

Resist Mounting Attacks by Government

On the plea of restoring discipline in administration, the West Bengal State Government and the Government of India have lately dismissed ninety-nine government employees in the State. Of these dismissed employees, fifty-four are state policemen and thirteen other employees of the State Government, all of whom have been sacked under article 311 (2) of the Constitution of India. The rest thirty-two are Central Government employees of the ordnance and gun and shell factories at Cossipore, Dum Dum and Ichapore who have been dismissed under article 310 (1) of the Constitution and Rule 5. In all these cases the employees have been neither charge-sheeted nor given any opportunity to defend themselves. In other words, natural justice has been denied to them.

The plea of restoring discipline in administration taken by the State and the Union Governments is palpably mala fide. For, had it been the case, the employees would have been charge-sheeted and given reasonable opportunity to defend themselves and the special powers under the Constitution would not have been invoked. It is known to all that the special powers can be invoked only in those cases where the question of security of the state is involved. And it is not the plea of the Governments also that the dismissed employees had been working against the security of the state. There is no doubt that in dismissing these employees the West Bengal State Government and the Union Government have been actuated by political motives. The punishment, therefore, is victimization plain and simple.

Now that West Bengal is under President's Rule, which is rule by the Union Government, there is no doubt that the dismissal of the State Government employees must have been made in concurrence with the Union Government. Invocation of special powers just to dismiss the employees without charge-sheeting them and without giving them any opportunity to defend themselves is certainly not in conformity with the accepted practice of democracy and the principle of natural justice.

This autocratic action once again expresses the growing tendencies of fascization in the Congress (R), the Governments run by it and the administrative machinery in the country. No really democratic person can remain indifferent to this growing menace. Will the left and democratic parties in our country that discover "progressiveness" or "healthy trend" in the Indira Congress (The CPI's stand is too well-known in this regard. For CPI (M)'s stand please refer to its Central Committee's resolution published in *People's Democracy* dated 15th February, 1970) take correct lessons from the fascistic offensives by the Congress (R) and the Union Government?

Whatever the government spokesmen might say, there is no denying that the present attack by the Government is a prelude to further and bigger future attacks and the sword of undemocratic special powers will come down on the heads of many more employees who will refuse to be cowed down by this repressive measure. It is a well-calculated move by the authorities meant to strike terror in the heart of the government employees, demoralize them and crush their movements. If this first attack cannot be effectively resisted then it will augur very bad days for the trade union movement in our country. In the fitness of things, therefore,

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Com. Chanda's Statement On Coal Mine's Take-over

Comrade Pritish Chanda, Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and President, Bihar Coal Miners' Union, has issued the following statement to the Press on the Union Government's taking over management and control of 214 coking coal mines in our country:—

"The people of our country have, for long time, been demanding nationalisation of coal mines without compensation. Recently by an ordinance the Union Government has only taken over the management and control of 214 coking coal mines. It goes without saying that this action on the part of the government falls far short of the demand of the people and, hence, cannot satisfy them.

"The UTUC (Lenin Sarani), Bihar Coal Miners' Union and other Unions of coalminers in the country guided by us have been in the forefront of the movement for nationalisation of coalmines without compensation. Very recently these Unions in Jharia conducted a massive movement in support of this demand. Sometime back when there was talk of nationalisation, it was our Unions alone that exposed in public the nefarious tactics then adopted by some unscrupulous mine owners to foil nationalisation even by drowning mines, closing down pits and removing stores and vehicles. In the face of concrete evidence produced by our Unions the then Steel and Mines Minister could not but admit the authenticity of our charge. At that time our

Unions successfully resisted also the closing down of certain mines by the owners.

"It should be realised that even nationalisation of coalmines under the present socio-political economic system in our country would not be socialization. Under capitalism nationalisation of any industry by the ruling bourgeoisie aims at strengthening further the capitalist system and staving off the growing economic crisis and at the altar of aggregate capitalist interest the interests of individual capitalists are sacrificed. The recent action by the Government will not deprive the owners of any profit they used to reap from the mines; nor will it abolish private ownership of the mines, remove mal-practices, ensure one consolidated employer for all the coalmine workers, abolish the hated contract labour system for all of which the miners and our Unions have been relentlessly conducting movements. The action of the Government will only save the owners from the rigour of managing the coal mines without any loss to their right of ownership and profits.

"It is reported in newspapers that the present action by the

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TEACHINGS OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

The toiling people of different countries of the world are going to observe the fifty-fourth anniversary of the Great November Revolution on the 7th of November this year. Along with them our people also will solemnly observe it to renew their pledge and sharpen their determination to replace the present exploiting capitalist order of our country by a socialist system free from all sorts of exploitation, economic, political, social and cultural, of man by man and usher in a new society with unlimited scope for uninterrupted social progress and advancement in all directions of the people. In the struggles by our people to attain this objective the November Revolution still serves as the beacon light.

