

# Significance of November Revolution

The fifty-fifth anniversary of November Revolution which falls on 7th November this year is going to be celebrated by the oppressed peoples throughout the world. It is the day when the first Socialist State of the Soviet Union appeared in the world arena and a new civilisation burst forth with an attendant tempestuous impact on the following course of human history and world social movement. It was Comrade Lenin, and his party of the Bolsheviks who rocked this world by establishing the first working class state through revolutionary seizure of power from the hands of the exploiting capitalist class in Russia. It was through him, the great leader of all the world communists, that the dream of the working class and the entire oppressed humanity first came true.

The success of November Revolution in the Soviet Union had torn the world apart and created a new world where the most oppressed class, the class of the proletariat took the reign of power and set the society in the path of unhindered progress in all aspects of human life. No doubt, the imperialist-capitalists and the world reactionary forces to whom the November Revolution sounded the death-knell were aghast seeing the success of working class revolution. Despite their desperate bid to smash the first socialist state and crush the fountain-head of inspiration to all the successive revolutionary

**Biplab Sen**

movements the fear of the world imperialist-capitalists about their inevitable doom has grown manifold as one third of the world has set its journey in the path illumined by November Revolution and formed a world socialist system parallel to the world capitalist system which is already tottering on its last leg.

November Revolution stands unique in many respects. The most characteristic feature of this Revolution which distinguishes it from all the preceding revolutions the mankind has witnessed before is the fact that where as all the revolutions in the past replaced one form of exploitation by another with the result that the broad masses of the people were

exploited all through by one class of exploiters or another, November Revolution was the only revolution which freed mankind from all sorts of exploitation, economic, political, social and cultural of man by man, for ever. It was the only revolution which materialised the ever cherished desire for unhindered social progress with constant growing of material and cultural well-being of the entire humanity.

The success of November Revolution has correctly demonstrated the truth that "the working class can not simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purpose." It dealt a severe blow to all the social democrats and bourgeois apologists masquerading as 'true' Marxists, who deprecated the necessity for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by forcibly overthrowing the coercive state apparatus of the capitalist class—an indispensable need for building up socialism.

It was through conducting a relentless ideological struggle by Lenin against a such muddle-headed conception of state of the revisionist that the first socialist state emerged in the Soviet Union. But the modern revisionists, particularly since Khrushchev assumed the leadership in the 20th Congress of the CPSU are again vigorously propagating such a discredited idea

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# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

(Fortnightly)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL. 6

15 NOVEMBER, '72

PRICE 20 P.

No. 7

WEDNESDAY

Air Surcharge 4. P.

## Recent Disturbances in Assam

News from Assam is alarming. Once again the unity of the people of Assam, speaking different languages has been disturbed. Reports of complete breakdown of law and order situation in different parts of Assam are daily pouring in. The administration is directly and indirectly fanning up communal passion and has allowed free hand to the hoodlums to act according to their desire. The peace-loving people of Assam are at the mercy of these hoodlums and anti-social elements. It is unfortunate that this language riot could not be prevented in spite of the sincere efforts of the student leaders to maintain peace and tranquillity. Democratic-minded people of Assam are however, coming out in large numbers against this fratricidal conflict and it is mainly due to their effort, that peace and tranquillity is being gradually restored.

Before going into the genesis of the current agitation we hope that all right thinking and democratic-minded people should strongly denounce those rabid communal elements belonging to different linguistic communities, who whip up communal tension under one pretext or another and disturb the unity of the working people belonging to the different linguistic communities much to the glee of the capitalist class which is the main enemy of the Indian people. It must be

**R. K. B.**

remembered that it is due to the capitalist exploitation that the fullest development of the Indian people is not possible and so the main fight of the people must be directed against the bourgeoisie, who want to keep the Indian people divided on the question of language, religion, caste, creed etc. So any dispute regarding language must naturally be resolved by the people themselves keeping

intact the militant unity of the working people, struggling for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation.

Such language riots have become a periodic affair in India. The obduracy of the Hindi zealots is matched by strong reaction in the South, suspicion in Punjab and then the intolerance in Assam. Some people argue that since India is a multi-lingual state, such conflicts over the question of language are not unlikely. To them it must be pointed out that though the Soviet Union is also a multilingual state no controversy over the language issue has ever cropped up after the establishment of the socialist state. This is primarily due to the fact that while the Soviet Union has been able to evolve a scientific language policy which provided equal scope for all languages to develop equally and freely, the Central Congress Government

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## Com. GHOSH'S APPEAL FOR RESTORATION OF UNITY OF SOCIALIST CAMP AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT TO BE RECALLED

