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For
A
NEW DEMOCRACY



Organ
of the
PROVISIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
(Marxist-Leninist)

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CONTENTS	Page
Editorial	1
World Affairs	
Appeasement of the Soviet Social Imperialist Warmongers is a Wrong Policy	4
Splitting The Non aligned Movement A Part of the War Preparations of the Social imperialists	12
IPANA Convention	16
Political Notes and Comments	
A After the hanging	22
B Once again the emergency once again preventive detention	23
C Janata orgies	28
D How democratic is Jyoti Bosu's Police ?	31
Masses on the Move	
Andhra Pradesh	32
Bihar	47
Maharashtra	63
Punjab	68
W Bengal	70
IFTU Resolutions	
Resolution "on democratic rights" (Abridged)	71
Resolution on unemployment	72
Resolution on Bonus	74
Resolution on condition of workers in Tea Industry in Assam	75
Resolution on the Struggle at Hind Motor, Santaldih, etc	78
Oppose the Black Act	81
National Committee of the IFTU	87

EDITORIAL

Wild Conjectures Of The Economic Times

Our attention has been drawn to a news report appearing in some newspapers that our Party, the CPI (M L) was backing Mr Charan Singh in his struggle for power against Mr Morarji Deasai within the ruling Janata Party. 'The Economic Times' (Bombay) has gone to the extent of discovering political reasons for such a "stand" by the CPI (M L). It has stated that "we are beholden to Mr Charan Singh" because he took a lenient view of the "alleged indiscriminate acts" of ours in various parts of the country, because it was due to him that the Janata Govt. had not only withdrawn cases against Naxalite absconders and undertrials "but also persuaded the state govts to release Naxalite convicts" and because 'Charan faction's' avowed objective of ensuring 'adequate representation' to the 'intermediate classes and the castes and backward folk' falls in line with our 'cherished goal'. The attempts of the U P and Bihar govts. for reservation of seats in govt. service for the backward castes have also been mentioned as a reason for our "support" to Charan Singh.

We emphatically deny the slanderous allegations contained in such press reports as they are not only totally false and baseless but also distort our standpoint with regard to the Janata Party Govt and its inner quarrels. First let us examine the facts mentioned in the Economic Times

1 • Has the Janata govt. or for that matter Morarji or Charan Singh, taken a 'lenient' view about the release of the Naxalite prisoners?

Not at all During the Lok Sabha polls, every one of the Janata party leaders had pledged to the nation that they would release all political prisoners, whether detenu, undertrial or convict, unconditionally as soon as they came to power The Janata govt and Mr Charan Singh have gone back from their pledge and are still keeping hundreds of Naxalite prisoners in jail Mr Ram Naresh Yadav, the U S Chief Minister and Mr Karpoori Thakur, the Bihar Chief Minister have till now not released a single convicted political prisoner And so far as withdrawing cases against absconders' are concerned, not a single such case has been withdrawn in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, U P and Bihar In Bihar, there is a political prisoner under DIR still hoping to be freed ! This partial release too could be achieved owing to the continuously growing strength of the movement for civil liberties and democratic rights all over the country and not due to anybody's 'leniency' No one would forget that the Janata govt, through its then Home Minister, Charan Singh, had sought to incorporate preventive detention in the Cr PC, itself The Economic Times has obviously less memory than ordinary mortals like us !

The record of the Janata govt. led by the big bourgeoisie and big landlords with regard to dealing with the peaceful and just agitations of workers and peasants have been simply as bad as the former Congress The working class have been subjected to indiscriminate police firings at Rajhara, Delhi, Kanpur, Ghaziabad, Bailadilla, Dhanbad and Bokaro without any provocation. The Pantnagar police tyranny has surpassed even the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre The Morarji govt, as well as Mr Charan Singh, have shown where they stand in relation to the common man the workers and peasants As far as the reservation for backward castes in govt service is concerned, the Janata Party govts. in Bihar and U P are using the issue only to disrupt the growing class unity of the masses, with a view to weakening and smashing the revolutionary movement They are only fanning the flames of casteism in order to perpetuate their regimes, which serve feudal and conservative forces and no one else The Janata Party's reservation policy is a shrewd device to direct the attention of the people away from the

govt's utter failure to tackle the problems of acute poverty and colossal unemployment. It has nothing in common with the stand point of our Party on this issue. Both Mr Morarji and Mr Charan Singh represent reactionary forces in the country. The vast masses of the people are fast realising that they have been betrayed once again and are rising in mass struggles against the anti people policies of the Janata regime. The so-called struggle between the 'Gandhian path' and 'Nehru's path' has no relevance for the country and the people as they are both disastrous paths!

Therefore, there is no political basis for our Party to make a choice between Morarji and Charan Singh or support any one of them in their scramble for power. No one with an objective mind can make a choice between 'Tweedledum and Tweedledee'.

In fact, the process of disintegration has rapidly been developing in all the parties of the reactionary ruling classes, the Janata Party being no exception. The Cong (I), the Congress (S) and the Janata Party are all being torn asunder with the aggravation of inner contradictions. Their crisis is a product of the growing socio economic crisis, a crisis which cannot be solved within the framework of the present system. It is a product of the growing scramble between the two superpowers for hegemony over our country and the world. It is a product of the growing contradiction of the people of India with imperialism and feudalism. Even personal contradictions at the govt. level today are reflecting the above mentioned reality. The oversimplification and vulgarisation being attempted by some journalists in the name of 'analysis' is simply deplorable.

Our Party, the CPI (M L) is in need of no help from the fraternity of those who serve the superpowers and who serve the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords. We are keen to unite with all parties and democrats in order to emancipate our people and our country from imperialist bondage and feudal fetters and usher in a bright and happy life for our people. Charan Singh or Morarji, Indiraji or Chavanji simply do not fit in to our pattern at all in these conditions.

WORLD AFFAIRS

Appeasement Of The Soviet Social Imperialist Warmongers Is A Wrong Policy

The Danger of A New World War Soviet Union the Main Danger

The danger of a new world war is growing every day. The contention for world hegemony is getting intense day by day with the Soviet Union, the late coming superpower, on the offensive to gain control of new areas, and the USA, the old superpower, on the defensive, trying to protect its vested interests. Western Europe, the heartland of capitalism and a tempting centre of modern industry, finance, science and technology, agricultural production and manpower, is the focus of Soviet US contention. The Soviet Union attempts to seize Western Europe to deal a mortal blow at the United States and fight for world hegemony by relying on Western Europe's huge economic potential. It resorts to all means of infiltration in an effort to weaken US influence in the area and gain room for itself. With an eye to Europe, it has stepped up its subversive activities in Africa and the Middle East. Its real objective is to control strategic routes (the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Atlantic) and sources of oil and raw material to Europe, and to come in a pincer movement from the southern and northern flanks of Europe and set up a blockade line around Europe. ()

The social-imperialists have amassed enormous troops along European frontiers. According to US intelligence reports, Warsaw Pact ground forces outnumber Western forces in Central Europe by about 9,50,000 to 7,92,000. The Soviet army is reported to have about 25,000 tanks for use in a European conflict. NATO has only about 6,000 tanks in Europe. The Warsaw Pact armour outnumbers NATO armour by a ratio of three to one. The amount of conven-

tional weapons produced by the Soviet Union alone already equals the sum total of those produced by the United States and Western Europe. According to a Western estimate, Soviet military spending has been rising in recent years at an average rate of by 4 to 5 percent and it absorbs approximately 12 to 15 per cent of its GNP (US military expenditures account for roughly 6 per cent of its GNP). Soviet forces are double those of the USA and their man power has gone up by more than a million in the past ten years to 4.6 million. The Soviet Union has 400 more strategic weapons carriers than the USA has and can launch missiles with twice the US payload. Its production of tanks is six times as large as that of the USA, guns eight times and as large armoured vehicles three times as large. The Brezhnev clique has appropriated 20 per cent of its national income for military expenditures and is clamouring for getting ready at any time to switch the economy to a military programme. It has deployed large fleets in the Barents Sea, the North Sea, the Baltic and the Mediterranean to form a naval encirclement of Western Europe. According to a US source, the Soviet Union has made a large increase in its force levels in January of this year, has kept forces in the Indian ocean area and are now building a naval base at Assab in Northern Ethiopia to replace the one in Somalia. Recently, the Soviet Union is seeking to establish a naval base in the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Guinea. Inside their own country, too, the social imperialists are preaching militarism and Russian chauvinism to poison the minds of the people, through the media, literature, art, education and other channels. It is the same old beaten path trodden by tsarist Russia and fascist Germany, Italy and Japan. The same policy was followed by the American imperialists in the McCarthy Dulles period, which had its logical conclusion in their aggression in Indo-China.

Shadow of Munich looms large

In the face of the growing Soviet threat some people in the Western states and the USA are trembling and trying to follow a policy of appeasement to please Russia. This trend is particularly pronounced in the USA, and naturally influences opinion in Western

Europe also The US President still expects co-operation from the social imperialists Recently President Carter said that Russia would have to decide between confrontation and co operation, as if Russia had any intention of co operation Have not recent happenings shown what is their real intention ? Did not their invasion in Angola show what they really wanted ? Did their activities in the Horn of Africa suggest that they had yet to decide between confrontation and co operation ? Even fools can say that they have decided for confrontation, for they know that the other superpower is on the defensive They are poking and meddling in the domestic affairs of every country where the situation permits them. They backed the Katangese mercenaries to try to dismember Zaire (in fact, the Shaba province which the mercenaries tried to capture, has large reserves of copper and cobalt which are two important components of war materials) They have been engineering coups to topple the governments of countries which are slipping out of their clutches Recent happenings in Afghanistan and South Yemen are still fresh Coup d'etat in these places was backed by the social-imperialists just because there was evidence of their showing interest in friendly relations with China this being a threat to Soviet hegemonic policy They have even set Vietnam against China. They are following the old imperialist policy of sowing discord and dissension between neighbouring countries then and, seizing every opportunity of engaging in munition deals and infiltrating its military forces into these countries. By all their acts they have become the dangerous source of a new world war and the gravest enemy of world peace. In this situation, expectation of co-operation from the Soviet war mongers indicates only foolishness and cowardice.

The appeasement policy is bound to fail It will only bring war nearer Did not we have enough experience of this in the last world war ? Did not Britain and France follow the policy of appeasement towards Hitler and Mussolini ? What did this policy lead to ? Every time they reconciled themselves with Hitlers attitude Hitler became more aggressive While capturing Rhineland, he declared that all Germany's territorial ambitions had now been satisfied and the British and French Governments believed

his words and looked on. He then proceeded to attack Austria and the followers of the policy of appeasement still looked on. At the Munich Conference they also sacrificed Sudetanland (which Hitler had once again declared to be his last territorial claim in Europe) to the cost of Czechoslovakia to please Hitler. But did it deter Hitler from attacking France although France sacrificed its loyal client Czechoslovakia? While Britain and France tried to save themselves at the cost of other smaller states they made Hitler more powerful and conceded to him more territory to launch the final attack on his rivals. By their policy of appeasement the British and French Governments allowed Hitler to buy time to procure more men, more territory and to build up his armed might. The modern appeasers should look at history and take lessons. In the same way every time the Soviet Union wins a concession from the West its appetite is whetted and it presses on for a new foothold which it can turn into a stranglehold against the West and the world people.

There are some persons in the USA who, to please the social imperialists are already saying that "the USA would not try to match Soviet and Cuban military activities in Africa" or "African countries expect more from Europe than from the USA". They even voiced the same words uttered by the Soviet Foreign Minister to the effect that 'efforts to reach a SALT agreement were not helped by Soviet US controversy over African development including Zaire'. What an insolent remark this is? This is the same Hitlerite trick to force other parties to obey the terms dictated by him in negotiations. Did not Hitler attack Rhineland on the same day on which he proposed a demilitarised zone in the same area? The same Hitlerite policy of using conciliatory proposals as part of their design and as a cover for the violent acts they are committing is being followed by the social imperialists. While the Soviet Union mouths loud nonsense about the 'detente' fraud it steps up military deployment all over the world. Soon after the Helsinki European 'Security' Conference, it created the Angola incident. In March, 1977, the Zaire incident happened just when the new Carter administration in the U S A was anxious to open talks with the Soviet Union. After US concessions, last September, in

the SALT talks and other matters, the Soviets lit the fuse in the Horn of Africa. The lesson is clear. The conciliatory proposals are aimed only at dulling the vigilance of other countries and keeping them divided, so that they can be defeated one by one. Further, every time the Soviet social imperialists win a concession, their appetites are whetted and they pass on to a new adventure.

Hitler also resolutely opposed any cooperation of the West with the Soviet Union and forced the French to abandon the Franco-Soviet treaty. The same trick is being followed by the Soviet bosses. Brezhnev, the chief of the social imperialists, warned the USA 'against playing the China trick' which, in effect, means not to establish good relations with China. The USA succumbed to the threat saying that they were not playing the China trick and that the underlying relationship between the USA and the Soviet Union was stable etc. The Western European states were even presented with a policy against selling arms to China in a decision taken at the assembly of the Western European Union. This policy is entirely wrong, as unity between the countries and peoples of the Second and Third worlds, cooperation between Western Europe and China and other socialist countries, and the betterment of relations, on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems including the USA and China can make the Soviet social imperialists think twice before launching a world war.

Further, the Western capitalists' thirst for profit and the appeasement policy of 'softening' the Soviets through economic benefits are helping the Soviet Union to enhance its military strength. A comparatively economically weak Soviet Union is being given huge amounts of capital and advanced technology. The new tsars are importing expertise and equipment from the West and then using them to make preparations against the suppliers. Western trade relations with the Soviet Union directly or indirectly, help strengthen the war machine of the social imperialists and will eventually increase the danger of a war launched by the Soviet Union. Cherishing the illusion of reaping huge profits the Western states maintain suicidal trade relations with the Soviet Union. Was

it not the West who gave Germany, weakened after the First World War, huge loans under the Dawes and Young Plans, which ultimately enabled Hitler to arm to the teeth ? This policy of rearing a tiger is being followed again today

Whoever thinks of coaxing the Soviet Union into agreements by giving concessions, and whoever thinks that 'the social imperialists will not push beyond a certain point if they think it is going to cause other troubles' (a view that Britains Prime Minister seemed to take of Soviet intentions in Africa in a recent press interview) will be proved wrong, because it is the nature of the aggressive super power to create trouble The policy of avoiding irritation to the Soviet Union, as otherwise it will launch a third world war, is foolish, as the more you fear an aggressor, the more vicious he becomes, whether you irritate him or not The appeasers will have the same fate of Chamberlain and Daladier who followed the policy of not irritating Hitler Recent developments in Africa have made some quarters in the Western circles conscious of the imminent social imperialist, attack on their countries and they are trying to forge a west European unity and unity with China The remarks of the British Chief of Staff that Britain and China had a common enemy in Moscow while on a visit to China in April this year is worth notice in this context

In the present historical circumstances there is no possibility of a lasting peace, and a new world war is inevitable Our beloved leader and teacher Com Mao Tse Tung has taught us that firstly we are against war and secondly we are not afraid of it The CPC has correctly stated, ' We are not afraid of war, not because we like it or fail to see the devastation it will cause, but because fear solves no problem whatsoever "

The Three world Theory Provides the Strategy for Averting war

War though inevitable can be postponed The key to putting off war lies in the united struggle of the people of all countries against he_gemonism. This requires a broad united front of the Third World and the Second World including the people of

the Soviet Union and the USA against the two super powers and against their hegemonic policy. Some people in our country and around the world doubt this theory of the differentiation of the three worlds of Mao Tse Tung, and go on to say that, by upholding this theory the CPC is strengthening the hands of the Western imperialists and betraying the cause of national liberation war in the Third World countries and the cause of the proletarian struggle in the Second World

Such a view is fallacious, false and motivated. On the one hand, the Three World theory relies firmly on the revolutionary struggles of the people as the basis and the guarantee of progress and advance, in no way, curtails or abridges the right and the necessity of the proletariat to make socialist revolution against the monopoly bourgeoisie and of the oppressed nations and people to overthrow their oppressors, foreign and domestic. On the other hand, the theory provides the world proletariat and the world people with the brilliant strategy of relying on the Third World as the main force and splitting the camp of imperialism to win over the Second World countries for a united front with the Third World countries against the two superpowers. In its development this united front takes up the task of averting the world war which is being inevitably thrust upon the world people by the fierce tussle for hegemony between the two superpowers, the main danger of it coming from the aggressive late comer, Soviet social-imperialism.

Now it is true that the Second World countries still exploit many Third World countries by political, economic and other means, under new circumstances and in new forms, and still maintain an imperialist policy in relation to many Third World countries. But the Second World countries no longer constitute the main force dominating and oppressing the Third World countries, and are themselves being dominated and oppressed by the two superpowers. While judging a thing we should judge it not as a timeless abstraction, but in relation to the concrete changing conditions of the time. Do not the establishment of the EEC, the independent policy pursued by France under De Gaulle, the passive and critical attitude taken by the West European countries towards the US war of aggression in

Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the collapse of the dollar-centred monetary system in the capitalist world, and the sharpening trade and currency wars between Western Europe and Japan on the one hand and the USA on the other, mark concretely the disintegration of the former imperialist camp headed by the USA? It is true that the Western countries maintain a close relationship with the USA, but that is due to their proximity to the Soviet Union whose threat to their sovereignty is growing with each passing day. Did not the West European countries ask for dialogue instead of confrontation with the OPEC after the oil embargo in 1973? Did not France and Belgium help Zaire in preventing subversion by Russian mercenaries this year? All these go to prove that the Second World is a force with whom UNITY can be achieved by the Third World in their struggle against the superpowers. We should not take an one-sided view in our judgment of a thing.

