

Jute Mill Workers on the path of Movement

From the first week of January next, jute mill workers throughout West Bengal will be going in for continuous strike once more.

Although the workers gained some monetary benefits by agreement following the strike in 1970, the owners have violated the stipulations of the agreement time and again. As a result, the most vital and fundamental demands of the jute mill workers have remained unfulfilled. The Trilateral Committee set up in 1970 could not function at all owing to the absolute non co-operation of the owners. Hence jute mill workers resumed their fight in 1972 and rounded off with an agreement vehemently opposed by U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani). The owners violated that agreement too. And the government on its part, instead of compelling the owners to implement the agreement, proposed to set up a committee once again to consider the demands, which too the owners rejected outright. It was against this background that the call for continuous strike was given from the 14th of January, 1974.

It might be recollected that even the INTUC registered its support in favour of the highly justified demands of the jute mill workers and made public declaration that it would join the continuous strike if the demands were not fulfilled. But sadly enough, though it called the strike it carried on talks behind the screen with the labour minister of West Bengal, Dr. Gopal Das Nag, and thereafter, on the 13th of January, midnight, the I. N. T. U. C. and its followers recorded a blatant instance of betrayal to the workers by signing a bond in the name of an agreement in collusion with the owners. The jute mill workers, eluding the snare of the traitors and facing the government's and owners' widespread attack, arrests of workers and leaders *enmasse*, onslaught of hired goondas, 144 Cr. P.C. in labour colonies and police and C.R.P. repression, continued their

struggle through the thirty three-day successful strike. By this so-called agreement,—(1) in the case of bonus, the workers earned right to industry-based bonus was scrapped, and demand for increased bonus was conceded to for two years. (2) By accepting 23 and 42 paise weekly increment (the demand was 5-10 rupees) all other demands were withdrawn. (3) The quality of production would be fixed up by the labour minister. (4) In lieu of a promise not to launch any movement in the future, and a bond signed to that effect, the owners flung a tip of 45/-rupees at the workers.

The workers, therefore, rejected the agreement and continued the strike, but the way the movement was called off later, relying on the governments assurance and painted as a 'great victory' by the CITU, AITUC and other organisations, was opposed by the U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani).

The lessons that have become clear to us in the light of our experiences of the past movement are, firstly, the lack of sagacity of the CITU and other leaderships concerning the possibility that movements can be protracted, has only created confusion among the workers, instead of helping necessary preparations to meet the situation. Secondly, even the CITU leadership, instead of giving the workers correct impression about the role of the INTUC and isolating the compromising leadership was itself enmeshed in the conspiracy of the government, and struggled to win its favour in trying to emulate the other associate left organisations thereby violating the norms of united movement (CITU was agreed to the proposal for representation of four out of the eight organisations in the Industrial Committee on Jute).

The jute workers movement will have to be organised and kept on the

(Contd. to Page 4)

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 8
No. 7

1st DECEMBER '74
SUNDAY

PRICE 30 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

BIHAR

Com. Amar Pandey Again Arrested

Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey, member of the Bihar State Committee of our Party and the State Secretary of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was again arrested under DIR on 12th November on some concocted charges.

It may be recalled, that on the eve of the 3-day bandh in October last the

Bihar Police arrested a large number of our Comrades from various districts like Arrah, Chhapra, Danapur, Dhanbad, Mazaffarpur etc. including Comrade Pandey.

This time, Daroga Prasad Rai, a former Congress Minister and a discredited leader came to address a public meeting in Marhaora opposing the present peoples movement. The local people expressed their indignation at the place. The Police fired upon the people and killed one and injured many. After this firing

incident, police arrested Comrade Pandey.

The re-arrest of Comrade Pandey who was released just a few days back has caused wide-spread deep resentment amongst the common people.

On 2nd Page

Com. Ghosh's speech on problems of cultural moral, ethical aspects of life.



IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN BY SUCI

With days passing on, the people all over the country are gradually becoming more and more attracted to the revolutionary politics and thoughts of our party led by our beloved leader and teacher, our General Secretary, Com. Shibdas Ghosh. Among other

things, the increasing enthusiasm among the people to collect our different literatures both on national and international issues from the different book stalls that are generally temporarily organised by us throughout the country on different occasions, as a

part of the programme of ideological campaign, no doubt bears testimony to this fact.

Like previous years, this year too, on the occasion of the 57th Anniversary of the Great November Revolution, we organised book stalls

(Contd. to Page 4)

Resist all out onslaught of the Ruling Class in all walks of Life

[At the persistent request of some of our readers we are giving below the translation of a speech in synopsis made by our beloved leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh on the occasion of West Bengal State Conference of K. K. M. F. (Krishak & Khet Mazoor Federation) held at Bankura this year. We have particularly chosen that portion of his analysis which relates to the cultural degradation pervading the entire stratum of the present society. It is needless to say that it is the translator and no body else who will be responsible for inaccuracy and inadequacy of expression, if any—Ed. P. Era]

Friends,

All of you must have been feeling heart and soul that not only a very complicated and critical situation has been created in the field of economy plaguing the national life of our country today, but the fabric of morality, principle, ideals etc. has also been corroded to their extreme being vividly manifested at all levels of social life. Nowhere in society is working a definite ideology or a sense of morality. This is, no doubt, a dangerously suffocating situation. You should all keep in your mind that whatever may be the magnitude of economic crisis distressing the life of the common people a country can raise its head braving all odds, poverty, privation and repressions—provided the people of that country can keep erect their moral backbone. If you look at Vietnam, you will find that the Vietnamese people had to pass through a far more critical situation compared to the present crisis and distress of the Indian people. You have known that the Chinese people too, who were considered at one time a sleeping nation and about whom there was a common saying that they were kept in a state of slumber and dizziness with opium or narcotics were compelled to leave their hearth and home in millions only in search of food in the midst of extreme poverty. Yet, despite this extreme poverty, limitless oppression and unthinkable repression the Chinese people

could raise their heads, the Vietnamese people could not be cowed down in spite of incessant bombing by the American imperialists. The peasants of Vietnam were also illiterates like the peasants of our country. Just like Indian people they too had no food, they too starved for days together. Even though a barbaric power simply with its military might was out to crumble down with bombs, but the Vietnamese people as they—all without exception from children, adolescents, youths to old men and women, from workers, peasants to a large section of middle class i.e. the people of all age, sex, creed and social strata—combined against American imperialism and stood united just like a solid rock, just like one man with firm determination, the American imperialists with their napalm bombs and barbaric military might had to accept ignominious but inevitable defeat and leave the soil of Vietnam.

