

Recent AICC Resolutions

The recently concluded A.I.C.C. session once again demonstrated that the Congress in spite of its radical slogans like 'garibi hatao' etc., is not at all serious to mitigate the sufferings of the toiling millions and is bent upon to serve the aggregate interest of monopoly capitalism in India. Resolutions adopted at the A.I.C.C. sessions on wholesale trade in food grains, industrial policy, land reform policy etc. are clearly meant to protect and consolidate the vested interest in our country.

In its economic policy resolution the Congress has admitted ".....A planned economy is incompatible with periodic distortions of price structure caused by anti-social activities of private trade in commodities used by the common people." But the remedy suggested to stop these anti-social activities of private trade is half-hearted and will only legalise the current black market price of essential commodities. After much deliberations only "take over" of wholesale trade in food grains was agreed upon. Some notable clarifications of these "take-over" proposals (in regard to wheat and rice only) are as follows:—(1) Take-over does not imply monopoly procurement; for that would impose on the Government obligations that go with statutory rationing. Small producers would not be barred from selling their stocks in the open market; (2) The wholesaler would be defined as a person who sells wheat or rice in bags, retailer as one who sells these commodities by weight.

Thus it is seen that the Congress rejected the idea of all out state trading in essential commodities covering both wholesale and retail trade. Even in wholesale trade the Congress does not wish to introduce monopoly procurement and this is why such ambiguous word like 'take over' has been used. It is our considered view that unless all out state trading covering wholesale and retail trade is introduced, the antisocial activities in essential commodities will thrive for ever. Even wholesale state-trading will be no solution as the wholesalers will turn into innumerable

retailers and their control over the essential commodities will not in any way, be disturbed. As such our Party has been consistently advocating for the adoption of all out state trading in essential commodities since 1959 and during the U.F. rule in West Bengal our Party tried utmost to convince other partners of U.F. about its efficacy.

R. K. B.

That the Congress does not want to introduce all out state-trading in essential commodities is due to the fact that it does not want to disturb the total grip of the monopolists, the hoarders and blackmarketeers over the distribution channel. Moreover with the introduction of all out state trading, the government must be directly responsible for feeding the people and in that eventuality the present practice of blaming the anti-socials for any difficult food situation can not continue. The existence of unholy ties with the anti-social elements who corner food and other essential commodities with the help of credits offered by banks and other financial institutions as per policy of the Congress Government and manipulate prices of these essential commodities to fleece the people is the main reason why the Congress did not take this step of all out state trading in essential commodities. The "take over" of wholesale trade in food grains (wheat and rice only) will only convert the wholesalers into retailers by switching over from selling in bags to selling these commodities by weights. Thus the present distribution

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'Nixon Sign Must Vietnam Peace Pact' —Big Demonstration in Calcutta

Calcutta, 30th October :

Under the auspices of the Calcutta District Committee of the SUCI a mass meeting has been held at Raja Subodh Mullick Square under the presidentship of Com. Ranjit Dhar. The meeting has strongly condemned the criminal bungling of the US imperialists regarding Vietnam peace issue by their backing out of the Agreement they had reached with the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and which they are committed to sign on October 31st.

A resolution to this effect was moved by Com. Fatick Ghosh and seconded by Com. Gayatri Dasgupta and was unanimously adopted in the meeting. The resolution demanded, among others, (1) immediate cease-fire (2) stopping of bombing on North Vietnam, (3) complete withdrawal of US and its allied troops and military bases from South Vietnam, (4) allowing Vietnamese people to decide their own fate by themselves without any foreign intervention or interference.

Another resolution which was moved by Com. Chhaya Mukherjee, seconded by Com. Gopal Kanjilal and unanimously adopted in the meeting expressed deep resentment over Government of India's utter betrayal for not reflecting the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Indian people by condemning outright the heinous attempt of the US imperialists to scuttle the peace Agreement. The resolution demanded of the India Government to set up effective pressure on USA so that it signs the Agreement on 31st October

as per terms agreed upon. It also demanded that the Government of India must give immediate recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the only representative government of the South Vietnamese people.

After the meeting a well decorated and long procession went to the USIS office and expressed resentment for sometime and thereafter went to the Consulate's office of the USA at Harrington Street. When the police obstructed the processionists far away from the Consulate's office Com. Ranjit Dhar handed over a copy of the resolution to an office staff and demanded sending it to the Nixon Government immediately.

The procession was led by, among others, Com. Ranjit Dhar, Com. Fatick Ghosh, Com. Gayatri Das Gupta, and Com. Chhaya Mukherjee.

The copy of the resolution concerning India Government's Vietnam policy has been sent to Sm. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.