Some people say that the Second World countries help the Third World countries only for their own interest. Let us examine this argument. The interest of the Second World and the interest of the Third World may both be involved in an action by a Second World country. Let us grant that the action serves the interest of the Second World. Very well. But does it also serve the interest of the Third World? If it does, it is to be supported. Just because it also serves the interests of the Second World cannot make it bad. The main criterion is whether the unity is directed against the hegemonism of the two superpowers or not. What is a united front for except the realisation of the common interests of all its constituents? Everybody knows that the Second World countries are not going to unite with the Third World countries merely to shower blessings amongst the latter. If one could ally only with saints, alliances would be rare indeed. Was not Churchill a diehard imperialist? We know it from our own experience. He was even against giving Dominion Status to India. But he wanted to oppose fascist Germany in the interest of his own country. So, in relation to fascist Germany and the world situation of that time, his role was progressive, and when Germany became the common enemy of the world people, his anti-Nazi aspect became

primary and that is why Stalin made a united front with him against German Nazism. Can we say Stalin was wrong in this case ? No, we cannot. History has proved that Stalin was correct. Similarly, when we uphold the united front between the Third World and the Second World, we take into account the anti hegemonistic aspect of the Second World, which is becoming prominent gradually. This does not mean that struggle is to be excluded between the Second and the Third World countries. It is necessary to struggle against the negative aspects of Second World countries. Oppressed nations will always fight imperialism. Also, without struggle the front with the Second World against hegemonism by the super powers will not be strong and enduring. It is only through struggle that unity can be achieved. If unity is sought through struggle, it will endure, if unity is sought through yielding, it will perish.

The Third World countries are becoming more and more conscious of their role in the fight against superpower hegemony. They resolutely opposed the naked aggression by the USA in Indo China. In Africa, too, they are against the Soviet mercenaries. In 1976, Egypt cancelled its friendship treaty with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union lost its once privileged status in Sudan and the use of a naval base in Somalia and the right to land long range reconnaissance planes in Guinea. The Panamanian people have recently won a signal victory in wresting the sovereignty of the Panama canal from the US imperialists. However vicious and violent the superpowers may become, the world people will not let them go unpunished, and if they dare to launch a world war they will only bring their doomsday nearer. The people of the whole world will found a new edifice on the debris of imperialism.

Splitting The Non-Aligned Movement. A Part Of The War Preparations Of The Social-Imperialists

The recent Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the non aligned countries held in Belgrade almost headed towards a rift over the point whether the countries attached to the non aligned move-

ment should follow a genuine non aligned path or support the so-called socialist governments led by the Soviet Union. This last view was advocated by the Soviet apologists, mainly Cuba. With the growing menace of economic, military and political dominance of the superpowers, all countries the world over, mainly the Third World countries, have come closer than before and are trying to form a united front to repulse the domination of the superpowers. In the development of the non aligned movement there is a tremendous obstacle to the pursuance of the policy of aggression and expansion by the superpowers and the Soviet Union smelled it from the outset. In the past it was the USA which tried to pressurize the non aligned countries to bring them in its fold. It used one non aligned country to attack another and tried to engage them in internecine war. The Soviet Union is following the same path by using Cuba to conduct sabotaging activities within the non aligned movement. It has directed Cuba to use force to commit aggression against and interfere in the affairs of non aligned countries, causing grave difficulties to the unity of the non aligned movement.

The fundamental principles of the non aligned movement that it should fight against economic or political hegemony and all types of external interference and dependence and that it should meticulously steer away from Power Blocks and work for the elimination of such Blocks were again upheld at this meeting. Cuba tried to propagate the thesis that the non aligned nations should move closer to the Soviet Block which, according to Cuba's claim, was the natural ally of the non aligned nations. This thesis was repugnant to all except a handful of Soviet surrogates such as South Yemen, Ethiopia, and Angola. Cambodia, Somalia, Egypt, Zaire and Morocco sought Cuba's expulsion from the movement. The Somalian Foreign Minister contended that Cuba was unworthy of its membership of the non aligned group.

In fact, all facts go to prove the Somalian Foreign Minister's contention. Instead of uniting the non aligned nations, Cuba is doing its utmost to split and sabotage the non aligned movement and bring it into the Soviet orbit. It is a strange thing that only some years back it was Cuba which used to castigate the Soviet

Union publicly. It was Castro who criticized the Soviet Union for giving help to some dictatorial regimes in Latin America while not helping Vietnam in its struggle against the USA. He then condemned the theory of 'peaceful transition to socialism' preached by the Russian revisionists. But in recent years Cuba suddenly made a volte face and is not only preaching the Soviet Union's line but has also entered Moscow's service politically and militarily. This is the inevitable outcome of the long standing Soviet infiltration into and control of Cuba's economic and military life-lines. Sell-out is the dirty basis for the phenomenon of Cuba's leaders acting subserviently in concert with Soviet policy. Cuba's existence is subsidised by its Soviet masters. No wonder, it has stepped up its collaboration with the Soviet social imperialists. Soviet military aid alone to Cuba since 1961 is estimated to be 9 billion dollars. Acting as the social imperialists' hatchet man, it has gone so far as to dispatch across the Atlantic to Africa, one quarter of its armed forces to assist in the social imperialists' aggression and expansion. According to Western estimates Cuba has 43,000 troops in Africa, of which 21,000 are stationed in Angola and 17,000 in Ethiopia. It has contingents in Mozambique, the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Libya and Tanzania. A sprinkling of civilian technicians and medical specialists is scattered in Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, Sao Tome and Principe. It is helping the Soviet Union in its war preparation by sending its troops abroad to create as many vassal states as possible for its bosses, the social imperialists. It is also helping the social-imperialists by sowing discord among the non-aligned groups while trying to give a face lift to its masters by propagating the social-imperialists as the natural ally of the non-aligned groups in an attempt to lure the non aligned movement into the Soviet orbit.

Almost all countries, including the host country Yugoslavia, opposed Cuba's stand. Yugoslavia even included in the final draft the term 'hegemonism' in the enemy list. This Cuba fought against vigorously as an insinuation against the Soviet Union. But a majority of the participants favoured Yugoslavia's proposal. Even the Foreign

Minister of Afghanistan, another ally of the Soviet Union, said in a press conference that though they did not like the term 'hegemony', yet if the majority was for its inclusion, they would not withdraw from the non aligned movement. The Conference also rejected a Cuban resolution which would have endorsed external intervention and involvements in a country's internal disputes.

But the conference failed to endorse the genuine non aligned nations' demand for Cuba's ouster from the non aligned group. This has made a sharp division in the non aligned movement. This rift seems certain to be reflected in next year's summit meeting at Havana, with some 30 African countries staying away in protest over Cuba's refusal to withdraw its forces from Africa and also to register their opposition to Cuba's pro Soviet role. Other non-aligned nations which are still duped by Cuba and its master, the Soviet Union must realise the role of Cuba as the Trojan Horse of the social imperialists within their movement [and should follow the path of the genuine non-aligned nations]. Unless they realise this, they will one day fall into the Soviet orbit themselves which will only bring catastrophe to them and their people.

In this respect India Government's role must be unequivocally criticized. While controversy raged over the inclusion of the term 'hegemony' in the final draft, the Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Bajpayee, tried to play a 'conciliatory' role. It is a common lesson of history that conciliationism towards enemies and their agents leads to capitulation. According to Mr. Bajpayee's proposal 'hegemony' should be defined in terms which prove to be acceptable to the rival factions, which, in fact, aimed at leaving the Soviet Union out of the scope of the term 'hegemony'. It is the bounden duty of the Indian people to fight against the capitulationist diplomatic policy of the Janata Government towards the Super Powers in general, and the Soviet Union, in particular, within the non aligned movement.

IPANA CONVENTION

PRESS RELEASE

The Indian People's Association in North America successfully concluded its Second General Convention held in Montreal during August 12-15, 1978. About 40 elected delegates and observers representing IPANA units in 13 different cities of North America participated in the 4 day Convention. For unavoidable reasons, delegates from four other units could not attend the convention. The Convention was significant not only in terms of the large representation of the patriotic Indians living in North America, but also in terms of the seriousness with which all the delegates and observers participated in the deliberations.

The main task of the Convention was to review the Indian national situation, the international situation, the past experiences of IPANA, and to take decisions concerning our future work. Since the first General Convention of IPANA held in Vancouver in August 1976, the fascist dictatorship of Indira Gandhi had been overthrown by the just and collective anger of the people, and replaced by the Janata Party government.

The Second General Convention strongly reaffirmed the political resolution of IPANA of June 1975, amended in August 1976, as fundamentally correct. It resolved to continue with the noble task of mobilizing support of the broadest sections of our compatriots living in North America and of the North American people for the New Democratic Revolution in India and for the democratic rights of our people living here. It reaffirmed our understanding that while the Janata government of the last 15 months has been a change from the openly fascist rule of Indira Gandhi, it did not represent any fundamental change in the nature of class rule in India. The many cases of large scale and indiscriminate police firings on the workers and other working people and the many cases of barbaric feudal terror by the landlords on the Harijans and landless peasant masses show that

the Janata government could go to any extent to serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords. The fact that the unequal 1971 Treaty with Soviet Union has not been annulled and the fact that many steps have been taken to make it easier for the imperialist capital to plunder our country show that the new government is unable to break the unequal ties with imperialism particularly with the two Superpowers. The promises made by the Janata party to release all political prisoners have remained unfulfilled under the cover of technical legalities. Little has been done to improve friendly relations with neighbouring countries. No genuine steps have been taken to solve the problems of unemployment, inflation, and other day to day economic problems faced by the people.

The Second General Convention of IPANA took note of all this and resolved in its determination to continue the task of vigorously exposing and opposing the Janata rule and of mobilizing support for the New Democratic Revolution in India, which alone can bring genuine democracy and genuine independence in our country and solve the problems of the Indian masses. We felt greatly inspired by the many militant mass struggles which have broken out all over India which clearly indicate that the people of India do not have any illusions about the Janata Party or in fact about the parliamentary path to the solution of their problems. We are confident that these mass struggles are only forerunners of a mighty revolutionary storm which, under the leadership of a unified party of Indian revolution, will eventually push aside the oppressive and exploitative system. On our part, we in IPANA reaffirmed our pledge to do what we can to build support among overseas Indians and other friends of the Indian people for this revolutionary struggle. We also reaffirmed our high esteem with which we hold the various Marxist-Leninist organizations in India and look forward with great optimism to the process of unification underway there.

Among the many tasks to be undertaken, the Convention decided to launch an intensive international campaign for an unconditional and immediate release of all political prisoners, including such well-known leaders as Kanu Sanyal, Souren Bose, Tejeswar Rao, Mohna Dhak, and others.

The Second General Convention of IPANA took a serious note of the increasing fascist attacks on our people and other immigrants in North America particularly in Canada, and decided to go all out to mobilize our people in defence of our democratic rights in unity with other minority groups and the working class as a whole

The Second General Convention of IPANA reaffirmed its recognition that the two Superpowers Soviet Social Imperialism and U S Imperialism are the main enemies of the world's people and a source of war, with Soviet Social Imperialism being the more dangerous one. The Convention reaffirmed its belief that the Theory of Three Worlds set forth by Chairman Mao is scientific and a great weapon in the hands of the Indian people for placing Indian revolution in the international context

The Second General Convention of IPANA reviewed the many activities of IPANA in the past, including its publications, and examined the various concrete ways by which our work could better serve the revolutionary struggles of the Indian people as well as our people living in North America.

In order to rigorously fulfil the tasks recognized by the convention, a five member executive including a new chairperson was unanimously elected

The Second General Convention of IPANA ended with an enthusiastic Public Rally at Centre Notre Dame, Montreal in the evening of August 15. Speeches dealing with the real character of "independence" in India were delivered, and the various decisions and resolutions adopted at the Convention were announced. Revolutionary songs were presented. Messages of solidarity from various organizations in North America and in Europe representing patriotic overseas Indians, Third World people, and the working class were read out.

The Second General Convention was an important milestone in the life of IPANA. It provided organizational and political consolidation and generated unbound enthusiasm to carry forward, with greater determination, the noble task of serving the Indian people.

August 18, 1978

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

(Adopted at the Second General Convention of IPANA, August 12 15, 1978)

1 Saluting Indian People

IPANA pays its deep homage to the many militant workers and other working people of India who gave their lives in the interest of the people. We salute our heroic people who are waging one militant struggle after another despite the severe repression of the ruling classes. We are confident that the Indian working class will rise in a revolutionary storm not only to emancipate itself from the clutches of feudalism and imperialism, but the whole Indian nation, and will establish genuine democracy and genuine independence.

2 Condemning The Massacre Of Workers

On December 6, 1977, the armed police of the State brutally attacked the workers of Swadeshi Mill in Kanpur killing over 200 workers and injuring many more. IPANA sternly denounces the Janata government for this crime of unparalleled magnitude in the recent history of India and for similar massacre of workers and peasants at Pantnagar, Dilli Rajihara, Baladila, and other places. All these show that this government representing the interests of big capitalists and big landlords will go to any extent to drown the just demands of workers and other labouring people of India in blood.

3 Condemning Repression of The Peasant Masses

IPANA denounces the Janata government for the continued feudal oppression, landlord terrorism, and police repression of the peasants who constitute the vast majority of Indian people, in particular the attacks on Harijans and landless peasants in Belchhi, Bishrampur, Villapuram.

4 Condemning Political Repression

IPANA condemns the Janata government for the continued detention of political prisoners including thousands of Naga and Mizo people and the PAC Jawans, and for maintaining the many anti-democratic and anti people laws

5. Denouncing Racist Attacks In North America

IPANA denounces the many acts of racism and discrimination against our people living in North America, particularly in Canada, and against other immigrants and nationalities. We denounce the Canadian government for following racist and discriminatory policies such as Bill C 24 recently enacted for immigration, differential fees in educational institutions, etc. We denounce the recent ruling of the US Supreme Court on the Bakke case as yet another attack on the rights of nationalities and immigrants in the USA. We resolutely pledge to join with the working class of North America to defend the democratic rights of our people and other immigrants and nationalities.

6 Denouncing Racist Attacks In Europe

IPANA denounces the recent intensification of racist attacks on the people of South Asian origin and other immigrants in England and other European countries and we extend our solidarity to these people in their just struggles for democratic rights.

7. Denouncing US Imperialism For Violating Indian Sovereignty

IPANA sternly denounces U.S. imperialism for planting a high-powered, dangerous nuclear device on the Indian Himalayan peak Nanda Devi in order to spy over Socialist China, and for abandoning it there while lost, thus posing a serious threat to the life of millions of Indian people. We denounce the Indian government for its complicity in the violation of the sovereignty of our country, and for allowing our land to be used for hostile actions against another Third World country. We demand that U.S. imperialism take immediate steps to remove the abandoned nuclear device from the Indian soil, and that the Indian government disclose to the people all such secret treaties with the Superpowers.

8. On Relations With The Neighbouring Countries

The present government of India has continued to follow the policy of the preceding Congress government in persisting in maintaining unfriendly relations with the neighbouring countries. It legalized the annexation of Sikkim despite protests from the people of Sikkim and India, it has continued to maintain an attitude of big

country chauvinism toward Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh, and it refuses to settle the border dispute with the People's Republic of China and develop friendly relations with it. We demand that the Indian government take genuine steps to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China, improve relations with other neighbouring countries and annul the illegal occupation of Sikkim.

9. On The Two Superpowers

Recognizing that the two Superpowers Soviet Social Imperialism and U.S. Imperialism are the main enemies of the world's people and a source of war, with Soviet Social Imperialism being the more dangerous one, and recognizing that the sovereignty and independence of the countries of the world are constantly threatened by these two superpowers, IPANA strongly denounces these superpowers and upholds that the theory of Three Worlds set forth by Chairman Mao is scientific and a great weapon in placing Indian revolution in the international context.

10 Supporting Third World Struggles

IPANA resolutely extends its solidarity to the heroic struggles going on in the many Third World countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and against imperialism, particularly against the hegemonism of the two Superpowers. In particular, we extend our solidarity to the peoples of Azania, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Palestine who are putting up a mighty and just struggle. We are confident that the militant and just struggles of the people, nations and countries of the Third World will be victorious in establishing genuine democracy and independence and thus advance the revolutionary cause of the people the world over.

11. Supporting The Working Class Struggles In North America

IPANA extends its support to the many militant struggles waged by the working class, including immigrant workers, in Canada and U.S.A. against the intensifying oppression and exploitation by the bourgeoisie in these countries. We salute the growing working class movement in these countries.