Crisis in the realm of morality and culture

What has become the magnitude of economic crisis and what is the real picture of present-day price-rise, are all known to you all and you cannot but become well conversant with all these questions as you are to daily look after the maintenance of your families. So, it is not necessary to go into a detailed narration of it. What I am trying to pinpoint is the fact that a more grievous and deeper

conspiracy is being perpetrated against the people of our country, and that is the reactionary forces and the ruling class are skilfully and subtly fanning up the mean tendencies and evil instincts among the people with the ulterior motive of emasculating them so that the down-trodden people can never raise their heads. If this conspiracy succeeds, then there is no doubt that poverty and crises will not be the last words of our sufferings and in that case we will lose all our distinct features as a nation and as people. The so-called big national leaders of our country are issuing sermons on morality, principle, tradition, culture etc. more or less daily. They are advising the students and youths to become disciplined and imbued with lofty ideals. But yet, there is a fast deterioration of moral standard in all spheres of national life.

Let alone the question of administration, at every walk of social life the moral and cultural standard and the sense of values are declining very fast. The more the leaders are issuing sermons, advising the people to become honest and ideal—the more the people are becoming degenerated. What is the root cause behind it? That such things are occurring, are we to believe that no force is at work behind it? Is it only the concomitant effect of capitalist exploitation? "As there is capitalism, this all-pervading moral degradation is nothing but inevitable and all human attempts to resist this phenomenon are bound to be rendered futile"—does the matter stand here and at this point? I am of firm opinion that such a contention is simply preposterous and it will be absolutely wrong to judge this issue in this light. Science, philosophy, social science and in fact,

nothing does corroborate such a conclusion.

You all know that any man, any individual is nothing but an admixture of both good and bad qualities. If we desire a man to be good shaking off his bad traits, it is possible only by encouraging what is good and definitely not what is bad in him. Naturally, a possessor of both bad and good qualities as the man is, it is incumbent upon all of us to indulge in, patronise and actively encourage all that is good in man in order to lift him and make him free from defects. Under any circumstances, under any pretext, creating smoke-screen of any logic—nobody should indulge in any evil, mean and bad trait in any man. The tendency of cowardly violence, greed, mean-mindedness, slander, calumny, and practice of falsehood under whatsoever pretext, are the bad traits in human beings. Every body should see that on any ground nothing, not even political movements should create such a situation as to allow these bad traits to grow, flourish and thrive in the social environment and social life that obtain at present.

Heinous conspiracy to crush the backbone of people's struggle

But these bad traits are being encouraged in man resulting in the erosion of good qualities still present and this is being done in a planned and skilful way. The ruling circle, the reactionaries, the affluent of the present society who are being benefited most from the present social system are feeling that it is impossible to throttle the voice of the angry people and pacify their discontent once for all only with the help of the coercive apparatus of the capitalist state i.e. the police, the military and administrative repression. If the nation can retain even the remnant of morality then it will try to rise up again and again defying all sorts of fascistic oppression and

any attempt to throttle it under the boots. So in order to dampen the fighting spirit of the people, destroy their power of resistance and damage the capacity to build up revolutionary organisations of the masses it is necessary to completely crush their moral strength. The bourgeoisie, the ruling class and the top echelon of the society do understand this point very well. This is why, taking recourse to all trash logic, false theories and excuses and even at times creating smoke-screen of so called freedom of culture they are seriously striving to kill the very vitals of whatever good in men—the noble ideology, the moral and ethical aspects—by pampering and indulging in all that is mean and menacing. So we find that the people of our country, while once preferred sacrificing their lives to giving up their ideals; but today even to a mere reference to the question of ideals, any young man would unhesitatingly and without any prick of conscience retort—"all these are empty talks." If asked, "why did Khudiram sacrifice his life?"—you would get the ready made answer: "well Sir, we had enough of tall-talks, please give it up. Give us money, you will get work. Every body pays money—the congressites and the communists as well". That a good worker can work voluntarily for ideals without taking a single farthing—this they cannot believe at all. If they come across such a worker who works absolutely voluntarily without taking even a farthing from the party, they will think that he has gone mad. Such a notion that they are nurturing—is it merely the manifestation of a typical greedy mentality created, encouraged and bribed by money? You should be aware that this bent of mind and mental complex are being created very subtly and skilfully

(Contd. to Page 3)

Not unorganised, sporadic outburst but only organised, sustained movement of the people can hasten their emancipation

(Contd. from Page 2)

under the cover of all sorts of filthy logic and trash theories, implanting varieties of rotten and decadent culture in the name of freedom of cultural movement and encouraging anarchy under the guise of freedom of an individual.

This the ruling class is doing with a particular motive. They are observing that dark cloud is fast accumulating in the sky, the limit of forbearance of the common people is being crossed very rapidly. The situation in India is on the verge of explosion. Look at Guzrat. There is no left movement, no revolutionary struggle, no leadership, no organised strength of the masses but yet the indignation of the people underwent what a violent explosion! The same thing is happening in Bihar. There too, the people is exploding in anger and fury. But the bourgeoisie, the top military bosses, and the bureaucrats know it very well that violent outburst of the people, and revolution is not one and the same. Any organised state machine, not to speak of a capitalist state like India, can curb and quell any isolated, sporadic and violent eruption of indignation of the unorganised people even if it appears in the form of outburst, strikes etc. and continues for long. Thereby neither the capitalist state machine nor the bourgeois class become endangered in any way, it can at best feel disturbed for certain period. On the contrary, the ruling class does not only create a plea and capitalise these sporadic struggles of the masses with the sole object of tightening up more and more the coercive apparatus of the bourgeois state machine but also when such reign of indiscriminate oppression descends on these unorganised struggles and crushes them, the common people very often fall victim to frus-

tration, despair and defeatism which they take a long time to fight out. The bourgeoisie know it very well. They do understand that when there is discontent and indignation among the people it is bound to find its way out today or tomorrow. They are not at all afraid of it as they can put it down very easily. But revolution and violent outburst of the people is not one and the same. Revolution is the protracted and organised battle of the people i.e. the people have given organisational shape to their political power having a definite, clear-cut, political objective before them and have gained sufficient strength for conducting protracted and organised struggle against the state machine wherever necessary—as was done by the revolutionaries in China, as has been done by the revolutionaries in Vietnam. It is only when the people thus develop such an organised and invincible political power that no military might can suppress it.

