

# Observe 9th August as Anti-Victimisation of Railwaymen, Anti-Black Ordinance Day

Leaders of the Central Trade Unions—UTUC (Lenin Sarani), CITU, AITUC, BMS, UTUC (Bowbazar), HMP and TUC along with Joint Council of Actions of Central & State Government employees (JCA) and other all India bodies of employees of Bank, Insurance, Railways, State and Central Government met at two meetings in New Delhi on 20th and 21st of July on railwaymen's problems and the Black Ordinance for impounding the increases in wages/salaries/and half of D.A. respectively.

Comrades Pritish Chanda, Fatick Ghosh (Secretaries of all India Committee) and Gyan-Singh Chowdhury (Vice-President) of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and A. Roy from J.C.A. attended the meeting.

The two meetings after much deliberations, took the decision to organise massive demonstration before the Parliament and in the States also on 9th of August. Programme for campaigning, demonstrations and rallies was taken till the two National Conventions, one on the railwaymen's victimisation issue and the other on the Black Ordinance on 26th and 28th August respectively in New Delhi, are held.

The meetings however revealed once again certain basic reformist trends betrayed by the leaderships of CITU, AITUC and UTUC (Bowbazar) which weakened very much from within, the possibility of developing united and sustained mass movements of the working people when they are facing severest attacks on their lives and livings from a bourgeois Government wedded to the policy of defending the aggregate class interests of the ruling bourgeoisie now enmeshed in the ever deepening all-round crises in the capitalist economy further accentuated by the particular economic and fiscal policies pursued by the Government.

Let us recount in brief here, the main trends, attitudes and approaches of the different leaderships attending the meetings.

In the first meeting on the railwaymen's mass victimisation issue, Sri

Fernandes reported that about 30,000 permanent and 50,000 temporary railway employees were still under sufferance of termination or dismissal notices, about 25,000 are still being harassed in Court cases and about 1.1 million face break in services.

The leaders of various unions of railways and Central Government employees (who also face dismissal and other victimisation measures for joining in K. G. Bose faction's call of strike on 10th of May) were urging all the time for adopting Action Programme that can create sufficient pressures to force the Government to retrace its steps.

Comrade Pritish Chanda, while giving a clear analysis as to the basic reasons for the Government's resorting more and more to vindictive measures against the rising tide of working people's movements made an earnest appeal for adopting a sustained, phased programme of mass actions that can alone beat back the mounting offensives of the Government.

But it drew immediate sharp reactions from particularly Sri Samar Mukherjee CPI(M) leader. Sri Mukherjee held that country's political situation did not allow any big movement and any talk of such big movement, according to his view, was "sheer adventurism." His suggestions for Action Programme consisted of 10 Paise Coupon Collection ("it will educate the masses", he said), Tiffin time and after office hour demonstrations, conventions etc. He was even opposed to organising a

(Contd. to Page 4)

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## STRONG VOICE OF PROTEST AGAINST BLACK ORDINANCE

Calcutta July 16th—A demonstration of the citizens of Calcutta from different walks of life including students, youths, intellectuals, teachers etc. organised by the AIDS, DY, MSS, Komsomol and Pathikrit submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister on her arrival here today. The memorandum was passed unanimously at a meeting, presided over by Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee Secy. AIDS held at Subodh Mallik Square. The demonstrators were stopped near Raj Bhawan by Police where they squated for two hours. Speakers on behalf of these organisations addressed the gathering and explained before the members of the public the nature of conspiracy behind the promulgation of this Black Ordinance which was sure to deepen further the all pervasive crisis confronting the lives of the toiling people.

The Memorandum registering strongest protest against the promulgation of the "Additional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposit) Ordinance states, "Your ordinance descends at a time when.....crisis engulfs our economic life now more stringently than ever before and even the barest necessities for subsistence are denied to the majority. Unemployment has reached unprecedented dimensions, the spiralling price-rise goes on unabated,

anarchy rages in the realm of education and the cultural and moral degeneration, top of everything, threatens our very existence as a dignified people. You have been yourself underlining the gravity of the situation these days and calling for sacrifices by those who have by now, perhaps, sacrificed everything except their desire for living. We are convinced, the Ordinance will not only fail to control the present inflationary spell, it will further aggravate it. However much you may be trying to give the impression that the Ordinance embodies a bold measure designed to curb inflation, people see it plainly as a further attack on their crisis-ridden life."

The memorandum further states, "...your Government and its economic advisers are either ignorant of the real nature of the problem or deliberately concealing the truth by taking the posi-

### Com. Banerjee's Condition Unchanged

The condition of Comrade Subodh Banerjee, member of the Central Committee of the S.U.C.I. continues to remain unchanged. Comrade Banerjee was admitted to the School of Tropical Medicine Hospital, Calcutta on 11th June in a critical stage following the relapse of Leukemia.

tion that the principal cause of the current inflationary spell lies in the wage-price spiral—the phenomenon of money income chasing the prices. And you argue that things can not be set right by periodic adjustments in wages and dearness allowances and have decided to plug the channel of money supply at the wage and salary earners' end in order to check by way of immobilising part of incomes, what you call "effective demand" by these people.