Political Notes and Comments

A. AFTER THE HANGING

The revolutionary peasant leader Krishnan Chetty was hanged on July 25, 1978, at the Coimbatore Jail, Tamil Nadu. He was 30. The AIADMK Govt. in Tamil Nadu and the Janata Govt. at the centre have deliberately taken a heavy responsibility, for Comrade Chetty was only the third political worker to be hanged in India after 1947 (the other two were Comrades Kista Gowda and Bhoomaiah, who were hanged by the fascist Indira Govt. on Dec 1, 1975, during the Emergency). The Janata Government was secretive and conspiratorial about the hanging. When clemency for Comrade Chetty was pleaded for in parliament and when the P U C L (Delhi) approached the President for the same cause, Comrade Chetty had already been secretly hanged, yet this was not disclosed on either occasion. In this way the Janata Govt. has surpassed fascist Indira, for in the case of Comrades Gowda and Bhoomaiah, at least news about the execution was not kept secret, even under the Emergency censorship. People are throwing to the faces of the Janata leaders their election pledges regarding political prisoners and their brave words during the Emergency, for example: 'Now, we have been told that Kista Gowd and Bhoomaiah were hanged in Hyderabad . . . with their execution the dictator and her goons have started putting the hangman's noose round the necks of political workers --- The blood of Kista Gowd and Bhoomaiah cries for revenge. And rest assured, madam dictator, their deaths will be avenged'. [George Fernandez, underground bulletin, Dec 1975] Perhaps the Janata minister who wrote this was somewhat apprehensive about the safety of his own neck at the moment. But now he is walking the corridors of power.]

It is the blatant hypocrisy of the Janata that shocks the people, the shameless gap between words and deeds. They have out Congressed the Congress in this respect. In complete disregard of their solemn pledges before the Lok Sabha elections which brought them to power, the Janata Government does not lift a finger to release the political prisoners, numbering more than 1000, still languishing in Indian jails. They include revolutionary Communists, Naga and Mizo fighters, and PAC Jawans. 6 more political prisoners await the death sentence. The people must unleash a mighty wave of struggle to secure the release of all political prisoners, including those under sentences of death, and the immediate commuting of the death sentences.

The hanging of Comrade Krishnan Chetty has caused great anger among the people and a renewed concern over the fate of political prisoners. The P.U.C.L (Delhi) and the CFD (Delhi) called for a one day dharna/hunger strike at the Boat Club on Aug 15, 1978. 15th August was marked by demonstrations led by the CPI (ML) in various parts of the country as a Black Day in protest against the hanging. The West Bengal State Organising Committee of the CPI (ML) brought out a 3000 strong procession on Sept. 1 in Calcutta to protest against the hanging. News of black flag demonstrations, burning of effigies of M.G Ramchandran and N Sanjiva Reddy, meetings and demonstrations led by the CPI(ML) and other revolutionaries, in protest against the hanging, are coming in from different places. Truly, the death of Comrade Krishnan Chetty will not be in vain and will not remain unavenged.

B. ONCE AGAIN THE EMERGENCY ONCE AGAIN PREVENTIVE DETENTION

Perhaps the most fitting comment on the 45th (renumbered 44th) Constitution Amendment Bill was the tribute paid in the Lok Sabha to the Law Minister by a Congress (I) member to the effect that he (the member) was happy that the Janata Government had seen the difference between 'idealism' and 'practicability'. In plain

language, the Janata Party has thrown its election pledges to the winds. The Janta in fighting has resulted in a clear admission of this betrayal, as for example when Sri Raj Narain read out in the Lok Sabha a list of blatantly disregarded items from a copy of the Janata election manifesto

It is reported in the Press that in the Janata Parliamentary Party 86 M P s voted for the provision for Emergency in the Bill and 41 against. If these 41 M P s are sincere enough to fight for democracy, they should have voted against the Bill in Parliament. Now they should openly come forward to fight against the Emergency provision and side with the people. But will they ?

The two most disturbing schemes worked into the Constitution once again refer to provisions for the declaration of Emergency on the ground of armed rebellion and for preventive detention. On the declaration of Emergency, the Janata stand is hardly different from Indira Gandhi's. On paper, the Janata proviso of 'armed rebellion' may appear to be less flimsy than Indira Gandhi's 'internal disturbances'. But when it comes to the question of suppressing people's struggles, both versions can and will be viewed with liberal latitude. In any case, the declaration of Emergency will not be justiciable, and so the government of the day will be able to impose Emergency at will, without fear of judicial review, even for the little that the latter is worth

There are ordinary laws draconian enough to allow with ease the most brutal repression on the exploited masses. But this is not all. Locally, the ruling classes and their governments are violating their own laws every day in suppressing people's struggles. The laws and rights enshrined in the Constitution do not apply for the basic masses, and on many occasions, for many other sections of the people, unless the application is in the nature of punishment. The whole question of legality is suspended in dealings between the basic masses, especially the peasantry, and the ruling classes. This is the essence of what is meant by the absence of democracy in our country. The poor and landless peasantry and large sections of the working class live in a state of

perpetual Emergency. This being the status of legality in the country, there can be little doubt that if the ruling classes face a growing tide of people's movements, which affects a large part of the country, they will not hesitate to clamp down Emergency without going into the niceties of deciding whether the situation was one of 'armed rebellion' or not. The provisions for parliamentary review, paraded by the Janata Party, will be of little avail in such a situation, as has been proved amply in the abject surrender of Parliament to Indira Gandhi's dictatorship during the last Emergency.

The provision for declaring Emergency on the ground of external aggression is also an unwarranted one. A just defence of the country should and can be based on wider and increased participation by the people in defence efforts and not on a constriction of their rights. In any case, the Government has always framed special repressive rules, like the Defence of India Rules, besides promulgating Emergency during military engagements (needless to say, the rules have been used for suppression of the people's rights) The past record of the Indian ruling classes in no way justifies their claim to greater rights of suppression to meet 'external aggression'. So far, Emergency has been declared on the ground of 'external aggression' only to attack socialist China or dismember neighbouring Pakistan. Further, Emergency has been stretched on and on, long after military engagements ceased, to enable the ruling classes to use the repressive provisions against the people.

Only a complete denial of the right to declare Emergency would have prevented the executive from putting a constitutional cloak on the general suppression of people's liberties, which it inevitably inflicts in situations critical to the ruling classes. Of course this cannot affect the real power of the ruling classes and the government of the day to suppress the people ruthlessly and impose a fascist regime, constitution or no constitution. But it would have prevented the attachment of a 'Constitutional' fig leaf to cover fascism.

The provision for Emergency to deal with 'armed rebellion' needs to be fought not only on the grounds of possible mis use, but also on the general grounds of principle. It is illogical to condemn armed rebellion in the abstract without judging the context.

The people must and do have the right to take up arms to protect themselves and to abolish oppressive regimes. The Tarkunde Commission has unearthed in Andhra Pradesh the gruesome details of how the mirions of the State unleash the most brutal armed violence on the people, killing them in cold blood in the name of 'encounters.' In such a situation how are the people to protect themselves, if not by arms ? Pious resolutions and even punishment of the guilty, so slow to materialise and so light when it does materialise (which is seldom), after the events, will not help the already murdered, the raped, the mutilated and the dispossessed.

Would it have been wrong for the people of India to have taken up arms to overthrow the fascist regime of Indira Gandhi ? That the dictator finally left after the defeat at the polls does not answer this question with 'yes' Before the elections, what was the guarantee that they would be held, and, if held, not rigged ? If people had taken up arms at that stage (before the elections), would not they have been justified ? George Fernandez of the Janata Party and others formulated clear cut plans to overthrow Indira Gandhi by force of arms. The case instituted against them on this count by the dictator was withdrawn by the Janata Government. If all this was justified, does it not prove that the general issue of 'armed rebellion' cannot be condemned out of hand ? What course will be open if a future dictator takes a lesson and does away with elections or ensures their rigging, processes well known in many regimes around the world and in our country also ? Would not the people be justified in taking up arms in that case ?

These examples should show that it is necessary to demarcate clearly between a just taking up of arms and an unjust one. The people have the right to protect with arms life, livelihood, liberty and the honour of women against unjust attack by reactionaries and the State, and the right to overthrow by force a regime of oppression. Let us now come to the crux of the matter. The real targets of the provision against 'armed rebellion' are the people's struggles for revolutionary social transformation and the movements of the nationalities for self determination. Is it incorrect for the people to take up arms in such causes ? The

stand of our Party on this question is clear and well known. Let us just conclude by quoting the stand of J. P. J. P was asked in a recently published interview : 'If such a violent movement starts in which you see even a remote possibility of a revolutionary change, what would be your role ?' He replied, 'If there is such a movement and I see the possibilities of change I would not oppose it, that I have said many a time. Whether I will support it is difficult to say. What will happen under those circumstances cannot be predicted. I have not lost hope. Change can be brought about by peaceful means, though it has not yet been successful.'

Little needs to be said in the matter of preventive detention. Again many Janata Party legislators opposed it. This black provision has continued since the days of the British Raj. Various political forces had paid lip service to its removal when in opposition, only to express inability to maintain the existing rule of the exploiting classes without invoking its aid once in power. This has been the attitude of the old Congress, and its successors, the Janata, the CPI and the CPI (M), who have all used preventive detention or hope to use it. An attempt by the Janata Government to work the black law into the criminal procedure code was defeated in the face of determined opposition from the people. But its constitutional validity has been enshrined again and it will continue to be used against the people. We have seen two recent examples in the mini MISA used by the Madhya Pradesh Janata Government to fight the electricity workers and the black Ordinance promulgated by Sheikh Abdullah to stifle political opposition.

The Janata Party's loyalty to democracy has been proved to be sham and fake. But most shocking has been the attitude of the CPI (M) and other stalwarts of the 'left'. They made suitable noises of protest to deceive the people, but made no attempt to present an all out, determined and vehement opposition. Did they take the issue to the people? No. Did they walk out from Parliament? No. Did they even vote against the amendment? No. The amendment was carried in the Lok Sabha by 365 votes to nil, with two abstentions. Such is the shameless treachery of the revisionists to the cause of the people. But why should we be surp-

The Prime Minister writes persistently to Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh to exempt the biggest Zamindar of the state, the Raja of Chalapalli, from land ceiling rules. Attacks on Harijans have mounted everywhere. The police are on a spree of murder, torture arson and rape. Civil liberties dangle in mid air, numerous political prisoners, mainly revolutionaries, languish in prison, provisions for Emergency on internal grounds and preventive detention are re enacted. A leader of bonded labour is killed by the hangman's noose

Who cares? Not the three hard boiled old politicians who fight as maliciously and spitefully as tom cats in the night, sulk and glower at each other like spoilt children, and conspire with men of the worst repute like the most vicious chieftains of gang land. Lesser fry run helter skelter in fruitless efforts of mediation. Alliances change and loyalties shift between morning and evening. Yet, the party keeps together. Cynics sneer that fear of the late dictator is the great cementer. Everybody is afraid of her and everybody seeks to keep unbroken at least one secret line to her.

But the centre of the stage is now dominated by the juniors. The son of the late dictator is shoved into the wings by another son who emerges as the centre of a whirlpool of corruption, smuggling, misuse of privilege and the amassing of fortunes through political pull. The self righteous old Gandhian father defends his son, even as it is proved that he raised Rs. 90 lakhs for the party from businessmen obviously only because he was the son of his father. Charges against the son of one are sought to be balanced by counter charges against the son in law of another, and 'serious' business in Parliament is bypassed to accommodate the telling of weird tales of corruption, nepotism and graft. But the climax occurs as the son of the third senile contestant makes his appearance. Now, the murky scene erupts with the blazes of charges and counter-charges of a love triangle, divorce elopement, kidnapping, compromising photographs of orgies in the nude and blackmail. The son pleads innocence and the henchmen of one old sinner are arrested for kidnapping him and a girl friend. The son's wife strides into tearful prominence as she is sued for divorce by the son. In the mean time

the car used by the son and girl friend is found to be linked to a Western arms salesman ' Need it be mentioned that the father can grant arms contracts ?

The shameful show goes on Plot, counter plot, dismissal, resignation mediation, corruption, sex, crime and violence make a fierce combination to knock the newspaper reading public out of their minds. Social democrats take up jackal whines for unity within the ruling party, because their dreams of power are inter locked closely with the sordid intrigues of these liars and thieves All the while the empty bellied, half naked multitudes are left free to starve, die and be killed This state of things cannot last long

D HOW DEMOCRATIC IS JYOTI BASU'S POLICE ?

The West Bengal Government has set up police and Eastern Frontier Rifles camps in Onda and Barjora police stations of Bankura District The police and the para military forces have let loose a reign of terror in the area. On 29th and 30th August Com. Santosh Rana visited the area along with some representatives of civil liberty organisations of West Bengal When the delegation reached the village Bikrampur in Onda P.S. old men and women rushed to them (because the young men have all fled due to police torture) and told them the incidents of police atrocity in the area.

In the village, Bikrampur police has destroyed paddy, rice and other crops belonging to the peasants, looted money, hens and other belongings. All the villagers including women have been beaten up and some women have been molested The police have forcibly occupied the houses of villagers for use as camps The schools have been forcibly occupied and turned into police camps. The police and para military forces are forcibly seizing vegetables from the fields. The story is the same in some other villages like Joresal, Kodalia, Digh Nikunjapur and others. In village Joresal, the police have broken the furniture of the High School and forcibly set up a camp in the school compound. One woman, Sm. Pushpa Laha of the same village, has been molested by the police force.

The peasants complained that they had complained to the Minister Sri Partha Dey about the police torture. But Sri Partha

Dey (a CPI (M) Minister) gave a statement to the Press that there was no torture by police in the area. On 1st September, a delegation of the CPI (M L) led by Com Santosh Rana visited the Chief Minister in the Assembly and complained about the police atrocities in Bankura. The Chief Minister told the delegation that his Party men had told him that the allegations of police atrocity are not true.

The police atrocity in Bankura clearly shows how Mr Jyoti Basu is guaranteeing democratic rights to the down trodden peasants. He showed it in 1969, when he had sent the E. F. R. to Gopiballavpore and Debra and this time he is repeating the same performance.

MASSES ON THE MOVE

(Report from the States)

Andhra Pradesh :

AN UPSURGE OF ANTI FEDUAL STRUGGLES IN
KARIMNAGAR DISTRICTS.

CHENNA REDDY MINISTRY'S BRUTAL TERRORS ON
THE PEASANTS

FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

Karimnagar District seems to be the first item on the Agenda of the Suppression Programme of the Police. One finds a reign of terror let loose throughout the taluk of Sircilla. A police Raj has been established in this taluk. Police camps have cropped up everywhere. Hundreds have been arrested, many have faced the lathis of the police, landlords and their goondas brutally beaten many.

Democratic set up has been completely disturbed. The democratically formed peasant sangams are not allowed to function. Whoever belongs/supports the sangam is arrested or beaten brutally. People protesting against such atrocities are not allowed to show their protest. Section 144 has been imposed throughout the Taluk.

Landlords unable to live as before and continue their age old methods of exploitation have now combined their strength with the police. One can very easily draw the conclusion that this state machinery is nothing but the tool of the ruling classes. It has proved its true nature that of serving the interests of a minority rather than the interests of the majority.

This is the case not only in Karimnagar but also throughout the country. Dalhi Rajhara, Bailadilla, Pantnagar, the recent peasant movement in Tamil Nadu, and the Hyderabad incident all go to prove the true nature of the police. Its role during the Emergency is another glaring exposure of a true servant of the dominant section.

Whenever the people begin to assert their right you find the police trying to prevent them from doing it. Struggles of workers, peasants, students have always been drowned in blood.

The democratic movements of the people in Karimnagar faced five phases of suppression. The struggles against the age old feudal exploitation had to go through

1. The attack of the landlords.
2. The attack of goondas
3. The police attack
4. The combined attack of landlords and goondas
5. The combined rampage of the landlords, goondas and police.

I. THE ATTACK OF THE LANDLORD

The peasants realised the necessity to organise themselves to end feudal exploitation. They have been facing such exploitation for a long time. But now under the Sangnams they are slowly coming out to end such decaying forms of exploitation. They have been struggling to assert their rights. The struggle to assert their rights on their own lands has been the most important one, which has questioned the very system existing, and which has also caused the very nature of the state machinery to come out so openly.

