the main demands being (1) Distribution of benami land (2) Interest free loan of paddy during lean period and no despatch of rice without meeting the local requirements. The Jotedars tried to crush the movement with the help of the aforesaid teacher who, called S. U. C. workers for settlement, but instead of any negotiation, beat them up mercilessly and threatened them to kill if the movement was not withdrawn. As this news leaked to the villagers, the poor and the landless peasants congregated on the spot. At this stage Sri Provash Roy, C. P. I. (M) minister, contacted the office of the state committee of S. U. C. I. and proposed for settlement of the dispute. At once message was sent to the spot for pacifying the mob so that a settlement can be arrived at. Accordingly Com. Renupada Haldar, S. U. C. M.L.A. arrived at a settlement with the Jotedars in presence of C. P. I.(M) leaders and police officials. Jotedars tendered apology for their misdeeds and conceded all the demands. After the settlement the poor peasants began to disperse but suddenly, when the last batch was about to go, the party was attacked and Com. Anukul Paik, supporter of S. U. C. was killed and several others were injured by the henchmen of the Jotedars.

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SUC Org. Com., Haryana

The State Org. Committee of Haryana has been formed with Com. Gyan Singh Choudhury as the Secretary. It consists of 7 members.

THE REAL NATURE OF "CLASS STRUGGLE" BY C.P.M,

(Continued from page 4)

Sri Santimoy Ghosh's story in "People's Democracy" is totally utopian and any sensible person can conclude that his version is a complete lie. According to him, the incident, resulting in the death of Com. Anukul Paik is due to the resistance by S. U. C. men against the sale of rice by the poor peasants. Every body is quite familiar with the dire poverty and helplessness of the poor peasantry during the lean period of the year. They usually maintain themselves during this period, either by begging or through loans from the Jotedars or acting as an agent of the Jotedars in smuggling rice. Selling of rice by the poor peasantry is beyond imagination during the month of October and as such Santimoy babu's story is highly ridiculous. He should have avoided such carelessness to make his story believable.

Murder of Abu Zafar

Next Sri Santimoy Ghosh claimed that their Comrade, Abu Zafar Nasker had been killed by Taramuddi Sheik who, according to him was a S. U. C. worker. But the fact is that both Abu Zafar Nasker, claimed to be a Comrade of C. P. I. (M) and Taramuddi Sheik are well known criminals and associated with a number of decoities as partners. Their names can be seen at the top of the criminal lists of the police station. S.U.C. had never any connection with Taramuddi Sheik and very recently, local people under the leadership of S.U.C.I. caught this Taramuddi and handed him over to police. It was however noticed that local C.P.I(M) leaders were trying to hush up the case of Taramuddi with the help of a section of local influential people but the attempt was foiled due to our vigilance. Soon however Taramuddi was given bail and after coming out from jail he killed Abu Zafar in connection with some previous quarrel that they had, regard-

ing the sharing of the booty. This is the real story, but Sri Ghosh gave political colour to non-political incident with the ulterior motive of taking political advantage out of it.

Next Sri Ghosh narrates his version of the attack on Prof. Robin Basak by S.U.C. men on the pretext that he was telling local students and people to protest against the goondalism of S. U. C. But this is not true. Prof. Basak was using filthy languages against S.U.C. and its leaders when he was travelling in a train in south section. Co-passengers protested against this vulgar attack. At this the said professor got infuriated and amazingly took out a two edged dagger from his portfolio bag and tried to attack them. The passengers, however, overpowered him and handed him over to the G.R.P. at the next station.

17th November incident at Jalaberia and Nutanhat

Sri Santimoy Ghosh had complained in his article that S.U.C. men had taken the side of Jotedars in the clash between Jotedars and C. P. I(M) men who planted paddy in the land of the notorious Jotedar Dhiren Paul. The fact is that S.U.C men cultivated the land of Dhiren Paul and during harvesting, many anti-social elements under the leadership of C.P.I(M) who were not the tillers attacked them with lethal weapons. With the interference of police it was decided that the crops will be in the custody of police until the dispute was finally settled. But on the very next day i.e. on 17th November, C.P.I(M) men along with anti-social elements flouted the agreements and attacked with the guns of the notorious Jotedars Kangal Naskar and Abbas and looted 25 houses of S.U.C supporters. Many were injured and Sahid Ali Mondal, S. U. C. worker was brutally killed.