Some Comments on CPI's National Council Resolutions

It might appear to any sensible man that for sometime past, the CPI is posing itself to be critical about activities of the Congress Government both at the Centre and in different states. In the resolution "on prices, monopoly and government policies" adopted in its meeting of the National Council held in New Delhi on Aug. 24-28, the party has stated, "The sharp blow that was given to the Indian economy by the unprecedented rise in prices and that too on the eve of the silver jubilee celebrations of Independence has stunned millions of people of our country and woken them up to the realities of life, the realities of the capitalist system under which we are living. ... On vast areas of the country, shadows of famine are cast and reports of starvation deaths have begun pouring in. The draught which has affected large areas of the country has further aggravated the situation the present crisis in three of the basic consumer goods like food, sugar and cloth, the consequent starvation of the people and the rise in prices was due to the unholy collusion of the big monopolies, the bankers, the bureaucrats and leadership of the government. The masses of the toiling people have been victims of the profit mongering of monopoly capital and their allies in the government, which is the inevitable outcome of the capitalist path."

Now, from the above observation of the CPI no one should be in an illusion that the CPI would begin an anti-government democratic movement, and break the CPI-Congress alliance, the only logical outcome that would follow from the above consideration. The party, however, stated that the present trend of events should be halted. But how? The leadership of the CPI, being obsessed with the idea of "progressiveness" of Congress (R), stated that the present leadership of the government, however anti-working class and anti-toiling people it might have become owing to its class nature, there still exists the possibility of halting and defeating the present slide back in its policies and forcing it to shift towards the left and this it expects to realise by creating militant movement by mobilising democratic forces existing both inside and outside the Congress (R).

In the recently concluded West Bengal State Council meeting too, the CPI has expressed a similar view. In that meeting it has been decided that the party would start campaign to strengthen the "progressive democratic forces" in the Congress (R).

The CPI-Congress alliance has been claimed by the CPI to be the left and democratic unity, the instrument of struggle of the people against monopolists, jotedars and other sorts of vested interests.

Subir Basu Roy

Now, the left and democratic people all over the country are well aware of the fact that the desperate bid of the CPI, to search for 'progressiveness' in the Congress(R) with which it has formed so-called alliance both at the all India as well as at state levels is not something new.

The CPI has stated on innumerable occasions that in the existing CPI-Congress alliance, it would form a closer tie with the so-called progressive and democratic section of Congress(R) and thereby would guide the alliance, on the one hand, to fight against the growth of fascism, the danger it apprehends might be created by the right reactionary forces in the country and, on the other hand, it expects that by utilising the existing contradiction between the monopolists and non-monopolists, the alliance might be used to demolish the power of monopoly capital and help

the country to develop in a non-capitalist path. The party has given unstinted support to the social democratic measures of the government like bank nationalisation, take-over of industrial undertakings etc., and labelled them as progressive steps for, according to the CPI, these measures would be used to curb the power of the monopoly and to help develop the country in the path as desired by it.

Now let us briefly analyse the viewpoints put forward by the CPI. The CPI argues that the danger of fascism comes from right reaction by which it means conservatism. But any student of politics and history is well aware of the fact that this idea is absolutely wrong. Fascism has never grown anywhere nor it can grow and develop from conservatism. In the face of the economic crisis, the ruling capitalist class in a country, solely with the view to safeguard the aggregate interest of capitalism, develops fascism, which requires support from the broad masses for its growth and development. Conservatism, which reflects individual monopoly interests, can not reflect the aggregate interest of capitalism, which fascism defends. To get the mass support, to attract the people, a radical cloak is necessary. Fascism puts on this cloak of radicalism, often manifested through the adoption of various social democratic measures. Conservative forces cannot do this. Moreover, fascism poses itself in the garb of national interests, and preaches national jingoism, class collaboration, and the so-called need of the unity of entire people, unity of all classes, of exploiters and the exploited and such ideas hostile to the thoughts of scientific socialism.

In all these respects, fascism links itself closer to the social democratic forces than to the right reactionary forces, that is, the conservatives. In

fact, history has repeatedly revealed that it is the militant social democratic forces, that have given birth to fascism. It is precisely, social democracy within whose womb fascism has been born in Germany and Italy. To quote Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, "once fascism came out of the womb of social democratism; now social democratism is the last pillar of fascism?"

Now, in our country at present the Congress (R) is posing itself as a great danger to the Indian people as potential fascist force. In fact, it is the ruling Congress(R) Government under the leadership of Sm. Indira Gandhi which is laying the foundation-stone of fascism. In the economic sphere, to solve the acute crisis facing the capitalist economy the Congress(R) with a view to serving the aggregate interest of capitalism is implementing social democratic measures like planning, nationalisation of banks, insurances and take-over of different industries. All these are being done with a view to bringing about a coalescence of the state capital with private monopoly capital to safeguard the aggregate interest of the capitalist class thereby giving birth to state monopoly capitalism and in this way, gradually subjugating the state to the interest of the monopolists. The right reactionary forces, no doubt, do exist in our country and they are to be given a crushing defeat for promoting the cause of democracy and leftism in the country. But at the same time, it should be clearly understood that at present one of the major tasks of the left and democratic forces is to launch an all-out mighty militant left and democratic movement against the ruling Congress (R) Government both at the Centre as well as in the states to arrest the growth of the potential danger of fascism.