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of state and other revisionist ideas, creating a stumbling block in the onward march of revolutionary movement of the people. In the name of developing Marxism and creative application of truth inherent in it, they have deviated themselves from the fundamental concepts of Marxism-Leninism, minimised the necessity for forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie from the state power, even advocated the possibility of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism through parliamentary means and virtually undermined the leading role of the communist party and the historical necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat—a precondition for building up socialism in a capitalist country. While taking into full cognition that in the course of revolutionary struggle each country “will contribute its specific nature in one or another form of democracy” our Party, under the able guidance of our beloved leader and teacher and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the age, Com. Shibdas Ghose did not fail to notice the revisionist leanings of Khrushchevite leadership of the CPSU. Apprehending that the 20th Congress of the CPSU will open the floodgate of modern revisionist ideas our Party cautioned at that time that “to a Marxist-Leninist peaceful realisation of socialist revolution in a capitalist country, means peaceful capture of power by the working class, the bourgeoisie offering no resistance and the peaceful destruction of the bourgeois state machine and replacement of it by a new state, a new type of state, the proletarian state. It does not mean peaceful transformation of the bourgeois state into the proletarian state, which can never be done. It also means the peaceful destruction of parliament and

replacement of it by the workers' democratic institution and not peaceful transformation of parliament which is a bourgeois political institution into a “genuine instrument of peoples' will” (Khrushchev) which also can never be done.” (Quoted from **Call of the Hour**)

Although the revolutionary movements in the metropolitan countries and the national liberation struggles in different parts of the world were growingly on the increase at a tremendous pace since the close of the Second World War and the success of the revolutionary struggles on an international scale were already knocking at the door, it is modern revisionism again in the guise of Khrushchevite leadership which gave a stunning blow to this near-fulfilment of the revolutionary aspiration of the oppressed people. The great debate which since then commenced to root out the pernicious influence of modern revisionism over the communist movement, had, in its course, landed the socialist camp and the world communist movement into the present state of disarray. Taking advantage of this resulting split within the communist camp the US imperialists with a fresh gusto began to export counter revolution in the different countries.

Furthermore, a notable feature is observed now-a-days in the question of giving aid to the underdeveloped capitalist countries by a socialist country. While recognising the necessity of giving aid, even military aid under certain circumstances, to the newly independent capitalist countries by the socialist camp, in order to appropriately handle the growing contradiction within the imperialist-capitalist camp, and frustrate the neo-colonialist design of the imperialist powers, a

tendency is increasingly being noticed particularly from the side of the Soviet Union to create military bases and controlling positions in the sea routes, in and around these countries. It is reasonable to ask whether it at all serves any revolutionary interest and accelerates the revolutionary or progressive movements in these countries. Rather, it may be pointed out that such a tendency of the Soviet Union will only endanger the cause of communist movement, isolate the communist forces, create suspicion in the mind of the resurgent nationalist forces about the genuine effort of the socialist countries to build up the national economy of the recipient countries, hurt the patriotic nationalist sentiment of the people there and undoubtedly help the reactionaries to launch a fierce offensive against the progressive movements at home. The recent happenings in Egypt is a significant pointer in this direction.

In the prevailing situation, when the world communist forces remain divided, when the socialist camp is still unable to put up an united face against imperialism-capitalism, and when the imperialist forces, specially the US imperialism are carrying on increasingly brazen attack on other nations, including the socialist country of North Vietnam, the question of restoration of lost unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is of paramount importance to every communist the world over. In view of this impending necessity for restoring unity in the communist world, our Party under the able leadership of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, had on more than one occasion, laid stress on it and correctly formulated the communist norms and code of conduct which ought to be followed by the various socialist

countries and the communist parties to fulfil this desired objective. In an **Appeal to the Communist Parties Abroad**, Com. Ghosh had stated that “the ideological differences between the different communist parties have by now been so widened and have assumed such a character that it cannot be resolved easily and within a short period. It is neither possible nor advisable too. So the ideological struggle will continue for a long time to come. There is no harm in it, provided the ideological struggle is conducted with necessary wisdom and restraint, keeping constantly in view the very purpose of the struggle, maintaining the correct norm and communist code of conduct that should govern the style of ideological struggle. But notwithstanding these ideological differences, we firmly believe, the unity of the communist camp can be restored on the basis of the following common minimum programme against our main enemy, the imperialism. These are :—

(i) To provide unitedly active and effective help to national liberation struggles and the revolutionary struggles in different countries ;

(ii) to thrust upon the imperialists peace and peaceful co-existence and thereby to foil the imperialist conspiracy of intervention, direct interference and aggression ;

(iii) to keep the newly independent underdeveloped countries and the small nations free from the influence of big imperialist powers and help them in every possible way for their independent development and progress ;

(iv) to keep away the weaker nations and big but confused nations from US nuclear blackmailing.”

While observing the fifty-fifth anniversary of the November Revolution, this

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## PROPOSED LAND REFORM IN ORISSA

With great fanfare by ruling Congress leaders the Orissa Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill, 1972 was introduced in the Legislative Assembly of the State on September 4 last. The proposed law seeks mainly to reduce the ceiling limit of land as fixed by the principal Act of 1960 and make some consequential amendments. Whatever the ruling Congress Ministry of Orissa might claim, there is no doubt that the proposed piece of legislation will not improve in any way the unbearable condition of the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers in general and those belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in particular of Orissa.