Nolekhali incident

In this incident C.P.I.(M)

workers tried to loot the entire paddy of a poor peasant, Nepal. This man who is a local poor peasant, cultivated the land and as such the entire produce should be his. Naturally when the C.P.I.(M) miscreants tried to deprive him of the fruits of his labour, the poor and the landless peasants resisted the move. At first they retreated but again the C.P.I.(M) supporters came back with police force and attacked the poor peasants. This is the actual happening at Nolekhali but according to Sri Ghosh, S.U.C. workers along with a few Jotedars resisted the harvesting of paddy by C. P. I. (M) workers. This is a completely fabricated story; but Sri Ghosh's capacity in fabrication had remarkably been found in his version of the incident that took place at the village Amtala on 27th November. In presenting his version of the incident, he had even surpassed Dr. Goebles, the propaganda Minister of Germany, during Hitlerite regime. According to him, peasant members of C.P.I.(M) were killed in clash with Jotedars along with S. U. C. supporters at Davidabad. This is completely false. The fact is that on 27th November, C. P. I. (M) along with anti-social elements from the suburbs of Calcutta launched a massive attack on the village, Amtala (not Davidabad) with 40 guns, acquired from the Jotedars. But the resistance from the villagers was stiff and as all the attackers were the anti-social elements of the suburbs of Calcutta, they were not quite acquainted with the nooks and corners of the village. Taking this advantage, the villagers heroically fought back and there was quite a number of casualties, from the aggressors. This is the real story and C.P.I.(M) is not in a position to disclose this.

Lastly Sri Ghosh furnished a list of Jotedars who according to him, were supporters of S.U.C; but curiously, S.U.C. is conducting struggle against

all of them and achieved significant victories in some cases. In this list the name of Com. Probodh Purkait, M.L.A. of S.U.C.I. was included with the remark that his father Pulin Behari Purkait had surplus land. It is definitely not the fault of the son if his father happens to be a Jotedar. That is why Hare Krishna Konar is the leader of C.P.I.(M) in spite of the fact that he is the son of a big Jotedar of Burdwan. But unlike Hare Krishna Konar who has left untouched all the surplus lands of his father and relatives, Com. Probodh Purkait under the leadership of S.U.C. has already detected and distributed among the poor peasants more than 7 acres of surplus land of his father, Sri Pulin Behari Purkait.

Since inception, S. U. C. has relentlessly been carrying out struggle against Jotedars and as such the poor and the landless peasantry of south 24-Parganas has made no mistake in recognising this party as their own. The members and supporters of S.U.C. have to pay dearly for their fight for justice against the Jotedars of south 24-Parganas. These Jotedars, in collusion with the previous Congress Govt. tried to crush the movements of the poor and landless peasants under the leadership of S.U.C. Many workers of S.U.C. were murdered, many were falsely implicated in court cases and many were imprisoned under false charges. Warrants of arrests have been issued against thousands and some such warrants are still pending. Even during the last U. F. regime four of our precious comrades were poisoned to death by an agent of Jotedars (this agent has now joined C.P.I.(M)) and during this U.F. rule, Jotedars opened fire on the peasant supporters of S.U.C.I. at Madhusudanpur without any provocation. In this firing on peaceful peasant demonstration, a number of persons sustained injuries and one of our comrades laid down his precious life. Even though

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U. P. State Org. Committee

U. P. State Organising Committee SUC has recently been formed at a meeting at Benaras. Workers from districts of Balia, Gazipur, Jampur, Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Benaras attended the meeting.

The Committee has 9 members with Com. Satchidananda Tiwary as convener.

Consolidate unity and intensify ideological struggle

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the United Fronts as instruments of legitimate and democratic struggles of the people? Or are we to believe that the C.P.I. (M) is harbouring an illusion to make their programme of People's Democratic Revolution successful only in these two States to the exclusion of the rest of India? Certainly they do not; then how can the C. P. I. (M) leadership remain oblivious of the danger posed by the wrong policies pursued by them?