Now when the bounden

CPI's Fictitious Logic in Allying itself with the Congress

duty of any left and democratic party is to strengthen the unity of left and democratic forces, to fight against both the potential danger of fascism being created by the Congress(R) and all sorts of right reactionary forces, the CPI by maintaining its alliance with the Congress(R), in reality is trying to weaken the left and democratic forces and in the name of fighting fascism is actually strengthening the hands of the potential fascist forces in the country. The CPI puts forth this argument that it intends to forge unity with the left and democratic forces within the Congress in order to fight against the right reactionaries both inside and outside the Congress and contain fascism. We view that this contention of the CPI is wrong. History teaches us that it is not the right reactionary forces which has brought about fascism in any country. These forces, can, at best, lead the country to military dictatorship but not fascism. Rather, fascism is possible to take place with the help of those political forces which puts out radical slogans, and displays a social-democratic approach in order to win over the support of the masses behind its policies designed to fulfil the interests of monopolists. So far the basic class approach is concerned, there is no difference between the two wings, namely, the social democratic forces and the right reactionaries. The difference lies only in their pattern to serve the capitalist class. Whereas the right reactionaries, that is, the conservatives, uphold the individual interest of the monopolist, the left and social democratic forces as designated by the CPI, look after the aggregate interest of the capitalist class. It is the latter forces, which confounding the broad section of masses by virtue of radical utterances mobilise their support behind its pro-monopolist policies, helps to

develop monopoly still further and lays down the economic base of fascism. Notwithstanding the fact that the danger posed by the right reactionary forces should not be lost sight of and given organised resistance, but to render support to the so-called left and democratic forces within the Congress, as the CPI is doing, is to welcome a dangerous enemy which works with subtlety to bring about fascism in the country. In our country it is with the help of this social democratic approach that the Congress has become an instrument in the hands of the monopolists to increase its domination and reduce the state to an obedient adjunct to fulfil their interests. So, judging in the light of history and actual experience in our country the logic of the CPI is strengthening the forces actually responsible for laying down the economic base of fascism.

The CPI's proposition of utilising the existing contradiction between the monopolists and the non-monopolists to curb the power of the monopolists and thereby help the country to develop in a non-capitalist path is also based on a faulty premise. Any man with a knowledge of ABC in Marxism-Leninism is well aware of the fact that so far as the interest of capitalist class as a whole and the maintenance of the capitalist state structure in our country are concerned, the existing contradiction between the monopolists and the non-monopolists is non-antagonistic and the idea of utilising the same to curb the monopoly and develop a non-capitalist path towards socialism is against the basic premises of Marxism-Leninism. The CPI does believe in the realities of the capitalist system under which we are living. Then, how can further growth of our country is possible without giving a defeat to capitalism?

For obvious reasons, the path of further development of the country should be the anti-capitalist path and not non-capitalist as proposed by the CPI.

Now any one might have noticed the fact that though the CPI is maintaining a close tie with the Congress(R) at times it appears to be critical of the activities of the latter. When the Congress (R) takes recourse to fascist onslaught and methods to physically annihilate the left parties and their mass organisations the leadership of the CPI says without any prick of conscience that all these charges are false and are made to tarnish the image of the CPI-Congress alliance. But when the Congress blow is directed against the mass organisations, workers and cadres of the CPI, the leaders of the party face a precarious situation and criticise these activities of the Congress(R). But neither from this nor from the fact that the CPI has publicly pledged to launch mighty movement against all sorts of vested interests any one should conclude (as we have already stated) that the CPI would launch anti-government democratic mass movement.

It is a fact that as days pass on it is becoming increasingly difficult for the Congress(R) to maintain the facade of radicalism in this period of growing crisis of capitalism. Under the rule of the Congress, supported by the CPI, the hoarders, black marketeers and speculators are living in paradise. More and more prices of the essential goods are rising. An unprecedented rise in prices is being observed in case of food materials. More and more the monopoly houses are flourishing day by day. Whatever might be the Congress leaders saying, it is a glaring fact that the government is actually helping the monopolists to expand and achieve greater concentration of economic power.

Sm. Indira Gandhi often proclaims that the monopoly would be curbed. But actually what is happening is the fact that most of the licences for establishing new industrial undertakings are being issued to the monopoly houses. When the fourteen major Indian banks were nationalised, the ruling Congress leaders proclaimed that the credit policy would be formulated with a view to fulfilling the objective of curbing the economic power of the monopolists. In reality what has happened? The monopoly houses have received the major share of the total investments both of the nationalised banks and of LIC. In the agrarian field, the Congress(R) government is pursuing a pro-jotedar policy. More and more the number of landless peasants are increasing, the share croppers are being evicted forcibly by the jotedars in unholy collusion with the government administration. In fact the situation is becoming very critical and under the existing capitalist rule the toiling people are becoming intolerably hard-pressed to keep their body and soul together. Even the CPI has to acknowledge the fact that there is an "unholy collusion of the big monopolies, the bankers, the bureaucrats and the leadership of the government". Obviously any right-thinking man would agree with us, that the left and democratic forces would have to launch mighty democratic movement against the Congress(R) government, which, owing to its class nature is acting as the protector of the interests of the monopolists, the bankers, the jotedars and other vested interests.

