

CONGRESS TRIES TO CONFUSE THE PEOPLE

Immediately on getting returned to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly in the by-election from Malda Constituency, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Sri Siddhartha Sankar Ray, made a speech in a public meeting arranged by ruling Congress to felicitate him. In that speech he tried to make out two points. First, a large number of voters had turned out to exercise their right of franchise in the by-elections which by itself indicates wide support of the people for the ruling Congress leadership. Second, the turning out of so many voters to vote, in spite of the call by the Left Front to boycott the by-elections, establishes the dwindling influence of left parties over the masses and futility of left politics. These contentions of Sri Ray call for a critical examination.

That non-participation by the constituents of the Left Front in West Bengal in the by-election would create a serious impact on the electorate was fully realised by ruling Congress leaders. So the ruling Congress left no stone unturned to make the voting results presentable to the public. And the *modus operandi* of the Congress in the by-elections followed the line chalked out and implemented at the time of the last general election in the state. There was free flow of false voting by Congress volunteers in all the polling centres and capture of polling centres by armed Congress hoodlums and stamping on ballot papers by them took place in several other centres. On-the-spot inquiry by any impartial person will substantiate this charge. We are ready to prove it; let the Congress accept our challenge. Even such large-scale false voting could not raise the percentage of votes polled to total votes to a presentable position. So, on behalf of the ruling party, the big so-called nationalist newspapers in West Bengal took upon themselves the task of dishing out to the people all sorts of excuses for low polling rates in the by-elections. It goes without saying that the excuses were all lame having no relation to truth and betraying sickening sycophancy on the part of the so-called special correspondents and political reviewers of these newspapers.

The second point made out by Sri Siddhartha Ray is a blatant lie deliberately practised. As a political leader he should have known

that the Left Front in West Bengal had not decided to boycott the by-elections. The Left Front decided that its constituents would not participate in the by-elections. To Siddhartha Babu and his tribe the difference between a decision of non-participation in and a decision to boycott the by-elections may appear as a difference sought to be made between tweedledom and tweedledee. In that case, it shows his political ignorance. The two are not coterminous but have two vitally different political implications. It is, however, true that the CPI (M) decided to boycott the by-elections which includes the call to the people to boycott votes also. But that was not the decision of the Left Front. Though the CPI (M) tried its best to make other constituents of the Front agree to their unilateral decision of boycotting the by-elections, it is because of opposition by our party and some other constituents that the Left Front ultimately decided not to participate in the by-election which does not include a call to the people to boycott votes.

There is no denying the fact that the last general election in West Bengal had been entirely rigged. So long as objective conditions, that would ensure stoppage of rigging of elections, are not established, there is no point in participating in election. In consideration of futility of participation by the left MLAs in the Assembly in the prevailing situation, more so to register a protest against unscrupulous use of administrative, police and election machinery by the

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Contribute Liberally to Com. Ghosh's Treatment Fund

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Though Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and General Secretary of our Party, has shown marked improvement in his health condition, which has made his release from nursing home possible, he has still to undergo medical treatment, including physio-therapy, and efficient nursing for a long time. For his proper treatment and nursing, the workers, supporters and sympathisers of our Party and the masses of the people have shown up till now exemplary spirit of sacrifice and dedication to the Party. But more money is needed. We, therefore, fervently appeal to them to make further contributions towards Comrade Ghosh's Treatment Fund without delay.

Dated 48, Lenin Sarani
Calcutta-13
The 30th June, 1972

With revolutionary greetings,
Comradely Yours,
Nihar Mukherjee
on behalf of the
Central Committee of the SUCI

Com. Ghosh's Health Bulletin

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and General Secretary of our Party, has shown marked improvement in his physical condition. According to medical advice, he had been released from nursing home on 21st June last. He has still to undergo prolonged medical treatment, including physio-therapy, and efficient nursing.

Dated the 30th June, 1972

Nihar Mukherjee
on behalf of the
Central Committee of the SUCI

ruling Congress to rig the last general election in the state and **anyhow** capture governmental power, the Left Front decided to boycott the the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. For, it would have been most illogical and opportunistic too to characterize the Legislative Assembly as an entirely rigged one and at the same time allow the left MLAs to

participate in that rigged House and thereby giving it a stamp clearing the stigma. But this decision to boycott the Legislative Assembly does not mean renunciation of parliamentary politics and organising armed insurrection for seizure of power at the moment. Such an idea is nonsense. Though the general election in West
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FIFTH PLAN APPROACH FULL OF OLD CLICHES

The much-advertised paper by the Planning Commission entitled **Towards An Approach To The Fifth Plan** is out. In this paper the Commission has been reluctantly compelled to admit that the basic postulate which so long had governed its activities was wrong. Planning in our country, in place of reducing the disparity in incomes between the rich and the poor, has on the contrary, increased the gap. This is exactly what we have been charging against the Congress rulers.