(A) The Nimmapally Movement of 1974

One Mr. Venkaiah from Govindaram village of Jagtial Taluk came down to Nimmapally about 80 to 90 years back. He had nothing but a one-eyed buffalo. He was very well accommodated by the villagers, especially by the Harijans. Taking advantage of the good nature of the villagers, Venkaiah settled in the village. His son Anthaiah however managed to become the Gumastha to the Patwari. After the Patwari's death, Anthaiah assumed the full charge of the Patwari and later illegally acquired nearly 1,200 acres of land. People cleared the land and cultivated the land. These were annexed by Anthaiah on his own name. Thus he became the monarch of the place. Raghava Rao was the son of Anthaiah. The present landlord Bhaskar Rao is the son of Raghava Rao. This Bhaskar Rao is famous as a notorious feudal lord. He illegally annexed 22 acres of land of the Harijans. After the formation of the Sangham people tried to reoccupy their land. Realising the danger, Bhaskar Rao's family attacked the people right on the field. Hanmantha Rao (brother of Bhaskar Rao) drove the tractor over the poor peasants. They could do nothing else but defend their lives. Peasants and their animals were seriously injured. This attack was pointed out in the State Assembly and the then Chief Minister, Vengal Rao, assured the House that the lands of the Harijans would be defended and the guilty would be punished. But the very next day, the people had to face the wrath of the police. The poor peasants were punished instead of the landlords. They were dragged into a conspiracy case. The conspiracy of the Government to suppress genuine people's movements to assert their rights was well proved by this plot. Innocent and illiterate peasants were dragged into the web of the courts. Everyone knows the judicial set-up in India. Guns and literature brought from elsewhere were placed alongside these peasants and a photograph was flashed in the newspapers. Even after such tricks of the police, the conspiracy case was withdrawn, as the police found it impossible to prove. From the same village, 3 peasants were arrested under M.I.S.A. during the Emergency and they were later released after three months. Not perturbed by these repressive measures the people

ultimately asserted their rights and reoccupied the land. They are now enjoying the fruits of the land.

After the onslaught on the people during Emergency, the landlords plotted to annihilate the leaders and organisers who had just come out from under-ground activity. The concept of the reactionaries, that once the leaders are annihilated the whole democratic movement can easily be smashed, was put into practice immediately after the ending of the fascist Indira regime. Many leaders were attacked by the goondas.

II. THE ATTACK OF THE GOONDAS

(B) The landlord of Nimmapally annexed 10 acres of land allotted to a political sufferer, Natta Peddulu. But Peddulu was never allowed to assert his right on the land. In protest of this illegal occupation of the land, public meetings were arranged in the surrounding villages. One such meeting held at Konaraopet in August, 1977, was suddenly attacked by 60 goondas. They tried to annihilate the most important leader, J. Chalapathi Rao (the C.P.I. (M.L) organiser). But the audience rose in retaliation and the goondas had to flee the field. Thus even this sort of annihilation programme met a failure only because of the mass support towards the organisers.

Having tasted failure in their moves not only in these two incidents but on many such occasions, the landlords were forced to approach the police, and with their help re-established their domination to further their age-old methods of exploitation of the people.

III. THE ATTACK OF THE POLICE

(C) Seizing the occasion of the visit of the Governor, Sm. Sharada Mukherjee to Vemulavada in September, 1977, people in thousands gathered to vent their grievances and point out the atrocities of the landlords through a Memorandum. The police resorted to an unprovoked lathi-charge, injuring many. The gutter besides the temple in Vemulavada was full of people trying to escape from the

lathis. The Governor, moved at the fate of the poor peasants, apologised on behalf of the police. It seems that the citizens do not have the right to meet their Governor (The constitutional head of the State) and present their woes. The police did not want to expose the misdeeds of the landlords. They wanted to suppress the news and keep the world ignorant of the atrocities let loose on poor peasants in the countryside.

After the departure of the Governor, the D S P, Pillai, commanded the people to disperse. He was unable to swallow the insult. But the people demanded an apology from him for his unwarranted attack. This enraged Pillai and another lathi charge resulted. Once again, the people had to defend themselves, and in that resistance, Pillai got hurt. The people in thousands marched in protest and showed their unity. The same evening the police ravaged the whole town. Hundreds of policemen were dumped and every citizen was beaten. Is this the apology tendered by the police? All shops and establishments were shut down. One Mr Sankar, a petty hotel owner, was brutally beaten and was later admitted to the hospital.

Provoked by this, the people in the whole taluk protested. They had clearly understood the true role of the police. Is it to serve the interests of a few or the interests of the majority?

Villagers everywhere realised the necessity of organising themselves and thus Peasant Sangams cropped up everywhere. After the Assembly elections, hundreds of anti feudal struggles broke out in different parts of the taluk.

(D) In Venkatapur and Garjanpally people were allotted separate electricity transformers, and were able to check up to a certain extent the rampant corruption in the Electricity Department, Land Mortgage Banks, Co-operative Central Banks, and State Banks. In some villages Harijans occupied house sites.

(E) In Chikodu village shepherds had to follow a tradition of allowing their sheep to remain on the fields of the landlords so that the landlords' lands could become fertile by the nightsoil. This

time they refused to comply with this customary practice. This enraged the landlords Gooda Butchi Reddy and Gooda Narasimha Reddy resulting in the imposition of a fine of Rs 2 000/. In protest a public meeting was held in the village. Later, about 400 peasants, particularly the shepherds, marched to the landlords and demanded withdrawal of the illegal fine. At last the landlords yielded and withdrew the fine.

In the same village 200 acres of forest waste land was occupied by the people during Emergency. The Forest officials then confiscated the ploughs and cases were foisted on the people. The people protested and cultivated the land. The Government was unable to do anything. This season, after having vainly appealed to the Government to grant Pattas, the people tilled the land and seeds were even sown.

(F) In Vemulavada town Javvaji Nampally took a loan of Rs 1 500/, about ten years back from K Govind Rao, a landlord cum money lender. By 1974 the poor fellow had already paid Rs 6 000/ in cash. From him was then demanded the balance of Rs 3 300/. The pleas of Nampally only resulted in the confiscation of his 3 acres of land and his house through a court decree. Even then the landlord tried to extract the loans he had given to others, through Nampally. One of them was already dead. Unable to comply with the landlord's demand Nampally approached the Sangham and with its help re-occupied his land.

(G) A rich landlord defying the Land Ceiling Act, sold lands and earned lakhs of rupees. Near Bhimuni bandalu a strip of 40 acres cultivated by tenants (Harijans) was also sought to be sold after forceful eviction of the tenants. The whole village protested under the leadership of the Sangham against Chennamanom Venkata Narsinga Rao, the landlord. They re-occupied the land.

(H) In Sivangalapally, 60 acres of forest waste land was occupied by the people. Cases were framed on the people and they were fined by the Court. This was a year back. This time, after having come to know that this land has come under de-forested

land, the people appealed to the Government for allotment. Seeing no response from the Government, the people occupied the land under the leadership of the Sangham.

(I) Paddira villagers had to face the following illegal extractions by the forest officials (not only the local but also district officials)

(a) Pullari This means a legal levy of Rs 2/ p a on every cow that grazes on forest land. Other animals are exempted. But the forest officials extracted Rs 10/ to 15/ on every kind of animal. The poor peasants were forced to comply with such a demand of the Forest Officials, or else their animals had to face hunger.

(b) Nagarpatti Wood for every plough was charged exorbitant rates.

(c) Sheep had to be supplied free of cost to the forest officials.

(d) Exorbitant prices were charged on wood used for cooking and other purposes.

The Sangham here mobilised the villagers against such illegal skinning of the people and successfully stopped the bribes and extractions.

Such struggles broke out every where under the leadership of the Sanghams. Thus Sanghams mushroomed in every village of the Taluk mobilising every exploited peasant against all forms of exploitation.

(J) Bhagawanth Rao, the cruellest landlord of this area, lives in Chakkapally village. He is the President of the Vemulavada Panchayat Samithi and his wife is the Sarpanch of the Gram Panchayat. The lady wields power and acts in the cruellest manner. Every villager is afraid even to talk about these people.

Now let us see the forms of exploitation existing in this village.

(1) The whole village has to cultivate gratis the land of this lord (about 70 acres).

(2) Village Sunkars and Sapayies (i.e., Government employees like attendants and sweepers) must engage themselves completely with this lord's domestic and agricultural activities.

(3) Both the parties involved in any petty case had to deposit thousands of rupees with the landlord. As a loyal and sincere servant of the people, this Bhagawanth Rao puts the money in the village temple's hundi, in the presence of the whole village. Then the same night this money is transferred into the private treasury of Bhagawanth Rao. Through this modus operandi, it seems he has extracted about Rs 4 lakhs. If no quarrels broke out between the people, then Bhagawanth Rao's loyal henchmen would provoke and manhandle someone (particularly among the women) and drag the person to the Panchayata, so that the required 'deposit' is extracted.

(4) The Gowda (toddy tappers) community had to oblige this 'Maharaja' and pay Rs 4 000/ to 5,000/ as 'mamul'.

(5) Permission from this 'Maharaja' is a must for anyone to buy or sell anything, and the 'mamul' alone can fetch the permission.

(6) Bhagawanth Rao also owns a rice mill where a quintal of paddy is charged Rs 3/, whereas in other villages only Rs 2/ is charged. Apart from this, a certain amount of rice, the paddy husk and the rice bran must be given to this fellow.

(7) 10 acres under the temple has been taken for lease by Bhagawanth Rao with an agreed rent of Rs 500/ per annum. But he never pays the rent. Not only this, the priest of the temple is never given the required remuneration. He lives only by begging.

(8) Whoever protests against such brutal exploitation falls a prey to the terrors maintained by the landlord, and the sadist lady takes the lead to prove her power over the people. A poor peasant once found a small goat and after a thorough search for its owner, the peasant retained it. Later it was eaten by his family. This news traversed to the ears of the ever keen lady who wanted to extract a fine from the poor peasant. She started a whisper in the village that she had lost a small goat. The poor fellow, keeping in mind the customary tortures and fines on this pretext, committed suicide.

The great Vengal Rao, the Chief Minister, conferred the title 'Danakarra' on this landlord. This fellow is also famous as a socialist. The title of Danakarra was conferred on Bhagawanth Rao when this pseudo socialist donated 12 acres, which were already sold to the people at exorbitant prices. This was how the 20-point programme of the Lady Hitler of India, Indira Gandhi, was implemented and propagated everywhere. All the newspapers carried the photographs of this 'Danakarra'.

One will also be surprised to find, how the villagers have utilised their franchise. No one in the village had ever exercised his franchise during many of the previous elections, but hundred per cent polling was recorded. It is obvious who exercise the franchise of the villagers.

IV, THE ATTACK OF THE LANDLORDS AND GOONDAS

(K) Even in such a feudal, fascist domain, the poor peasants' Sanghams cropped up. As soon as Bhagawanth Rao heard about the formation of Sangham he wanted to crush the Sangham in the bud. He called all the villagers and threatened them about the consequences of participation in the Sanghams. Two of the main organisers were brutally beaten and their crops destroyed. They had to leave their village for their own safety. Realising that this was not sufficient to curb the activities of the Sangham, Bhagawanth Rao forcibly marched all the villagers in Vemulavada. On 20th March 1978 the villagers marched in a procession, giving only two slogans. Chakkapally is one, and Bhagawanth Rao is God. Apart from this, Bhagawanth Rao plotted to annihilate the main leader, Chalapathi Rao. When Chalapathi Rao and his two comrades, Satyanarayana and Ramesh, were returning from Sircilla, they were attacked and seriously injured. This attack was directly led by Bhagawanth Rao and his brother in law, Venkat Rama Rao, Sarpanch of Kodhurupak. This annihilation programme also met with failure because of the massive support given by the people.

Immediately about 1,500 peasants marched in protest against this brutal attack in Vemulavada town. Similar protest marches

were held in many other villages. Realising the danger of the massive upsurge of the people, Bhagawanth Rao had to escape from the village. The Chakkapally villagers realised the force of an organised effort and almost all of them joined the Sangham. The goondas who were earlier against the Sangham also surrendered. All the activity of the landlord was stopped. Cultivation through forced labour was also stopped. The rice mill came to a stand still and a total social boycott of the landlord was practised,

Enraged at the activities of the Sangham, the landlord planned another plot to annihilate the leaders. On 4th May, 1978, some goondas were about to attack the Vemulavada CPI (ML) office. All of a sudden people resisted the attack and forced the goondas to surrender. Thus, no supporter of Bhagawanth Rao exists in the village. Bhagawanth Rao then started organising his class brothers and also goondas. The police was also approached.

(L) Boinpally Channadi Prabhakar Rao alias Thella Dora, is notorious for raping women. No young woman was spared from this landlord's paws. Cultivation and other domestic activity is carried on through forced labour. Women engaged in the rice mill owned by him have all been raped. The modus operandi is that whenever he likes a particular woman the woman will be called into his house on the pretext that his wife needs her services and then, after bolting the doors, Thella Dora will rape the woman.

A dhobi woman Devamma, was a victim of Thella Dora's sex orgies. Devamma was married to one Devaiah of Gundannapally. Later, the landlord saw to it that they were divorced. Devamma then virtually lived with Thella Dora. The whispers in the village about this affair forced Thella Dora to send her back to her husband. Later a domestic quarrel between the couple resulted in the departure of Devamma. She complained to Thella Dora and once again lived with him. This sex maniac decided to quieten Devaiah and continue his affair with Devamma.

A typical feudal practice exists in this village. Whoever enters the village must at first salute Thella Dora. In these parts there is

another feudal practice, i e , the news of the death of any villager must be conveyed to his relations or friends by a particular dhobi. It so happened that Devaiah carrying such news entered the village. No sooner than he entered, he was caught and taken to the centre of the village. He was then brutally beaten by the landlord and his men. The goondas of the landlord gripped Devaiah by his legs and revolved him in the air. Later, the unconscious body of Devaiah was kept in the Gram Panchayat Office. The next day the live body was thrown into a near by streamlet. No one was allowed to render any help to the injured and unconscious Devaiah. Later in the afternoon, a relative, Venkati, took Devaiah into his house and gave him the necessary aid. Immediately, the goondas pounced on Venkati and threatened him to leave Devaiah to his fate or face the same fate himself. Venkati fled the village and informed about this to the people of Gundannapally. 15 persons went to Thella Dora and pleaded with him to release the unconscious Devaiah, but Thella Dora refused and declared a reward of Rs 500/ to those who would burn the live body of Devaiah. Helpless, the villagers returned back and mobilised others. On 30th June, 1978 about 400 peasants marched to Thella Dora. Scared by the peoples' march Thella Dora, while attempting to escape, fell down and was caught by the people. He was brought to the centre of the village. All the villagers gathered and garlanded him with chappals and brooms. Every woman spat on his face and narrated the cruelties they faced. He was then paraded throughout the village and also the surrounding villages of Koren, Dundrapally, Gundannapally and Stambhampally. Everywhere Thella Dora faced the same treatment from the masses. Then entered the police. They promised that proper punishment would be given to the landlord, and the poor peasants innocently handed over the landlord to the police. 8 villagers were asked to come to the Police Station, and they were later arrested.

All these anti feudal struggles throughout the whole taluk united the feudal landlords, and the police was approached by them resulting in a reign of terror throughout the taluk.

(M) Nizamabad village Konda n Chinna Venkat Reddy

15 years ago had only 12 acres. Later, after having become the Gumastha, he acquired 303.35 acres

Government land	120 Acres
Political sufferers' land	47 „
Benami pattas	28 „
Others' land	70 „

These lands are cultivated through forced labour. He is also notorious of collecting bribes amounting to Rs 3 lakhs for various services rendered as Gumastha. Defying the Land Ceiling Act, Venkat Reddy registered pattas on his minor sons (Dharma Reddy 13 years, and Radha Krishna Reddy 15 years)

People protested against all this exploitation and even forced the Tahsildar to suspend Venkat Reddy for corruption. Peasants occupied 12 acres of Benami lands and cleared another 25 acres for cultivation.

V THE COMBINED RAMPAGE OF THE LANDLORDS, GOONDAS AND THE POLICE

Now that all the earlier methods of repression had failed, the state machinery was invoked to see that tyrannical landlords were reestablished and allowed to dominate the villages again.

Mass arrests were effected. On the mid night of 3rd July 1978, the local offices of the CPI (ML) in Vemulavada and Sircilla were raided and 21 persons arrested. 80 persons including these 21, were inculpated in a case alleging kidnapping and attempt to murder. One lady organiser, Lalitha was arrested under 151 Cr P C and sentenced to 14 days imprisonment. At Chikodu, 300 peasants (mostly Harijans) were booked in one particular case and 20 were arrested. This was in connection with the occupation of 80 acres of forest waste land (already mentioned in E)

Paddira. Two cases were filed on 6 in each case in connection with the struggle to end the illegal extractions by the police, patels and forest officials (I)

Nizamabad :— After raiding many houses and manhandling the residents, the police arrested 20 persons. Even the house of Burra Prasad was raided. Police alleged that these persons illegally encroached on the legally held land of Patwari Venkat Reddy.

Sivangalapally :— Six peasants are arrested, for alleged illegal encroachment on forest waste lands.

82 persons throughout the Taluk have been charged under 107 Cr. P. C. Usually, both the parties involved are booked under this Section. But here only one party has been booked.

Thus, a total reign of terror has been let loose in this taluk. So far 711 persons have been arrested, and all but 20 are released. The judgement on the bail petition in the Magistrate's court was delayed by a few days and later the bail prayer was rejected. Even now, these poor peasants are languishing in jail. Nearly ten police camps have been put up in the villages. Most of them are stationed in the houses of big feudal landlords. The camps are at Vemulavada, Sircilla, Chikodu, Paddirra, Konaraopet, Nizamabad, Kodumunja, Chakkapally, Boinpally, etc. Every citizen has been threatened and all Government officers transferred.