But the CPI has clearly proclaimed that it would fight against the monopolists and other vested interest but not against the government. This has been made quite clear to Mr. Siddharta
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Congress Policies Meant to Serve the Big Monopolists

(Contd. from page 1)

channel of the essential commodities will remain unaffected and good quality goods will be sold at exorbitant price in open market while sub-standard goods will be sold in the channels operated by the government. Thus the present policy of the Congress to 'take over' wholesale trade in food grains will only legalise the blackmarket price in foodgrains.

In the economic policy resolution, the A.I.C.C has endorsed the industrial policy that was spelt out in 1956. There was a row over the question of joint sector, but the difference over this question is one of emphasis rather than in any basic approach to the industrial policy. As a matter of fact the Prime Minister endorsed the joint sector concept in her FICCI speech and this joint sector already exists in many areas and is implicit in the convertibility clauses being introduced into the loans of financial institutions. The joint sector as envisaged in Tata Memorandum was nothing new and it is similar to the previous plan of Krishna Menon, in which it was suggested that a certain percentage of private capital would be invested in the Public Sector Undertakings. Though uptill now the public sectors have not been converted into joint sectors, yet by conversions of loans by financial institutions into equities in the private sector, the joint sectors have already emerged. These are the clear examples of the coalescence of the state capital with private monopoly capital to bring about the state monopoly capital. The basic approach in 1956 industrial policy was also to strengthen and consolidate the capitalist economy of India. "A modern apparatus of production has to be built up in the quickest possible time so that the economy of the country may be transformed into a modern and

efficient one with a high level of production". How this will be done? "The state will initiate and operate large schemes providing services, such as power, transport etc, have overall control of resources, social purposes and trends and check and prevent evils of anarchic industrial development by maintenance of strategic controls..." stated the Avadi resolution on socialist pattern of society. Our Party at that time pointed out that the state ownership in a capitalist society is not socialisation. Com Shibdas Ghosh, the leader and teacher of our Party and one of the great Marxist thinkers, said:—"The ownership of industries by a capitalist state does not alter the relations of production which, notwithstanding state ownership of industries remain a capitalist production relation based on wage labour with the motive force of production too remaining unaltered, namely, production for profit. Socialist society on the other hand rests upon a different basis of production, the relations of production being social ownership of means of production and the motive force of production being social satisfaction." Com. Ghosh further explained:—".....the ownership of industries, by way of either nationalisation of existing concerns or setting up new ones, by the Indian state can not be socialism. If it is not socialism, what then it is? The programme of democratic socialism is a positive plan of the Indian bourgeoisie to strengthen the economic base of Indian capitalism, by setting up heavy and basic industries under public sector (individual capitalists are not willing to set up these industries as they earn less profits compared to consumer goods industries. The state is doing at public expense what the capitalists should have done in their own interests), give the existing productive power, however

weak, a monopolistic shape, bring about a fusion of private monopoly capital and state capital thereby hastening the growth of state monopoly capitalism and minimize, as far as possible, the contradictions between the individual capitalists through planning, in order to maintain best the aggregate interests of the Indian capitalist class against encroachments either by the workers or by individual capitalists and set a strong united face of the capitalists against the dissatisfied people struggling for better living condition inside the country and the competing powerful capitalists abroad. It is creating the economic base on which fascism thrives." (**Socialist Unity, Feb '64**).

Thus by reiterating its faith in industrial policies adopted in 1956 under the leadership of Pandit Nehru, the A.I.C.C. session at Gandhinagar merely endorsed the anti-people and pro-monopolist economic policy of Pandit Nehru. The completion of successive plans clearly demonstrated that the so-called mixed economy was for strengthening the capitalism in our country and the role of public sector and that of private sector was supplementary and complementary to each other. The rapid growth of monopolies during this period of planning clearly shows how prophetic the teachings of Com Ghosh is. The A.I.C.C. session has thus exposed the real face of the Congress. The acid test of a political party is not what it says but what it does. The 'Garibi hatao' slogan is very charming but the Congress way of 'Garibi hatao' is by annihilating the poorer section of the people and serving the aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism.

In the A.I.C.C. session at Gandhinagar, many other pious wishes have been expressed. The necessity of land reforms, the urgency of

the solution of the baffling unemployment problem, rapid growth of production etc. etc. were stressed. But we know that all these will remain mere promises on paper. The Congress has been talking of land reforms for the last twentyfive years, but nothing has been done uptill now to accomplish these urgent tasks. What will be the fate of land reform can be easily realised in some recent happenings in West Bengal after the installation of the Congress Ministry. The surplus land recovered from joteders during the U.F. regime and distributed amongst the landless and poor peasants is being forcibly recaptured by the joteders with the help of local Congressmen, Police and administration. As regard the unemployment problem, the Congress has been promising solution during all these years after independence but the completion of successive five year plans only accentuated the problem. The AICC session only reaffirmed its old policy of pursuing pro-monopoly industrial policy enunciated in 1956 under the leadership of Pandit Nehru. This very pro-monopolist policy landed the country into this baffling problem of unemployment, and yet it is being claimed that the problem of unemployment will be eased through such policy. This is sheer hypocrisy.