The main provisions of the proposed law are as follows. First, the ceiling area in respect of a person has been fixed at ten standard acres; provided that in the case of a person having a family consisting of more than five members the ceiling will be increased by two standard acres for each additional member in excess of five subject to a maximum of eighteen standard acres for a family. Family in relation to such a person shall be deemed to consist of the person, the wife or husband of the person, as the case may be, and the major and minor children.

Second, the term 'standard acre' used here means one acre of class I land or one and a half acres of class II land or two and a quarter acres of class III land or three acres of class IV land. Class I land means irrigated land in which two or more crops are or can be grown; class II land means irrigated land where not more than one crop is or can be grown; class III land means any land except irrigated land in which paddy or any other cereal is or can be grown and includes tanks and orchards; and class IV land means any land other than the above mentioned three classes of land.

Third, homestead lands or tanks with their embankments or both to the extent of three acres in the aggregate for each family are not to be taken into account

in determining the ceiling area.

Fourth, lands held by 'privileged raiyats,' or belonging to or held by industrial or commercial undertakings or owned or held by public educational institutions or comprised in plantations of coffee, cocoa, tea and cashew are excluded from the purview of the ceiling limit. Here the term 'privileged raiyat' means a co-operative society including a co-operative land mortgage bank, temple of Jagannath at Puri as defined in the Shri Jagannath Temple Act, 1955, any trust or institution declared to be a trust under the Orissa Estates Abolition Act, 1951, any trust or institution declared to be a 'privileged raiyat' under the Orissa Land Reforms Act, 1960 and any other trust to be declared in future to be a religious or charitable trust of a public nature.

Fifth, the time limit prescribed for filing applications by landlords for resumption of land has been extended for a further period of two years from the date of commencement of the new amending law.

From the foregoing main provisions of the proposed law it is clear beyond any shade of doubt that (a) feudal rent-receiving interest of various religious trusts and institutions, veritable dens of corruption and moral depravity, (b) vested interests in land of planters and owners of mills, factories and workshops and the commercialists and (c) frau-

ulent benami transactions of lands made by big land-owners in favour of so-called public educational institutions to circumvent the provision relating to ceiling limit have not been touched at all. They have rather been regularised and legalised under the proposed law. Furthermore, fraudulent benami transfers of land made by big land-owners upto 26th day of September, 1970 in order to evade the operation of the law relating to ceiling limit have been scrupulously kept untouched. The proposed law has also kept wide open upto the date of commencement of the new law the door of fraudulent splitting up of a family into several families of smaller units and transferring all surplus land to such smaller families legally for foiling the vesting of all surplus land in excess of the ceiling with the State. As the principal Act miserably failed to stop fraudulent transfer of land to evade the operation of the law relating to ceiling of land, detect and recover benami land held by big land-owners much in excess of the ceiling limit fixed by law, acquire surplus land of former landlords and big jotedars and, consequently, to distribute land to landless peasants and agricultural labourers of the State, the new proposed law also with all the loopholes deliberately kept in it will meet with no better result. Besides, nobody knows if the new law, like the principal Act, will be implemented at all.

Then again, over and above these loopholes enabling big land-owners to actually keep in possession lakhs and lakhs of acres of benami land in excess of ceiling, the new proposed law has provided for legally retaining vast landed properties in case of big land-owners. To illustrate, a person having a family consisting of nine members

can under the new law possess 18 acres of class I land or 27 acres of class II land or 40.5 acres of class III land or 54 acres of class IV land, plus 3 acres of homestead land and tanks, plus unlimited land comprised in mills, factories or workshops, plus unlimited land used in coffee, cocoa, tea and cashew plantations.

From what has been stated hereinbefore one can very well see the real character of the much-trumpeted land reform measures of the ruling Congress. The measures fully guarantee the continuance of vested interests in land in Orissa. Other long-standing demands of the poor and lower middle peasants of the State, like reduction of land revenue, moratorium on old debt, abolition of rent-receiving interests of the so-called 'privileged raiyats', permanency of tenancy rights, etc. still remain a very far cry—there is not even any mention of these burning problems of the poor and lower middle peasants anywhere in any Act. In fact, the agrarian policies of the ruling Congress headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the governments run by it are basically directed not to improve the condition of downtrodden peasant masses of the country but to develop capitalism and safeguard capitalist interests in land. The Orissa Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill, 1972 is no departure from that general policy of the ruling Congress party. The landless, poor and lower middle peasants and agricultural labourers of Orissa must take note of it and conduct mighty movements to wrest their long-standing demands from the unwilling hands of the ruling Congress Government. For that it is essentially necessary to hold aloft the struggling banner of the Krushak O Khet Majuria Sangha, be its members in lakhs and spread its organisational net-work to every part of Orissa. Let us unite and fulfil this historic task.

## Congress Govt. Failed to Evolve Scientific Language Policy

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has failed to do the same in our country of finding a correct solution of the language problem, in which all the languages are provided with equal opportunity to develop and flourish freely, the linguistic policy pursued by the Central Government has created a breeding ground of bitterness and animosity among different linguistic communities.