Conversely, when the discontent among the people becomes extremely acute the parliamentary opposition parties always take advantage of this explosive situation in election battles, particularly when a real revolutionary party effective enough to give it a revolutionary orientation is absent in the country. So you must remember that those whose sole motto is election and nothing else, they want only agitation, only protests and are only interested in confining these battles within the span of at best agitations, strikes etc. so that the whole movement does not assume the character of a protracted and organised struggle, coming out of the traditional orbit of protests, sporadic outburst and agitations. It is their experience that if they can organise such agitational movements of the

people against the government then through these movements the strong and deep-seated feeling against the government and the party in power is developed among the people, this feeling of the people will get intensified and the people will become more and more anti-government being face to face with severe repression let loose by the government in order to put down these movements, which they suppose, will create a very favourable situation for gaining more seats in the elections, for winning election battles to become ministers and all that. And that is why these parties, labelling these agitational form of movements as "revolution" want to arrest them within the limit of agitations, sporadic outbursts and isolated protest-struggles.

Problems Before Left Movement

As far as I know, I am sure, at present there is a very good possibility of organising a strong mass movement against Indira Government and Indira Congress in West Bengal immediately—the soil for the outbreak of such an outburst is already ripe in West Bengal. A question is of late, agitating your mind; when Guzrat and Bihar are raging in struggle how is it that West Bengal is lagging behind in spite of superior strength of the leftists here? There is no doubt that the reason behind it lies precisely in the peculiar character of the leftist friends here. Otherwise, what else can be responsible for it? Have not the people here crossed the limit of forbearance? You all know that whereas in Guzrat and Bihar the right reactionary forces possess the strength of instigating the discontent of the masses—in West Bengal it is only the left parties that can give an organised shape to people's resentment in mass movement. But the major left parties also want only

agitation and nothing else. Moreover, at the present moment lest these agitational movements involve some risk they are proceeding very slowly and cautiously and are trying to confine these movements, within the limit of protest-struggles.

This kind of politics overtaken with dread and apprehension, the politics of building agitational form of movements with an eye to future election i.e. to utilise the massive discontent of the people solely in future elections with a view to going into governmental power—this very attitude is solely responsible as to why despite such an explosive situation, so many left parties are failing to give it a united, politically conscious and organised shape. This is the crux of the problem.

Be that as it may, what I have been trying to pinpoint is that the Indian bourgeoisie can at best afford the people to go in for agitational form of outburst but by no means they can allow the people to attain the necessary strength for bringing about revolution. This is why they are trying to weaken the moral strength, pollute the moral character and strike at the very base of their culture. This is only natural for them.

Failure to grasp the essence of proletarian culture

Which is the genuine revolutionary party and what is the correct revolutionary line—I am coming to these questions later on. But I like to know why those parties which pose themselves as revolutionaries, claim themselves as revolutionaries are not careful about this dangerous conspiracy of the bourgeoisie while conducting the day-to-day struggles of the toiling people of the country? How can they remain ignorant about the cultural and moral standard of these people

particularly the youths whom they are dragging inside their parties, whom they are drawing in different mass struggles—be that peasants' struggles for realisation of different demands or struggles against high price etc. etc. They are not at all noticing the very fact how the ruling bourgeoisie is bent upon vitiating and polluting the whole atmosphere and eating into the very vitals of the organisation and killing the morale of the movement. The mental make-up of these parties also manifest all sorts of meanness like selfishness, cowardice, tendency of cowardly violence, domineering attitude in politics,—all that is vile and base in man. By cowardly violence I mean a particular tendency to attack one man say, by ten at a time; to carry out attacks and even physically annihilate others when the police and the administration is by one's side, the situation is favourable and when for that simple reason one has been able to rally mass support behind him. By cowardly violence I mean these tendencies in particular. No real revolutionary can ever indulge in such a mentality. The revolutionaries, on the contrary, even in conditions of isolation, show burning fervour to fight against all odds as was done by Khudiram. But here the practice that is going on today is just the opposite. Now a days we find a kind of "brave" persons who remain "brave" so long as they can control the police and the administration, so long as their party remain in governmental power, i.e. so long as they are big parties being backed by some strength of mass forces. Under such a situation, they are used to unleash all sorts of intimidation on others. But if they lose mass support, if the situation becomes adverse being ousted from the governmental power,

(Contd. to Page 5)

JUTE WORKERS MOVEMENT

(Contd. from Page 1)
right track in the light of these lessons and experiences. Committees, local and factory level must be set up in order to conduct the protracted movement of jute mill workers. The preparations for continuous strike must be made keeping before us the lessons of the recent railway strike and laying emphasis on developing an instrument of struggle conducive to a militant and protracted movement.

With this end in view, the U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani) affiliated Bengal Jute Mill Workers Union has decided to hold a convention at Kamarhati, Chhai Maidan, on the 14th and 15th of December '74, in preparation for the forthcoming continuous strike in jute mills for the realisation of

seven-point demands, namely 20% bonus, implementation of the recommendations of the expert committee on Consumer Price Index, implementation of the verdict of the labour minister on the question of allowances of casual workers etc. The eminent T.U. leaders, Com. N. R. Singh, Com. Fatik Ghosh, Com. Sanat Dutta, Com. Sitiesh Dasgupta and others will address the open session of the convention.

Com. Fatik Ghosh, Secretary of the W. B. committee (U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani), President of the Bengal Jute Mill Workers Union, and Com. Sanat Dutta, Secretary of the Union, have called upon the jute mill workers to make the convention a success.