In the past it was seen that the Congress raised many popular slogans and promised to take effective steps to concretise the concept of an egalitarian society from the party platform; but no attempt was made to implement these policies enunciated from the Congress party platform by the government run by the same Congress party, under one pretext or another. Sm. Indira Gandhi also adopted the same old tactics. With a view to endearing the Congress to the masses Sm.

CPI, CPM'S WRONG CHARACTERISATION OF CONGRESS POLICIES

Gandhi raised popular slogans like 'Garibi hatao' but after the consolidation of the party the same old policy of not implementing the promises by the government run by the Congress is being followed. After the consolidation of the party, the Congress Government on the pretext of administrative difficulties is either avoiding or taking such diluted measures that the purpose is not at all served. The reluctance of the Chief Ministers has been put forward as the reason for diluting the measures on land reform. So the promises showed at the AICC session at Gandhinagar are nothing but to befool the people. These promises will never be translated by the Congress from the Governmental level.

The similarity in reaction of the two Communist parties to the AICC resolution on India's economic policy adopted at the Ahmedabad session once again demonstrated that these big left parties, like the old CPI from which both of these parties were formed, have failed to understand the real significance of the social democratic programme of the Congress. This shows that there is no fundamental difference between the CPI and the CPI(M), the difference in political vocabulary and way of expression notwithstanding. The Politburo of the CPI(M), reviewing the political and economic situation, felt it was under the pressure of anger of a big section of Congressmen that the leadership of the ruling party **retreated** to a position to assure the people that the industrial policy resolution of 1956 was not being changed. Thus according to CPI(M), the ruling Congress has **retreated** from adopting the reactionary step of joint sector by accepting the industrial

policy resolution of 1956. The CPI has also reacted similarly. The Executive Committee of the West Bengal State unit of the CPI was satisfied that the party's all India movement was having beneficial effect on the economic situation as indicated by the decision of the A.I.C.C. to take over the wholesale trade in wheat and rice and in the reiteration of the industrial policy resolution of 1956. Thus both the CPI and CPI(M) consider the industrial policy resolution of 1956 as progressive. The undivided CPI also lauded the industrial policy resolution of 1956 and raised slogans in support of Pandit Nehru. At that time it was our Party under the able leadership of Com. Shibdas Ghose, one of the great Marxist thinkers of the age, correctly analysed the real significance of the economic policy of the Congress and showed how the Congress was laying the economic foundation of fascism through the so-called policy of mixed economy. The present CPI and CPI(M) have also failed to see the dangers of the formation of a fascist economic base latent in the industrial policy resolution of 1956. Moreover the idea of joint sector was no challenge to the previous industrial policy as the joint sector really emerged within the ambit of this policy, by the financial institutions. As a matter of fact the growth of state monopoly capital through the coalescence of the state capital with private monopoly capital within the joint sector is the cherished goal for which the industrial policy resolution of 1956 stands.

But the left parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI hail this fascist policy of the Congress as these parties fail to mark the distinction between the social democratic policies of the Congress

and the socialist policies pursued in socialist societies. It is one thing to demand the setting up of public sector industries by a working class party for attaining "another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself" which the working class themselves will have to do after overthrowing the bourgeoisie from power for the establishment of socialism and also for taking advantage of by the revolutionary working class party in dispelling illusion about the class character of the state and revolutionizing the masses ideologically and politically by providing a better opportunity of learning through their own experience while conducting day to day movements for the realisation of ordinary democratic demands, that the state is neither supra class nor neutral in the struggle between the exploiting bourgeoisie and the exploited people; but, on the contrary, it is a definite instrument of oppression of the capitalist class against the exploited people, while it is quite a different thing to support such acts of the bourgeoisie, done for serving the aggregate interest of the Indian monopoly capitalism. The CPI and the CPI(M) fail to differentiate between the two. This is due to the fact that these parties lack the correct Marxist angularity by which the social democratic policies of the Congress can be analysed. The CPI has exposed itself about its non-working class character by tying itself in the apron string of the Congress—the representative of the aggregate interest of monopoly capitalism in India—and the CPI(M), notwithstanding its present militant anti-Congress postures, has failed to correctly analyse these social democratic programmes of the Congress as this party also failed to emerge as a

working class party. It is the SUCI which has provided correct analysis to the real character of the economic and industrial policies of Congress and always given exposure to the latent dangers of fascism inherent in the social democratic programmes of the Congress.

D.S.O. Leader Beaten Before Chief Minister

(By A Staff Reporter)

Cuttack—28th. October :

Today at a Conference of Government College Professors held at Cuttack Ravenshaw College where the Chief Minister, Mrs. Nandini Satpathi was present, Comrade Chitta Behra, a prominent student leader of D.S.O. in Orissa and former General Secretary, Ravenshaw College Students Union was severely beaten by Congress (R) hoodlums.

The students of Ravenshaw College wanted to present a memorandum to the Chief Minister. The Congress hoodlums being enraged, attacked the students before the very eyes of the Chief Minister. As a consequence, Comrade Behra had to be hospitalised. The incident has caused serious indignation amongst the students and the people in the locality.