We also feel that those parties (the Mini-Front parties in Kerala and C.P.I., Bangla Congress etc. in West Bengal) who are charging the C.P.I.(M) for using the administration for party ends are not doing so since it is causing serious harm to the democratic struggles of the people and devoiding these struggles of their militancy but simply because of the fact that they themselves have been deprived of reaping any benefit. The nature of their objection unmistakably shows that they have become more perturbed by the fact that the C.P.I. (M) is extending its sphere of influence using the administration completely in its favour whereas the other partners are unable to do so. They are rather forced to a position as if they are only to rubber-stamp the decision of C.P.I. (M). To them this is surely an intolerable situation. Thus it seems that if the C.P.I. (M) could make an arrangement with the parties of the Mini-Front to have a proportionate share of the so-called "fruits" of administration in the manner of distribution of portfolios basing on respective party strength then the fundamental ground of conflict between these parties might have been minimised. So the main question that is engaging the attention of all these parties is not how rapidly they can develop legitimate struggles of the peo-

ple and develop their political consciousness but how tactfully they can use the administration for party ends. We consider such politics to be extremely nasty and the sooner our people get rid of such politics the better.

But it is a tragedy that these parties with such narrow and nasty politics are still today dominating the fate of the United Front Government in some of the states taking advantage of the low level of political consciousness of the people. Thus in view of such a situation, if it happens within a foreseeable future, that the C. P. I. (M) has been able to gain, by whatever politics it may be, absolute majority in a state particularly where we have our substantial organisation—we are not afraid of facing such a position, rather we will welcome it. Such a situation will offer us better opportunity to expose their character which we do not usually get either when they remain in the opposition and indulge in hot revolutionary slogans before the people or when they combinedly participate in U.F. Govts. getting a chance to cover up their own faults and to put blame on others. People in that case will get a better opportunity to test the nature and character of their "revolutionism" and it will not at all be difficult to explode the myth which still today surrounds that party. Even at the present state they cannot evade some important questions that have cropped up in the minds of those who are a bit critical. Can it be ruled out that the tempo of mass movement which was discernible in 1967 in West Bengal in the labour field is taking a different turn today inspite of the fact that the biggest party known as Marxist Communist controls the labour portfolio today? Is it not a fact that the leaders of this party have adopted a social demo-

cratic attitude of assuring both the owners and the workers of their full co-operation? How can they deny that the P. B. of the same revolutionary Party resolved with gratification that the success of the labour policy of the U. F. Govt. in West Bengal is amply proved by the fact that this year most of the bonus issues have been settled "without much struggle"? Does it not connote that struggle is considered by them to be almost equivalent to "trouble"? We are sure that this stand of the party has not gone totally unnoticed by the critical observers. This is why we emphasise both on unity and struggle. Unity against our main enemy and while forging unity to encourage ideological struggle in order to raise the level of political consciousness of the people on the basis of which they can differentiate between right and wrong.

Now, it is important to ask, what should be the concept of unity of the United Front? For a Marxist, the concept of unity is understood dialectically. The unity means both unity and struggle. The unity of the various Front partners founded on a minimum democratic programme for carrying out a fierce struggle directed against the main enemy at a given period, should not be understood as precluding all struggle among the members of the Front. The struggle is not only an inevitable outcome of the Front but also the necessary means to create greater unity in the Front and among the masses on the basis of correct line.

So this struggle is not only desirable but also an active component part of the unity without which the unity is sure to be broken. But a Marxist also knows that struggles are of various kinds and intensities. It is necessary to distinguish a struggle between the enemy and ourselves and a