The November Revolution is not the first revolution in the history of mankind. Revolutions are the locomotive of society, said Marx. In the long march of mankind along the path of civilisation from clan communism human society had faced one revolution after another, resulting in the establishment of different social formations. But the November Revolution occupies a distinct place among all of them. The revolutions that preceded it, with the solitary exception of Paris Commune, which was the first heroic though unsuccessful attempt by the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie from power and set up a proletarian state, ended in replacing one class of exploiters by another, thereby maintaining exploitation in one form or another. The November Revolution, for the first time in the history of mankind, had successfully overthrown the bourgeoisie from power, smashed the old bourgeois state apparatus, established a new state, a new type of state, the proletarian state and firmly laid the basis for complete emancipation of the people from exploitation and ultimate establishment of a classless communist society.

It is true that the November Revolution took place on the Russian soil and, on that ground, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals have all through been trying to point it as a purely Russian phenomenon and minimise its international significance. The November Revolution is not a revolution

limited within the bounds of a single country, namely Russia but is part and parcel of world revolution of international order. By successfully breaking for the first time the weakest link in the chain of world imperialism and thereby making the first socialist revolution victorious, it has established the dawn of a new era, the era of proletarian revolution. Inspired by it and guided by its teachings, the proletariat in many countries has seized power and established socialism in their respective countries.

The November Revolution, led and made victorious under the leadership of Com. Lenin, has given a lie to the dogmatists whose understanding of Marxism did not go beyond letters of what Marx and Engels had written. Lenin has pointed out that Marxism provides only the general guiding principles which are to be applied differently to different countries in accordance with the concrete conditions obtaining in them. In our words, to quote Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our leader and teacher and one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day, "If the Communists are to make the revolutions successful, they are to concretise Marxism-Leninism on the respective soils to which they belong." In the prevailing condition in our country, where the big so-called communist parties are mechanically copying the policies and tactics of this or that communist party abroad and blindly accepting

the latter's programme without making concrete analysis of concrete condition in our country and without examining if that programme is at all applicable to our country or not, the question of concretising Marxism-Leninism on the soil is important. These so-called communists talk of authority. Yes; in Marxism-Leninism works the sense of authority. But Marxist-Leninist conception about sense of authority is not authoritarianism or *Guruvad*. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, has made an illuminating contribution and thereby enriched Marxism-Leninism in this regard. He said that authoritarianism "precludes struggles with the authority, is based on blind acceptance of the authority, considers the authority infallible and above criticism and ultimately deifies it. Such a blind sense of authority is incompatible with the dialectical understanding of the sense of authority which does not preclude, rather presupposes, struggles, non-antagonistic in nature, with the authority precisely with the object of uniting with and strengthening it." To be a disciple of Com. Lenin, Com. Stalin or Chairman Mao does not mean to follow them blindly, munch what they had said or written in their books, mechanically copy the policies formulated by them in leading their revolutions and take their names in the manner of a devout *Vaishnav* telling his beads. On the contrary, it means to adhere to the methodology, dialectical materialist methodology they used in making their revolutions victorious, analyse the Indian situation concretely and independently, creatively apply the general guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism according to the concrete condition of the country and determine the ways and means that would best answer the Indian situation and change the ways and means as the situation would change. This alone would save Marxism from de-nerating into a dogma.

Dogmatism, though a danger, is not at present the main danger before the world communist movement. Revisionism today is the main danger before world communist movement. On the plea that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action the revisionists had tried and are still trying to take away from it its revolutionary essence and reduce it to opportunism, pragmatism and such other nonsense as are acceptable to the bourgeoisie. The November Revolution has re-established that in spite of differences in the application of the general guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism to different countries due to difference in concrete conditions and consequently, different forms of transition from capitalism to socialism in different countries, the essence everywhere will be the same. To overlook this commonness which reflects the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and unilaterally stress on the differences is to invite nationalist and revisionist deviations. There is no denying the fact that undue and unilateral emphasis on the different forms of transition to socialism in different countries without any mention of the common fundamental characteristics in spite of the differences in forms, laid since when Khrushchev assumed the leadership of the CPSU, is one of the reasons responsible for nationalist deviations among the communist parties in the Balkan countries.

The November Revolution has objectively confirmed the correctness of one of the fundamental Marxist tenets that "the working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." Without the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery and establishment in its place of the proletarian state socialism cannot be established. It is, however true that due to difference in concrete conditions each country will contribute its specific nature in

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DUTY IMPLIES SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND OBLIGATION

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without being guided by sectarian petty party interests or puffed up vanity or big-party-chauvinism, rather in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, the government employees in general and their leadership in particular should review the whole situation so as to eliminate all weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes and develop mighty united movements against the fascistic attacks. The task ahead is not an easy one. Disunity is to be removed and fighting unity of the government employees and organisations of theirs established, falling morale of the employees checked and fighting spirit restored, damaged fraternal unity between the people and the government employees repaired and popular support behind the movement enlisted. To neglect this task would be suicidal.