This is just an instance how the Congress is bent on crushing the voice of democracy by inflicting physical assaults on members of left parties and mass organisations.

All India Federation of Construction Workers

(By a Staff Reporter)

The Preparatory Committee of "All India Construction Workers' Federation" held a meeting in Calcutta some time back. Representatives from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra, Kerala, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh and other states participated in the meeting. The meeting resolved to hold in New Delhi an All India conference of construction workers in the fall of this year.

CPI Not Willing to Part Company With Congress for Sectarian End

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Shankar Ray, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, whom the leaders of the party have assured that the CPI campaign would not be aimed at embarrassing the government. Like a pupil eager to get his good conduct certificate from his teacher, the CPI leaders have been stated to have made it clear to Mr. Ray that the party's proposed programme of civil disobedience movement only constitute a part of an All India programme. It would not at all mean to put the government in an embarrassing position. We would like to ask the CPI leaders, if the leadership of the government, that is, the Congress party headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi is in unholy collusion with the big monopolists then how can they fight against the monopolists without fighting against the Congress government?

At least none should blame the CPI leaders for their ungentlemanlike behaviour. For, there is a proverb in Bengali which states 'Bhadraloker ek Katha' (Gentleman does never change his word). Whatever anti-people pro-monopolist might be the attitude of the Congress(R), under no circumstances the CPI would do anything that might offend the Congress(R) and thereby deprive the leaders of the party from receiving blessings from Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

The CPI is considering itself clever and is trying to pursue a line that would cut both ways.

The party is seriously facing with the problem of reviving its left image that has already been tarnished due to its pro-Congress policy. Moreover, of late, the attacks mounted by the Congress(R) on the workers and cadres of the party at different places, has created new problems before the party. In the face

of these attacks, the party, with a view to boosting up the morale of the workers and cadres and at the same time arresting its growing alienation from the toiling people due to its pro-Congress policy, has felt the need to launch the so-called movement, the purpose of which is stated to bring about a forcible shift in the policy of the Congress(R). But the CPI is as eager as before to maintain its tie with the Congress. Under no circumstances it could risk losing the privileges and opportunities it enjoys now for maintaining its alliance with the party in power.

If the leadership of the government, that is, the Congress (R) misunderstands its strategy, so the CPI leaders do not lose a moment to convince the leaders of the Congress(R) that the party's proclaimed movement would not embarrass the position of the government in any way. We, however, apprehend that the CPI's call for launching movement might appear to the left and democratic people as particularly designed and motivated. For obvious reasons, day by day, the anti-Congress attitude and sentiments of the masses are sharply developing. The left and democratic people are already re-organising themselves under the banner of the different left and democratic parties to participate in mighty mass movements against the ruling Congress governments. In such a situation we apprehend that the CPI's call to launch rather a pro-government movement is motivated to create confusion among the people, to divert the attention of the masses from the real focal point of the whole issue. We are, however, confident that the CPI would not succeed to befool the working people. Its so-called pledge to launch mighty

movement would sound as an empty phrase. The first phase of the so-called movement i.e. the civil disobedience movement has already ended. As expected, except in some states, in most of the states the way in which the movement has been conducted and brought to an end has become a subject matter of ridicule by the left minded people all over the country.

The CPI has claimed the CPI-Congress alliance to be the left and democratic unity, the instrument of struggle of the people to fight against all sorts of vested interest. We would like to ask the leaders, how can the unity be called left and democratic when the major partner, the Congress is pursuing palpably an anti-people, pro-monopoly, pro-jotedar, anti-democratic fascistic policy? How can such an unity be called left and democratic when the unity itself is working as the spearhead of mounting attacks on workers, peasants, teachers, students, youths and various other sections of the common working people? How can such an alliance be labelled as left and democratic unity when even the CPI considers that the major partner of the alliance i.e. the Congress(R) being in the leadership of the government is maintaining an unholy collusion with the big monopolists, bankers etc.?

How a government being anti-working class and anti-toiling people in character due to its class nature can be forced to change its class nature and assume a role which is pro-working people? Is there any such instance known in the history? Does it conform to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism?

It has been stated in the said resolution of the National Council of the CPI that measures of nationalisation and take-overs, instead of being used to demolish the power of monopoly capital are more and more being utilised only as a means of "repairing and streamlining capitalism, which had found itself in a deep crisis". May we ask the leaders of the CPI if there is any instance known where in a capitalist country measures of nationalisation have not been undertaken for "repairing and streamlining capitalism, which had found itself in a deep crisis"?

Lastly, we would ask the cadres and workers of the CPI, how long would they allow their leaders to pursue the policy of placating the ruling Congress leaders? How long would they allow their leaders to use them as a mere tool to strengthen the forces of counter-revolution in the country? How long would they allow to keep their party tied to the apron-string of the Congress(R), the greatest enemy of the toiling people of our country?