WEST BENGAL

Com. Rabin Mondal and Eighteen Others Arrested

On 17th November, at Purba-Jata, under Pathar-Pratima Police Station of South 24 Parganas in West Bengal, local Congress roustabouts and anti-socials looted the standing crops from the vested land under the lawful possession of Turobinda, a poor peasant and stacked them in the home of Sunil Hatua, a local jotedar.

Having got this news, Comrade Rabin Mondal, ex-MLA of the State Assembly and a distinguished peasant leader and District leader of our party rushed to the place along with other comrades to save the poor peasant.

The Congress-backed jotedar of the locality with the help of rowdies and anti-socials pounced upon Comrade Mondal and others.

Police came and true to the class character and policy of the government instead of arresting the miscreants arrested Comrade Mondal and other comrades.

This incident has roused the poor people who severely condemn this

brazenly pro-jotedar attitude of the ruling party which mouths fake sympathy for the poor.

ASSAM

State Committee on Boro Language Issue

Comrade Ashit Bhattacharjee, Secretary of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI, in course of a statement has strongly condemned the latest police firings on the peaceful volunteers of the "Boro Sahitya Sabha" which has been conducting a peaceful movement demanding introduction of Roman script in Boro language. Nine persons have so far been killed in these firings.

The statement emphatically says that no right thinking people of Assam can support these brutal onslaughts of the Congress Government of Assam against the peaceful unarmed demonstrators and calls upon the people of Assam to resist these fascist attacks of the Congress Government which has chosen the path of ruthless suppression of all democratic movements in the state.

As regards the demand for introduction of Roman script, the statement states that while the Roman script in all the languages of India at a time has got a meaning and significance as that will surely facilitate the learning of different languages by different linguistic communities (which in its turn will hasten the process of development of different languages), obviously the introduction of Roman script in a particular language, in an isolated way alone cannot serve the same purpose and the move itself may retard the process of growth of that particular language.

Explaining the stand of SUCI, Comrade Bhattacharjee emphatically states that, the decision regarding such delicate issues can be made only when the people, who are demanding such things, are really free from parochial influences.

The statement further says that while the SUCI firmly supports the demand for all-out assistance for the quick development of Boro language, it at the same time strongly feels

Ideological Campaign

(Contd. from Page 1)

for a week throughout the country as a part of our ideological campaign. All these stalls attracted a large section of the people who during all these seven days throughout the whole of the day and even in the evening in large numbers visited the book stalls and collected our literatures.

In this regard the huge sell of our literatures from different stalls in Calcutta and all district headquarters and subdivisional towns of West Bengal deserves special mentioning. All these book stalls decorated with pictures and quotations of Com. Lenin and Com. Shibdas Ghosh, where hundreds of our comrades relentlessly conducted ideological campaign attracted a huge section of the enthusiastic people.

The various books and articles which provided correct marxist approach to national and international questions, the way to end the ideological difference in the world communist camp, scientific way to eradicate economic political and cultural problems to achieve socialism, created deep interest among the people. A tremendous enthusiasm was also observed among the people, to collect, 'In Memory of Comrade Subodh Banerjee', (Bengali) 'Why SUCI is the real Communist Party in India' (Bengali, Hindi) and 'The Cultural Decadence, the Problem of Unemployment—Whither lies the Solution' (Bengali) etc. among other booklets.

that in the interest of unity and integration of the toiling people of the Assam, the "Boro Sahitya Sabha" should if possible drop the demand for introduction of Roman script, as even the noted linguist like Dr. Suniti Chatterjee has opined that Assamese script will well serve the need of the Boro language.

Letter To The Editor

Sir,

For the past six months, the peaceful people of Sikkim are very much shocked and distressed with the Govt. of India's hasty steps in forcing a Constitutional Bill and giving an "Associate status" to the Himalayan Kingdom. The Chief Minister and his colleagues has no mandate of the people to request the Govt. of India for participation and representation in political institutions and her parliamentary system. Sending two representatives in the Indian parliament means imposing Indian Nationality and the dilution of our International Status and separate identity. Protesting against the 35th Constitutional Amendment Bill, the students of Sikkim organised a peaceful demonstration on 10th October 74; the result was that, both boys and girls were mercilessly lathi-charged and teargassed by the C.R. Ps. Not satisfied with this, even small children, old and young were forcefully dragged out of the houses by breaking doors and windows and were treated with the same manner. About fifty students were Hospitalized for several weeks because of their serious injuries and wounds. On that very basis Mr. Hem Lall Bhandari and five other friends are expelled from Sir, Tash-i Namgyal Higher Secondary School, by the Chief Minister Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangserpa. On the contrary, the student supporters of the Congress party are staying with the Ministers as their bodyguards and no action has been taken to them by the present Government. Is it fair and justice? Is it democracy? Does it seem fair to darken the future of students who are the future pillars of Democracy?

Yours etc.

Sd. H. L. Bhandari
President of Sikkim
Students Association
Gangtok, Sikkim.
November 19, 1974

(Contd. from Page 3)

then these "brave" people become absolutely crippled then and there. If this kind of mentality infiltrates in any way even among those who pose themselves as revolutionaries, even among those who call themselves as leftists then where will the matter stand?

I very often come to know from my comrades that the leaders of so-called Marxist-Leninist parties masquerading as revolutionaries do not even maintain minimum decency and decorum while criticising other parties. To make unseemly remarks against other political parties, to behave in a most filthy manner, to show utter disrespect and contempt towards the leaders and workers of other political parties being carried by the mentality of big party chauvinism and also to take resort to any kind of falsehood only to humiliate others have become habits of these leaders. I am compelled to say that these leaders have dismally failed to fathom the depth of inner kernel of great proletarian culture, and in fact by these kind of filthy behaviour in the field of culture they have reduced the revolutionary proletarian culture to a virtual "have-not".

What I was so long trying to highlight is that economic crisis, however devastating, does not represent the main disaster of our life; rather it is the cultural degradation and absence of all norms and code of conduct vitiating the entire atmosphere of the country that constitutes today a very serious problem of people's life. It is not an outward phenomenon; its solution cannot be obtained simply by talking of crisis and decadence of culture as the inevitable outcome of capitalism. In fact, this social malady created by capitalism is making its headway even in the so-called left and revolutionary parties and polluting the entire atmosphere with putrid rotten culture.