The memorandum adds further, "The current inflationary spell is the inevitable consequence of the decadent capitalist system of this country and is the direct result of: (i) deficit financing coupled with (ii) inflationary credit policy, (iii) unbridled indirect taxation and policy of price increase by the Government directly, and (iv) absolute failure to eliminate black money and its evil effect in monetary circulation."

The Memorandum concludes by saying, "So, we, people from different walks of life, consider it our urgent duty to voice strongest protest against this Ordinance and urge upon you to scrap it without further delay."

It may be stated in this connection that this demonstration was unique

(Contd. to Page 6)

**RAILWAYMEN'S STRUGGLE****BULWARK OF THE LEADERSHIP OPPOSES REVIEW OF THE STRUGGLE**

The unprecedented heroic strike of the railwaymen controlling the artery of National life met with a sad calamitous end. It was solely due to a vacillating bourgeois reformist social democratic leadership that such a historic struggle, fought with firm determination and courage by the railwaymen and supported by their family members had to meet with such a disastrous fate. And as a consequence of this, the post strike situation, has taken a serious shape in various aspects.

On the one hand, as none of the demands of the railwaymen has been fulfilled, mighty movement has yet to be developed in near future in the correct perspective so that the future struggle may be led to its desired and logical culminations. This apart, there is other vital aspects too. Some months' back, during the period of strike all of us observed in what a naked barbaric, brutal and fascistic manner, Mrs. Gandhi and her Government tried to crush the railwaymen's struggle. The strike ended, but the Government still maintained its retaliating attitude. In the name of taking of 'disciplinary action' it actually continued its revengeful attack on the railwaymen even after the strike came to an end. As a consequence of this 30000 permanent and 50000 casual workers were dismissed or removed from services, 1,100,000 workers were given break in services and prosecutions were on against over 25,000 workers. In fact these reports are not at all comprehensive and many people apprehend that these are really conservative estimates in comparison to the actual figures. Be that as it may, even these figures are sufficient to reveal the seriousness of the situation. Moreover, after the failure of such a gigantic struggle, it is being noted that a section of the railwaymen who once fought the struggle with no less determination and courage has fallen victim to despair, apathy and lack of confidence regarding the very purpose and necessity of struggles. Due to the motivated ill-

designed propaganda of the concerned authorities some of them are losing their faith on all political parties and leaders without feeling the necessity of critically examining who sincerely attempted to lead their struggle to its logical culmination, but for whose compromising, reformist social democratic character failed to realise the desired objective.

Now in such a situation those who are really committed to the cause of the working people in general and the railwaymen in particular have had to perform their bounden task. There is no second opinion that mighty struggle should have to be built up again for realising the unfulfilled demands of the railway workers, but at the same time no one should attach any less importance to the necessity of immediately building up united vigorous movement against the repressive measures that the Government took recourse to, even after the withdrawal of the strike. In fact if such a struggle can be built up and organised in a proper perspective then to a great extent it would help to again create self-confidence, firm determination and fighting spirit even among those who are temporarily suffering from despair and lack of confidence.

Now, in such a state of affairs, we expected from the leadership, what any left and democratic minded people in such a situation would have expected from them. We expected that in the very first meetings of the Action Committee and NCCRS that would be held after the withdrawal

of the strike, the leadership should seat, review the whole struggle, engage themselves in criticism and self-criticism of their role and activities in the struggle with a view to strengthening the unity of the struggle, find out their lapses and weaknesses, try to eradicate them, and ultimately build up a firm united struggle of the railwaymen for realising the above-mentioned objectives.

It is no doubt a hard fact that the failure of a massive mighty struggle causes a great damage to the people. But a greater damage is done if one does not review the former struggle, find out the weaknesses that were responsible for leading it to the disastrous end and then try to free the future struggles from these weaknesses. For in that case, the weaknesses being not revealed, remain concealed in the process of struggle and as a result, all the future struggles in spite of all serious efforts launched to lead them to their logical culmination would have to meet with more disastrous ends.

It was for this reason that we hoped that the leadership, when they would seat in the meetings of the Action Committee and NCCRS would review the struggle and then being enriched with the lessons of the former struggle chalk out, not stereotyped, but really effective programme of struggle that would free the railwaymen from despair, apathy and lack of confidence from which a section is suffering and activate them to participate wholeheartedly with firm determination in a protracted struggle against the Government and railway administration.