Real Picture of Congress Raj

Calcutta, October 21—Ekadashi Bera, aged about 45 years, was an agricultural labourer of Mahendrapur under Digambarpur Anchal of Patharpratima police station in the district of 24 Parganas. For several days he had no work and, so, no food not only for himself but for the whole family as well. When all his attempts to get work and food miserably failed, he along with his wife, three children and a grand daughter committed suicide on the night of October 20 last and thus escaped the pangs of unemployment and hunger. This is not the single instance of its kind in this part of the country. Some time back another man for similar reasons committed suicide in Kankandighi area. These tragic facts reflect the true character of the much-publicised Congress Raj.

Movement by Secondary School Teachers of Bihar

Patna, October 22—Organised under the Bihar Secondary Teachers' Association 29161 teachers of 2651 non-government high schools in Bihar are on strike since September 7 last demanding the taking over of management of these schools by the State Government.

It is high time that the Government should without delay remove the legitimate grievances of the teachers and stop further deterioration of the situation in the field of secondary education affecting more than six lakh students.

The Kothari Commission recommended that the "scales of pay of school teachers belonging to the same category but working in different management such as Government, local bodies or private management should be the same." Teachers of non-government secondary schools in the State have been demanding for several years the implementation of this recommendation of the Kothari Commission. The State Government also on more than one occasion assured the teachers that this recommendation would be implemented without delay. But the assurances have not been honoured as yet. Exasperated by government apathy, the teachers have been compelled to resort to direct action of strike. Without showing any inclination of honouring its own commitment, the State Government came down upon the struggling secondary school teachers with brutal violence. At the hands of the police hundreds of teachers received severe beatings and were thrown into jails. This is how the the Kedar Pandey Government wants to deal with the burning problems and justified demands of the toiling people of Bihar. This is the ruling Congress way!

The condition of the teachers of non-government high schools in the State is simply shocking. It is an undeniable fact that the managing

committees of most of these schools are controlled by vested interests and thoroughly corrupt self-seekers who not only use their position in the committees for personal gains but also misappropriate school funds by various fraudulent means. Let alone the scales of pay recommended by the Kothari Commission, the teachers do not get even the salaries against which they are to put their signatures on the acquittance rolls. Existing scales of pay, as approved by the State Government, to which the teachers are lawfully entitled are there on paper. But the teachers do not get them due to various reasons, not excluding corrupt practices by the members of the managing committees. This stinking situation should not be allowed to continue even for a day more.

But the teachers of non-government high schools should also understand that remedy lies not in abolition of private management of the schools and the taking over of the management by the Government, as demanded by the Bihar Secondary Teachers' Association. For the taking over of the management of the non-government high schools by the State Government would not only mean destruction of autonomy of educational institutions at the secondary education level and complete bureaucratisation of secondary education but also provide unfettered scope and opportunity to the ruling bourgeoisie in our country to pattern education in a particular way and regiment thought, a condition conducive to the growth and development of fascist culture. It is for this reason that all sections of the

UTUC's Letter to Labour Minister

Com. Fatick Ghosh, Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), had, in a letter dated October 23rd last, addressed to Mr. R. K. Khadilkar, Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation, drawn the attention of the Minister to some gross anomaly in the **Payment of Bonus (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972**, and demanded immediate rectification of the anomalous provision. We are giving below the letter in full—Ed. P. E.

"Dear Sir,

"Your immediate attention is invited to the gross anomaly due to defective wordings in the provisions of The Payment of Bonus (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972, which is detailed hereinafter.

"Section 3, subsection (2) of the said Ordinance reads thus ".....every employer shall be bound to pay to every employee **in respect of the accounting year commencing on any day in the year 1971**....."

"Now, the portion underlined suffers from serious defect inasmuch as there are a large number of concerns which begin their accounting year from Dewali of a year to the Dewali of the next year. This means in reality to commence the accounting year from November to October. Various managements are taking the plea that the very wordings of the clause i.e. **"commencing on any day in the year 1971"** do not enjoin on them to pay bonus for the accounting period commencing from November '70 to October '71 (i.e. Dewali to Dewali) payable in 1972 under the Payment of Bonus Act.

"Although there is not the slightest doubt as to the spirit and intention of the Ordinance which is to bind

teaching community, including the teachers of secondary schools, strongly condemned the recent taking over of the administration of the universities in Bihar by the State Government. No democratic organisation or individual should, therefore demand nationalisation of education
(Contd. to page 8)

the employers to pay bonus payable in 1972 @ 8'33% at the minimum, the workers would face deprivation of their bonus even after putting 10 months service in 1971 if the particular loopholes in the Ordinance, pointed out by us, are not rectified immediately. We have already come across with a good number of cases where the employers are trying to take advantage of the loophole contained in the said provision of the Ordinance. The State Labour Directorates are also facing helplessness due to this loophole of the Ordinance. This means deprivation of a large number of workers from their legitimate due of bonus at the enhanced rate as per the Ordinance which are enjoyable for other workers. This brings invidious distinction between workers as regards enjoyment of bonus as per the same Ordinance.

"We therefore demand immediate rectification of the said provision of the Ordinance. The words **"commencing on any day"** should be deleted and the entire wordings should be recast as follows: ".....every employer shall be bound to pay every employee **in respect of accounting year ending on any day of 1971 but payable in 1972 as per clause No. 19 of Payment of Bonus Act.**" The underlined portion is our specific suggestion for amendment in view of the difficulties noted above in this year and which in effect negate the gain achieved by the workers and as recommended by the Ordinance. An immediate step for rectification is solicited.