There is no denying the fact that the Congress (R) and the administration are at work to damage further already damaged relation between the members of the public and the government employees. It is with this aim that the bourgeois Press and the propaganda media controlled by the Government are carrying on propaganda to the effect that the government employees do not perform their duties, that they harass the public, that they are corrupt and take illegal gratification, that for toning up the administration strong action against the bad elements is necessary, so on and so forth. To create confusion and further disrupt unity of the government employees, the Government is saying that the recent attack is not directed against the general employees who have nothing to fear but against the bad elements, shirkers and breakers of office discipline. That the Government does not seriously mean to democratize and tone up the administration and remove corruption from it but only trying to incite the people against the government employees taking advantage of the people's genuine grievances

against the employees in its favour is not yet clear to the public. That is why the Government's game has been successful to some extent. The Government has been able to antagonize a large section of confused masses of the people against the government employees. But why has the game been successful?

It is true that the government employees have many just demands still unfulfilled. They should be met and can be easily met by the Government if it so desires. In the absence of genuine desire of the Government to meet these demands, the government employees have every reason to be indignant. No one can dispute their right to organise movements for the realisation of these demands. But there is no right without duty and obligation. Right always implies social duty and obligation to the people. Without the performance of this duty, without the corresponding carrying out of the social responsibility and obligation to the people, the demand for rights is a narrow privilege. (Thanks to opportunist leadership, this rotten opportunism, hostile to revolutionary working class movement in our country.) But has the CPI(M)-controlled leadership of the government employees ever tried to imbibe them with this necessary sense of social responsibility and obligation to the people? Has it ever urged upon the employees to develop pro-people attitude and help common men in distress who come to government offices to seek relief? No, never. On the contrary, one experiences daily what indignity, insult and harassment one has to face in government offices not merely from the officers but from a section of ordinary government employees as well. There are certainly exceptions to it but it is hard reality that a section of government employees (many of them are leaders and activists of unions and associations of government employees) deliberately harasses the

members of the public, deals with them bureaucratically and behaves with them most discourteously. If common men with this experience at government offices develop feeling against the government employees, who other than the employees themselves and more so their leadership are to blame?

It cannot also be denied that corruption is rampant among a section of the government employees. Has the CPI(M)-controlled leadership of the government employees ever tried to build up and develop any movement to free the employees from corruption? No, never. On the contrary, many of the leaders of the government employees, who are known as CPI(M) activists, are very often heard to argue in such a way as lends support to corruption. For example, when an honest employee spoke of the necessity of developing correct ethical values among the government employees to fight corruption, one of such leaders in an omniscient vein was heard to remark: "Morality! morality is a bourgeois fad." This gentleman has become a leader of the government employees but he does not know that morality is not a bourgeois fad. The proletariat too has its culture and morality. To quote Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our leader and teacher and one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day, "the nobility of any progressive ideology lies precisely in its culture, its ethical and aesthetic values." The acid test of whether a person is progressive or not is the level of culture and ethics reflected by him in his activities. There cannot be any real politics without ethics. Politics divorced from ethics have been characterized as the profession of the worst scoundrel by a famous author. Very correct. We have heard another such leader arguing like this—"You see, corruption cannot be removed so long as capitalism will exist. Ours is a capitalist society. Corruption, therefore, must be here." Is this fighting corruption or is

it a subtle way of supporting corruption? It is true that capitalism breeds corruption and so long as capitalism will exist, there will be corruption. But on this ground the corrupt practice of an individual cannot be supported. Any one who supports corruption on this ground cannot play a correct role in democratic movements, let alone leading them.

The government employees had conducted many movements to realise their economic demands. But due to the opportunist character of the CPI(M)-controlled leadership, there has been no movement of the government employees to imbibe the employees with sense of social responsibility and obligation to the people, to develop pro-people attitude and sympathy to common men among the government employees, to eradicate bureaucratic attitude, discourteous behaviour and inclination to harass the public and to fight out corruption from government offices. This has gradually worsened the relation between the people and the government employees leading to alienation of a substantial section of the general public from the government employees. The Congress (R) and the administration are exploiting this situation to their advantage against the government employees. The damaged relation between the public and the government employees has got to be repaired. For, without popular support no difficult movement against reaction and vested interests and their government can be won. To repair the damaged relation, the government employees must build up and develop movements of their own in order to imbibe themselves with a sense of social responsibility and obligation to the people, pro-people attitude, sympathy and fellow-feeling for the common men and democratic sense of values to get rid of corruption, bureaucratic and uncivil attitude and behaviour. It should be realised that any and every type of leadership is

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STRENGTHEN S U C—ONLY REAL COMMUNIST PARTY IN INDIA

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one or another form of democracy, leading to the creation of a great variety and abundance of political forms in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. But, nevertheless, in spite of the differences in political forms, their essence will be the same everywhere, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat there can be no socialism. The November Revolution, by safeguarding the Marxist-Leninist idea of proletarian state and the dictatorship of the proletariat from erosion, has created a permanent unbridgeable chasm between Marxism-Leninism and Social-Democratism that opposes the necessity of destroying the bourgeois state machinery, advocates the theory of peaceful transition to socialism by parliamentary means and cynically hates the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is a pity that the leadership of the CPSU, since the twentieth Congress of the party, has been munching the much-condemned Social-Democratic theory of peaceful transition to socialism by parliamentary means and the theory of the state of the whole people. It is equally a pity that most of the so-called communist parties also are doing the same thing. It is not accidental that these parties have become strong advocates of the theory of peaceful transition to socialism by parliamentary means and of the state of the whole people since when the Khrushchev leadership of the CPSU had advanced it. This fact once again demonstrates the habit of these communist parties to blindly accept whatever is presented by the CPSU leadership reducing them to a position of servility. Modern revisionism which has appeared as a great danger to the world communist movement and has split it to the great jubilation and advantage of world imperialism-capitalism is the creation of the Khrushchevite leadership of the CPSU backed

by mechanical understanding of the relation between the CPSU and the communist parties owing allegiance to the former on the part of the latter.