But in the meeting of the Action Committee of the NCCRS, that was held on 26th June at New Delhi, when Comrade Chanda, member of the Central Committee of the SUCI and the Secretary, All-India Committee UTUC (Lenin

Sarani) raised the proposal of a review of the struggle, to be performed on the basis of certain norms to be fixed up by the meeting, to our astonishment and surprise it was unitedly and concertedly opposed by all the forces, namely the SP, the CPI and the CPI(M) that constituted the bulwark of the leadership of the railwaymen's struggle.

In seriously opposing the proposal of review they observed that none should utter anything that might reveal their difference. For this would rupture their unity and provide the Government with the scope to promote its fissiparous activities and disrupt the struggle. That Mr. Fernandes might put objection to the review is however understandable.

For none expects that Mr. Fernandes and his party namely the SP, who neither possess the bigger perspective of struggle nor think to give a well organised protracted shape to the struggle of the workers, would be able to realise the real significance and purpose of reviewing any struggle. Even there is nothing to wonder at the attitude expressed by the CPI and the AITUC leaders particularly in view of the fact that the CPI politics is guided by the Soviet revisionist leadership on the one hand and the CPI's alliance with Indira Gandhi and Congress (R) on the other. But what about our CPI(M) friends who always claim themselves to be the genuine Marxists-Leninists on our soil? They too opposed the proposal of review on the same plea that it would break the unity. Again, in this respect, CPI(M) and the CITU leaders of the railwaymen are perhaps more conspicuous. Mr. Nrisingha Chakraborty, a well known CPI(M) leader of the LRSA observed, (Peoples Democracy 7.7.74) 'A suggestion for a review was made, but as many leaders are still behind the bars and full reports had not been prepared by the

constituent units and also as the need of the hour was to co-ordinate further activities including relief to railwaymen the Action Committee decided to postpone a review of the struggle to a future date.'

Firstly, this total reporting is far from the truth. Neither any one proposed to postpone the review to a future date on those pleas referred to by Mr. Chakraborty nor was it really decided that the review would be postponed to some future date. Moreover, what is far more worthy of mentioning is the fact that any one, if he goes through the above mentioned observation made by Mr. Chakraborty, might think as if Mr. Chakraborty and his group were in favour of a review of the struggle but as others suggested to postpone it for the time being, they too agreed to the proposal. But what was the real picture? When the proposal of a review of the struggle was raised by Comrade Chanda, the CPI(M) leaders of the railwaymen, Mr. S. K. Dhar, Mr. Chakraborty and Mr. Barua all combinedly strongly opposed the proposal of review. Again, it might appear to be no less significant that among the different leaders of the SP, the CPI and the CPI(M) that were present in the meeting it was Mr. S. K. Dhar, the well known CPI(M) leader of LRSA, who rose first and opposed the proposal of review. He was then adequately supported, firstly by his own party comrades Chakraborty and Barua, then by the CPI leaders and lastly by Mr. Fernandes and his group of the SP.

Moreover in this respect, the behaviour of Mr. Barua, another CPI(M) leader of the railwaymen is no less astounding. In the meeting of the Action Committee he too in unison with his Comrades-in-arms opposed the proposal of review. But in the meet-

(Contd. to Page 3)

## Those Who Suppress Differences in Reality Disrupt the Unity and Struggle

(Contd. from Page 2)

ing of the NCCRS that took place at New Delhi on 26th June, when majority of the leaders of different unions and associations of the railwaymen that attended the meeting criticised the leadership and tried to review the strike on the basis of their individual experiences and in their own manner and style, Mr. Barua after feeling the pulse of the house suddenly took the floor and tried to identify his voice with them!

Now in the meeting of the Action Committee, those who opposed the proposal of the review, then drafted a resolution; and as a relevant portion of this resolution deserves mentioning, we quote it below.

'The NCCRS calls upon the railwaymen to preserve and strengthen the unity they achieved during the days of the great struggle. Railwaymen should particularly guard against the efforts made by their enemies to divide and split their ranks. Most demands of the railwaymen are yet to be won and the problems of victimisation have to be tackled. In such a situation any move from any quarter to sow dissensions in the ranks of the railwaymen and undermine their unity will only mean strengthening the hands of the railway administration in its mad desire to suppress workman.'

As such on the face of it there is nothing to say against this resolution for those who sincerely desire to develop and organise the struggle must fight against those who would try to encourage dissention among the rank and thereby rapture their unity. But the point is, the said resolution was drafted in the background and with a view to suppressing the same as if review of the struggle would damage the unity where as in reality the case is just the reverse. In our country due to the low level of political consciousness of the people and organisational limitations of the revolutionary force,