Naturally, if the left and revolutionary movements of the country fail

Unethical means of livelihood is actively encouraged to corrode the morale of the present generation

to arrest this current of cultural and moral degradation while conducting struggles on economic and political issues then it is impossible for the revolutionary movements to gain ground and momentum at the present juncture. You should not forget for a moment that simple mouthing of slogans cannot bring about revolution.

The Politics of Stunt

In this connection, I like to draw your attention to one more point. Now-a-days it has practically become a peculiar habit of the so-called political leaders of the country to use stunts and bluffs as weapons in political movements. You must have observed that the Congress leaders are frantically trying to impress upon the people of our country that it is not India alone that is suffering from price-rise and scarcity of food; these problems, according to these leaders, have assumed global character affecting the life of entire people of the whole world. In this way, they are trying not only to minimise the gravity of the present situation but also to shield their own misdeeds from the people by putting the entire onus on the worldwide crisis of capitalist market and the present crisis-ridden situation of world capitalist economy and thereby painting India's problems as part and parcel of that global phenomenon. Those countries are, no doubt, capitalist countries, ours is also a capitalist country and capitalism everywhere is reactionary. Barring the few who are out to defend capitalism by any means, the progressive people of the whole world are convinced of it that capitalism today has assumed out and out reactionary character everywhere. But the Congress leaders of our country are silent on one point that the staunch

reactionaries like the American imperialists who, the other day unleashed barbarous attacks on Vietnam—can the capitalists and the businessmen of America even today think of adulterating baby-foods, medicines etc. as is very widely practised in our country? "The practice of adulteration of food, medicines etc. is only due to capitalist system as such"—such an assertion is a pure and simple oversimplification.

Secondly, it is true that the prices of different commodities have risen considerably and in fact there is also a tendency of price-rise even in the capitalist-imperialist countries of the West.

But, is the rate of price-rise in these countries so high as it is in India today? In fact, the abnormal and practically unbelievable price-hike that has taken place in one year in our country finds no parallel in the whole world.

Thirdly, these leaders are also silent on one more important point. They are not coming out with the figures of minimum wages that the workers in these countries are entitled to nor are they showing the rate of price-rise in comparison to the rate of wage-increase there. And what is the level of income of the common people in India compared to the galloping price-rise here? Herein lies the main point. So to say simply that "price-rise is a global phenomenon"—can that suffice? Yet Mrs. Gandhi is claiming like a pedant, "everywhere price is rising—it is not alone our problem". This she is doing only to befool the people, only to dish out stunts to the people. The politicians of our country have, of late, developed all these nasty things—which we did not find in the past.

We all know that even our freedom struggle was not free from certain

weaknesses. But think of those leaders who were, at that time, at the helm of political struggles of our country. Then compare the present leaders—both rightist and leftist leaders side by side with those of the national movement. If you do it you cannot but note one important point. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders who were at the leadership of our freedom struggle, who were definitely not communists and who did not talk of socialism very loudly, were found to possess a standard of knowledge, a level of intellect and a depth of understanding in different branches of epistemology which the present so-called left, socialist and communist leaders who are leading the left movements of our country today can hardly reflect. In fact, most of these leaders do not care to know anything. Their only business is to make stunts and to get claps by tickling all sorts of cheap sentiment of the people. Speaking straight, this is deceiving the people. Another thing over which these so-called political leaders have established their mastery is the art of telling lies so skilfully, so that always these appear as true—a Goebbles-like tactics indeed! Thus, when this has become the situation, it is no wonder that there is so much of moral degradation.

Unethical and bad means of livelihood unabated

I feel inclined to refer to one more point. You are aware that the number of unemployed youth is increasing by leaps and bounds in our country. Now this battalion of unemployed youths, particularly coming from the middle class families—when they put on terrylene pants, wear wrist-watches and constantly smoke cigarettes, that automatically evokes heaps of

questions from many—"where from do these unemployed young men get it? Are they really needy at all?" I say, it is a cogent question indeed. But the story behind it is quite painful and disgraceful. Because most of these unemployed youths are getting these amenities of life out of corrupt and unethical means of livelihood. It is not at all difficult to get terrylene wears rather one can get plenty of them if he either joins Sevalal, or becomes a wagon-breaker, a pick-pocket or a snatcher. Numbers of young men are opting to such unethical means of livelihood under the impact of crisis of life and being pressed upon by pressure of circumstances. This is also a part of wider conspiracy of the ruling class against the youths of the country. How did fascism come into being in Europe? When the bourgeois rulers and the capitalists of those countries who amassed huge capitals found that they were unable to solve the problem of unemployment—they made a conspiracy of "killing two birds with a single stone"! They felt that if these unemployed young men were educated and cultured then it was not impossible for them, out of sheer grievances against the society, to give birth to the thoughts of revolution. So what they did was to kill that aspect of education and culture which was vitally concerned with morality and ethics on the one hand and to purchase a section of young men with money for pushing them to a dishonest path of livelihood on the other.

The very same thing is taking place in our country. Young men are being enrolled as volunteers in different political parties in exchange of money. These volunteers can any moment hold weapons against others. Judged from this point of view it can be said that the political parties have become, so to say, a kind of employment exchange. These political parties are providing the young people with

(Contd. to Page 6)

National movement failed to free social life from casteism, communalism, parochialism

(Contd. from Page 5)

some jobs. This is why they openly declare "we will not do anything unless we are paid". I say, revolutionaries like Subhas Chandra and Khudiram also had to collect money from the members of the public. But they worked for some ideals and people came forward to help them with money. They were in politics not just to earn some money. Even when they could not get and did not have any money they pursued all their activities—even at times without food and shelter. And for this they had no grudge, no grievances against anybody. It is true that any social or political work requires money. You know that even Vivekananda had to collect subscription. We are also in need of money and we collect money from the people. So collection of money as such can never be construed as a bad practice. I have been reported that numbers of people who claim themselves as workers and supporters of so-called left and Marxist-Leninist parties very often ridicule and tease our workers when they go for street collection. It is true that our party workers are to regularly collect money from the public and we are to depend on mass collection. Because for conducting the regular activities of the party and also to build up struggles of the masses we require money. But if we do not collect this money from the people, then the only way left before us is to take recourse to dishonest and unjust practices. I like to draw your attention to a very vital point in connection with this specific question. Those so-called big left parties whose workers and supporters very often use taunting remarks against our workers, those parties also need money and they too

spend money. They even engage the unemployed youths and make them work against money. Where from do these parties get it? Since they do not collect money from the public then either they get financial help from the owners, the capitalists or they procure it by this or that dishonest means. But those parties who are dead against dishonest practices—they will have to approach for collection again and again even if the public feel disturbed.