struggle among ourselves, which is purposive and creates greater identification in outlook and method of struggle. But this approach to the question of unity is considerably lacking among the Front constituents and more so among the big partners of the Front, notwithstanding their profecy of Marxism-Leninism as the guiding line of their party. Their view of unity is a blind, mechanical unity, a unity without any struggle. Conversely, according to them, when it is struggle it is struggle without any basis of unity. It is struggle considered at par with the struggle against the reactionaries. That a difference should be made so long we are in the Front—not out of any pragmatic necessity for increasing the strength of the party, but born out of a historical necessity in the process of revolutionary struggle of the proletarian masses between struggle among ourselves as a whole and our main enemy is simply not reflected in the activities of the Front. As a result when there is a struggle within the Front, which should be limited only in the ideological plane, which is necessary and inevitable, it is taking the turn of a struggle of the nature of annihilation, physical violence, slanderous campaign and mud-slinging against each other. Contrarily, when it is unity, it is unity not on the basis of mutual understanding developed through struggle in the form of exchange of opinions, joint meetings, joint literary campaign etc. but a unity based on domination of the powerful partners of the Front over the others. The party or the individual which does not go in for struggle or venture to criticise the most powerful partner in the Front even if it is palpably wrong in its policy and activity, is considered to be the torch bearer of unity whereas others who criticise

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UF MUST ADOPT UNIFORM ATTITUDE TOWARDS POLICE AND BUREAUCRACY

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when criticism is necessary to rectify and strengthen the Front no matter how the big partners would react on it are even termed as "reactionary" and "anti-people." But this blind adherence to the dictates of the dominant partners for finding favour with it, far from strengthening the unity of the Front, helps to create mistrust and suspicion among the Front partners and fails to educate the masses politically. Also when it is admitted by all that U.F. derives its strength from the masses of the people, it would be sheer dishonesty to keep the masses in the dark on every political move of the Front and the ideological tussels going on inside the Front. So, in order to build up the unity of the Front and educate the masses on the ideology of the U.F., which, in the present phase serves as their only instrument of struggle for safeguarding their democratic rights, healthy ideological struggle is of utmost importance and an essential part of the task for keeping unity of the U. F.

Another factor which has greatly sullied the image of the U.F. is the way the bureaucracy and the police machinery is conducted by the respective ministries. Whatever might be the nature and depth of differences existing among the Front partners the administration must not be given any scope to play upon it and widen the rift within the U.F., thereby lowering its image in the estimation of the people. To achieve this a conduct should have been evolved within the Front Ministries so that the administration and the bureaucratic officialdom are made to behave impartially and in such a way that equal importance is laid on all the Ministries irrespective of any party or individual consideration. Such a conduct

if developed would also mean that any insult or insubordination on the part of the officers shown to any Ministry (irrespective of party strength) should be deemed as an insult and insubordination to the entire cabinet itself. If such a pattern of behaviour can be set in motion at the cabinet level, then the bureaucracy will be forced to forsake its attitude of pleasing some partners at the cost of others and hatching up conspiracies against the U. F. The rank and file of the constituent parties of the U. F. can then be very easily taught how to launch united struggle against the common enemy i.e. the industrialists, the jotedars, the bureaucracy and other hirelings of the ruling capitalist clique, for implementing the accepted minimum democratic programme. While relentlessly fighting against each other on policies and principles in the ideological front for the purpose of achieving greater unity and correct line and approach of the Front without however violating the democratic norms within which the conduction of the ideological struggle should be limited, the workers of different political parties of the U. F. must remember that this ideological fight, which is unavoidable, shall not embitter their mutual relationship or hinder the growth of common struggles for which they have been united. It on the other hand would develop their friendship and cement their unity for fighting against the common enemy, although at no stage, the ideological struggle need be slackened. Such a dialectical approach of the struggle and unity should be the governing principle in maintaining unity of the Front while giving equal opportunity to all parties, big or small, to develop solely on the basis of correct ideology and principle.

Fight out economism, develop revolutionary consciousness and consolidate working class unity

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away the basic right of the workers to struggle against injustice and drive the trade union movement into the process of litigation and its criterion for recognition of trade unions that have worked mainly in favour of the employers need immediate radical revision in the interest of safeguarding the rights and privileges of the workers and their Unions as against company-favoured and virtually company Unions, such as right to strike, work to rules and other forms of legitimate demonstration against the employers' offensives and the right to lawful strike after failure of the employers and the Government to settle the dispute by collective bargaining or conciliation or adjudication. It is the considered view of the

We appeal to the workers and supporters of the different parties of the U. F. to ponder over the question of unity in the above way, to stop slanderous campaign against each other and to maintain unity failing which it would amount to a betrayal to the people and cause a tremendous setback to the growth and development of the progressive democratic and revolutionary movements throughout the country. We specially urge upon the workers and sympathisers of C.P.I. (M) which is the most dominant partner of the U. F. in this State to view this critical issue of preserving unity of the U. F. in the above light. Only then the present internecine quarrels and political murders which are still going on in this State can be minimised and ultimately put to a stop, thus reviving the U. F. in its full strength and leading the toiling masses to greater and higher victories in their democratic struggles against the reactionary ruling clique.