The present trouble in Assam started in June when the Academic Council of the Gauhati University decided to make Assamese the medium of instruction in all colleges under its jurisdiction while retaining English as an alternative medium for the next ten years. Several colleges of Cachar District and Brahmaputra Valley challenged this decision of the Academic Council in the Supreme Court. The reactionaries and the vested interest of the Valley fully exploited the situation and fanned up communal passion. Their counterpart in Cachar district also took full advantage of the tense and confused situation and preached communalism. As a result, a considerable section of the youth and students were misguided and trapped in the machination of the reactionary circle. Subsequently tension began to mount and language riot broke out in a wide scale.

An unanimously adopted resolution by the State Assembly of Assam for a separate university at Cachar which would decide its own medium of instruction, added fuel to the fire. This decision was opposed by both the Assamese speaking and the Bergali speaking people though for different reasons.

The role of the Congress Government during this trouble is highly objectionable. Those who were inciting people to violence against linguistic minorities were allowed to do so with

impunity. The police administration has miserably failed to take any preventive action for maintaining peace in the locality. It is suspected that police administration and high Government officials were involved in aggressive linguism. The performance of the Central Congress leadership is also not clean. The contradictory statements issued by the Central Congress leaders after their tour in Assam, in stead of helping the restoration of normality in the state, have only infuriated the communal passion and the orgy of violence let loose in language riots is going on almost unabated. This only proves that the Congress is not at all serious to solve this delicate issue on the basis of justice to all the parties concerned. It is however, significant to note that Sm. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India who on and often makes eloquent speeches, advising people to abjure violent means, did not utter a single word of condemnation against this language riot in Assam and preferred to maintain silence for a pretty long time and it is to be noted that when she broke her silence and appealed for restoration of normality in the state after the lapse of a considerable period, those sections of students who were militantly agitating over the language issue, withdrew the agitation like good school boys. It clearly indicates that it is Congress which created the language fury and then put a stop to it as and when it suited its narrow political end.

Although the normality is gradually returning due to the ceaseless efforts of the democratic minded people of Assam, it must be remembered that unless the root cause of the present trouble is amicably solved to the satisfaction of all concerned, disharmony, distrust and animosity between

the different linguistic communities will continue and no pious wish can restore the unity of the different linguistic communities. So every democratic minded person must attempt to find out a solution to this question of medium of instruction through serious and sincere discussions and exchange of views in a spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding on the part of all concerned.

For finding out a correct solution to this intricate problem of the medium of instruction, one must not be carried by emotion. It must be remembered that the principle of making the regional languages as medium of instruction stems from the idea that the mother tongue of the students is the best medium for imparting education. But with the formation of linguistic states in India, it was decided that medium of instruction of the Universities should be the official language of the particular state. But it can never be forgotten while introducing any regional language of a state as medium of instruction that the linguistic minorities have also legitimate aspiration to prosecute their study in their respective mother tongues. So, while introducing a regional language as medium of instruction, this legitimate aspiration of the linguistic minorities must be safeguarded. This must be the guiding principle in formulating an all-India language policy. Guided by such an outlook it must be said that while the majority community of Assam has every legitimate right to make their language, which is a regional language, the medium of instruction within the state, there is no valid reason and necessity of denying the linguistic minorities the fundamental right of learning through their respective mother tongues. So, while Assamese, which is the official language of the state, is entitled to become the medium

of instruction at the schools and colleges, all concerned should recognise the legitimate rights of the linguistic minorities to learn through their respective mother tongues and concrete measures to that end should be taken simultaneously while introducing Assamese as the medium of instruction. By such a step, not only the linguistic minorities will be provided equal opportunity to develop freely but also a healthy understanding amongst the people speaking different languages will be created and a process of mutual exchanges and assimilation between different culture and languages will be initiated.

In this connection it must be admitted that no Indian language at its present state of development can readily replace English so far as the higher education is concerned. Unless the languages are developed enough to replace English, any attempt to impart lessons in mother tongues in higher education will only stand as a hindrance to the dissemination of knowledge. This is due to the fact that language is the vehicle of thought and so the language develops and takes a newer form to express the higher thoughts. Unless the regional languages develop enough to be able to express the highest thinking in the various branches of knowledge, any attempt to replace English will only hinder the progress of the Indian society. So, along with the introduction of Assamese as medium of instruction with necessary concrete measures for the linguistic minorities to learn through their mother tongues, English should be retained as the medium of instruction in the sphere of higher education, and it will be gradually replaced by developing Assamese language in future.

Such communal riots on the question of religion or language have become very common affair in India.

## Ruling Party Fanning Up Parochial Sentiments in Assam

The recrudescence of communal outbursts at regular intervals is due to the fact that though India emerged as a nation politically, the cultural and the social integration of the Indian people have not been achieved due to inherent weakness in our nationalist movement. Analysing brilliantly the weakness in our national movement, Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the leader and teacher of our Party and one of the renowned Marxist thinkers of the age, said :—

“.....Like all colonial bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Indian bourgeoisie was mortally afraid of revolutionary mass struggle against imperialism. For, it apprehended that revolutionary struggle by the Indian people for national liberation, if successful, would not only end imperialist rule in our country, but also, along with it, remove the national bourgeoisie from the leadership of the struggle.