"Anticipating an early response from your end."

Unprecedented rise in price level

Kerala Unit of SUCI has Launched Massive Campaign Against Congress Policies

(By a Staff Reporter)

The Kerala State Organising Committee of the SUCI, in order to fight the growing menace of unprecedented rise in prices of all essential commodities bedevilling the life of the common people of Kerala, has, on its own, initiated a massive campaign since 17th October last, to mobilise public opinion and organise mighty united mass movements against Ruling Congress Government's anti-people fiscal, monetary, credit and food policies, mainly responsible for precipitating this grave crisis.

While the Kerala State Organising Committee is of the considered view that the root cause of this problem of high prices lies in the present capitalist economic system, still, it cannot be denied that the problem has been further aggravated and show no sign of coming to grips due to the notorious policies pursued by the Congress Governments both at the Centre as well as in the State of Kerala (virtually run by the Ruling Congress). The Congress Government's reckless way of resorting to huge deficit financing, its granting of loans and advances from banks to the monopolists, hoarders and speculators, its refusal to introduce all out state trading, including retail trading, thereby enabling the hoarders and blackmarketeers to create conditions of artificial scarcity of essential commodities and manipulate prices at will of these commodities, and above all, its reluctance to curb these anti-social activities—all these factors have contributed largely to this dismal state of unchecked rise in prices of goods of essential consumption. Despite Mrs. Indira Gandhi's high-flown words of 'Garibi hatao', the toiling masses, the workers, the peasants and the middle-class people are in the throes of abject poverty and distress with no sign of improvement in their living conditions.

Considering the depth and intensity of the problem, the Kerala State Organising Committee of the SUCI has felt the urgency of starting a massive campaign to acquaint the masses about the real crux of the problem of spiralling prices, and inspire them to mobilise all their effort and resources for building up a mighty mass movement against the mischievous food and other policies of the Congress governments which are giving an unrestricted scope to the hoarders and blackmarketeers to exploit our people. It is to this end, that the SUCI is conducting a massive campaign programme on a wide scale. The campaign is gaining in momentum at all places and is particularly intensive in three districts, namely, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum. On the eve of the campaign a Press statement was released by Com James, J. Secretary, Kerala State Organising Committee of the SUCI, calling upon the people to mobilise themselves and carry forward this programme of the Party for curbing prices of essential commodities and their distribution at fair prices to the people. Besides distribution of leaflets explaining the present intolerable situation created by the Congress, and wearing of demand badges, extensive group meetings, street corner meetings, gate meetings and

Movement by Bihar Secondary School Teachers

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and the taking over of management of the universities, colleges or schools by the Govt. in the prevailing situation of the country. But this does not presuppose that the existing corrupt state of affairs in the management of the non-government high schools should be allowed to continue. Certainly, the situation must be ended. But the way to do it is not to bureaucratise the management of the schools by enforcing government take-over but to really democratise the management by objectively ensuring popular control over management of the educational institutions. Had government take-over of management of secondary schools removed corruption and brought in proper

public meetings were held at different places in Kerala under the auspices of the State unit of the SUCI and the campaign programme just started has already drawn enthusiastic support from all sections of the toiling people. No doubt, this active response of the people to the Party's present call for launching a vigorous mass movement against the Congress policies, ruining the masses, augurs well for the democratic movement in the State in the days ahead.

The State Organising Committee of the SUCI, viewing the indispensable need of forging a broadbased and closer unity of all the left and democratic forces in the State at this critical hour, has appealed to the different left and democratic parties functioning in Kerala to appreciate the gravity of the situation. The appeal has suggested that "all the left and democratic parties should meet together, to devise ways and means to develop a united mass movement. If necessary to facilitate it, prior bilateral talks may be started without delay."

educational atmosphere then there would have been no corruption in government offices. But the reality is that government offices in Bihar, as in other states, are notorious for rampant corruption, red tape and anti-people bureaucratic attitude in their day-to-day activities. It should, however, be realised that opposition to the proposal for the taking over of management of educational institutions by the Government does not presuppose that the Government should not bear their expenses. On the contrary, the Government must bear all the expenses of the universities, colleges and schools but must not curtail their autonomy, not only educational autonomy but autonomy in all other spheres as well. For removing the long-standing grievances of 29161 teachers and 7953 members of non-teaching staff of 2651 non-government high schools in Bihar an additional amount of about Rs. 6.25 crores is required. The State Government can easily provide this sum. Hence, the left and democratic parties, democratic mass organisations and progressive individuals must support the struggling teachers of secondary schools in Bihar so that the Government is forced to sanction the necessary fund for revising the pay scales of the teachers according to the recommendation of the Kothari Commission, ensure in reality actual payment of salaries according to these scales to the teachers, democratise the managing committees of the schools in such a way as to ensure people's control over them and introduce truly democratic, secular and scientific education free from religious tutelage in Bihar. These things alone can, in the present circumstances, serve the real interests of the people.