To speak frankly, I consider it my right to collect money from the people. I am aware that there are many including some high-ups who think that mass collection tantamounts to begging. I say, yes, excepting those who are slaves—all great men of the world who helped change the course of history were nothing but beggars! Vivekananda, Subhas Chandra and all such great men of our country had to approach door to door for money. Excepting the so-called big bosses who have sold their conscience to money and thus transformed themselves to paid agents and excepting those political parties who receive donations from the big-business—all those who changed the course of history and shaped the destiny of nations had to depend on public collection. There is nothing to be ashamed of, rather to me it is an act of great pride.

Be that as it may, I was trying to pin-point an absolutely different issue. The bourgeois rulers, their political parties and the capitalist class—all of them are trying to misdirect the youths to a dishonest path of livelihood by purchasing them with money. You all know that the big jotedars and the big businessmen engage thousands of young men and women for purchasing rice from the countryside

and selling say 5 kgs. or 10 kgs. of rice at a time in the city markets. There are arrangements of ghost ration-cards in every locality with the help of which ration is regularly drawn from the shops and sold in the markets at much higher price to earn money out of it. The unemployed youths are being used for wagon-breaking and for destroying organisations of others simply with money. This is why you find that those who can earn at best two hundred rupees per month by the sweat of their brows—their sons also move about in terrylene wears. In spite of being fathers, they very often have to indulge in all sorts of unethical means of livelihood of their sons. It is, I think, nothing but indignity of fatherhood. But people have stooped so low being hard-pressed with poverty that they remain silent at such disgraceful behaviour of their sons because of the fact that it brings money. They rationalise—"may be it is unethical, but what's of that, we are getting money out of it?" A civilised country—the air and sky of which is ringing with loud slogans of socialism and democracy, and tall talk of morality, principle etc.—finds no difficulty in providing all kinds of unethical means of livelihood of thousands of youths an indirect social sanction. When this is the situation, what else is there which we can be proud of—as a nation?

Weakness of national leadership during freedom struggle

The natural trend of cultural degradation coming as it does as the concomitant evil of present-day capitalism and the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to corrode the moral character of the people with the object of protecting capitalism and bourgeois class-rule—is not beyond comprehension. The bourgeoisie is bound to practise it with the object of safeguarding its own classrule and class exploitation.

For instance, the Britishers pursued the

policy of "divide and rule" with the sole object of keeping the colonial exploitation intact. It is for this that they designed to perpetrate communal dissension between the Hindus and the Muslims and wanted to give birth to Muslim League in this country. They used to agitate Muslims against the Hindus and Hindus against the Muslims. This they did in various ways—either by theorising or by creating smoke-screen of logic, sometimes utilising the deep-seated superstitious mental complex of caste feeling, and some other times by poisoning the mind of one community against the other by sheer distortion of historical facts in the name of study of history. It was only natural for the Britishers as it helped in maintaining their colonial rule in India.

So, I could never agree with those political leaders who used to make this plea that the Indians could not be united due to the "divide and rule" policy of the Britishers. From the remote past i.e. from the outset of my political career I started raising a question—could it be the object of the Britishers to make united the Hindus and the Muslims, the workers, peasants and the middle class so that we all, being united, dig their own grave? In fact, the Britishers were bound to serve their interest, as rulers they would surely endeavour to bring about disunity among us and spread venom of communalism among the people.

But it was the duty of the national leaders to do everything that was necessary for bringing about unity among the Hindus and the Muslims during our freedom movement. In order to attain that objective it was incumbent on them to get rid of the superstition and prejudice of casteism, communalism etc., to free the ideals of patriotism, nationalism, humanism etc. from the evil effect of religion and casteism. But this task they did not perform. On the contrary, the brand of nationalism

that worked as the pivot of our freedom struggle was, in fact, Hindu religion oriented nationalism, the leaders of which posed themselves as Hindu prophets! As a result the Muslim masses could not join in this struggle heartily and felt some sort of psychological resistance to do so. Had the ideals of nationalism been truly secular, had it been a humanism free from religious tutelage and evil effect of casteism, had we been truly Indians rather than remaining Hindus or Muslims—then and then only the Muslim masses could have been dragged in the freedom struggle of our country. Here lies the main weakness of our struggle for independence. This worked as the main reason behind our failure to unite the Hindu and Muslim masses during the freedom struggle and our inability to remove apprehension and suspicion from the mind of the Muslim community. But what we did, was to blame the Britishers. They simply took advantage of our weakness and nothing else.

Perhaps, you may be aware that when Gandhiji raised his voice to shun untouchability during our freedom movement, even most of his disciples did not respond to this call, rather they practised in their social life all sorts of casteism, communalism etc. and particularly during the marriages of their sons and daughters. These leaders used to claim before the Muslims that they were completely free from communal mentality whereas in reality they did never allow the Muslims to step in their rooms. Then how could our people become Indian citizens making themselves completely free from the mental complex of either Hindu or Muslim casteism, communalism—which we call democratic principles of life—how could it be established among them? How would they introduce secular concept and secular principle in their life? It is only for this reason that we could not establish secular concept

(Contd. to Page 7)

Movements not Linked up with Cultural, Moral and ethical Aspects of Life will fail to lead to revolutionary struggle

(Contd. from Page 6)
of life in our society. So, politically we attained nationhood no doubt, but socially, culturally and also from the point of view of religion, we were distracted into separate communities as Hindus, Muslims, Jains, Christians etc. Judged from the point of view of language we behave like "Bengalees", "Biharis", "Punjabis", "Madrassis", "Marathis" and so on. This is why we failed to develop as an integrated nation.