These repressive measures of the police evoked mass protests throughout the taluk. About 5,000 people with red flags marched to Sircilla on 7th July, 1978. People came to participate in this anti-repression rally from 20 to 25 miles away. This was the biggest procession ever held in Sircilla. Dharnas were conducted in front of the Circle Inspector's office and the Tahsil office. People dispersed after an assurance from the concerned officers about the release of the arrested persons. 50 other villages also observed protests.

Such peaceful, democratic movements grew further everywhere in the taluk. Neither the landlords and the goondas nor police could crush them. Every mass arrest was made under a new pretext by the police. The growing consciousness of the rural people forced the police to change its methods. Threatening letters were released to landlords and merchants in the name of

CPI (ML) and a ransom demanded within a specific time. A cloth merchant Alladi Lingaiah and another businessman, Gore Mian received such letters. Wall posters demanding ransom were pasted on the houses of businessmen and landlords. These attempts were made to malign the democratic organisations which have been spearheading the struggles to end the decaying, feudal exploitation. Under these pretexts the police had a free hand to harass and arrest the organisers and the people. One should not be surprised even if the landlords and police conduct dacoities and loot, giving the slogans usually given by the CPI (ML) or the peasant Sanghams.

In two villages, the Sangham people were called to the house of the landlord on the pretext of solving some cases. Later, the police descended on the vexed Sangham leaders. They were arrested, all going that they have attacked the landlord to kill him and loot his house and property.

On 16th July, 1978 in Kodjurupak village, the Sangham members were discussing about a protest meeting in their own office, when suddenly the police attacked and arrested them. It seems that the landlord telephoned to the police that the Sangham members were attacking him. 85 persons were thus arrested. The people in different villages protested on a large scale. Seeing this, the police added one more measure. They decided to beat the peasants and then arrest them, chasing them under different sections of IPC. This new method was applied in Kodumunja, where the landlord, Ramachandra Rao is also the Sarpanch. He has been exploiting the people by different methods. This fellow is an engineering degree holder. He opened a Gobar Gas plant, and all the villagers had to send the gobar to this plant which give gas only to Ramachandra Rao's house. He has taken loans on other names and established a dairy farm getting huge profits. Sugar is sold at black market rates, and he extracts bribes for rendering service as Sarpanch. The people's protest has resulted in an Enquiry by the Government. Being thus isolated from the people, he wanted to re-establish his authority in connivance with the police. On 19th July, 1978, he called the Sangham people to his

house to settle a problem involving dhobies. After this settlement, the Sangham people wanted to leave the house, but the landlord delayed their exit, giving them tea, and talking to them on various matters. Suddenly the police raided, beat the people, and 20 were arrested. They were charged with having committed an attack on the landlord to kill him, loot his property and rape the women folk. The whole village was terrorised but even then about 100 persons marched in a procession to protest against such a ghastly attack by the police. Even this procession was attacked by the goondas, when many peasants were injured. A police camp has been set up in this village.

Thus, we find the collapse of the so-called democratic set up under the rule of the Indira Congress which was itself a part of the Emergency Congress. A mini emergency (Police Raj) is in vogue in the whole of Sircilla Taluk. All processions and assemblies have been banned indefinitely. Taking advantage of such a reign of terror, the landlords are trying to murder the important leaders, spending lakhs of rupees on goondas. Recently, Bhagawanth Rao, with a car load of goondas, openly threatened the people. He claimed that his goons would certainly annihilate his enemies, i.e., the leaders of the people and that he would return to his village with all the power and establish himself as the sole 'Maharaja' of the domain.

Every citizen must react to such a spate of events involving the arrest of hundreds, attack innocent people and a virtual emergency. This situation enables the landlords to re-establish and strengthen the feudal exploitation which has been the main hindrance to the development of India. Only a maximum of protest from all sections of the people can check such an onslaught of landlords, goondas and the police.

Bihar

ALL ROUND GROWTH OF THE PARTY

The last six months have seen an unprecedented growth of the Party in Bihar, among the workers, peasants, middle class and professional people students and youth. The reasons are (1) spread of open activities of the Party (2) release of Comrades from jail, and (3) merger of different organisations of C P I (M L) Party. Organisations have expanded considerably in many districts. District Organising Committees have been formed in the districts of Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Mogaohyr and Patna. The North West Regional Committee has been formed with Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. The DOCs are setting up lower committees like town committees, local organising committees, cells etc. Work of the Party is also spreading in Hatia (Ranchi), Hazaribagh and Bhojpur. Organisational work has started in the other North Bihar districts of Chapra, Saharsha, Bhagalpur and Purnea. Party activity has resulted in an increase in the number of professional revolutionaries, Party members and sympathisers.

Mass meetings held by the Party

The Party held a number of public meetings in the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur etc., attended by a large number of peasants. The meetings discussed the problems of peasants and the question of release of political prisoners was stressed. A meeting at the Muktapur Jute Mill (Darbhanga) was well attended by workers and peasants. Problems of workers and peasants and the release of political prisoners were discussed, and the stand of the Party on Reservation in Bihar government service was clearly explained. The idea of agrarian revolution was placed categorically before the peasants at the public meeting held at Rahtoli (Darbhanga district).

5000 workers or more rallied to two mass meetings called by the Party at Sindri (Dhanbad district). Besides explaining the

Party line in the building of fighting trade unions was stressed. Mine workers attended the Kedia (Hazaribagh district) meeting in large numbers with high enthusiasm. Apart from various demands of the workers, claim of dispossessed peasants to adequate compensation for their seized lands and employment in the mines was discussed.

A mass meeting was held at Jamshedpur (Singhbhum District) where the Party line and policy were explained in full. Workers were present in large numbers in spite of many obstacles put up by the different private managements. Oaths to perform the incomplete tasks of the martyrs were taken at meetings commemorating the martyrdom of four comrades at Azad bustee and two comrades at Pasudih (both localities in Jamshedpur). A mass meeting was also held at Telco, Jamshedpur. In the Baharagora area of Singhbhum district a mass meeting drew a huge gathering of peasants, including a large number of women from landless peasant families. Apart from stressing the need of agrarian revolution, the meeting demanded an enquiry commission into police atrocities, the punishment of guilty police officers and the immediate resettlement of some hundred landless and poor peasants forcibly evicted from the area and robbed of all belongings during the fascist terror. Two mass meetings were held at Rakha Mines (Singhbhum district) and one at Moubhandar (Singhbhum district) among the workers of these places. Thousands of peasants from remote villages of North Bihar and the districts of Patna and Bhojpur, workers from mines and other industries of South Bihar, and peasants, including large numbers of Adivasi peasants, as well as white-collar employees, professional people, students and youth thronged to the foundation day rally of the Party at Calcutta on April 22 1978. The participation from Bihar indicated the developing strength and popularity of the Party in the state. The participants returned with new inspiration to their areas of work.

Mass organisations are being rapidly built to advance the developing mass movements of the workers, peasants, students and youth.

Work among the workers

The working class movement in Bihar remains mainly in its primary stage. At present, we are entering new areas, besides organising the old areas of workers' movement under the leadership of the Party. The Party unit in Chotanagpur has been able to take its work into the basic masses, the workers and the peasantry. Comrade Satyanarayan Singh, the General Secretary of the Party, has played a special role in the direction of taking up the issues concerning the workers, organising them, and leading them to the basic work of trade unions. 'Telco Kamgar Union' has already been registered, the case regarding the registration of 'Singhbhum Thikedar Kamgar Union' is pending before the government, and the decision to form 'Tinplate Kamgar Union' has been taken. A 4-day strike by 150 contractors' labourers against retrenchment of 4 workers in the Civil Engineering Department of Telco was successful under the leadership of 'Singhbhum Thikedar Kamgar Union'.

75 contractors' labourers working in the forest areas launched a 7-day strike under the leadership of the Trade Union of Jamshedpur and Patamda Border Mountain and Forest Area for greater wages. The movement was successful. The daily wages were increased by Re 1/- the fee levied by the contractors per cart load of firewood required by the workers and peasants living in the forest areas was decreased from Rs 24/- to Rs 8/-. This success has made a wide impact in the area. Contractors have been forced to increase wages in other areas also and the panic created by officers of the forest department and the police has ended. Following this victory, about 750 workers and peasants engaged by the Land Preservation Department, Gharaud, inside the Thana itself, an officer who was deliberately delaying payment for over a month and a half. The officer wanted to stir up trouble but his courage failed, and the wages were paid up.

About 1500 workers work at the copper mine at Rakha mines. Previously their union was led by the renegade Danga clique, the treacherous leadership serving the interests of the management more than that of the workers. The workers have disowned this

leadership and have themselves drawn up a charter of demands and submitted it to the management and the government. The workers are now fighting under the banner of the newly formed Rakha Copper Kamgar Union, the case for whose registration is pending before the government. At the Moubhander copper enterprise the workers have decided to form a militant union, the 'Moubhander Copper Kamgar Union', isolating the scabs and traitors of the renegade Dange clique.

The workers of Hatia area are preparing for struggle under the leadership of the 'Hatia Kamgar Union' (Ranchi). This union has been registered and the Dange clique who were trying to usurp the leadership has been ousted. The union has held 4 mass meetings. Here, the trade union movement has to develop through tough struggle against the division of the workers by the reactionary scabs in the name of caste, creed etc. The Kamgar Union is working, therefore, in the midst of great difficulty. In Hatia factory, work of a permanent nature is given to the contractors, for example, the job of ballistics is being done by contractors' labour for the last 10 years. Hatia Kamgar Union organised the contractors' labour against specific practices injurious to the interests of the workers, and submitted a charter of demands. The contractors sacked 6 workers as an answer. A strike developed for 5 days while the contractors eliminated the entire labour force and prevented their entry into the factory. The workers remained outside the factory gate but were firm in struggle. Then, the Labour Department awakened and an agreement was drawn up among Hatia Kamgar Union, the H. E. C. management, contractors and the Labour Department. All workers were restored to their jobs and an agreement between the management and the contractors was effected forthwith. Daily wages increased by Re 1/. This movement made an impact on other contract labourers and the 22 000 permanent workers.

The Bihar Mines Lal Jhanda Mazdoor Union is gradually developing the trade union movement among Kedla (Hazaribagh) mine workers, in the face of terror imposed on the workers by the

hired goondas of the Dange clique in the name of the trade union movement. The Lal Jhanda Union is fighting for demands like proper compensation to the peasants for lands grabbed from them, employment to the local Adivasi people, end to unjust retrenchment, facility for water in the workers' bustees etc. A united mass meeting of workers and peasants was organised. The Sindri Fertilisers Lal Jhanda Employees' Union has started to organise the movement of the workers of Sindri Mines. A K Roy's union here was called by us to develop a joint movement. But they refused to do this. The workers rejected them and established the Lal Jhanda Union under our leadership. Our comrades are working hard to build the trade union movement among coal mine and Isco rope workers of Dhanbad district.

Organisation has started in the industries of North Bihar also. The Asoke Paper Kamgar Union has been established among the workers of Asoke Paper Mills, Ramswar Nagar (Darbhanga district). In these places workers are subjected to a feudal type of exploitation. Workers' issues have been highlighted in mass meetings organised on trade union platforms. Party work is progressing among the workers of the Barauni complex (Begusarai) where there is great possibility of growth of the trade union movement.

Our comrades have played a good role in the movement for bonus and pay revision of the Bank employees at certain places. In the symbolic strike of the Bank employees on their demands, our comrades fought against the vacillations of the leadership composed of elements from the Congress and the Dange clique. At the beginning the influence of our Party in the Bank employees' trade union movement was limited to Jamshedpur and some other places only. We developed our role in Jamshedpur Bank establishments to the best of our ability and went on to the margin of forming trade union organisations among the Bank employees.

The Party is making efforts to organise the rickshaw pullers of Patna. After a fire which destroyed 70 to 80 thatchets of the rickshaw pullers, more than 300 rickshaw pullers took out a procession under the leadership of the Patna Area Organising Com

mittee, demanding adequate compensation and immediate arrangements for tents and food, and shouting slogans against the Dange clique and its hirelings. The rickshaw pullers, under the leadership of the Party, forced the government to distribute blankets, sarees and provisions amounting to Rs 800/

Work among the Peasants

To organise and develop the peasant areas in a new style became the two primary objectives before the Party in Bihar. The Party has been engaged in preparing the struggle of the landless and the poor peasants against the notorious zamindars, and has already started struggle on minor issues.

For some years past, the landless and poor peasants of Ratua patli village have been struggling against the intrigues by the zamindars to grab land. The Dange clique and the CPI (M) have betrayed them. When our Party made a fresh beginning in a new style, the zamindars tried to stall the struggle by the use of goondas and lumpen elements, but these fled in the face of retaliatory action by the peasants. The police then came in twice, but failed before the organised resistance of the peasants. Ultimately, the right of the landless peasants had to be admitted on 10 bighas of land. At Barhawara, the poor peasants by dint of their organised resistance frustrated then and there, attempts by the notorious zamindar Upendra Sinha to seize the land of the peasants forcibly, loot their crops and burn their huts. The Party is busy organising the peasants in Champaran and Muzaffarpur districts, too.

In Patna district also the Party is engaged in efforts to rally the peasants round its banner. At a certain village in Phalguny area, land wrongfully seized by the zamindar was distributed by grant of porcha (papers) by the landless peasants committee. The peasants harvested the crops on this land under the leadership of the Party and have now established their right on the land. The Party commands sufficient influence on the peasants of the area and there is the possibility of further movement.

The peasant movement is developing with big strides under the

leadership of our Party in the Baharagora area of Singbhum district. The Party is preparing itself for struggle, particularly on the issues facing the landless peasants. In the 1970-71 upsurge the local zamindars and the police unleashed ruthless suppression and inhuman torture. The police burnt the huts of the peasants and destroyed village after village. Under the leadership of the Party a memorandum demanding adequate compensation to the poor peasants was submitted to district authorities and a protest demonstration organised in front of S D O's office for its administrative delay. At Kokpara village of the same area, 150 houses were recently burnt in a fire. The Party rushed to the area and organised relief, while demanding relief subsidy from the government at the same time. The Party integrates itself with the peasants in this way helping them in their distress. Illegal gambling in collusion with the police was greatly harming the poor people of the area. The Party mobilised local youth against this practice and suddenly raided the secret dens of the gamblers and confiscated all articles found. Similar raids were organised on other dens. As a result, such gambling has been stopped in some areas of Dalbhumgarh and Chakulia thanas besides Baharagora (Detailed report on the Baharagora struggle elsewhere)

Growing Movement of Students and Youth

The struggle of the students and youth in Bihar has greatly intensified. The students are on the path of struggle on issues like corruption, maladministration, nepotism, casteism, goondatism, bureaucratic suppression in the University campus etc. Almost in all Universities of Bihar the student movement is being directed against the existing colonial system of education.

In Patna, Muzaffarpur, Sitamar, B I T Sindri etc., the high water marks of the student movement of earlier days, a large number of democratic students had belonged to the B S A. At Sitamar, the student movement had protested against zamindar and police barbarity. B I T, Sindri, is notorious for its red tape and bureaucratic malpractices. Repression of its students became the talk of the town, increasing greatly during the Emergency. The

students waged continual struggle against these evils under the leadership of the B S A , leading to orders of expulsion on two popular student leaders. The present Janata Government of Bihar, too, acted in accordance with the orders. In protest against the orders, the students gheraoed the college authorities, under the leadership of the B S A. The struggle is continuing.

The students of different colleges in Jamshedpur have launched a movement on the demands of reducing the college fees and stopping the taxes that are taken away in the form of subsidy rent, as well as additional expenditure. On May 1, students rallied to a procession at Begusarai under the leadership of the B S A and gave slogans demanding the unconditional release of political prisoners in addition to demands of their own.

The Party tries to unify the broad ranks of the progressive and democratic students and lead them to struggle on the basis of united action and mutual help. The AISF talked in the past of a general working policy of the united front of all student organisations, but, in fact, colluded with the ruling classes against interests of the general students. The S F I remains absolutely indifferent to this movement.

Other Political Work

While organising and developing movements on issues affecting the workers, peasants, middle class employees and intelligentsia, students and youth, movements were organised on general political questions like opposition to fascist forces, release of political prisoners, etc.

On April 1, 1978, fascist Indira Gandhi was due to reach Patna. Colossal amounts were spent on welcoming her. The Congress (I) hired people from different parts of Bihar. Notorious goondas of the Youth Congress' of Patna city and goondas hired from elsewhere gathered at Patna airport to welcome' Indira Gandhi carrying swords, daggers, lathis, etc., and stones in truck load.

These were faced by anti fascist forces in good number including workers, students and youth led by Bihar Nawjawan Sangatan and Bihar Students' Association. The anti fascist demonstrators carried black flags and shouted slogans like 'Fascist Indira go back', 'Indira your roller of suppression continues in Andhra', etc. Even before the plane carrying Indira Gandhi touched down, the fascist hirelings of the 'Yuba Congress' attacked the demonstrators with their weapons and inflicted heavy injuries. Their attempts to liquidate the leaders of the demonstrators were frustrated by the courageous workers present. The police stationed there remained as onlookers, and acted in a way which further encouraged the goondas in their design. This showed that the Janata government had no desire to combat the fascist forces. Rather it was prone to suppress the anti fascist forces.