the common people often fall victim to the catchy and cheap slogan that if the forces participating in a united struggle while reviewing the struggle, take recourse to criticism and self-criticism of their role, attitudes and activities and thereby reveal their differences then the unity would be raptured and the very purpose of the struggle would be betrayed. But in reality, the thing is just the reverse. Firstly, it should be clearly understood, that no doubt unity is to be maintained, but not for the sake of unity alone. Unity itself can not be the sole objective. Unity in a struggle means unity among the forces in that struggle on the common objective of leading the struggle to its successful end. Now those forces who form a unity on a common platform with a common objective to organise and develop the struggle possess sharp ideological differences on the understanding of many issues such as the nature of the objective, the course, the necessary logical culmination of the struggle, etc. etc. Moreover, it is also our experience that in any movement various vacillating social democratic elements that act as a compromising force between labour and capital also keep themselves in camouflage in the united platform, and in the crucial moment always disrupt the struggle and backstab it. So those who are really committed to the cause of the people and while conducting the movement unitedly should also conduct relentless ideological struggle among themselves through criticism and self-criticism of their role, attitude, activities etc., with a view to strengthening their broader unity based on the common purpose of leading the struggle to an outright victory. It is only through a persistent ideological struggle that, on the one hand the role and character of the vacillating compromising forces

being exposed, the struggle may be freed from their evil influence and on the other, the pro-movement forces their differences being tackled and resolved can form a greater and firmer unity among themselves for developing the struggle in a better more co-ordinated and organised manner. So the idea that when there is unity there should not be any struggle is an utterly unscientific, non-marxist and erroneous concept. On the contrary, when there is unity among the forces in a struggle there is also struggle among themselves. Likewise it is also utterly false to conceive that since there are sharp ideological differences between the forces on many relevant and pertinent issues regarding any struggle, no unity is probable even on any common objective.

Those who oppose the idea of conducting ideological struggle and thereby try to suppress their differences on the apprehension that the exposition of these difference vis-a-vis the criticism and self-criticism of their role and activities would endanger their unity, in reality either knowingly or unknowingly pave the path leading to the rapture of of their unity and thereby disrupt the struggle.

For our experiences both on the national and international level have repeatedly shown that in spite of their attempts, the differences and contradictions that exist among them never remain suppressed for ever. On the contrary, those differences and contradictions not being properly tackled and resolved in time, gradually increase in magnitude and dimension and become more and more intensified with the passage of time. And ultimately at one stage the differences may become so much sharpened in all respects that in spite of serious efforts it becomes impossible to suppress them and maintain the so much cherished unity which then inevi-

(Contd. to Page 4)

## From The Pages Of Marxist Classics

"The forms of the bourgeois state are extremely varied but in essence they are all the same; in one way or another, in the last analysis all these states are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. "The omnipotence of wealth" is thus more secure in a democratic republic, since it does not depend on the faulty political shell of capitalism. A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism and therefore once capital has gained possession of this very best shell (through the Palchinskys, Chernovs, Tseretelis and Co.), it establishes its power so securely, so firmly that no change of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeois democratic republic can shake it." (State and Revolution—Lenin)

The bourgeoisie, of course like to call elections conducted under such conditions "free," "equal", "democratic" and "popular" elections because these serve to conceal the truth, serve to conceal the fact that the means of production and political power still remain in the hands of the exploiters and that therefore there can be no thought of real liberty and real equality for the exploited i.e., the overwhelming majority of the population. The bourgeoisie finds it advantageous and necessary to conceal the bourgeois character of modern democracy from the people and to depict it as democracy in general or as "pure democracy"; as the Schidemanns, and also Kautskys in repeating this, in fact abandon the point of view of the proletariat and desert to the bourgeoisie. (Democracy and Dictatorship—Lenin)

"...The entire history of the bourgeois parliamentary and also to a considerable extent, of the bourgeois constitutional countries show that a change of ministers means very little, for the real work of administration is in the hands of an enormous army of officials. This army is undemocratic through and through, it is connected by thousands and millions of threads with landowners and bourgeoisie and is completely dependent on them. This army is surrounded by an atmosphere of bourgeois relations and breathes nothing but this atmosphere. It is set in its ways, petrified, stagnant and is powerless to break free of this atmosphere. It can only think, feel or act in the old way. This army is bound by servility to rank, by certain privileges of "civil" service, the upper ranks of this army are through the medium of shares and banks, entirely enslaved by finance capital, being to a certain extent its agent and a vehicle of its interests and influence.

It is the greatest delusion, the greatest self-deception, and a deception of the people to attempt by the means of this apparatus to carry out such reforms as the abolition of landed estates without compensation or the grain monopoly etc. *This apparatus can serve a republican bourgeoisie creating a republic in the shape of a "monarchy without a monarch", like the French Third Republic, but it is absolutely incapable of carrying out reforms which would even seriously curtail or limit the rights of capital, rights of "sacred private property," much less abolish those rights".*

(One of the fundamental questions of Revolution Collected Works of V.I. Lenin Vol 25)

## Railwaymen Should again build up protracted Struggle

(Contd. from Page 3)

tably is totally raptured. It is no doubt ironical indeed that they try to conceal their differences solely with the view to protecting the interest of struggle but their endeavours instead of serving the struggle, actually go against the very cause of the struggle itself. In fact, though wearing the cloak of unity they actually act as real disrupters of unity.