“...Antagonism with imperialism on the one hand and the fear complex of revolution on the other, made the nationalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie maintain a reformist oppositional role against imperialism. Its role against feudalism was also equally compromising..... The result of this compromise was that the Indian bourgeoisie could not and did not carry out the task of social and cultural revolutions, essential for the democratisation of the society and complete merger of different communities professing different religions into a nation.....During the centralised British administration of India, associated with the emergence of a national market and intercourse of trade and commerce on an all-India basis and between the people and in the course of Indian people's fight for national independence against the imperialists, the different nationalities in

India speaking different languages and different communities professing different religions were in the process of merging together and forming a nation. Had the leadership of this national movement in our country been in the hands of the working class, it would have been possible to not only eliminate imperialism completely but also take the country along the non-capitalist path of development and solve the national, communal, racial, regional questions once for all” (Extracts from the speech of Com. Shibdas Ghose to the delegates of the National Democratic Convention held in Delhi on 29th and 30th November 1964)

After the transfer of power, the Indian bourgeoisie have lost the limited progressive role of the pre-independence era and have turned completely reactionary. Faced with the acute crisis in capitalist economy and the growing wrath of the working class, the bourgeoisie are taking recourse to all sordid and despicable means to crush the democratic and revolutionary movements of the peasants and workers and even directly and indirectly fanning up communalism to keep the Indian people divided so that the oppressive class rule of the bourgeois class can remain secured. So it is advantageous to the Indian bourgeoisie to keep the people divided on the question of language, religion, caste, creed etc. etc. so that the Indian people can not wage a united struggle against the capitalist rule. It is therefore, the urgent duty of the working class to forge a militant unity by fighting all such divisive forces threatening the united struggle of the people. The essential task of social and cultural revolution for democratisation of the Indian society must be accomplished and as the bourgeoisie can not do it in the era of moribund capitalism and

proletarian revolution, it is the duty of the working class party to incorporate these essential tasks of social and cultural revolution in its programmes. But unfortunately the role of the big left parties is indeed disheartening. The parties like C.P.I. and C.P.I.(M) not only have failed to find out a correct language formula but it is seen also that these parties play in the hands of the reactionaries to fan up local sentiments, regionalism and communalism for gaining cheap popularity. The creation of Malappuram district by Nambudiripad, the C.P.I.(M) leader and the advocacy by Rajeswar Rao, the C.P.I. leader, for a separate state of Cachar are some of the instances which clearly demonstrate that forging the unity of the Indian people is not of supreme importance to them. This is due to the fact that these parties have failed to emerge as a genuine working class party. The S. U. C. I is such a party of the working class and is the only party which has analysed with a correct

Marxist approach the various social and cultural problems including the linguistic problem of India and tried to build up movement on the basis of its strength. So not only for correctly guiding the revolutionary and democratic movement of the Indian people in the political plane alone but for a correct solution of the problems relating to social and cultural questions like the question of the solution of language problem in a multilingual state like India, the necessity of strengthening and establishing the leadership of the SUCI over the masses is of supreme importance. So the people must come forward to strengthen the SUCI, the real working class party of India.

## Struggling Workers Attain Victory in Rourkela

(By our Correspondent)

Rourkela, Nov. 12: After prolonged struggle for five months,—in which two workers and an organiser of the SUCI have laid down their lives, the workers of Prabhat Iron Foundry and East India Engineering, under the leadership of SUCI-led Rourkela Workers Union have come out victorious.

A tripartite agreement conceding the main demands of the Union was signed at Bhubaneswar on Nov. 10. The demands included service-guarantee, increment, strike-period wage and implementation of labour laws.

The victory has created much enthusiasm among local workers. A victory meeting was held on Nov. 12 at Dandiapali, presided over by Com. Prakas Singh. Com. Tapas Dutta, Vice-President of the Union and Com. B. Jena were the main speakers.

## Mass Rally in Jajpur

Jajpur, 26th October :

On behalf of the SUCI, KKMf, DSO and DYU, a demonstration was staged before Jajpur SDO Court, against price-raise of essential commodities. About 1,000 demonstrators marched through the main roads of Jajpur and came to the SDO Court. A deputation led by the DSO leader Com. Mayadhar Nayak submitted a memorandum to the SDO. The SDO assured the leaders that he would look into the demands, stated in the memorandum. Later, a mass meeting was held in the court compound. Com. Mayadhar Nayak presided over the meeting. Com. Chakradhar Rath, Balaram Sahoo, Udhav Jena and Jago bondhu Baral spoke in the meeting.



## CONGRESS RAJ—A PARADISE FOR THE MONOPOLISTS

A study by the Reserve Bank of India of the performance of 290 large public limited companies in the private sector, each with a paid-up capital of Rs 1 crore and above, for the year 1970-71 had been published in the last July issue of Bank's Bulletin. This study has further established the pro-monopoly bias of the fiscal policy of the Central Government, exposed the hollowness of the 'garibi hatao' slogan advanced by the ruling Congress party and given the lie to the allegation by bourgeois apologists that labour costs in industries are on the increase while profits and profitability are dwindling.