Conference that it is because of the weak-kneed and opportunistic stand of these Central Trade Union Organisations that the trade union movement in our country is permeated through and through with economism, a plague in the working class movement and that the Government can carry out with impunity anti-labour policies and activities. The Conference strongly condemns the recent attempts by the communal and parochial parties like the Jana Sangh to organise the workers on the communal, provincial and other parochial basis and drag them into the path of obscurantism, communalism, provincialism etc to the great danger of a militant trade union movement.

"The Conference condemns the Government's discriminatory attitude towards the U. T. U. C. in according recognition to its legitimate claim for representation in various bodies and demands that its due place in the field of non-partisan broad democratic trade union movement should be recognised by the Government."

Besides the main resolution, other important resolutions, hailing the heroic struggle of the Negro people for defence of democratic right waged against the U. S. rulers, condemning the criminal colonial war waged by the Portugese fascist regime against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, hailing the workers and people of Vietnam for their heroic struggle for a just cause and their unflinching determination to drive out of their dear motherland the U. S. and other alien troops and congratulating them for the glorious victory they have won against the U. S. aggressors

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In reply to the slanders of C.P.M.

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Jyoti Basu, the Deputy Chief Minister and Home Minister, had to admit on the floor of the Assembly that it was the Jotedars who first opened fire on the peaceful demonstration of peasants, he expressed his shock and sympathy for those five Jotedars who were, later on, killed by mob fury. Moreover warrants of arrests were issued against many innocent peasants though no steps to arrest those responsible for firing on peasants, were taken. It is however foolish to expect otherwise from Jyoti babu's Home Department. This class angularity can also be seen in the statement of Jyoti babu regarding the incident at Bharatgarh. In an encounter with the police and the poor peasants, in which the police sided with the agents of the Jotedars, a constable was killed, but Jyoti babu termed the misdeeds of the constable as "duty" and he was ready to garland the deadbody but his wish was not materialised because of police vandalism in Assembly. Even during Congress regime there were instances of police personnels being killed in mob fury but even no Congress Minister was seen to garland the dead body. But it is curious to note that Jyoti babu made it a point to garland the deceased constable who according to Jyoti babu died on duty. This attitude has prompted him to set up the largest number of Camp Courts in South 24 Parganas though the C. P. I. (M) leader, Sri Promode Dasgupta had to concede that the largest amount of benami land had been recovered from South 24-Parganas. To one not quite conversant with C. P. I. (M) politics this may seem paradoxical, but in reality C. P. I. (M) is following its accepted political line. At the 7th Congress of C.P.I.(M) held in Calcutta in 1964 it was stated "By large, they (rich peasants) can also therefore be brought into the

democratic front and retained as allies in the people's democratic revolution." (Page 45-46) It is because of this the rich peasants (Jotedars) are their allies and their peasant's organisation, includes a large section of the Jotedars who are siding with them. As against this the K.M.F. the peasants' organisation of S.U.C. has emerged as the genuine instrument of struggle of the poor and the landless peasantry. This however, has made the C.P.I.(M) panicky and they are resorting to all possible means to liquidate S. U. C. I. The plethora of lies that they published in the aforesaid issues of People's Democracy are also meant to damage the growing popularity of S.U.C.I. among the broad section of the people. It was seen in the past that the name of S.U.C. was never mentioned in any organ of C.P.I.(M) as they were attempting to gag S.U.C. from the cadres and supporters of their own party. But they are at present convinced of the futility of their attempt since a large section of their own cadres are constantly feeling the correctness of our stand in all issues and a steady inflow into our rank has set in. To check this they have been regularly slandering against us in their Bengali organ Gana-Sakti. But they are finding it not sufficient to check the split in its own rank in provinces like Kerala, Delhi, Haryana, Punjab, Assam and U.P. where a considerable section of the ranks of C.P.I.(M) are joining hands with us. It is because of this they have launched this vilification campaign against S. U. C. in their all India organ, "People's Democracy" but they should remember that history has repeatedly revealed that no social democratic party can check and retard the growth of the genuine working class party and as such C. P. I. (M) which is basically a social democratic party will fail to check the march of S. U. C. I., the real working class party of India.