In fact in the said meeting of the NCCRS the bulwark of the leadership of the struggle not only opposed the proposal of review, but also nakedly attempted to shut others' mouth so that no voice of criticism might be raised against them. This indicates lack of philosophical tolerance towards others' views, blindness and attempt to block logic, reason, which only help strengthening the cultural base of fascism in a country. A question that might haunt the mind of any right-thinking man was for what underlying reasons the forces comprising the bulwark of the leadership opposed the the proposal of review? The question also necessarily arises because of the fact that the CPI and the CPI(M), who not a very long time ago, just after the withdrawal of the strike were engaged in slandering each other and each was putting all the blames for the betrayal of the struggle on the other, have now united together on a common cause of opposing the proposal of review.

It is no doubt a fact, that the so called Marxist-Leninist parties namely the CPI and the CPI(M) are quite ignorant of the real significance of the principle of unity-struggle-unity vis a vis the purpose and necessity of the review of struggle. But had this been the reason behind their attempt to suppress the proposal of review and had they really believed that review would reveal their differences and thereby disrupt their unity then they would not have launched slanderous campaign against each other a couple

of days back.

In fact the real reason behind their opposition to the review-proposal would become amply clear if any one analyses the behaviours, activities and the role they played during the last strike. It was the vacillating, social democratic bourgeois reformist leadership, comprising them namely the SP, the CPI and the CPI(M) that betrayed and backstabbed the struggle. So they, apprehending lest their vacillating, reformist, social democratic character might become exposed to the railwaymen and the common people at large, united together and jointly opposed the proposal of review on the plea that it would rapture their unity.

It is heartening to note that though the leadership succeeded in suppressing the proposal of review in the meeting of the Action Committee but in the meeting of the NCCRS, their attempt miserably failed on the face of serious criticism against the leadership from the leaders of different Unions and Associations of the railwaymen.

The said meeting that was held on 26th June was attended by about thirty leaders of different Unions and Associations of the railwaymen.

Majority of them, at least eighteen to twenty members, if not more strongly criticised the leadership and reviewed the struggle in their own manner and style, tried to tackle the problems and made their comments out of their individual experiences. Though they differed in their assessment on various issues, all of them were highly critical of the leadership for the failure of the struggle and moreover all of them consistently mentioned the name of the LRSA, with which our CPI(M) friends Dhar, Chakraborty and Barua are connected, as the association which did not participate in the struggle.

The members were so highly critical of the

leadership that after feeling the pulse of the meeting none of the leaders belonging to the SP, the CPI and the CPI(M) except Mr. Fernandes who gave an inaugural address, dared to open their mouth. In such a situation, comrade Chanda took the floor and as the meeting was continuing for a long time and the participants were heavily strained, he asked if the house was still ready to listen to him. A large section of the participants cheered him and observed, 'We want to hear you.' Then Comrade Chanda in his short but illuminating speech critically discussed the post-strike situation, the causes of failure of the major leadership to successfully lead such a massive and gigantic struggle to its desired culmination, elaborated the various new and unprecedented features of the struggle and in conclusion put serious emphasis on the need of building up the struggle in the correct path against the repressive measures of the Government and as well as for realising their unfulfilled demands.

We too in conclusion would like to urge upon the railwaymen that they should shake off their despairing, callous and apathetic attitude towards struggle, rise up to the occasion again with firm determination and courage. They should realise that nothing can be achieved in our life without struggle. We always live within struggle and there is no alternative way left for living one's life. A struggle may fail but after taking necessary lessons from the previous struggle, we should become more experienced, matured and trained up so that we would be able to win even more complicated future battles.

They should realise that the basic problems of our life will not be resolved till revolution is achieved, till the present state and society under go revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism which can only be achieved

through relentless struggle of the working people of our country against the ruling capitalist class including all other vested interests under a real revolutionary leadership having the correct base political line.

We urge upon the railwaymen to come forward, work hard to free themselves and their struggle from the evil influence of the social democrats of all shades and varieties and establish the real revolutionary political party having the correct base political line and dedicated to the cause of revolution and social progress in the leadership of their struggle so that their struggles might be successfully led to their desired logical culmination.

### Observe

### 9th August

(Contd. from Page 1)

demonstration before the Parliament which was Comrade Chanda's suggestion, let alone the programme of industrial action at a later stage which was another suggestion of Comrade Chanda.

However, after much deliberations, it was decided to observe massive demonstration before the Parliament and State Assemblies on 9th August besides other demonstrative programme and holding National Conventions on two issues separately in New Delhi.

Fernandes gave two other suggestions in the draft resolution on the railway issue circulated for consideration of the meeting. One, as a mark of protest, the central TU's should boycott all the Government Committees and the second, complaints be lodged to I. L. O. against the Government's denial of minimum trade union rights as also various kinds of atrocities and criminal acts perpetrated by the Government in a bill to brack the historic railway strike.