The Party has played an active part on the question of unconditional release of political prisoners, both directly and by its leading role on the issue in different mass organisations. The Party has adopted a variety of tactics from pulling the government and its officials by ear for an expeditious disposal of files to mobilising popular opinion by raising the issue through mass organisations, building organisations devoted to the issue, placing the issue before the people in public meetings and, above all, organising an effective mass movement. As a result many comrades have been released but many more remain behind bars.

Despite proclamation of Sec 144 all over the state, big demonstrations were held on May 10 at the call of the Party as well as different mass organisations in different places, and a memorandum was submitted to the Chief Minister and other government officials by a delegate of representatives. At Samastipur on May 10, peasants took part in the demonstration in great number. Demonstrations also took place at Baharagora, Dhanbad, Muzaffarpur and other places. Earlier on April 29 a rally was organised at the instance of the Nagarik Adhikar Suraksha Samiti. While returning after the rally, three demonstrators were arrested for violation of Sec 144 and jailed. In this way, the Janata government not only refuses to

release political prisoners, but increases their number by jailing those who are on the move on the question of release

On the issue of Reservation with regard to government service, the Party has clearly stated its stand before the people in mass meetings, and some ten thousand leaflets have been distributed, setting out the Politbureau's position. All other parties in Bihar have been divided into two groups on this issue, but our comrades remain firmly united on the basis of the Party line

During the panchayat elections in Bihar, our Party had put up our own candidates in Singhbhum, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Begusarai, Barh, Aurangabad and some other places, while supporting some democratic candidates elsewhere. Many of these candidates have been returned to different levels of the panchayat. Our Party candidate in the Gopalpur panchayat of Baharagora (Singhbhum) has been returned uncontested

Lessons

The following lessons have been drawn by the Party from the problems and difficulties that it had to face and combat in course of fulfilling the Party tasks

(1) There are many new cadres in the Party short in theoretical knowledge and understanding, and new cadres are coming into the Party more and more. Taking this reality into consideration, we have to develop further the ideological and political level of the Party

(2) There remains a very big gap between the political influence of the Party and its organisational strength. Much work has fallen on the Party committees and their responsibilities have also increased. To cope with this condition, we feel it necessary to take in new militant cadres into the Party, to increase the number of professional revolutionaries and to harness the strength of the organisers. We should not indulge in the practice of transferring professional revolutionaries from one place to another as a solution

(3) Unification has occurred only recently and the comrades have had little scope to work together and know each other. So.

the quality of monolithicity inside the Party is noticed to be poor. In such special circumstances, we have to adhere firmly to taking decision on the basis of democratic centralism at all levels and to executing them with further firmness.

(4) In some places, neglect is noticed in respect of implementation of the central task. Also, in the urgency of developing the Party in all parts, the shortfalls in participation and lag in coming forward and taking up responsibilities have been discovered. For this reason, the symptom of 'localism' must be rectified forthwith wherever found.

(5) While carrying on political propaganda ceaselessly, we have to make our Party activists struggle oriented. If the situation does not permit the unleashing of struggle on big issues, we should take up small issues and go for struggle on them. Also, in course of growing struggle on small issues, we shall have to raise our strength from small to large.

(6) In order to develop the independent strength of the Party, what is necessary is that we should develop the mass struggle independently under the banner of the Party as well as under the leadership of mass organisations led by the Party. To fulfil this task, different mass organisations have to be built up as quickly as possible.

(7) We should not overlook the possibility of attack by the enemy on these mass organisations while we remain engaged in developing them.

(8) While pursuing the policy of united front, we should not forget that united front may be built up on certain principal points and may again be broken down on the same. It should not be construed in such a manner that no united front is forged at all in the chase for a permanent united front. In the united front as well as in mass organisations, the Party has to maintain its independence and vanguard role. The Party should not forsake its independence and initiative because of an approach of maintaining the united front on all scores. Where it is not possible to forge the united front, we should go ahead to organise the people, basing our

selves on our own Party strength or that of the mass organisations set up at the behest of the Party and should not higggle over the leadership of the movement

(9) In Bihar the renegade Dange clique is still very strong It still retains power to dislodge the movement of workers and peasants in Bihar We shall have to wage ruthless struggle against the Dangeite revisionists with a view to freeing the workers, peasants, employees and other middle class people from their influence

(10) CPI (M) remains in its policy of maintaining distance from us even in Bihar We shall have to defeat the segregationist policy of the CPI (M), while standing on our Party policy of working jointly with them At the same time the disruptionist role of the CPI (M) in mass movements requires to be exposed

BAHARAGORA PEASANTS' STRUGGLE REPRESENTS A NEW AWAKENING AMONG THE PEASANTRY OF SINGHBHUM

Baharagora's landless and poor peasants had to go through hell and fire during 1969-70 along with their brothers and sisters in Gopiballapur Here in Baharagora, the police repression was very severe in certain parts particularly in Surmuh village In Surmuh most of the women were raped, almost all huts were smashed and razed to the ground, and all the properties of the peasants, moveable or unmoveable were looted by the landlords and the police and men and women, young and old were mercilessly beaten up and more than 80 were arrested The office of the Party was smashed by the police Two peasant cadres were killed From this area, 35 persons including a heroic peasant woman, Bina Nayak, were locked up in jail for more than 6 years and were released only after the last Assembly elections

During the last 8 years, taking advantage of immense repression against our Party taking advantage of the long imprisonment of the cadres of the Kisan Samitee and with the patronage of the Govt. administration, the Dange renegades, following a line of sham opposition and real support to the feudal landlords built up their organisation and cast their net far and wide

The revival of the peasant movement

However, after the withdrawal of cases against Com. Moni Chakravarty and the release of the 35 peasant cadres a wave of new enthusiasm swept through the area. The Party office was immediately rebuilt and inaugurated with a rally of over 5,000 landless and poor peasants. The immediate problem was the revival of the Kisan Samitee and this was taken in hand. The Kisan Samitee held village meetings, and agitated for the immediate demands of the people.

1 Compensation for the houses that were destroyed and the properties that were looted during the police repression in 1969-70

2 Implementation of minimum wages for agricultural workers

3 Irrigation facilities in the area

4 Water pumps for drinking water

5 Educational facilities.

6 Improvement of medical facilities

7 Distribution of Govt. Gairmazarua land among the landless

8 Withdrawal of all false cases against the peasants.

9 Prohibition of police interference in democratic movement

With the launching of propaganda on the basis of these demands and setting up of village Kisan Samitees, a new confidence and awareness dawned upon the peasants and the movement picked up.

The police began interfering as panic-stricken landlords pressed for repression against the peasant movement. The CPI came forward as the stormtrooper of the landlords and launched a counter campaign against the Kisan Samitee and the CPI (M L) in order to frighten the people.

In the meantime the panchayat elections intervened. Considering the resources which were very meagre the Party decided to contest 5 mukhia seats and 5 sarpanch seats in the area. This election provided a very good opportunity to the Party in propagating our line of agrarian revolution to the peasants, in exposing revisionism and the treachery of the Dange reregades and in exposing the big landlord, big bourgeois reactionary parties like the Congress and

the Janata It helped us to drive out fear from the minds of the peasants to a large extent and organise them in struggle on the immediate issues The Party won 2 mukhia seats and 4 sarpanch seats Besides this 1 mukhia and 2 sarpanchs supported by the Party also won These victories against the massive use of resources by the Congress, the CPI and the Janata candidates indicated the growing mass support to the Party among the peasants

The struggle for minimum wages

The Kisan Samitee called for a general strike of agricultural workers in two panchayat areas (Parulia and Arang) on 3rd July, '78 Soon the strike struggle spread to areas of Kanna Moda, Benasoli, Jayapura and Ramchandarpur Thousands of peasants participated in the strike struggle, including the women who worked in the houses of the landlords The strike spread to other areas also, leading to stoppage of nearly all agricultural operations in the main part of Baharagora P S

On 6th July, '78, the Kisan Samitee organised a gherao of the B D O and demanded immediate implementation of the minimum wages decided by the Govt or provision of work to the agricultural workers. 1500 agricultural workers, including women, participated in the gherao The entire functioning of the Block office remained suspended for hours The B D O promised to provide alternative work to the agricultural workers if the landlords did not come to a settlement in 7 days

The same demonstration marched to the local (Baharagora) police station and demanded that police repression on peasants be at once stopped and cases instituted against them be withdrawn

The Dange renegades shamelessly supported the landlords and tried to disrupt the wages struggle However, despite their dirty efforts, the struggle succeeded

Being faced with the militant struggle of the agricultural workers, which was spreading to other areas, the landlords had to bend down and compromise On 7th July, '78, a meeting was convened by the B D O in which besides the B D O, the second officer of

Baharagora P S, the gram panchayat supervisor, the mukhia of Parulia panchayat, the representatives of the landlords and the representatives of the Kisan Samitee were present. Ultimately, a compromise was arrived at, which has meant a substantial gain for the agricultural workers. The compromise was signed by the representatives of the Kisan Samitee and the mukhia of Parulia panchayat.

Gains

Previous wages		Wages after struggle	
Men	Women	Men	Women
1½ Kg paddy		3 Kg paddy	2½ Kg paddy +
to 800 gms paddy + 50 gms		+ 250 gms muri	200 gms muri
to 100 gms of muri			

Thus, there has been almost a doubling of the wages for both men and women, though they still fall below the minimum wages fixed by the Govt for this area.

The landlords and their Dangeite lackeys have been defeated. But, many landlords tried their utmost to prevent implementation. However, they were forced to carry it out, forced by the united might of the agricultural workers. About 30 000 agricultural workers have been benefited, but 20 000 still remain with old wages due to lack of organisation. The Kisan Samitees are being organised in such areas and efforts are being made to get the new wages implemented there also.

The victory was celebrated with great enthusiasm by a rally of 8,000 agricultural workers, both men and women.

The new moves of the landlords

While this victory has electrified the landless and poor peasants, and in fact, all sections of the toiling people in Baharagora P S and the adjacent areas of Singhbhum district, thus creating favourable conditions for advance of the revolutionary peasant movement, the landlords and the Dange renegades are desperately trying all sorts of anti peasant conspiracies. False cases under Sec. 107 Cr PC, 379 IPC, etc have been instituted.

against several of our cadres 2 comrades have been locked up in prison The landlords have made attempts to kill some comrades. On 15th July '78 Com Vasudev, a leader of the Kisan Samitee, and a CPI (M L) cadre, was surrounded by armed gangsters of the landlords of Aurang But, immediately, the men and women working on nearby fields rushed in and organised a militant resistance and Com Vasudev was rescued As soon as the news of this incident reached the villages 400 men and women armed with lathis, axes, bows and arrows marched in a demonstration and paraded the villages in which the goondas and the landlords resided The landlords did not come out for 2 days and later took shelter in Congress and CPI offices and also in Police Stations The fighting mood of the peasants had driven a wave of mortal fear over the landlords and the goondas The agricultural workers also stopped work on the fields of those goondas and landlords who were guilty The landlords had to come to the CPI (M L) offices (either on their own initiative or prompted by officials) and open talks with the Party Our Party asked them to listen to the charges of the people, and demanded that Kishori Pal, who was the main person behind the incident should apologise for his act and promise that he would not instigate such acts in future. Kishori Pal had to apologise and promise good conduct in future

In another area, the agricultural workers who had stopped work on the fields of a landlord in Parulha panchayat were confronted with the strike breaking efforts of the Dange renegades very recently On 28th August, '78, a CPI leader, the mukhia of Baharagora, brought 200 armed gangsters, giving them money and drink, to break the strike going on there The news ran through the villages, and 500 agricultural workers armed with bows and arrows, from neighbouring villages which had no direct interest in the strike, rushed in and surrounded the house of the landlord, in which the notorious CPI leader and his 200 strong gang had taken shelter They were gheraoed from 5 p m to 10 p m Only when the CPI leader signed a written statement affirming that they would not indulge in such an act in future, was the gherao lifted

Prospects

This rapid advance of the peasant movement in Baharagora is still to tackle the problem of land in an effective manner. However, the Kisan Samitee is serious on this issue. Agitation and propaganda has already been launched. The kisan movement is also having its impact on other areas of Singhbhum district. The trade union movement under the leadership of Party in Rakha Mines, Moubhandar and Jadugora will also help in spreading the influence of the Party in areas beyond Baharagora. Baharagora is the main rural base of the Party in Singhbhum district at present and it should be further consolidated and expanded.

The Singhbhum D C, CPI, (M L), and the Baharagora Kisan Samitee have decided to demonstrate before the S D O, Jamshedpur, on 11th September, 1978, on the 9 point demands mentioned above, in order to carry the movement to a higher level. The Singhbhum D C is confident that the peasant movement in the district, with Baharagora as the centre, can be developed rapidly, and another phase of movement can begin after the 11th September demonstration.

Maharashtra

RESISTING LANDLORD TERROR IN NANDED DISTRICT

In the name of an agitation to protest against the renaming of Marathwada University after Dr Ambedkar, the landlords and reactionaries have unleashed a reign of terror on unorganised labourers and peasants, particularly those belonging to the neo Buddhist community. The violence let loose on the Dalits is staggering in scale and kind. For the past one year, there was a persistent demand by Dalit organisations to rename Marathwada University as Dr Ambedkar University. There was a continuous agitation for the fulfilment of this demand. At that time the reactionaries did not protest at all. But there was feeble opposition. This demand was supported by the Maharashtra Janata Party too. The

Vasantdada Patil Ministry accepted the demand in principle but did not implement it. After the toppling of the Congress Indira Congress ministry, Sharad Pawar's new coalition accepted the demand and a resolution was passed unanimously by both Houses of the Maharashtra Assembly for changing the name to 'Dr Ambedkar Marathwada University'.

The decision of the renaming and of the reintroduction of the cotton monopoly procurement scheme were taken on July 27, 1978.

Immediately, the Students Action Committee (Aurangabad) led by reactionaries gave a call for agitation and attacks on Government property sabotage operations, etc, immediately began. In all important towns of Marathwada, the agitation against the renaming of the University suddenly burst out. The reactionaries made propaganda to inflame caste hatred among the upper-caste Hindus against the Dalits. They distributed leaflets provoking caste Hindus by remarks like whether they want "Marathwada University as Maharashtra University". Thus, they tried to mobilise the upper castes for their reactionary aims.

Within two or three days, repercussions were seen from rural areas. Poor people from villages, panic stricken, began to flood the towns of Marathwada and Andhra Pradesh (which is on the border). Dalits were attacked in about 1000 villages. Their huts were razed to the ground and burnt, grain was stolen or burnt, cattle were stolen crops destroyed, etc. Many Dalits, including school teachers or gram sevaks, were attacked. Women were humiliated and raped. In villages like Sugaoan (Nanded taluka) and Tembhorni (Biloli taluka, Nanded district), the vice-sarpanch belonging to the Dalit community was hacked to death.

In our area, the Kashtakari Sanghatna had mobilised all the members to prepare for defence. Landlords goondas and the other reactionaries had broken statues and torn photos of Dr Ambedkar. They tried to force the Dalits to behave in the old manner and to follow all the traditions of the caste system. Dalits should drink tea in different cups if they go to the hotel, take water from separate wells, etc. In Sujlegaon and the surrounding villages, the Kashtakari Sanghatna had prepared defence squads. Once the

people were mobilised they developed ingenious methods to defend themselves. Simultaneously, members of the Kashtakari Sanghatna belonging to the higher castes made propaganda from the class point of view among the different sections of the peasantry. Thus because of the earlier class agitations (on issues like wages, lower prices of seeds, etc.) led by the Kashtakari Sanghatna, in our area the landlords could not mobilise the poorer sections of the upper castes to attack the Dalits. Added to this, there was a split among the landlord sections for various reasons. For instance some landlords were opposed to attacking the Dalit bustees or burning them, as the landlords' fodder was stacked near the Dalit bustees.

In the villages organised by the Kashtakari Sanghatna the Dalits, led by the defence squads, kept continuous vigil, including the night. Women also participated fully in the defence preparations. In our area, it was only in two villages where the Kashtakari Sanghatna is weak that the landlords were able to attack the Dalits. In these two villages the Dalit bastis were totally destroyed.

All these attacks in Marathwada were led by the landlords and moneylenders using their goondas. In small towns, the local merchants were in the forefront. The attacks were well organised with full advance planning. In almost all places the Government machinery was a silent spectator and, of course, did nothing to stem the landlord and goonda attacks.

Why was there an attack on the Dalits on such a large scale? To crush their movement for democratic rights. The landlords and reactionaries have used the issue of changing the name of Marathwada University to attack the Dalit movement and see that the semi-feudal economic and social relations continue unhampered. Now, agricultural wages will fall considerably as most of the Dalits who form the bulk of the landless labourers, will be unable to resist the oppression of the landlords.

Where the Dalits organised themselves for defence, and had already established class solidarity with the poorer sections of the upper castes, there the landlords did not dare attack. As a result

of its successful defence preparations, the name of Sujlegaon village has become famous in the whole area

In these struggles the students of PDSU (from the neighbouring districts of Andhra Pradesh) have shown courage in coming to the help of the village poor and Dalits. Students from Andhra came to the area, stayed with villagers and helped them build their morale against the onslaught of the landlords. Now they, along with students of the Progressive Youth Movement (Proyom), have taken up a programme of rehabilitation work, including the collection of funds and help in reconstructing huts.