Spreading decadent culture in the interest of ruling class

At present, the Indian bourgeoisie—in order to resist the growth of revolutionary movement and with a view to smashing the power of resistance of the people—are attempting to strike at the very backbone of the nation and are killing the moral strength and dignity of the people—so that they can at best retain their capacity to give vent to their feeling of discontent but not the power to organise even the revolutionary struggle of the masses. With this end in view all sorts of decadent culture are being implanted in different ways in our country. The pertinent question is—"since there is capitalism and bourgeois class rule there will be degradation of culture"—is it fatalistically inevitable? Or in other words will it be correct to assume that so long capitalism will remain, we cannot put an end to decadence of culture? No, this is absolutely incorrect. For such a proposition will tantamount to complete negation of the role of the revolutionary forces, the forces of the people i.e. the anti-thesis of reaction operating in the society that ultimately gives defeat to the reactionary forces.

Now, who are those forces who will make the people perform their role consciously against the reactionary forces in the

society? This task lies precisely on those who claim themselves as the party of the people and the revolutionary party in the country. This problem of cultural degradation rests on the role of this party i.e. how far they are able to combine the question of cultural and moral degradation i.e. the task of cultural movement with the task of day to day economic and political struggle of the masses. It is the duty of the genuine revolutionary forces to give an organised shape to the agitational movements of the masses on the one hand and while doing it, to lay the very foundation of a new culture and morality in the society on the structural basis of which the oppressed people would attain the moral courage and mental strength like that of the people of Vietnam who would be ready to face bullets bravely but would not bow down their heads, would not give up their conscience and dignity of man only in exchange of money and servility.

And what picture do we find here? A party swells in strength only in a congenial atmosphere. But when there is any adverse situation, when opposite forces dominate—let me not name those parties—the followers of which behave just like weather-cocks and overnight change their flags and colour and rally behind the dominating party in power. What does it signify? These people who sided with the party which once swelled in strength in a favourable situation, shouting "revolutionary" slogans—were they imbued with revolutionary ideals, did they acquire the structural base of revolutionary morality and character? No, definitely not. Since the party was strong, since it was a privilege to remain with the strong and powerful party—so they were with it. Now, when that very party has lost its previous

strength and position, when it is no more paying to be with that party—so they change their colour. This mentality is spreading day by day. It must be resisted.

Build up cultural-ideological movement of the people

I am firmly of opinion that if we fail to link up our struggles centring round all our discontent, dissatisfaction and distress with the cultural, moral and ethical aspects of life—then all these struggles will be built up only to be finished within a very short time and not to continue for long, not to reach the logical culmination of revolution. For that purpose the necessary revolutionary moral strength has got to be built up among the people in course of conducting these day to day struggles. All of us will have to abide by this code of conduct that none of us would indulge in or instigate what is mean and rotten in man, which I have already mentioned, even if that helps in any way to increase the strength of a party. All the political parties who claim to stand by and work for people must have to abide by, declare and implement it in practice. We will have to agree that we will win over the masses with the help of our politics, reasonings and approach to things. We will try to organise the people by illuminating and awakening the oppressed, humiliated and injured humanity in man. You should keep in your mind that telling lies, taking recourse to falsehood, suppressing the voice of others by physical strength and domineering attitude—if these means are adopted to increase the strength of a party, that cannot give any permanent dividend because even if the strength of the party increases in this way, it increases for a short period, which finishes with the advent of an adverse situation. Moreover, by such acts,

by our style of work, by such mentality, by such lack of vigilance on our part, by polluting the entire social atmosphere by degrading the morality of the people which the bourgeoisie is after, and that too we will do in the name of revolution and while fighting for revolution. That is the real tragedy!

The Chinese Party has made a very important observation in its last Tenth Congress. Personally I believe it and adhere to it—so I like to refer to that in this meeting. I do not know if any of you will get agitated at the reference of the Chinese Party. If there is anybody who holds China as our enemy and Chinese people as a very bad people, then also he should remember that sometimes even our enemies can say something which may be of tremendous significance to all of us. Marxism-Leninism has taught us this lesson that on many occasions even a layman, even our enemy can suggest something of importance that did not strike the mind of even a very intelligent person. So if there is anybody who is, in any way, averse to the Chinese Party, I would only suggest that this is not the main point at issue. The main point of consideration is whether the observation made by the Chinese Party is correct and whether that helps us in any way.

The C.P.C. has observed that if one does not have a correct ideology, correct principle, a correct base political line and correct objective then all the massive struggles and gigantic organisations of the masses are bound to end in fiasco. In that case not only the energy of the people is lost but also the reactionary forces get consolidated thereby. Secondly, they have said that if the base political line of a party is incorrect then no amount of strength acquired at a particular

time can act as a guarantee to preserve it to the end. But if the base political line of a party is correct then even if the party is weak at the outset it is bound to gain in strength gradually and in this way one day it will be able to get hold of the political power. Please note that a mighty party like C.P.C. having a membership strength of 29 millions has not asserted even after attaining such a stupendous strength that "we are such a big party, the entire people is behind us and we have captured state power—this proves that we are correct". On the contrary, in spite of possessing such a gigantic strength they are again and again trying to verify whether their base political line is correct. If the base political line is proved to be incorrect then, the Chinese Party is itself concluding that this gigantic strength is bound to trample down just like a house of cards one day. You may kindly find that the so-called Marxist parties of our country nurture in them just an opposite mentality.

Thirdly, the Chinese Party has reiterated another fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism. I say not only of Marxism-Leninism, it is the basic tenet of all great ideologies, of all ages of the world. And that is, one must acquire the mental strength to swim against the current, to go against all odds but not to swing in favour of the wind. This does not mean that even if the current is in favour of progress, progressive culture and all that is good then also he will have to go against the current. No, not that. By this statement what they are aiming at is to build up a bent of mind, that is—what should be our real mental make up. This type of bent of mind to swim against the current even if alone is the mentality of a revolutionary, a

(Contd. to Page 8)

Build up Political Power of the People

(Contd. from Page 7)
truly Marxist-Leninist.
You will have to find out the base political line on the basis of a correct analysis of the present Indian situation in India keeping all these pertinent questions in view. It is only on the basis of this correct base political line that you will have to give an organised shape to these day to day struggles so that they do not remain confined within the span of agitation. You will have to build up such an invincible organisation of the masses so that people can build up political power in their own hands, can rise up against this unbearable situation, can conduct protracted organised battle against this state for ultimately bringing about fundamental change of the society as well as emancipation of the people. To bring about this change you will have to fulfil three conditions which are consistent with the universal teachings of Marxism-Leninism: They are,

(1) The line must be revolutionary.