The study is fairly representative and the conclusions therefrom apply not only to the 290 large companies under study but to all other companies in the private sector, large and medium, as well. It should, however, be noted that the study is based on the audited balance sheets and profit and loss accounts of the concerned public limited companies for the years in question. Anyone having some idea as to how balance sheets and profit and loss accounts of the companies in the private sector are drawn up and audited is aware of the fact that the audited balance sheets and profit and loss accounts hardly reflect the financial position and performance of the companies correctly, inasmuch as window-dressing of balance sheets and profit and loss accounts is widely practised in the private sector to help the employer class to evade payment of due taxes, suppress real incomes of the employers, cheat the workers, etc. The very fact that black money roughly to the tune of Rs 1500 crores to Rs 3500 crores (estimate of the Wanchoo Committee) in the hands of the monopolists, audit of the accounts of companies controlled by them notwithstanding, testifies to the pro-employer undependable character of the audited balance sheets and profit and loss accounts of the companies in the private sector. Besides, the study being conducted by the Reserve Bank of India, an institution belonging to the Establishment, it naturally

seeks to hold brief for government policies. When even such pro-government study based on pro-employer balance sheets and profit and loss accounts establishes the pro-monopoly bias of the fiscal policy of the Central Government, exposes the hollowness of the 'garibi hatao' slogan of the ruling Congress Party and gives the allegation that labour costs in industries are increasing while profits and profitability are dwindling then one does not require much intelligence to realise that the reality is far worse than what is expressed in the study from the point of view of the people.

The study reveals that whereas the tax provision in respect of the 290 large public limited companies in the private sector under study had worked out to 47.4 per cent of profits before tax in 1965-66 the proportion came down to 42.8 per cent in 1970-71.

An almost identical trend is observed in case of medium public limited companies in the private sector also for which data are available. Why is this decline in the tax provision? The study concludes thus on the question: "On account of a series of tax incentives which the corporate sector has received during this period, the effective tax rate has come to be considerably lower than the formal rate."

And what are the tax incentives? They are, among others, reduction of surtax rate from 40 per cent to 35 per cent, reduction of

corporation tax rate, development rebate on a portion of cost of plant and machinery installed, rebate on income of priority industries, extra-shift depreciation allowance, tax holiday for profits of new companies upto 6 per cent of capital employed, rebate on export income, etc. In plain language, it means that large companies controlled by the monopolists have been given substantial concessions in the matter of taxation by various means.

It is admitted on all hands that in the interest of lowering the prices of essential commodities and thereby giving some amount of relief to the hard-pressed people, indirect taxes on essential commodities—which always hit the consumers—should be drastically cut. And if the government intends to cover up the loss in revenue earnings due to this cut then it can make good the loss by raising the rates of income tax in case of the millionaires and the corporation tax for the large companies. But under Congress rule this is not done; rather the reverse had all through been done. Here the millionaires and large companies were and still are being granted tax holiday and rebates while indirect taxes on already heavy taxed consuming people tremendously increased. This anti-people pro-monopoly bias of the ruling Congress Government at the Centre is substantiated not only by the study by the Reserve Bank of India of the performance of the 290 large public limited companies for 1970-71 but also by the fact that at present indirect taxes account for about 82 per cent of the total tax revenue in the Central budget with the direct taxes accounting for the rest about 18 per cent. With the passing of time the share of the indirect taxes in the total tax revenue earnings of the Central Government is going up to the further spiralling of

prices of essential commodities and consequent greater hardship of the people.

The study also reveals that the manufacturing expenses remained 54.5 per cent of value of production at current prices in 1970-71 which is the same as that in 1965-66. But the total wage costs including employees' welfare expenses declined from 14 per cent of value of production at current prices in 1965-66 to 13.2 per cent in 1970-71. Contrary to the accusation by bourgeois apologists that the wage costs in industries are constantly on the increase, the study clearly shows that the total wage costs including employees' welfare expenses of the 290 large public limited companies under study recorded constant decline. The percentage of the total wage costs including employees' welfare expenses to value of production at current prices was 14 in 1965-66 which came down to 13.8 in 1967-68, further down to 13.4 in 1969-70 and still further down to 13.2 in 1970-71. Against this declining wage costs value of production at current prices kept up steady increase, value of production at current prices of the 290 large public limited companies being 71.1 per cent higher in 1970-71 over 1965-66. In other words, it means that the workers are being relatively more exploited, they are putting up relatively more labour which accounts for increase in physical output and value of output of the companies but they are being paid relatively less which explains the decline of the total wage costs including employees' welfare expenses as percentage of value of production at current prices.