It should be realised that in the present situation when fascism has become the general order in all capitalist countries, when even ordinary democratic movements by the people in traditional democratic countries are being ruthlessly crushed violently, when the imperialists are armed to the teeth and are organising counter-revolutions even in socialist countries, when world imperialism, in spite of much reduced strength, continues to be a world system and is, by virtue of its fundamental economic traits, distinguished by the least attachment to peace and freedom and by the greatest and universal development of militarism, it is naive to expect that the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries will hand over power to the revolutionary alliance led by the proletariat without any resistance and voluntarily make peaceful transition to socialism possible. Peaceful transition to socialism from capitalism may be possible in remote future under conditions when the bourgeoisie, in recognition of the superior might of the socialist countries, will be afraid of attempting to violently crush the revolutionary mass upsurge for seizure of power by the revolutionary alliance led by the proletariat.

And the idea of attaining socialism by parliamentary means is alien to Marxism-Leninism even though Marxism-Leninism does not negate altogether possibility of peaceful transition to socialism under suitable conditions referred to above. To quote Com. Shibdas Ghosh one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day, "To a Marxist-Leninist peaceful realisation of socialist revolution in a capitalist country means peaceful capture of power by the working class, the bourgeoisie offering no resistance and peaceful destruction of the bourgeois

state machine and replacement of it by a new state, a new type of state, the proletarian state. It does not mean peaceful transformation of the bourgeois state into the proletarian state, which can never be done. It also means the peaceful destruction of parliament and replacement of it by the worker's democratic institution and not peaceful transformation of parliament which is a bourgeois political institution into a "genuine instrument of people's will" (Khrushchev) which also can never be done."

Lastly, the November Revolution has also confirmed the correctness about the Leninist teaching about party. The party is the leading instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only a revolutionary working class party equipped with revolutionary theory is capable of performing this historical task. To characterise the party as the "party of the whole people", as Khrushchev did, is to negate the leading role of the party, fail to differentiate the vanguard of the proletariat from the rest of the class and the masses, shirk the responsibility and duty of raising the class and the masses to the level of the vanguard and degenerate the party into a platform of heterogeneous elements for some actions. Such a party cannot lead the people to power. The parties that are moving in our country with the label communist attached to them are pseudo-communist parties. It has been repeatedly proved by their activities. It is high time that our people must realise their true character and come out of their influence. The **only** real communist party in our country is the Socialist Unity Centre of India led by the great Marxism-Leninist leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. On the occasion of observance of the fifty-fourth anniversary of the Great November Revolution pledge yourselves to make this Party stronger and still further stronger organisationally. History demands it of you, the exploited down-trodden

people of our country. Long live the November Revolution! Long live the socialist revolution in India! Long live the SUCI! Long live Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!

Cong. (R)'s Move To Exploit People

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articles, other than post cards and registered newspapers has been imposed. This will hard hit the common men. The Government has also imposed an excise duty of 2 paise for each copy of newspaper and periodical and has amended the Stamp Act to increase the rate of duty. This will also adversely affect the almost empty pocket of common men in our country.

The plea of the Government to impose these additional levies is hackneyed. In the opinion of the Government levies have been imposed to meet the additional expenditure on account of Bangladesh evacuees. But is it not a fact that these additional expenditures on account of Bangladesh evacuees could have been easily met if just a portion of the arrear income-tax of Rupees 500 crores were realised, extravagant administrative expenditures (the recent instance of purchasing a Mercedes car at the cost of several lakhs for President's use) curtailed and economy practiced? Sm. Indira Gandhi and her Government by their activities have proved that they are least willing to touch the pocket of the monopolists, but they are out to pick the pocket of common men.

All these misdeeds the Prime Minister and her Government have done unilaterally. She has not tried a whit to evolve a consensus of all parties to meet the crisis, rather she is proceeding along a path which the left and democratic parties and the people of our country strongly resent. She expects that the left and democratic parties and the people will toe her line in abject surrender to her. This is not the correct way of meeting a crisis.

Sm. Gandhi's Fake Sympathy for People

On the eve of her departure for a tour of foreign countries the Prime Minister of India appealed to the people to sink all differences of party and religion to meet the situation that confronts the country today. By situation she meant the war preparations by Pakistan against India.

The appeal is all right. But may we ask if the Prime Minister is moving in the way she should have moved. It is admitted on all hands that almost the entire population of the country wants immediate recognition of Independent Bangladesh and the Independent Government of Bangladesh. Has she done it? The people also want all out help, including supply of arms to the freedom fighters of Bangladesh. Has she acted according to this mandate of the people? She has practically done little in effectively helping the freedom fighters of Bangladesh and recognising the Independent Bangladesh Government. On the contrary, she has reduced the issue virtually to the mere question of return of the evacuees and is talking of a political settlement within the framework of Pakistan, which in other word means renunciation of the demand of independence of Bangladesh. Is it not sabotaging the struggle of the freedom fighters of Bangladesh?