"A fast rate of growth of national income will by itself create more and fuller employment and produce higher standards for the poor." This was the basic postulate that governed the Planning Commission in framing the plans and the governments in framing policies and implementing them. In pursuance of this basic approach the slogan of 'produce or perish' was advanced by the ruling party and the governments run by it. Though the Planning Commission has now been compelled to admit in the face of stubborn facts the incorrectness of this postulate yet the wrong thesis has not been abandoned.

It is strange that the Planning Commission has taken twenty-one years to detect the incorrectness of this postulate. Who does not know that under capitalism based on the exploitation of toiling millions by a handful of capitalists with the law of maximum profit in operation, increase in production does not necessarily mean betterment of the condition of the people? It does not require one to be a Marxist to realize this simple truth. Even a bourgeois economist long ago concluded that "accumulation of wealth does not always mean welfare of the people." In a capitalist society increase in production in place of improving the condition of workers, sometimes leads to the capitalist crisis of so-called over-production, resulting in closure of industrial units, stoppage of shifts, curtailment of working days, lay-off

and retrenchment bringing in its wake unemployment, hunger, starvation and worsening of the condition of workers. As for the capitalist owners, increased production means more exploitation of surplus value created by workers and, hence, more profit. The setback they suffer from due to crisis of so-called over-production and economic recession is far more than compensated subsequently by more exploitation of workers and, consequently, more profit.

This is the reality under capitalism. No amount of grandiloquent verbosity can conceal this truth. Look at the results of twenty-one years' planning in our country and you will be convinced of this truth. It is an undeniable fact that during the twenty-one years of planning in our country production has substantially increased, resulting in increase in national income. The Planning Commission has admitted it and in **Towards An Approach To The Fifth Plan** has come to the conclusion that "Economic development has resulted in an all-round increase in per capita income." It should be borne in mind that increase in per capita income is an average figure arrived at by dividing the total income by total population. Hence, increase in per capita income is no proof that real income of the people has increased or that their condition has improved. An example may help our readers to understand it clearly. Suppose Ram, Shyam, Jadu and Madhu have

each an income of Rs 5. Here the total income is Rs 20, the per capita income being Rs 5. Now after some time, suppose, Ram earns Rs 100 and the rest three earn nothing due to unemployment. Here the total income is Rs 100 and the per capita income Rs 25 which is much higher than the earlier per capita income of Rs 5. But this increase in per capita income does not mean that the real income of Shyam, Jadu and Madhu has also increased than before. Rather the reality is that previously these three persons had an income of Rs 5 each but now they have no income at all, notwithstanding the fact that per capita income in their case has increased now. What is true here is true for the entire people of the country. The fact is that the incomes of the monopolists, other capitalists, big land-owners have increased hundred fold, in some cases even thousand-fold, but the real income of the people has gone down, though the per capita income has increased. It does not require any proof, as it is known to all. Still then we provide an example. The 75 big monopoly Houses own 50 per cent of the total wealth and property in the country and appropriate among themselves 60 per cent of the total national income. And what about the people? The Planning Commission in the said paper admits that "between two-fifths and one-half of all Indian citizens" live in "abject poverty" which has been defined as "living below a basic minimum standard of consumption." Thus in spite of planning the rich have become richer and the poor poorer.

After this conclusion what does the Planning Commission do? It flamboyantly declares: "There would seem to be a very conspicuous element of historic inevitability in a direct approach to reducing

poverty becoming the main thrust of the Fifth Plan." But what are the concrete steps by which the old mistakes (not exactly mistakes; they are deliberate acts) would be rectified; what are the concrete steps which would be incorporated in the Fifth Plan that would actually reduce poverty of the masses? The paper remains absolutely silent over these questions.

The grandiloquent declaration is only a repetition of cliches of the past. The declaration to reduce poverty has always been there. The 1951 Congress election manifesto declared: "The provision of the basic material needs of food, clothing and shelter is the first essential." The election was over and the declaration was silently buried to be re-excavated from its grave after five years when the Second Plan was being drawn up. The goal of establishing socialist pattern of society was then set up. Congress leaders and the Planning Commission thereafter went into hibernation. They again woke up in 1962 and declared that the plans would be so re-drawn that every one in the country would be assured of a minimum standard of living, which, according to the Planners, would cost Rs. 20 a month at 1960-61 price level, by 1976. The plans, however, were not re-drawn; rather for several years there was no plan. Now that time for drawing up Fifth Plan has come, the old *cliche* has again been revived. During the twenty-one years of planning, in spite of promise after promise by Congress leaders and ministers and the Planning Commission to provide our people with basic requirements of food, clothing and shelter, reduce their grinding poverty and diminish the disparity in incomes between the rich and the poor, millionaires were allowed to amass fabulous

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SO-CALLED LAND REFORM IN ASSAM

Gauhati, June 20—With great fanfare the Adhoc Pradesh Congress Committee of Assam recently declared that it had been decided to lower the ceiling on land holdings in the state from the existing ceiling of 75 bighas per family to 50 bighas. This is being acclaimed by Congress workers of the state as a big step towards implementation of the much-trumpeted slogan of 'garibi hatao.' But common men of Assam, particularly landless and poor peasants who are supposed to be benefited by land reforms, are hardly *showing* any interest in this decision of the Pradesh Congress Committee.