The A. I. T. U. C. C.I.T.U. U. T. U. C. (Bowbazar) did not support

the boycott proposal and as such it had to be dropped ultimately.

In the second meeting on the Black ordinance, held on 21st of July at 5.30 PM. A. I. T. U. C. did not attend. Earlier, their representatives expressed their opposition to the idea of calling a meeting on such a broad issue as the ordinance by the NCCRS. They held that only the central T. U.'s, collectively had the competence to convene such a meeting. They however assured their opposition to the ordinance as also readiness to join with others in fighting it back.

In the second meeting also, representatives from J. C. A, Postal and Railway Unions were strongly in favour of developing a broad-based, united, phased action programme on an all-India plane to organise 18 million working people affected by the ordinance. The excellent opportunity of uniting broad sweep of working people should not be missed, they held. Their particular suggestion was to adopt non cooperation programme which include work-to-rule, go-slow etc, after a certain time gap, to pressurise the Government to withdraw the ordinance.

CITU leader Samar Mukherjee and Jatin Chakravorty, along with Saroj Chowdhury and Sunil Maitra (LIC) opposed vehemently the suggestion. They wanted only an educative programme through distribution of leaflets and conventions for sometime, say six months or a year.

Com. Chanda, again intervened and urged for integrating educative programme with action programme. George Fernandes was also of the same opinion. After much discussions, Programme for (1) intensive propaganda and protest-demonstration, (2) massive demonstration before the Parliament and State Assemblies on 9th of August and observance of protest week from 9th to 15th of August, (3) National Convention on 28th of

(Contd. to Page 6)

# BUILD UP UNITED FRONT OF LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES

*Com. Nihar Mukherjee Appeals To Nine Left Parties*

The gravity of the all-out crisis in the economic, political, educational and cultural spheres through which the people of West Bengal are passing today hardly needs any mentioning. What is needed most today is a concerted and sincere attempt on the part of all Left and democratic forces in the State to work unitedly for the building up of a mighty united organised democratic movement embracing all sections of the exploited population.

This was suggested by Comrade Nihar Mukherji Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI in his letter to nine Left Parties of the State on July 23 last.

Comrade Mukherjee, in his letter hoped that the Left parties would realise that considering unprecedented magnitude and acuteness of the present crisis, any traditional form of loose, sporadic, unorganised or spontaneous movement will not be able to touch even the fringe of the problem. He pointed out that any such conventional type of sporadic movement or spontaneous outburst of the people only helps the bourgeois parliamentary forces to channalise, in their narrow sectarian interest, these popular upsurges into the labyrinth of parliamentary politics. Obviously this had reference to the recent agitations in Gujarat, Bihar and else where.

Comrade Mukherjee pointed out that in order to give a defeat to this tendency of abusing these expressions of popular discontent for satisfying the interests of the narrow sectarian, parliamentary politics there was no other way out than to build up a broad-based, united, organised struggle of the exploited masses. He urged the parties to come forward to build up a United Front of all Left and democratic parties of the State on the basis of an agreed minimum common programme as an instru-

ment of people's struggle and to organise under the aegis of such a United Front such mighty united organised democratic struggle that would be really able to resist the joint onslaught of the capitalist Congress Government and capitalist jotedars.

The unprecedented food crisis, unemployment, price rise and inflation, power crisis, imposition of the anti-working class Black Ordinances, attacks on civil liberty, education and culture call for immediate building up of such organised mass struggles. The movements of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people on sectional and local demands should be linked up with the main current of the broad-based, organised mass struggles as stipulated above.

To prepare for such a state-wide broad-based, organised united mass struggle, the first phase of the proposed movement, aims at (a) mobilising public opinion in favour of such organised mass struggles as against spontaneous outburst or sporadic upsurge and (b) raising the political consciousness of the people, thus (c) creating conditions for building up the organisation of struggle through series of mass meetings, rallies and demonstrations, deputations and gheraos and democratic conventions from local to district level.

With the completion of the first phase, the

movement should skip to the second phase through organisation of "People's Struggle Committees" the instruments of struggle—from village and ward levels at the bottom upwards to district level. No effort should be spared, Com. Mukherjee said, to build up these People's Struggle Committees, however difficult and painstaking the task may be.

The nature and character of this proposed state-wide mass resistance movement would depend upon how far the United Front would be able, through its campaigns and preparatory movements, to lift the political and organisational consciousness of the people. In order to force the Government to concede to the most legitimate demands of the people, it would be necessary to take to every form of democratic struggle according to the level of political maturity and organised combatibility achieved by the masses through the first and second phase of campaigns and to raise these struggles step by step to higher pitches. As for the forms of movement to be resorted to, Comrade Mukherjee suggested that these may take the form of (1) work-to-rule, (2) no-tax campaign, (3) one-day protest bandh, (4) total non-cooperation with this Government and even (5) continued bandh thus virtually paralysing the administration through a continuous, organised, state-wide movement which, and only which, can force the Government to concede to the people's legitimate demands.