The Prime Minister has appealed to the people to rise above party interests. But is she not using the administrative machinery for extremely sectarian petty party interests? Why then has she enacted the Maintenance of Internal Security Act for preventive detention without trial? Is it not a fact that her Government is detaining without trial her political opponents? Can she deny that in West Bengal which is under President's rule, that is under the Union Government's rule, the so-called volunteers of the Congress (R), Youth Congress (R), and the student wing of the Congress (R) in connivance with the administration and police are killing persons, looting, setting fire

to the houses and party offices and doing other criminal acts to terrorise the political opponents of the Congress (R) and common men with impunity? Is it not equally true that under her guidance about hundred State Government and Central Government employees have recently been dismissed from service in West Bengal without any charge sheet and without being given any opportunity to defend themselves in flagrant violation of accepted practice of democracy and principle of natural justice? All this establishes beyond doubt that the Prime Minister and her Government are not above party sectarianism, rather, they are indulging in it and using the administrative machinery in furthering the sectarian petty party interests of the Congress (R) against her political opponents.

The Prime Minister is talking of 'Garibi Hatao.' But thanks to her economic and fiscal policy, the people are groaning under grinding poverty, inflation, skyrocketing prices of essential commodities, and increasing economic exploitations. In the current year's budget common men have been fleeced. Not satisfied with that, her Government has imposed new levies on the poor men and the lower middle class people. Under one of the three ordinances recently promulgated a 5% tax on railway passenger fares of Re. 1/- and above has been imposed. The 3rd class passengers who enjoy no amenity and are compelled to move like cattle in over-crowded trains will have to bear further increase of fares. By a second ordinance a tax of 5 paise on all postal

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By The Way

C. Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the CPI, while inaugurating the ninth conference of the Maharashtra state council of the party, is reported by *New Age* to have strongly criticised "the forthcoming visit of Nixon to China and said that China would be providing a prop to the tottering and discredited image of Nixon and only help him in his election." (vide issue dated October 10 last). But Nixon is visiting the Soviet Union also after his visit to China. If Nixon's visit to China means China providing a prop to the tottering and discredited image of Nixon and helping him in his election, what would his visit to the Soviet Union mean? Will Mr. Rao please say? Don't put this uncomfortable question. For, after all he suffers from anti-China bias.

Under instructions from their Congress (R) masters Customs and Postal authorities have been zealously preventing the coming in of political books and periodicals from some socialist countries. A fraction of the vigilance shown in this case is not found in them in dealing obscene books, pornography, sex-magazines, obscene pictures, etc. that are making entry into our country in tens of thousands from some foreign countries. Poor Customs and Postal officials! What can they, as public servants, do other than carrying the instructions of their Congress (R) masters to whom books and periodicals on politics from some socialist countries, according to their Gandhian sense of moral values, are more dangerous than obscene books, pornography, sex-magazines, etc?

"It is known already that China's steel production has crossed the 20 million tonne mark, while we would not be able to produce half as much even if the steel industry was free from its apparently endless woes. Yet in 1949, both India and China produced the same amount of steel. The American Association of Petroleum Geologists has now revealed that China has become nearly self-sufficient in crude oil. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission here is apparently too busy sorting out the mess over the price paid to a tea estate in Assam for land where no oil has yet been found." This comparative study is not from the pen of any communist. It is from *The Times of India*. Does the said bourgeois Press know the real reason of the difference between India and China in the sphere of development? The difference lies in the fact that India is a capitalist country while China is a socialist one.

For organising a demonstration against sale of obscene books, pornography, sex-magazines and other printed obscene matters several members of the Democratic Youth Organisation have been arrested by the Calcutta Police and a case has been instituted against them under Maintenance of Public Order Act. You say, demonstration against obscene books, pornography, etc. is not acting in a manner prejudicial to public order and, hence, does not come under the mischief of the said Act? Oh! You incorrigible legalist! You do not know that under the Congress (R) regime even demonstration against black-marketing, hoarding, smuggling, adulteration in food and medicine, corruption, graft, nepotism, mass-copying in examination halls and even mass-killings, all is acting in a manner prejudicial to public order and, hence, chargeable under Maintenance of Public Order Act. For all these acts, which according to common men, are anti-social activities are the order of the day under Congress (R) rule.

FIGHT SECTARIANISM OF C. P. M. LEADERSHIP

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not capable enough to build up, develop and lead this movement. That the CPI(M)-controlled Co-ordination Committee leadership is not capable has been amply demonstrated by its complete unwillingness to try to build up such a movement during so long a period of its leadership. So, a correct capable leadership is to be established. It is wrong to support a party only on the ground of its bigness. What is needed to be examined is if the party is a correct party, a revolutionary working party, or not. The government employees have to examine it on the anvil of their long experience of the CPI(M)-controlled leadership in the light of the science of revolution.