NASIK PEASANT STRUGGLES

In Nasik area the peasants and agricultural labourers' organisation has been active for the last six months. In many villages though money had been paid and electricity projects sanctioned, the corrupt officials of the Electricity Board had not installed the electric poles. After prolonged agitation, including gheraos, the Electricity Board had ultimately to take up the work of erecting poles and supplying electricity. The organisation has taken up many cases exposing the corruption in the cooperative societies. In Jopul and Bhoigaon villages the peasants gheraoed the sarpanch and the committee and exposed their corruption before the whole village people. In Khadak Ojar, the sarpanch was paraded on a donkey and forced to return some money falsely taken from the peasants. After these actions, in many other villages, the peasants on their own began to gherao the corrupt landlords and officials and demand the return of the money taken from them.

The organisation had taken up agitations for providing employment to the labourers under the Employment Guarantee Scheme. At present, with famine conditions prevailing in the district, the organisation is demanding the starting of immediate relief works.

Students Agitation

For the past two months students in Bombay and Poona had been preparing an agitation against the Government's decision to increase college fees by more than 33%. Despite continuous obstruc-

tion from SFI, the Progressive Youth Movement (Proyom) took the lead in forming along with other organisations, the Students Anti Fee Rise Committee (SAFAC) In Bombay and Poona the students of Proyom played an important and leading role in the movement After preparatory gate-meetings, dharnas and such activities, the students in Bombay took out a morcha to the Assembly The students valiantly fought back against unprovoked police attacks and broke the police cordon In protest against the police attack the students continued the morcha to the office of the Police Commissioner again breaking police cordons on the way

After this, when the new Chief Minister Sharad Pawar announced that he would look into the matter, the SFI and the student organisations attached to Janata Party withdrew from the agitation The SAFAC however decided to continue the agitation and called for a bandh in all colleges Against the opposition of the Shiv Sena, too, this bandh was a total success With this, the students saw that the Shiv Sena which had been built up to attack the left movement was in fact, a paper tiger The compromising nature of the SFI (whose parent body the CPI(M) supports the Sharad Pawar ministry) was also exposed before the students

In Poona, the students observed a successful bandh For the first time in Poona, a procession of more than 200 students was taken out, and the Vice-Chancellor was forced to come out to meet the students

As the Government continued to postpone a decision on the demand, the Bombay SAFAC decided to intensify the agitation In a dramatic move, a couple of hundred students seized the Bombay University building and held it for a day They dismissed the existing Vice-Chancellor and appointed their own student officials for the day The well planned and militant student action took the University officials and Government by surprise Under this pressure, on the very next day the Government announced the scrapping of the fee rise

Workers' Struggles

Both in Bombay and Poona, our work among the working class

is expanding. Within the usual struggles, the unions under the leadership of IFTU have distinguished themselves by adopting militant forms of struggle. Recently in Bombay the Hotel Labour Union, Red Flag, affiliated to IFTU, defied police bans and court injunctions to support the strike of a CITU Union. While the general workers were jubilant about this action the CITU leadership has been angry at this exposure of its cowardice.

In Bombay besides holding meetings to protest against the death of Com Krishnan Chetty, workers under the banner of IFTU participated in large numbers in a protest morcha organised jointly with civil liberties and student organizations. The workers also participated in demonstrations against the Shah of Iran.

As a result of these activities, and the meetings and morchas taken out to propagate the viewpoint of revolutionary trade unionism, though the unions affiliated to IFTU are quite small, IFTU is getting known as standing not only for militant struggle but also for its continuous emphasis on drawing workers into political struggle on national and international issues.

Punjab

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FLARES UP AGAINST POLICE ATROCITIES IN NAWASHAHAR, JULLUNDER DISTRICT

On 16th July, a person named Darshan Singh of village Karyam in the district of Jullunder, Punjab, was arrested by the police under the instigation of two despotic landlords of the same village. The police party rushed to his house in the early morning, arrested him and subsequently tortured him to death. The news of his death leaked out the very next day, 17th July, and the people of the surrounding areas, especially from Nawashahar town, gathered in hundreds and gheraoed the Nawashahar Police Station and demanded the body of the deceased and immediate arrest of the culprits. By now all the town-people came to know of this and became furious, and, on seeing the mood of the people, the top police

officials who rushed to the town from their district headquarters accepted the people's demands, and consequently arrested the sub-inspector of police by midnight of the day. All throughout, the people's vigilance and gherao around the police station remained intact and the bus traffic was halted till midnight. Along with the sub-inspector of police, five other policemen were also arrested and charged with murder, under 302 IPC, and are being tried in the court.

Our Party, CPI (ML), in that area, took prompt leading action in mobilising the people and succeeded in rallying all the democratic minded citizens of the town and the surrounding area, and applied united front tactics correctly, which brought together people from all walks of life.

At the outset all other political parties were hesitant to take any action, but when they saw the upswing of the people's struggle they were forced to join, dragging their feet behind them, and compelled to participate in it. An Action Committee was formed on our Party's initiative. As a result of the growing demand and agitated mood of the people, the authorities were forced to make a thorough search for the body of the deceased, which was recovered from the Rajasthan Feeder Canal. Till then the people's vigilance, gherao around the police station, demonstrations and rallies were carried on without stop, attended by people in thousands. After the body was found, on 26th July, a Victory Rally was conducted, where thousands of people participated and members of many other political parties spoke, condemning the brutal act of the police. The entire episode was fully reported in all the local journals, in English and Punjabi, mentioning specially the leading role of the CPI (ML).

This type of struggle is not an isolated phenomenon. It was witnessed previously too when the same type of incident occurred at Bhagapurana, District Faridkot, when a comrade of our Party was kidnapped in broad daylight and killed subsequently by police torture. Thousands of people gheraoed the police station, in the same manner as here in Nawashahar town.

The overwhelming majority of the town people, including traders, shopkeepers, students and employees participated, and a one-day complete 'bundh' was observed

From such incidents we can gather how people are reacting to defend their democratic rights and exhibiting a strong resentment towards such brutal acts and the high handedness of the police. It shows the growing political consciousness of the people and the growing unity among the democratic force. This type of resistance by the people helps to check the high handedness of the bureaucracy and it proves that these are not the same days as the ones during Indira Gandhi's Congress regime when the police used to arrest and kill revolutionaries in broad daylight. This incident has further proved that positive and correct United Front politics can bring out better results, if our Party plays a leading role

W. Bengal :

Civil liberty issue The people in West Bengal reacted spontaneously at the news of the hanging of Krishnan Chetty in Coimbatore jail of Tamil Nadu. Strikes and bundhs were observed in many educational institutions. The Party called upon the people to observe August 15 as a black day and it was so observed in North Bengal, Birbhum, Calcutta, Howrah and some other places.

On 13th August a protest rally was organised in the Baranagar Cossipore area of Calcutta. It is to be recalled that on 13th August of 1971, the Congress goondas aided by the police committed the notorious mass murder in the Baranagar Cossipore area in which some 250 people, including the old and children were killed. The Left Front Government has set up a Commission to enquire into the incidents of police atrocity, including mass murder. But the funny thing is that, on 8th August, the Calcutta police arrested 11 members of the Citizens' Committee including the secretary of the Committee Sri Asit Ghosh. As the protest rally of 13th August was organised by the said Committee, clearly the arrests were made to

obstruct the protest rally Despite interference by the police, there was a successful rally with a march through the streets and lanes of Baranagar area for nearly two hours Nearly 1000 people participated in the rally

On 1st September, the State Organising Committee of the CPI (M L) organised a march to the Assembly to protest against the hanging of Krishnan Chetty and the attack on civil liberties of the people all over West Bengal, including the police atrocity in Bankura. Despite heavy rains, nearly 3000 people participated in the rally A memorandum was sent to the President of India through the Chief Minister and another memorandum was given to the Chief Minister

On 29th and 30th August, the Bankura District Committee of the CPI (M L) organised protest rallies in the areas where the E F R and armed police were torturing people The rallies received warm welcome from the people of the area

IFTU Resolutions

RESOLUTION "ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS" (ABRIDGED)

The Founding Conference of IFTU took note of the denial of democratic rights including trade union rights, to the workers and all other people It condemned the Janata Government's policy of brutal massacre of agitating workers. The Conference called for the building of a powerful civil liberty movement on the basis of the following demands

1 All political prisoners including Nagas and Mizos be immediately released All those convicted in the course of repression on trade union and other such mass struggles (e g the jawans of the PAC (U P)) should also be released

2. All warrants of arrest and cases pending against political and trade union workers be at once withdrawn

3 All black, repressive acts be at once repealed The Public

Safety Ordinance in J & K be at once repealed and the provision that the Government can declare emergency in the country or any part of the country under any condition be withdrawn

4 Protection and extension of the rights of trade union, of organisation and of agitation and protest of the workers and all people

5 Judicial Commission be set up to enquire into the killing of communist revolutionaries and other atrocities against them and against the people perpetrated by the police in Andhra, Bihar, Punjab, Bengal, etc. from 1967 to 1977

6 Withdrawal of government orders declaring areas of mass struggles as "disturbed" areas

7 Dismantling of police and para military camps from areas of mass struggle

8 Strict prohibition of the use of police against democratic struggles of the people

9 Institution of a Nurenberg type trial of Mrs Gandhi and her caucus.

10 Abolition of capital punishment

RESOLUTION ON UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment in India today has reached the staggering figure of 25 crore persons registered and about 75 crore persons unregistered i.e. a total of about 10 crores. One sixth of Indians is unemployed. This unemployment leads to acute poverty for vast sections of the people

This vast unemployment is due to

1) The decaying feudal agrarian structure which is rapidly increasing the number of landless and destitutes. With stagnation in agriculture these landless remain unemployed for most of the year and are being driven to the cities

2) Industry is also stagnating in our country. On the one hand the narrow market for manufactured goods does not provide a sufficient basis for industrial expansion. On the other hand, plunder

by various imperialists, particularly the two super powers rob our country of hundreds of crores every year and thus reduces the productive resources available for investment,

3) The highly monopolistic, imperialist and comprador bureaucrat capitalist industrial structure with its drive for the highest profit, is intensifying the exploitation of the working class through so-called rationalisation, thus reducing employment in industry

4) The capitalist, particularly the imperialists and big bourgeoisie, by either intensification of the exploitation of the working class have further destroyed the market. Thus we have the contradictory situation of a glut of unsold commodities (including foodgrains) on the one hand and crores of unemployed who are unable to buy those commodities

The existence of such a vast army of unemployed shows clearly that the existing system of economic relations is grossly wasting the productive potential of our country. The chief asset of our country is the plentiful human labour. It can not be fully utilised until the existing semi feudal, semi colonial fetters are smashed. The right to work can only be established by revolution.

The problem of unemployment is the direct product of the semi colonial, semi feudal structure. It cannot be solved until, at the first stage the land question is resolved on the basis of land to the tiller and imperialism expelled. The question of unemployment can only be finally resolved in socialism.

The boast of the Janata Government (Party) that it will solve the unemployment problem is only meant to hide the fact that it, in fact, will not do anything to hurt the interests of the imperialists, the comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords.

While mobilising the workers for revolution, the IFTU will also fight for the extension of employment scheme and institution of unemployment benefits over the whole country. These benefits should not be just the meagrely Rupees 50 per month that the Left Front Government in West Bengal is giving to a few persons who

have been unemployed for at least five years. The unemployment benefits must be at least equal to the minimum wage fixed for workers in the area.

RESOLUTION ON BONUS

1) This Founding Conference of the IFTU expresses grave concern at the continued denial of bonus to many lakhs of workers. The Janata Party had in its Lok Sabha Election manifesto pledged to accept bonus as a deferred wage and thus the right of all workers including the so-called departmental workers to bonus was accepted. The Janata Government is now repeating the old fallacious argument that railwaymen etc. are not industrial workers. Even if this classification of the Government is followed, there is no reason why such departmental workers too should not get bonus.

2) The attitude of the Janata Government has encouraged the big bourgeoisie to launch an offensive against the workers' bonus. By cooking up the accounts the big bourgeois is able to reduce its book profits and even turn profit into loss. As a result the supposed minimum bonus of 8.33% has in fact become the standard bonus.

3) Last year, it was the threat of imminent struggle that forced the Janata Government to declare 8.33% as minimum bonus. But this was done for one year only. This year again under the threat of a strike, the Government was forced to announce that it would consider the matter. By making bonus a matter of annual struggle, the Janata Government is holding the working class to ransom.

4) In our country wages are far below the minimum needed for a decent living. The wages of the workers is not sufficient even to meet the daily expenses of the workers. But along with daily expenses the workers also have lump-sum expenses as for instance, for clothes and household goods. Such material are necessary for living of the workers and their families. They are part of the living wages. The bonus that workers now receive is nothing but a part of the wages that is necessary to take the worker at least closer to a living

wage Being a part of the living wage, but paid only once a year it has consequently been called a deferred wage The bonus is a deferred wage and is part of the workers' living wage

5) The working class has fought for decades to win the right to bonus as a deferred wage, irrespective of any consideration of so called profitability The historic railway strike of 1974 was fought for the extension of the right of bonus to railwaymen and all 'departmental' workers

6) The Bhoothalingam Committee has attacked the very concept of bonus as a deferred wage and thus fully justified the Janata Government's denial of bonus to the railways and such other Government departments Not only that, the Bhoothalingam Committee has proposed that bonus be replaced by a so called pension When the workers do not have enough for their daily consumption needs, that is why they require bonus, the Bhoothalingam Committee in the name of pension is trying to further cut the real wage of the workers

7) The IFTU supports the right of all workers to get a minimum bonus irrespective of whether it is a private or State employment, departmental undertaking or otherwise The IFTU demands that permanent legislation should be enacted to restore 8 33% as the minimum bonus and extend it to workers of all sections, private or Government

RESOLUTION ON CONDITION OF WORKERS IN TEA INDUSTRY IN ASSAM

It is a matter of great concern that the sufferings of our people are increasing day by day due to the brutal exploitation of the imperialists of different varieties Instead of stopping imperialist exploitation and confiscating all imperialist capital the Govt. of India has made our country dependent upon the imperialist capital and has been acting as an agent of the imperialist The investment of imperialist capital has increased rapidly and it is now many times more than what it was in the year 1947 Imperialist control and domination upon our country have been increasing day by day It is a stumbling block to the development of our country

The tea industry of our country is still controlled by the imperialists, its market is also controlled by them. Many gardens are under the direct control of the imperialist companies or in collaboration with the Indian big managing agencies. Consequently, all tea planters are facing severe crisis. They are forced to depend upon bureaucratic capital. Many of their gardens have already been closed. Many are on the process of closing, thus ultimately impoverishing the working class. The capitalists always try to impose the burden of their crisis upon the working class by increasing exploitation and by brutal repression on them. Hence, we find that in the gardens the management are extracting more and more work from a worker by increasing the daily intensity of work. The number of workers employed in the gardens is much less than the actual requirements. Instead of employing permanent labour they employ temporary or casual labour who are not given the minimum facilities. Permanent labour enjoy Even the minimum facilities of the workers are curtailed. Innumerable workers are being thrown out of employment. In such a way the imperialists have imposed a heavy burden of sufferings upon the workers. The people of our country have overcome these sufferings. It is possible only when imperialist domination is completely rooted out. The people of our country have been heroically fighting against the imperialists of different countries. IFTU proposes to launch struggles against imperialist domination in the tea gardens uniting with the employees and other patriotic and democratic individuals, to join hand with the exploited, oppressed patriotic people of our country to demonstrate opposition against imperialist exploitation, domination and control.

Over-trenchment of workers has become a day to-day phenomenon in the gardens, although the number of workers employed is already less than the actual requirements. At least five workers are required per acre of land, but only one or less than one is employed as permanent worker and some are employed temporarily. Every day the rate of work is increased by the management in order to extract more work from a worker. They are forced to complete a heavy amount of work fixed by the management otherwise a part of their daily wage is curtailed. So to receive the whole pay the

workers are compelled to work more than 8 hours a day. In such a way in order to get more profit the authorities impose double or more than double burdens upon the workers. No employer even follows the employment rules. Hence we call upon the workers to launch struggles against the retrenchment of workers from the gardens and to raise the demand to abolish the imposition of the system of piece rate of work upon the workers to maintain strictly 8 hours of work a day and 48 hours in a week and to compel the managements to employ at least permanent workers per acre of land.

The rate of wages of the garden workers is so low that it is very insufficient even to cope with bare necessities. In comparison to the rising prices of essential commodities, the rate of wages is trailing far behind.

Moreover, the rate of wages is not uniform in all zones. Our demand is that rate of daily wages of a worker should be fixed at Rs 10.00 for an adult and Rs 6.00 for a minor, irrespective of zones.

The previous system of supplying some essential commodities to the workers at a lower price is not prevailing in most of the tea gardens. In some gardens only rice and atta are still supplied, but in inadequate quantity. Our demand is that all essential commodities including rice and atta must be supplied to the workers at lower prices. The rate of rice and atta must be fixed at Rs 0.50 paise (in place of 0.55 paise or the like) per kg. and to be supplied per week in the manner as

Adult 3 kg of rice and 2 kg of atta and minor 2 kg of rice and 1 kg of atta. Rations must be supplied to all members of the family including, at least children, parents, and wife or husband dependent upon the worker.