Finally, Comrade Mukherjee asked the Left parties to give a serious consideration to this proposed 3 phase organised state-wide movement and hoped that they would rise up to the call of the hour.

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## Vietnam Solidarity Day Observed by Youths, Students Women And Intellectuals

It was on 20th July 1954 that the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam was signed after the historic defeat of the French Imperialists at Dien-Bien-Fu by the patriotic people of Vietnam which proved that no power on earth however monstrous it may be can suppress the burning urge for freedom of a nation. Thus the people of Vietnam created a new history, set a new glaring example and tradition before the suppressed and exploited masses of the world on this day and so also they proved again after 18 years, through their glorious victory over the Yankee aggressors driving them out from their fatherland and still now this day is acting as a living inspiration to the world anti-imperialist struggle. Henceforth this day is being observed as the anti-imperialist day and Vietnam solidarity day all over the world.

This year too, this day has been observed here in Calcutta through a joint demonstration organised by D. S. O, D.Y.O, Pathikrit, M.S.S. and Komsomol to the U.S.I.S. and performance of anti-imperialist poster drama staged by other twenty cultural organisations at Curzon Park. In a meeting at Subodh Mallick Square held under the auspices of these five leading organisations a resolution strongly condemning the continuation of imperialist aggression and exploitation in different countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, repeated violation of Paris Peace Treaty by the U. S. imperialists, its armed intervention in Cambodia, Laos and South-east Asia, maintenance of military bases in different parts of the world, side by side, criticising the weak-kneed policy of appeasement and compromise of the Soviet revisionist leader-

(Contd. to Page 6)

## WORKERS, PEASANTS, STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AT SILCHAR

Silchar, 15th July: Organised jointly by the Kachar District Committee of SUCI and KKMf a massive mass demonstration of peasants, workers, students and youths demanding immediate solution of the problems of food, devastation by flood, eviction of peasants, unemployment etc. agitated before the office of the District Magistrate and the Chief Executive Councillor today.

The sight of the peasant women with babies in arms amongst the demonstrators roused the enthusiasm of the Silchar people.

Later, a deputation led by Comrade Ahin Ghosh, District Secretary of Kachar District Committee of SUCI, Dr. Suresh Choudhury a leader of the

KKMF Kachar District, Radha Kanta Tanti, a leader of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Kachar District, Tashir Ahmed Councillor Mahakuma Parishad, Mohanlal Mahali and Himangsu Bhowmik of Hailakandi, Amrita Bagchi, Parimal Chakraborty and Samiran Dey of Karimganj, Hemendra Das, Subhas Barbhuiya, Shyam Deo of KKMf and some others submitted a memorandum of demands to the Additional Deputy Commissioner demanding all out state-trading in food articles and essential commodities, ample relief to the flood effected people, reinstatement of the evicted peasants in their lands, exemplary punishment to the anti-social black-marketeers and the dishonest government officials etc.

## What More Can we Expect From The Congress Government

According to the Government sources, the wholesale price index rose by 27.6% during the year 1973-74. While in 1972-73, the price increase was 13.1%, the inflationary trend has further accentuated during the last financial year. The effect is most prominently felt in case of essentials and foodgrains. Following is the percentage increase in price level of different food articles: rice 22.2%, jawar 24.2%, pulses 24.6% fruits and vegetables 29.4%, milk and milk products 25.8%, edible oils 50.7%, fish, eggs and meat 42.1%, spices and condiments 45.4%.

The picture is equally gloomy in case of manufactured and industrial goods. The picture is as follows: textiles—11.7%, cotton—10.7%, jute manufactures—7.3%, woollen manufactures—54.3%, iron and steel manufactures—15.1%. The inflationary trend has further been accelerated since this.

This is the real state of affairs when Sm. Gandhi's Government is painstakingly trying to remove poverty of the masses and stabilise the price level to make the essential goods available to the common masses. When 200 millions out of 500 millions people of our country are hard to make out a living and 80% of our children are undernourished, the result of Smt. Gandhi's grand performance of 'Garibi hatao' is quite 'encouraging'! And still more encouraging is the latest appeal made by President Sri V. V. Giri, to the Indian working class to declare a moratorium on strikes, not to press for wage increase by resorting to strikes to better their living condition and to realise the obvious truth that wages must be linked to productivity and production, the "primary responsibility" of which has to be borne by the working class themselves.

While the prices of all commodities are continuously shooting up due to the inherent basic law of capitalist economy of our country and the various malpractices indulged by the monopolists, hoarders, profiteers, blackmarketeers etc., the Indian working class and the other working people are advised by the modern Messiahs not to agitate even to sustain themselves in the present deplorable condition of living. What more can we expect from the Congress Government, led by Smt. Gandhi when their motto is to serve and consolidate the Indian capitalism through ruthless exploitation of the broad toiling masses.