This greater exploitation of the workers by the monopolists had brought greater profits to the latter during the corresponding period. Profits after tax of the 290 large public limited

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## Build UP SUCI—the Real Revolutionary Party

(Contd. from page 2) appeal of Com. Ghosh must be seriously pondered over by every communist, genuinely interested in furthering the cause of proletarian internationalism. It is heartening to note that China has come to realise the spirit of this appeal. In a message sent by her on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the November Revolution it was stated, as reported in the Press, that "There are now controversies of principle between China and the Soviet Union, but this should not hinder the normalisation of the relations between the two countries." We sincerely hope that the Soviet Union also will reciprocate this spirit in a proper way in the desired direction so as to help restore the lost unity of the communist camp without further delay.

While carrying out in our own country the historical task of proletarian revolution which alone can free the entire oppressed people from all sorts of exploitation of man by man, it is necessary to recall herewith another fundamental teaching of the great November Revolution that without a revolutionary party there cannot be any revolution. November Revolution clearly vindicated the truth that in the absence of a correct revolutionary working class party, which represents the vanguard section of the class of the proletariat and the other toiling people, the broad masses cannot be led to their cherished goal of emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation. It opposes the view of the social democrats who try to negate the leading role of a revolutionary party.

Furthermore, only a genuine communist party in a particular soil is able to fulfil the historical task of concretising the revolutionary theory suited to the concrete conditions obtaining in the

national sphere in the perspective of a given international situation—an imperative necessity for correctly leading the revolutionary struggle to its ultimate victory. To develop such a true working class party it is first of all necessary that those who initiate the communist movement and build up the communist party in a country should conduct a relentless socialist ideological struggle covering all aspects of life, including their private life, on the basis of a correct understanding of dialectical materialism and in the process of this struggle, bring into being the ideological centralism, the first pre-condition for the formation of a communist party; secondly, while conducting this struggle dialectically, it is essential that a concrete conception of collective leadership within the party should emerge; and thirdly, a band of professional revolutionaries should come out of this struggle. Only by pursuing such a methodology, a party can successfully emerge as a true revolutionary party on the basis of correct application of the principle of democratic centralism.

By conducting a fierce ideological struggle and fulfilling the above conditions, it is only the SUCI which has emerged with all the characteristics of a true working class party in our country. The collective knowledge and the collective leadership of the Party which has emerged out of the struggle conducted for building up ideological centralism within the Party through dialectical process has taken a concrete shape in Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the highest leader and teacher of the Party, the SUCI. It is under his leadership that the analysis provided by the Party on any national or international issue till now has been proved to be correct again and again in the yardstick of history. It is only

## Masses Groan Under Increasing Tax Burden

(Contd. from page 6) companies rose from Rs 132 crores in 1965-66 to Rs 212 crores in 1970-71. In the corresponding period profits after tax as percentage of net worth went up from 10 per cent to 11.5 per cent. But particularly impressive was the rise in the amount of retained profits which rose from Rs. 52 crores in 1965-66 to Rs. 97 crores in 1970-71. Retained profits as percentage of profits before tax and as percentage of profits after tax recorded a significant rise from 20.5 per cent to 26.2 per cent and from 39.2 per cent to 45.7 per cent respectively. Similarly, the amount of dividend distributed by the 290 companies went up from Rs. 80 crores in 1965-66 to Rs. 115 crores in 1970-71. All these facts demolish the absolutely false allegation of the bourgeois apologist that profits and profitability of industries are dwindling. The reality is just the reverse. The monopolists are making fabulous profits.

This enormous increase in retained profits of the companies is reflected in the change in their method of financing the assets as also in the improvement in the ratio of current assets to current liabilities of them. Until 1967-68 owned funds

of the 290 companies (paid-up capital+reserves+depreciation provision) had fallen short of their requirements for gross fixed assets creation. In 1966-67 this shortfall in respect of these large public limited companies was as high as 118 crores. In 1967-68, it came down to Rs 32 crores. But thereafter not only had the owned funds been in excess of the gross assets created but also the excess of the funds so generated increased from Rs 7 crores to Rs 71 crores over the years from 1968-69 to 1970-71. Improvement of financial position of these companies is reflected also in the decline of their borrowed funds. Funds from external sources including fresh share capital raised as proportion of total funds showed a decline from 57 per cent in 1966-67 to 32 per cent in 1970-71.

The facts and figures mentioned hereinbefore conclusively prove that the large companies achieved further overall improvement in their production, profits and financial position during the period from 1965-66 to 1970-71. They, thus, unmistakably point out that the monopolists in our country are having a very good time under the ruling Congress regime.

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through the correct guidance of Com. Shibdas Ghosh that the SUCI has been able to chalk out a programme for socialist revolution, drawn on the basis of a concrete analysis of the complex situation in our country in the present international context. It is through carrying out this programme of the S.U.C.I. and overthrowing the present oppressive rule of the capitalist class that the dream of the Indian toiling millions for the establishment of a socialist state and radical

transformation of the present society can be fully realised. So it is the bounden duty of all oppressed sections of our toiling people to mobilise themselves for strengthening the S.U.C.I. in every possible way. It is only thus the historical task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution can be realised and the message of the great November Revolution can be translated into action to fulfil the revolutionary object in our country. Long live the great November Revolution.