WELCOME TO THE DELEGATES OF SOUTH VIETNAM

(By a Staff Reporter)

A 5-member Delegation representing Provisional Revolutionary Govt. of South Vietnam was on a month-long tour in India under the leadership of Prof. Nguen Van Tien, a member of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation and the Dy. Leader of the NLF team to the Paris Peace talks.

On 13.12.69 the team arrived in Calcutta. Awaiting people greeted them in a befitting manner. The awaiting dignitaries including the ministers of the U. F. Govt. garlanded the members. More than 15 members of the U. F. Cabinet including Com. Subodh Banerjee, Com. Protiva Mukherjee, Joyti Bose, Biswanath Mukherjee and some party leaders were also present at the aerodrome to receive them. Com. Nihar Mukherjee Secy. W.B. State Committee, S. U. C. I. also garlanded the members of the team among others

The delegation attended several reception meetings of different strata of the population viz. Students, Youth, Trade Union Workers, Women, Citizens etc. other than a public meeting at the Saheed Minar Maidan on 20.12.69.

In these meetings different delegates said that it was the U.S.A. which was solely responsible for the heinous crimes on the Vietnamese people. But national salvation is the inalienable right of people of Vietnam. The Yankee plan to subjugate the Vietnamese is doomed to failure as more than 80% are well under the administrative jurisdiction of the P.R.G. Prof. Tien said with full confidence that the valiant Vietnamese would not stop until the U.S. & its lackeys are wiped out of Vietnam. As regards Paris talks and phased withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam, Prof. Tien said that it was nothing but a political manouever of the Nixon administration to perpetuate the war in Vietnam.

Everywhere the members of the delegation visited, they were accorded warmest and overwhelming receptions. The bond of friendship and solidarity between the people of India and Vietnam was further cemented and the pledge to give the imperialists a crushing defeat was renewed. In all they were presented with 1 lakh 31 thousands rupees and few bottles of blood apart from other presentations.

U.T.U.C. Conference

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and their lackeys were adopted. Conference among others, adopted resolutions on Govt. employees, Bank Nationalisation, Trade Union Unity, Automation, Wage Board, Communal Harmony etc. Some of the important delegates who moved and supported the resolutions were Com. Gyan Singh Choudhury from Haryana, Com. Fateh Singh from Delhi, Com. Sankar Singh, Com. N. R. Singh, Com. Anil Sarkar from Bihar, Com. Provat Khatunia from Assam, Com. Tapas Dutta, Com. B. Jena, Com. Md. Kasem from Orissa, and Com. Protiva Mukherjee, Com. Asutosh Banerjee, Com. Fatick Ghosh, West Bengal.

In the presidential address Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our leader and teacher and a great Marxist thinker of our country at the very beginning of his speech posed the question for serious pondering over it as to why the mighty tide of working people's militant struggles against imperialism-capitalism witnessed throughout the world after the conclusion of the second world war did

subside without however achieving the desired object of overthrow of imperialism-capitalism, from the major part of the globe? How is it that Soviet Russia where for the first time in world history a Socialist State was born and the dictatorship of the proletariat was firmly established under the able leadership of Comrades Lenin and Stalin, and which appeared as the leading force guiding the international communist movement and national liberation struggles of the toiling millions has ceased to be the bulwark of the world revolutionary forces due to the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Communist Party! Com. Ghosh laid emphasis on the need to fight out economism to develop a broad united trade union movement embracing all sections of workers to guard them against their common enemy the ruling capitalist class however slackening the ideological struggle. The open session was held on 30th Nov. at Bhaga Maidan, Jharia and more than 20,000 workers attended the session. It was presided over by Shibdas Ghosh, the newly elected President of U.T.U.C.

MASS MEETING ON 26th JANUARY

To observe as People's Protest Day

SUBODH MULLICK SQUARE, 4-30 P.M.