### Anti-Victimisation Day

(Contd. from Page 4)

August in New Delhi to take high-pitch programme including strike were taken.

Even after the said programme had been adopted, CITU and UTUC (Bowbazar) leaders like Samar Mukherjee and Jatin Chakravorty were insisting that the programme adopted should not be released to the press before talks with AITUC leadership. They held further that the programme should also be modified if AITUC leadership so demand.

Fernandes, therefore had to release the programme and the resolution on the ordinance after having talks with and formal consent of Sri Dange of AITUC.

Anyway, one important thing comes out of all this. It is the solid fact that when the working people are under the serious threat of being robbed of even whatever little trade union rights and gains achieved by them through long and tortuous battles in the past and when the bourgeois Government in its efforts to defend the aggregate class interest of

the ruling bourgeoisie is mounting these attacks in a mad bid to pass the buck of capitalist exploitation on to the shoulder of the working people with the ever and ever deepening of crisis in the capitalist economy, the working people stand defenceless in absence of emergence of a real working class party with such organisational capability as to accept the challenge of the exploiting class. The petty-bourgeois reformist parties prevaricate and shy away from the need of the hour.

So, unless the base political line of the proletariat which can not be other than the base outlook of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and the concrete political leadership of the true party of the proletariat are brought to the fore and organisational preparedness to combat many-pronged attacks of a fascist Government is ensured, it would be absolutely impossible to move a single step forward. So, fulfilling these three base factors, the class conscious working people can only hope to tread the path historically charted, not only to repulse the immediate attacks of the exploiters but to emancipate the society from the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

### Vietnam Solidarity Day

(Contd. from Page 5)

ship specially in the face of U. S. imperialism backing Israeli aggression on the Arab people and Palestinians and its direct act of aggression over Vietnam was taken. The meeting also condemned the imperialist machinations in Cyprus and the shameless act of hobnobbing of the Government of India with the imperialist forces and finally urged upon all democratic minded people to come forward to build up a mighty anti-imperialist movement to force this Government to shake off all pro-imperialist attitudes.

After their drama performance at Curzon

## Supplementary Union Budget Touches Not The Tycoons

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of SUCI has in course of a statement said that "The Central Supplementary Budget without touching even the hair of the industrial tycoons of our Country will put the entire burden of additional taxation of Rs. 232 crores

on the shoulders of our common consumers. This will inevitably create further alarming inflationary trends, the vicious circle of deficit financing will continue, the cost of living will increase, the price of essential commodities will rise more and ultimately add new dimensions to the hardship and miseries of our common people."

### United Left and Democratic Front at Haryana

Recently a United Left and Democratic Front (ULDF) has been formed in Haryana comprising the representatives of S.U.C.I., S.P., CPI(M) and Backward Classes Federation (BCF). The Representatives of Republican Party of India could not attend the meeting which was held for the purpose at Rohtak but it is expected that R.P.I. will also join this ULDF very soon.

The formation of ULDF in Haryana is an event of tremendous political importance for this crisis-ridden state which carries in it a possibility of mobilising and uniting all the left and democratic forces in their struggle against the common enemy, the Congress. It is heartening to note that despite non-cooperation and reluctance on the part by CPI(M) it is due to consistent attempt of the comrades of SUCI that the Front has come into being. The formation of this Front has assumed special importance as it is not a simply issue-based front which is now envisaged by the CPI(M) but a front based on

common minimum agreed programme. This programme includes, inter alia: to ensure administrative neutrality; strengthen and safeguard freedom of Press, Speech, Association, Faith and Belief; repeal of all black-acts including Panjab State Security Act, MISA, DIR etc. and also Arms Act; withdrawal of emergency, non-interference of police and administration in democratic movements of the people; abolition of police verification in case of Government service; radical land reforms; resumption of all cultivable waste and fallow lands, confiscation of Benam land and distribution of all such lands to poor, landless peasants and agricultural labourers free of cost; all-out state trading both in retail and wholesale trade in essential commodities; need-based minimum wages to all categories of workers including daily wage workers; to establish democratic Scientific and secular education free from national jingoism, obscurantism and caste feeling; free and compulsory education for all and special attention for scheduled castes, tribes etc.

### Black Ordinance

(Contd. from Page 1)

in its kind being the first massive protest throughout the whole of India against this Black Ordinance faced particularly by the Prime Minister.

Park when the demonstration proceeded towards U. S. I. S police suddenly attacked it, arrested 32 demonstrators and made indiscriminate lathi charge injuring several demonstrators one of whom expired at hospital.

In this connection Com. Nihar Mukherjee Secretary of our West Bengal State Committee, in a letter to the Chief Minister, demanded immediate institution of a non-government public commission to probe into the heinous act of lathi-charge, arrest and brutal killing of the innocent youth by the police.