(2) Find out the correct party and (3) The theory and ideology must be revolutionary. If the people fail to fulfil these three conditions while developing mass movements, then there will be mass movements no doubt—but that will not ameliorate the sufferings of the people.

You all know that after the transfer of political power we have had enough of sacrifice, abundance of bundhs and struggles, on numbers of occasion military was called out in Calcutta against the people but still then we have not been able to touch even the fringe of capitalism. On the contrary, capitalism has become more and more consolidated, strong and reactionary. Through these movements we could not proceed a single step

towards revolution rather all the opportunistic parties have reaped narrow political harvest out of these movements.

Strengthen the correct revolutionary political line

I appeal to you to give your head to and to take active interest in politics so that this state of affair does not recur again and again. Even if you cannot take part in direct politics, then also try to make yourself free from all sorts of confusions and come forward to extend your hand of co-operation towards that party whose base political line is correct so that this base political line can become powerful in India. Don't forget that if the base political line of a party becomes incorrect and if that party becomes a strong party then that will do more harm than good. So the party whose line is correct, but if that party is weak, then you will have to help in the nourishment of that party, to strengthen that party with utmost care and emotion in the same way a mother nourishes her child and brings it up with affection. You will have to make that party big which is correct. Because it is a matter of alarm and not of delight if a wrong party becomes strong. You can accelerate the struggle for emancipation only by making that incorrect party weak and extending all support to that correct one.

It is my fervent appeal to you all—turn your face to revolutionary politics and revolutionary party, transform the present sporadic outburst of the people into revolutionary struggles, find out the correct revolutionary line, organise yourselves and bring about fundamental change of the present Indian society. **Long live Revolution.**

ORISSA NEWS AIDSO Wins a Glorious Victory

All India Democratic Students' Organisation has won a glorious victory in the Ravenshaw College Students' Union election foiling all the heinous attempts of rigging of the election by the Congress goondas in collusion with the SFI.

It is reported that the Principal of Ravenshaw College openly and nakedly sided with the Chhatra Parishad and the SFI—an incident that has been unequivocally condemned by the democratic minded people of the locality.

In the evening before the original scheduled date for election i.e., on 11th November the Principal issued a notice that the election could not be held as the court had issued an injunction barring such holding.

On the demands of the general students led by the DSO and being pressurised by them, the principal had to do the needful to vacate the injunction and the election was held on the 21st November, 1974.

In the election, the students have outright rejected the candidates of the Chhatra Parishad and SFI and out of the 10 executive posts 6 have been captured by the DSO. It may be further mentioned that the DSO candidates have captured very important portfolios namely that of the President, the Vice-President and the Asst. General Secretary. In all these posts, the DSO candidates have won by sweeping majority of votes.

Sri Fakir Mohanti, Krishna Bal and Satya Mahanti have been respectively elected the President, Vice-President and the Asst. General Secretary.

For obvious reasons, this victory of the DSO has created a tremendous enthusiasm among the genuinely left minded students throughout the state.

Immediate Release of Com. Jena Urged

Sundargarh District Committee of SUCI, CPI(M), BLD and SPI issued the following statement against the heinous arrest of Comrade B. Jena, the Secretary, Sundargarh District Committee, SUCI and Orissa State Committee, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), who is seriously ill behind the prison bar:

"It is a matter of grave concern that Sri B. Jena, Secretary of SUCI Sundargarh District Committee and Secretary of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Orissa State Committee, who is under detention undemocratically under MISA since 24.9.74 for the third time in a short span of nine months, is seriously ill in the jail custody. We apprehend that proper medical treatment have not been provided to him and apprehend some evil intention behind the same.

Big Rally at Rourkela

A big public meeting organised by the Rourkela Workers Union, Rourkela Engineering Workers Union and Orissa Fertiliser Workers Union, all affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) on 19th November at Lal Maidan, at Industrial Estate, Rourkela—4 was presided over by Comrade Banipada Dash, the Vice-President of Rourkela Workers Union and a member of the Sundargarh District Committee, SUCI.

Comrade Sk. Qasim, the main speaker of the meeting discussed at length the problems before the trade union movements of India in general and Rourkela in particular. He ruthlessly criticised the naked siding of the Labour Department and the administration with the industrialists as against the workers' unions as well as the toiling workers. He condemned severely the heinous undemocratic arrest and detention of

We strongly protest against such heinous action of the Government and demand immediate release of Sri Jena.

Police Rampage Party Office at Rourkela

On the last 21st November, at 3 a.m. in the night, about 70 armed police officers and police forces gheraoed our party office at Rourkela—1. The thana in-charge of Kalunga entered our office by force accompanied by some armed police officers and destroyed all the papers and took some valuable documents and records from the office without having any legal authority to do so.

In a letter addressed to the Chief Minister and Home Minister of the state this illegal activities of the police have been strongly condemned and the government has been urged to take necessary actions against the culprit police personnels.

Comrade B. Jena for the third time within the short span of nine months by the administration in collusion with the management and the Labour Department—which is a clear proof of an attempt to gag the voice of protest of workers against exploitation.

Comrades, Radha Charan Pandit, Amarnath Sharma, Silwanti Kerketta and Dulal Lugun spoke on the occasion demanding proper medical treatment and immediate release of Comrade Jena.

In his presidential address, Comrade Banipada Dash raised his voice of protest against the Black Laws, DIR, MISA etc, enforced by the congress Government to curb the legal and democratic rights of the working class. He appealed to the working class and the toiling millions to unite and raise their voice of protest against the illegal and undemocratic acts of the government.