## 'Garibi Hatao' Slogan a Subterfuge to Fleece the People

(Contd. from page 7)

But what about the people? According to the 22nd round of the National Sample Survey conducted between July, 1967 to June, 1968, the poorest 5 per cent of the population spent Rs 9.44 per person per month; the next poorest 5 percent Rs 13.20; the next poorest 10 per cent Rs 16.64; the next poorest 10 per cent Rs 20.44; the next poorest 10 per cent Rs 24.17; the next poorest 10 per cent Rs 28.07; the next poorest 10 per cent Rs 32.40; the next poorest 10 percent 37.62 and so on. In the absence of data for subsequent years the present position cannot be given. But from the trend as also considering the abnormal rise in prices of essential commodities and severe intensification of the unemployment problem it will not be incorrect to conclude that the situation, in so far as the people are concerned, has further gone against them. Mr. P. K. Bardhan in a paper presented to the Delhi Seminar on Income Distribution in India held in 1971 showed that the percentage of the poor

(below per capita expenditure = Rs 15 per month at 1960-61 prices) in the rural population was 38 in 1960-61, 45 in 1964-65, 53 in 1967-68 and 54 in 1968-69. The trend clearly indicates that with the passing of time the percentage of the people living in rural areas below starvation level is on the increase every year.

Thus, we find that on the one hand more and more people have been growing increasingly poorer and on the other hand profits and prosperity of monopolists have been mounting by leaps and bounds during the Congress rule in our country. And this is the objective outcome of the much trumpeted slogan of 'garibi hatao' advanced by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her Congress. The slogan is actually serving the interests of the monopolists, the billionaires and the billion-aires and not of the poverty-stricken people. It is a subterfuge to fleece the people with a view to fatten the rich. Our people should understand it.

## MASS DEPUTATION IN GHATSILA

(By our Correspondent)

Ghatsilla, Nov, 3: Under the joint auspices of the Singbhum District Committees of the SUCI and the Kisan Khetmazdoor Sangh, a largely attended mass deputation waited upon the BDO, Dhalbhumgar and submitted a memorandum underlining the various demands of the local people in particular and of Bihar people in general. The deputation was organised as part of the

statewide eight day Dharna-movement initiated by four Left parties including the SUCI

On behalf of the deputationists, Com Hiren Sarkar, the renowned public leader of Singbhum and a member of the Central Committee of the SUCI, led a delegation and submitted the memorandum to the BDO, which demanded, among others, declaring entire Bihar as a famine-stricken State, supply of

## State-wide Dharna in Bihar Over 450 SUC Workers Held

(By our correspondent)

Patna, Nov 10—More than hundred SUC workers were severely lathi-charged while offering Dharna in front of the D M's office at Muzaffarpur on October 28. Com. Kishun Ram a local organiser, was admitted in Muzaffarpur hospital with severe injury. His condition was stated to be serious.

In Arrah jail, 11 SUC workers including the Secretary of the Arrah District Committee, Com. Shyamanand Mishra, along with several CPI(M) workers had to resort to hunger strike protesting against the authorities' refusal to treat them as political prisoners. Nearly 500 SUC workers courted arrest in different district headquarters of Bihar in course of the eight-day. State-

wide 'Dharna' movement from October 27 to November 3 launched by four Left parties including the SUCI.

Hundreds of workers of SUC, along with those of the other left parties participated in the Dharna movement, at the call of the party in different districts of the state, particularly in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Chapra, Sahabad, Dhanbad, Singbhum, Arrah etc.

### Orissa Students Condemn Attack On DSO Leader

Cuttack, 30th October—A mass meeting was held here today organised under the auspices of D.S.O, S.F.I, S.L (Student League) S.U. (Student Union) and Bidyarthi Parishad. The meeting condemned the severe assault by Congresee goondas on Com. Chittaranjan Behera, the D.S.O. leader and ex-General Secretary of

Ravenshaw College Students Union in presence of the Chief Minister of Orissa, Mrs. Nandini Satpathy, to whom Com. Behera was going to submit a memorandum on educational problems.

The speakers in the meeting while condemning this attack appealed to the people in general and the student community in particular to come forward to unitedly resist Congress goondaism and save the democratic norms in a perilous state now in the country.

Com. Mayadhar Nayak the D.S.O. leader in Orissa presided over the meeting. Com. Raghunath Das and Com. Nabakishore Raut spoke on behalf of D.S.O. in the meeting.

A similar meeting was held at Jajpur. Besides Com. Krutibash Jena who presided over the meeting, student leaders Com. Udhav Jena, Com. Jagabandhu Baral, and Com. Sadasiva Das also spoke.

adequate test relief and gratuitous relief, extensive irrigation facilities, increasing the quantum of ration, remission of agricultural taxes and arrangement for adequate agricultural loan. The B.D.O. in his talks with Comrade Sarkar and other representatives, assured the deputationists that he would consider the demands sympathetically.

The delegation also included Comrades Amalkrishna Banerjee, Sarala Mahato, Chandrasekhar Mishra and Abhoya Pada Dash.