Secondly, it is also a reality that disunity among the left and democratic parties and consequent failure to develop mighty mass movements have provided opportunity to the Congress(R) and the Government to mount fascist attack on the government employees. This realisation has led our party to try its best to unite different left and democratic parties and develop massive united movements against the government offensive at least on this issue. The UTUC (Lenin Sarani) has been striving from the very beginning, on the one hand, to develop united movement of the government employees themselves under a broad democratic leadership of different government employees' organisations willing to fight against the fascist attack by the Government and, on the other hand, to mobilise public support for the government employees' united movement through the adoption of a programme of action agreeable to different Central Trade Union Organisations. It is an objective reality today that under the single banner of the Co-ordination Committee united movement of the government employees is impossible. About fifty per cent of the total number of unions and associations of the State

government employees in West Bengal representing more than one-half of the total number of such employees are not ready to conduct any movement under the single banner of the Co-ordination Committee. They are however, conducting movement against the government attack separately and prepared to develop united movement of the government employees under joint leadership of all the fighting government employees' organisations including the Co-ordination Committee. This hard reality has led the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) to throw the proposal for the formation of the United Council of Action, the broadest possible democratic platform developing united movement of the government employees which has not been possible since when the CPI(M) leadership forcibly imposed its own sectarian party politics and thereby disrupted the unity of the government employees and destroyed future possibility of united movement of the government employees towards the end of 1969. It was expected that our genuine attempts to develop united movement of the government employees through the formation of the United Council of Action would receive all out support from the government employees and their leadership. It did receive very good support from the general government employees. The CPI(M) leadership, the CITU leadership and the CPI(M) controlled Co-ordination Committee leadership, however, were more interested in pursuing a sectarian policy and delaying the acceptance of our proposal to form the broad democratic platform for developing united movement. It is a pity that in the face of mounting fascist attack by the Congress (R) and the Government this leadership still persists in sectarian party politics to the detriment of united movement. Should the government employees still harbour illusion about the CPI(M) leadership and the

CPI(M)-controlled Co-ordination Committee leadership? It should be realised that loss due to failure to act timely may not be made good by untimely act. The CPI(M)-controlled Co-ordination Committee may ultimately be compelled under forces of circumstances to accept our proposal for the formation of United Council of Action sometime later but then it may be too late, the opportune moment for developing united movement of the government employees might then have slipped away, when the CPI(M)-controlled Co-ordination Committee leadership might carry on slanderous campaign against other parties and mass organisations for sectarian petty party interest but by that whatever the CPI(M) might gain, the loss to the cause of the government employees and to united movement will not be mended.

Then again, the same sectarianism on the part of the CPI(M) leadership, the CITU leadership and the CPI(M)-controlled Co-ordination Committee leadership has been noticed in the call unilaterally given by this leadership for a bandh and Hartal on 13th October last. In the prevailing atmosphere of threat, intimidation, individual killings and mass killings organised and carried out in broad daylight under the very nose of the police in West Bengal, it is not very difficult for any group of persons to make a bandh successful or to make it a failure. In recent times there are instances of each kind. There is no sacrosanctity in bandh nor is it the only form of movement known to the working class. In the meetings of the Central Trade Union Organisations the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) took pains to drive home the point that considering the nature of fascist attack by the Government and its preparation for a trial of strength, it would not be correct to harbour the illusion that a bandh for a day or two or sporadic outbursts for a few days will be sufficient to compel the Government to

back out and withdraw the dismissal orders. A sustained united mighty mass movement alone can undo the wrong done to the employees. We are not opposed to bandh as such. On the contrary, we strongly feel that bandh is still a powerful weapon of movement in the hands of the working people provided it is organised on the basis of peoples support to the cause for which the bandh is called. But when the Congress (R), the Government and the administrative set up are showing increasing fascist tendency, when, not to speak of the politically unconscious masses, even a substantial section of the working class and many left and democratic parties are not only not conscious of the increasing fascist tendency but, on the contrary, harbour illusion about the Congress (R) and the Union Government as progressive, when a section of the people has become antagonised against the government employees and particularly when for being called in season and out of season and on flimsy grounds bandhs create annoyance to the people and have lost much of their effectiveness as a form of protest, taking advantage of which the Union Government is cunningly moving to make a law to ban bandhs completely, any call for bandh must be preceded by massive campaign to enlist popular active support for the bandh. The bandh should be part and parcel of a comprehensive programme for sustained organised mass movement otherwise just a bandh and that too without any preparation, not preceded by massive campaign to enlist popular support for it nor followed by continuous appropriate movement, defeats its very purpose. But the CPI(M) leadership and the CITU leadership turned a deaf ear to this note of caution by us. They unilaterally called a bandh on 13th October last. Being circumscribed, our Party and some other parties issued separate calls for the bandh on that day. For, not to do it would objectively mean

BUILD UP UNITED MOVEMENT

opposing the bandh which, in the prevailing circumstances, would have caused serious harm to the movement by the government employees.