Our demand is that the invalid workers should be paid pension or gratuity including all other living amenities.

The Garden Management are completely reluctant to fulfil the bare needs of the workers. The workers are given cow shed like

houses to live in No sanitation facilities no maintenance of creche houses , insufficient supply of drinking water , no electric facilities no accomodation of latrine, urinals and rain shed in the work field Lack of many essential things and tools like garments, rain coats, aprons bonnet, umbrellas, shoes, goggles for spraying etc cause the deterioration of the health of the workers Medical facilities are nominal, educational facilities are only on paper IFTU calls upon the workers to build movements in every gardens for wining at least all the facilities laid down in the different plantation labour acts of the Central and State Governments

In the gardens the workers have to live under the constant threat of the bureaucratic management Although the corruption and malpractices done by the bureaucratic authority ultimately victimise the workers, the tongues of the workers are sealed to protest against it because of the constant threat of the victimization or retrenchment hanging over their heads They are not even spared physical torture So they dare not protest even when they are deprived of their legitimate rights Democratic right is a far cry to them This condition must come to an end IFTU calls upon the tea garden workers to build up a massive struggle against these evils in order to win better living conditions for the workers and to establish the democratic rights

RESOLUTION ON THE STRUGGLE AT HIND MOTOR, SANTALDIH, ETC

After the Left Front Government was voted to power in West Bengal, the working people of West Bengal had expected that civil liberties would be restored in full and that they would be in a position to avail themselves of the democratic and Trade Union rights in their field of activities But all their expectations were soon belied when they found that CPM, the erstwhile votary of democracy and the virtual rulers of West Bengal at present appeared as a monster to attack the democratic and Trade Union activities of all the labouring people in West Bengal The CPM Chief Minister has been very prompt in sending police forces whenever and where

ver the workers have risen to assert their T U rights and to win their just demands. (The anti labour policy pursued by the CPM led Govt has been the order of the day and sending and stationing of police forces at places of workers movement have been the rule in the hands of the CPM Police Minister) CITU their mass organisation has gone even further and taken to applying gangster method to suppress the workers movement and even to the extent of physical attacks on militant workers. CITU in many places has openly declared that it will not allow any union other than CITU to function threatening the workers organised in other labour unions, the CITU poses itself as the T U boss to dictate to the workers not to take to any movement strike or gherao This is essentially the capitulationist policy of the CPM led Govt in West Bengal at the present moment. Instances can be multiplied to show how the CPM led Govt. and its T U wing CITU are a danger to the workers' movement in West Bengal

At Hind Motor Factory the majority of the workers who are organised under the Engineering Sramik Union have launched a struggle to realise their long standing demands against the Birla Management and a tool down strike had been resorted to At the growth of the militant movement, a traditional heritage of the Hind Motor workers, the frightened Birla Management called upon CITU in order to disrupt the movement As docile lackey of the Birlas the CITU, all of a sudden, attacked a meeting of Engineering Sramik Union, with its gangsters, injuring the Secretary of ESU, Hind Motor Branch and the militant workers assembled under ESU A large police force was posted to help the CITU gangsters and to protect the interest of the Birlas in suppressing the struggle In self-defence, the workers of Hind Motor resisted the attack by CITU goondas and drove them away from the place Next day, just as it usually happened under the earlier Congress Govt, the workers were debarred from holding any meeting under ESU inside and outside the factory CITU goondas went on threatening the striking workers at the point of revolvers with a view to breaking the tool down strike But the workers did not give in

At Santaldih power station, a large police force and armed cons-

abulary has been stationed to put down the continuing work to-rule movement, of the S E B workers under the leadership of Workers' Union. The CPM Police Minister has advanced the plea for such police repression as a measure against 'Sabotage' by members of Workers' Union. This again is the usual course that the Congress Govt used to resort to in order to suppress any just movement of the workers.

At Nakrakhoidal (Burdwan) Russo India Mine Project, the colliery workers are fighting for being enrolled as permanent workers. This project is an experimental one to introduce Soviet capital in such a vital sector and to pave the way for further plunder of the labour power and raw materials of our country. The Eastern Coalfield Workers' Union has strongly protested against this diabolic design of Soviet new Czars and put up a strong resistance to it. The management has been forced to agree to a last minute settlement at the force of the mine workers' high morale and powerful movement.

In the Tea Gardens of North Bengal where the workers, suppressed for long, are trying to raise their heads, the hirelings of the tea garden management in collusion with the police are trying to crush them. To mention one significant incident, at Bhandiguri Tea Garden of Jalpaiguri P S the workers belonging to existing Union under the leadership of CITU and RCMC (a Janata led Union) are rebelling against them and getting organised under the 'Paschim Banga Cha Bagan Sramik Karmachari Union'. The gangsters of the management in collusion with the local police and in connivance with CITU and RCMC have already attacked those struggling tea workers, injuring them seriously. Arrest warrants have been issued against the union activists and even on those who offered shelter to them. With high morale, the workers are continuing their resistance to such onslaughts. Peasants and forest workers have also sided with this struggle of the tea workers and thus manifested a remarkable solidarity.

In Hosiery Industry Britannia, Orient fan and in such other mills and factories, workers and employees have been struggling for realising their demands. In almost all cases, CPM and CITU

have sided with the management and acted against the interests of the working class in West Bengal

At Javashree Chemical Factory, the CITU leadership has tried its best and is still trying to put down the just movement of the workers and the CPM led Govt has given active help to this disruption

Lock outs lay-offs closures are a general feature of West Bengal under the CPM led Govt For instance in AEI, a British imperialist undertaking under GEC a lock out has been declared

This Founding Conference of the IFTU categorically condemns such heinous acts of the CITU leadership This conference also calls upon the toiling people of other states to take guard against the anti labour policy persistently pursued by CITU and to launch exposure campaign in order to isolate the CITU leadership from all the fields of the TU movement in our country The CPM has been claiming that their Left Front Govt will give some immediate relief to the people But whenever the workers have fought for their demands the Left Front Govt, headed by CPI (M) has revealed that it is in fact a defender of the interests of the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie and utilised the state machinery to crush the workers' struggles

Oppose The Black Act

RESIST THE ATTACK ON THE WORKERS' RIGHTS OF ORGANISATION, STRUGGLE, STRIKE AND AGITATION

In the deep and intensifying crisis of India's semi colonial, semi feudal economy, the ruling classes and the imperialists are trying to put more and more of the burden on the working people, particularly the working class In one way or another the comprador bureaucrat capitalists and the government are trying to impose a wage freeze But in order to make a wage freeze effective it is necessary for big business and the state to destroy the workers' power of resistance On the one hand, unions like INTUC, AITUC,

CITU, HMS, HMP, BMS etc all linked to ruling parties in some part of the country are following a policy of class collaboration and betraying the workers' struggles. On the other hand, the various governments are attacking the rights of the workers to organise struggle and agitate. The so called Marxist led Government in W Bengal has declared that gheraos are illegal and won't be tolerated. The Janata Government at the Centre has introduced in Parliament the new Industrial Relations Bill, a Black Act which is a full scale attack on the workers' rights.

Right to Organise

The right to form unions was restricted to workmen covered by the Industrial Disputes (ID) Act. Employees in educational institutions, so called charitable organisations, hospitals etc were denied the right to organise unions. Recently, however, the Supreme Court decided that criteria like being 'charitable' or educational institutions could not be valid grounds for the exclusion of such enterprises from the definition of industry. It decided that the basic condition was the existence of an 'employer employee' relationship. At the same time, the Supreme Court while judging that educational institutions and the like should come under the purview of the Industrial Disputes Act has left it open whether teachers should be regarded as workmen. Even then, this judgement is a victory for the working class which has for long fought for the inclusion of all employees under the ID Act. This judgement is the closest that Indian law has come to recognize the scientific definition of wage labourers (i.e. those who sell their labour power for a wage) as being workers.

The Janata Government in the Black Act proposes to undo this victory and redefine industry so that educational and so-called charitable institutions will once again be excluded from the ID Act, thus denying their employees the right to organise in unions, to struggle and to strike.

Along with this the Black Act also attacks the right of the workers to choose their own leaders and unions. In place of the existing rule for registration of a union (minimum of seven

workers) the Act proposes 10% of the workers as the minimum. This provision is aimed at preserving the existing monopoly of those unions that are sharing state power and also at seeing that new unions do not come up. Even now because of the immediate attack by the bourgeois workers do not dare disclose their intention of forming a union. With the 10% minimum requirement it will be easier for the bourgeoisie to identify and attack those taking the lead in forming a new union. Further, verification of the membership will be done by the state machinery and this will be used to deny registration to those unions that are opposed to the existing government and even more to revolutionary trade unions. The working class must demand that there should be no condition for registration and no restriction of the right of association.

The Black Act proposes to restrict the number of 'outsiders' who can hold office in a union and the number of unions in which an 'outsider' can hold office. Of course there is no restriction on the number of Boards of Directors of which a capitalist can be a member. And by the government's notion of an 'outsider' even an ex-employee, or a dismissed employee is an outsider. Thus an ex-railway employee will have no right to organise railway workers and so on. It was during British rule that the working class won the right for non-employees ("outsiders") to be part of the workers' union. It was necessary at least because employees who themselves hold office in the union are immediate targets of attack. By this Act the Janata Government is trying to curb the links of the workers with the intellectuals who can aid them in their struggles. The government is also trying to curb the growth of political consciousness, the growth of socialist consciousness in which revolutionary intellectuals who integrate with the workers have their role to play.

By these restrictions, the government is trying to legally confine the trade unions to their own specific demands and prevent the growth of a class-conscious, revolutionary trade unionism. Of course this is covered up by references to splinter trade unions, trade union rivalry and so on. But the real purpose is to keep the workers away from the political movement, and thus prevent the growth of class consciousness.

Attack on Right to Strike and Agitation

The Labour Ministry in its note on the Black Act has stated, 'The attempt of the proposed legislation will be to lay emphasis on the necessity to exhaust all means of settlement like negotiations, conciliations, etc before either party decides to resort to direct action' The attempt to exhaust all means of settlement is by imposing various conditions which have to be followed before a union can legally go on strike

Even more than this, in certain industries listed as 'essential industries' the workers are to be denied totally the right to strike. As 20 industries will be declared essential including transport, energy, communication and services like water supply, and sewage disposal. Thus workers in these major industries are to be bound hand and foot and made entirely dependent on the mercies of the big bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats. A newspaper report on the Black Act says 'The idea, it is reported, is to make the workers conscious of the fact that such industries are very important for the country's economy. It is also a departure from the normal practice of the government to declare an industry or service essential only after a strike has started' (The Statesman, 17th July, 1978). What the Congress Government used to do now and then, the Janata Government proposes to make permanent.

The Janata Government's Black Act has taken over from the Maharashtra Black Act supposedly unfair labour practices by the workers. In the Maharashtra Recognition of Trade Unions and Prevention of Unfair Labour Practices Act, the following are listed as unfair practices

(1) To advice or actively support or instigate any strike deemed to be illegal.

(2) To coerce employees in the exercise of their rights to self organisation or to join unions or refrain from joining any union, that is to say

(a) For a union or its members to picket in such a manner that non striking employees are physically debarred from entering the work place ,

(b) To indulge in acts of force or violence or to hold out threats of intimidation in connection with a strike against non striking employees or against managerial staff

(3) For a recognised union to refuse to bargain collectively in good faith with the employer

(4) To indulge in coercive activities against certification of bargaining representative

(5) To stage, encourage or instigate such forms of coercive action as wilful go slow', squatting on the work premises after working hours or 'gherao' of any members of the managerial staff

(6) To stage demonstrations at the residences of the employers or the managerial staff members"

This Maharashtra Act passed in 1971 but implemented only after the imposition of "emergency" is the first instance of supposedly unfair labour practices by workers being listed. Those "unfair labour practices" are in fact the normal trade union activities like demonstrations, go slow, picketing, etc. The prohibition of such activities, with penalties prescribed for them, attacks the workers' right to struggle.

The proposed Black Act also attacks the right to strike. Under the guise of exhausting all forms of negotiations, such a lengthy procedure is prescribed as to make it virtually impossible to legally go on strike. Any dispute must go through 60 days of bipartite negotiations. In case of failure another 60 days of conciliation. After that the government may impose compulsory arbitration. Any way, during the whole period of bipartite negotiations and conciliation the union does not have the right to go on strike. Even after this, under the supervision of the Registrar or Trade Unions, a strike ballot must be held and only if 60% of the workers vote for it, can there be a legal strike.

This whole procedure is a case of "taking away with the left hand what is given by the right hand". It is typical of bourgeois law that it promises the people absolute rights but then restricts them in such a manner that there are virtually no rights remaining. As it is, even with the existing ID Act, a legal strike is very rare. The new Black Act will make a legal strike impossible.

Fostering Class Collaboration

The Black Act while curbing the workers' rights has also an insidious proposal for "negotiating agents" The negotiating agent will not be just a union it will be a separate body with a juridical status of its own The negotiating agent will be chosen either through verifications or by secret ballot as decided by the Registrar By this provision, negotiating agents that are acceptable to the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy alone will be chosen Further, the negotiating agent being a judicial body has to follow certain legal and administrative procedures And it is only after the negotiating agent declares the failure of bipartite negotiations that the unions can begin strike procedures.

The object of this provision of bargaining agent is to

(1) promote only such unions as are acceptable to the bourgeoisie, (2) make negotiations a part of the judicial administrative process, and (3) deprive unions of their role of leading the workers' struggle This provision of the Black Act is an extension of the Bombay Industrial Relations Act (1948) Under this only the "recognised" union gets any facilities for functioning and has the right to represent the workers By this Act the Congress Government and the mill owners were able to instal the RMMS (INTUC) as the textile workers' union while in fact a vast majority of the workers then supported the MGKU (AITUC)

The Black Act thus aims at creating a trade union structure controlled by the judicial administrative apparatus. It aims at assimilating the trade union organisations into the official structure This is a fascist measure of the type imposed by Hitler in Germany and now existing in Brezhnev's Russia

OUR DEMANDS

While opposing the Black Act, IFTU demands

(1) The right of trade union organisation to all those who sell their labour power, who are employees irrespective of whether in the private or government sectors, in educational institutions, or supposedly charitable institutions Members of the police and armed forces should also have the right to form unions

(2) No restrictions on the right to form unions by imposing a minimum 10% or other such conditions

(3) No restrictions on the right to strike whether for the so called essential industries or any other. Whether and to what extent to avail of the conciliation or judicial machinery is for the trade unions to decide

(4) Demonstrations picketing go slow, gherao etc are legitimate forms of struggle of the working class. "Unfair labour practices" are actions of the employers and not of the workers

(5) All unions should have full and equal facilities for functioning.

(6) Recognition of trade unions should be by secret ballot

(7) No restrictions on number of non-employees as office bearers of unions

(8) All internal matters of trade union functioning, including for instance the taking of strike ballots are matters for the trade unions themselves to decide and should not be the subject of legislation

IFTU calls upon all workers to totally oppose the new Industrial Relations Bill. Destroy the Black Act and smash the fascist type of conspiracy of the Janata Government! Defend the Workers' Rights of Organisation, Struggle, Strike and Agitation!

August, 1978

National Committee of the IFTU

The Founding Conference of the IFTU unanimously elected the following National Committee-

President	Comrade Krishan D v Sethi	Jammu & Kashmir
Vice President	1	Comrade Khokan Mazumdar, W Bengal
	2	Comrade Garibaksh Singh, Bihar
	3	Baldev Singh, Punjab
	4	Santosh Rana, W Bengal
	5	Nita Murty, Madhya Pradesh
General Secretary	Comrade Dev Nathani,	Maharashtra

Secretaries	1	Comrade Phani Bagchi, West Bengal	
	2	Comrade Satyesh Bhattacharya, Assam	
	3	Comrade K Ramchandran Maharashtra,	
Treasurer		Comrade Phani Medhi, Assam	
Members of the National			
Committee	1	Comrade Madhusudan Raj Yadav,	Andhra Pradesh
	2	, N V Krishnaiah,	, ,
	3	,, Khetra Phukan,	Assam
	4	,, Gopal Jaisi,	,,
	5	,, Khushiram Bansal	Haryana
	6	, Viswamitra Ojha	Rajasthan
	7	,, Gopal Rao,	Bihar
	8	,, Prasun Goswami,	Bihar
	9	,, M N Upadhyaya	Bihar
	10	,, Jaswant Singh	Uttar Pradesh
	11	,, P K Murthy	Madhya Pradesh
	12	,, Arun Roy	West Bengal
	13	,, Saifuddin	West Bengal
	14	,, Somenath Chatterjee,	West Bengal
	15	,, Amar (Paltu) Sen	West Bengal
	16	,, Abdul Rauf	Jammu & Kashmir
	17	,, Narinder Singh	Delhi
	18	,, Ram Pratap	Himachal Pradesh
	19	,, S N Singh	Bihar

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