In West Bengal today the question of democratic rights of the working people has assumed a d d e d importance particularly in view of increasing violent attacks, murders, loots and arson by the so-called volunteers of the Congress (R), the Youth Congress (R) and the student wing of the Congress (R) backed by the police and administration. On the day of the last bandh, for supporting the bandh some of these volunteers set fire to about fifty huts belonging to poor supporters of the bandh in Dakshindari in north 24 Parganas in presence of police and military. The huts were completely gutted and an old woman and child were burned to death. The vandalism by these so-called volunteers in government offices and offices of local bodies in connivance with the so-called guardians of law and order is continuing unabated. Forcible collection of subscriptions at extortionate rates under threat of murder, loot or arson with police taking no action against the miscreants has become an everyday affair. All this has got to be stopped. But that cannot be done without mass support, without united movement. The sectarian act of unilaterally calling the bandh on 13th October last has caused great setback to the attempts for developing united movement.

Not only that. Complete lack of any serious attempt on the part of the CPI(M) and the CITU to make the bandh successful had given the Congress (R), the Youth Congress (R) and the Chatra Parishad belonging to the Congress (R) volunteers a free hand to break the bandh under threat of violent attack in various places to the elation of the Congress (R), the Government and reactionary forces. It has caused misgivings in the mind of the people about the strength of the left and demo-

cratic parties vis-a-vis the strength of the Congress (R) to the detriment of development of future mass movements. Besides, the last bandh has not been followed by further movement. This gap has broken the continuity of the movement. Except some small demonstrations and observance of West Bengal day on 5th November next there is no programme for movement. And what a programme! From bandh to tame observance of a day! In place of calling a bandh on 13th October without any preparation to make it a success and then, for all practical purposes, hibernating till 5th November, would it not have been better to adopt a programme of continuous united movement on the basis of agreement among the different left and democratic parties and mass organisations, enlisting popular support for the united movement, raising the movement step by step from higher to still higher level, ultimately creating the necessary mass sanction and compelling the Government to retrace its steps? This programme would have, of course, negated the sectarian stand of the CPI(M) leadership, the CITU leadership and the CPI(M)-controlled Co-ordination Committee leadership to call the bandh on 13th October. But the loss of face due to change of date of bandh, if at all, would have been far more than compensated by gain. For, such a joint movement, in all probability, would have opened the door of united movements by the left and democratic parties since closed owing to left-opportunist and disruptive politics of the CPI(M), the cause of the government employees would have been much better served and a fitting reply to mounting fascist attack by the Congress (R) and the Government given. This would have been no mean gain. But that is not to be. Sectarianism and petty party consideration on the part of the CPI(M) gained the upper hand destroying all possibilities of achieving this gain.

We strongly feel that it is high time that in the greater interest of developing united movements against reaction and vested interests, represented by the Congress (R) and other reactionary parties, sectarianism and left-opportunist politics must be eschewed and broadest possible democratic unity achieved. We welcome any move in this direction irrespective of which party takes the initiative. The only proviso is that the attempt should be genuine and not a vote-catching manoeuvre to

serve petty party interest at the cost of other parties and united movement. Even those left and democratic parties, which for reasons of their political stands or otherwise cannot join in an anti-Congress (R) front, should be attempted to be brought in on the platform of united movement on specific issues. Indeed no scope for developing united movements against the growing menace of fascist attacks by the Congress (R) and the Government should remain unavailed of.

Demands of CSIR Scientific Workers

(By a Staff Reporter)

Dhanbad, Bihar. October 20—A new branch of CSIR Scientific Workers' Association has been formed at Central Fuel Research Institute here with the object of improving the quality of scientific work and conditions of the workers engaged therein under the CSIR. The Association, it is understood, has formulated about two dozen demands and suggestions for the purpose.

They, among others, include—(1) right of scientific workers to publish work, (2) representatives elected by the members of the staff are to be taken in various management committees, (3) introduction of system of regular transfer of Laboratory Directors and heads of Administrative Departments, (4) selection of personnel should be made by Central Service Commission which should be set up, (5) better conditions of service for

the low-paid staff, (6) construction of sufficient number of staff-quarters and (7) investigation by an impartial body into cases of alleged corruption and malpractice.

Dr. P. C. Ghosh, General Secretary of the Association, has appealed in a statement to the members of Parliament and different scientific and professional bodies to take up their cause and urge upon the Union Government to meet the demands.

Mass Deputation In Protest of Police Atrocities

(By a Staff Reporter)

Calcutta, October 16—Several thousands peasants from Burdwan, Bankura and Hooghly came here to-day in a mass deputation to the Governor of the State, to demand immediate release of Comrades Biswaprakash Goswami and Chandi Das Goswami, two leading organisers of the party in the district of Burdwan, now detained under M. I. S. Act, immediate stoppage of police atrocities against the local people under Borjora P.S. in the district of Bankura

and punishment of Polish officials who assaulted Com. Prasanta Ghatak, a party leader in the district of Hooghly.

A deputation consisting of Comrades Nihar Mukherji, Secretary West Bengal State Committee of S U C I, Subodh Banerji, and Badsha Khan, a noted trade union leader, met the Governor and handed over to him the memorandum. The Governor assured them of appropriate steps. Earlier a meeting was held at Subodh Mullick Square.

Coking Coal Mines Take-over

(Contd. from page 1)

Government is a prelude to nationalisation of the coking coal mines. It is also in the air that in case of nationalisation, the Government is going to pay fat sums to the owners as compensation. We strongly oppose payment of any compensation to the owners. For, all the owners including erstwhile Managing Agents have taken out all the reserve amount and stocks and much of other capital accumulated during past years. They have derived fabulous profits not a paise of which has been ploughed back in the development of the mines. Besides, the coal industry being a controlled industry, these owners have secured many financial benefits from the Government for several years in the form of subsidy for sand-stowing, mechanisation, mine-safety, loans and financial aids. During the last fifteen years the Union Government have granted the coal mine-owners the privilege of increasing prices of coal on the pretext of increase in the cost of production times without number. Everytime wage structure of the workers had been revised upward, the price of coal was allowed by the Union Government to be increased even before the new revised wage-structure was actually implemented thereby allowing the owners to fleece the consumer and reap extra profit. Over and above, no fresh capital being invested by the owners, the plant, machinery and equipment like haulages, cutting machines, lines, boilers, etc are all so worn out that without proper replacement it will be almost impossible to run the mines. The question of payment of compensation for underground reserve coal does not arise inasmuch as it is natural national property for the creation of which the owners had not to spend anything. Considering all this, we are convinced, there is no case for payment of compensation to the owners when the mines would be nationalised.

"We demand that the Government of India through

the custodian of these mines should immediately assess unit-wise, taking the organised labour into confidence, the total arrear dues to the credit of the workers from these employers on account of non-implementation or part-implementation of wage board recommendations, non-payment of variable dearness allowance, annual increments, bonus and in some cases of under-payment or no payment at all of many other dues and arrange payment of the same.

"We also demand restoration of full democratic and trade union rights to the mine workers most of which have so long been denied to the workers by the owners and thikadars on the strength of lathis and goondas. The corrupt and anti-working class agents, engineers, managers and personnel officers who have earned notoriety should be removed from the administration of these mines. For the purpose of deciding proper representative union, the question of recognition of unions in all units should now be taken up afresh and all fake, management-sponsored, thikadar-led so-called recognised unions derecognised and real representative unions recognised. The Government of India and the custodian-general should convene a consultative meeting of the organised labour for the above consideration.

"We once again call upon the workers in the coal mines to understand the proper implication of the recent measure taken by the Indira Government and not to be confused by the deceptive slogan of 'socialism' of Indira Gandhi. Under radical cloak she and her Government are only strengthening Indian capitalism. The slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' is objectively making the poor poorer and the rich richer. We, therefore, urge upon the coal mine workers to further strengthen the struggling Unions led by the U T U C (Lenin Sarani), remain vigilant and prepared to launch higher form of struggles to realise their demands."

Observe November Revolution Anniversary

Fifty-fourth anniversary of the Great November Revolution will be observed by the toiling peoples of different countries in the world this year. The Indian people also will observe it in a solemn way.

The SUCI feels that, on this occasion, our people should be made to realise the revolutionary teachings of the November Revolution and the task ahead. This calls for intensive study of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thought, which alone concretises Marxism-Leninism of the era on the Indian soil, its wide propagation among the masses of the people. Comrade Ghosh's thought is the sharpest ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat of our country against modern revisionism, dogmatism and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois fads that now confront the communist movement in our country as well as world communist movement. It is the beacon light of Indian revolution.

In this connection Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, has issued a circular to different units of the Party in the state to observe the fifty-fourth anniversary of the November Revolution from 7th November next, by carrying out with all seriousness the following programme:—

1) Hoisting of Red Flag at every Party office on 7th November.

2) Every Unit of the Party must open at least one well-decorated book-stall at a prominent place within its area for the sale of Party literature. The stalls will remain open throughout the whole period from 7th to 17th November next.

3) Extensive posterage of matters already sent in this connection throughout the area with effect from 4th November next.

4) Group meetings, street corner meetings, public meetings, etc. should be organised locally during the period from 7th to 17th November next. In case speakers from the State Committee are needed, the dates of the meetings should be fixed in prior consultation with the State Committee.

5) All-day pin-flag collection of fund from the masses of the people should be made on the 7th November next. Pin-flag will be taken from state party office. Entire collection should be sent to the State Committee for deposit to Fighting Fund.

6) Door-to-door campaign and sale of Party literature should be made during the period from the 7th to 17th November.

The State Committee expects that every Unit shall carry out the above programme in all seriousness. Propagation of the thought of COMRADE GENERAL SECRETARY, in carrying out the above programme, is an essential task. Detailed reports from different Units as to how the programme has been carried out should reach the State Committee immediately after 17th November next.

Meetings in Orissa

(By a Staff Reporter)

Meetings, demonstrations, deputations etc. of flood and drought affected people were held at several places in Orissa during the last month under the joint auspices of the local committees of the S.U.C.I., Khet Mazdur Federation,

D.S.O. and D.Y.O., demanding immediate relief to the affected people, provision of work for the jobless, compensation due to loss of cattle and property, arrangement for drainage and irrigation facilities etc. The meetings and demonstrations urged upon the Government to meet these demands immediately.