It may be recalled that this is not the first time that the ceiling on land holdings in the state has been lowered. Originally the ceiling was fixed at 150 bighas per family. The former government reduced it to 75 bighas. Now it has been decided to still lower it to 50 bighas. The lack of interest shown by landless and poor peasants of the state towards this decision to lower the ceiling is because of their past experience. Reduction of ceiling on land holdings on two previous occasions did not bring them any benefit. In fact, the laws were not implemented in the real sense of the term. As a result, big land-owners still possess lands much above the ceiling fixed by law with no lands coming in the hands of the state to distribute them to landless and poor peasants. When existing laws are not implemented, enactment of a new law is meaningless.

It may also be recalled that the economic policy resolution adopted at the 73rd session of the Congress at Bombay after the party was split directed ruling Congress governments to take some steps as a matter of urgency. The steps *inter alia*, include eleven measures relating to land reforms. Some of them are (i) immediate implementation of existing land reforms laws; implementation to be fully completed by 1970-71, (2)

confirmation of security of tenure on actual tillers of land, (3) settlement of surplus land with landless labourers, (4) provision of free legal aid to tenants and share-croppers in case of tenancy dispute, (5) settlement of government waste land suitable for cultivation to landless labourers particularly belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes within two years, giving adequate financial assistance to such labourers for improvement of such land, (6) setting up special tribunals for speedy disposal of land reform litigation.

It goes without saying that none of the eleven steps has been implemented in Assam as yet, though these very measures found place subsequently in the Congress election manifesto. If non-implementation be the fate of earlier laws and commitments relating to land reforms then it is likely that the latest decision also will meet with no better fate. Presumably, the laws, decisions and commitments in this regard have been made with an eye to the election and not for actual implementation. Otherwise, it cannot be explained why landless labourers agitating for implementation of existing land reforms laws are arrested and otherwise harassed by the State Government and its police, why the demand of lakhs and

lakhs of temporary settled peasants for security of tenure has been not only turned down by the Congress government but also brutally suppressed by the police and why thousands of landless labourers belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who tried by their own labour to improve government waste lands and cultivate them were mercilessly beaten and arrested by the so-called custodians of law and order and their huts demolished by elephants.

There is nothing to be surprised at this attitude of the government. For it is well-known that landed vested interest not only are social support to the Congress in rural areas but exercise effective control

over the Congress party leadership and the government in the state. It is the united organised movements by the poor and landless peasants and agricultural labourers supported by the lower middle peasants and lower middle class in urban areas that alone can wrest land reforms from the unwilling hands of the landed vested interests and the Congress government in the state. The left parties and peasants and agricultural labourers' organisations functioning in Assam should explore all avenues for the development of such united movements.

Hartal in Rourkela at SUC's Call

Rourkela, June 15—Prices of essential commodities in Orissa in general and Rourkela in particular have been spiralling at an unprecedented rate causing great hardship to the people. To register a protest against this rise in prices the Sundergarh District Committee of the SUCI organised a mass meeting at Ambagan on 10th June last and gave a call for hartal on the next day.

The meeting was presided over by Com. Banipada Das and addressed by Comrades B. Jena, Sk. Qasim, Jagannath Misra and Dhurjati Das. The speakers dealt upon the existing famine condition in Orissa and the hardship of the people due to price rise. The meeting in a resolution demanded all-out state trading in foodgrains and other essential commodities and exemplary punishment of hoarders, blackmarketeers, speculators and price manipulators.

The meeting also decided to give a call for hartal on 11th June. The hartal received spontaneous support from all sections of the people and, despite disruptive moves by some political parties and vested interests, was a grand success.

Fifth Plan Approach

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wealth and property and become billionaires with the backing of the ruling Congress party, undivided and after division and the people were increasingly fleeced, throwing them into the abyss of poverty, privation and insecurity of life.

Society obtaining in our country now is a capitalist society. Planning under this system is a capitalist planning the basic aim of which is to consolidate still further the existing capitalist order and safeguard and expand capitalist interests. More consolidation of capitalist system and expansion of capitalist interests mean more exploitation of the people. That is taking place in our country. Our people should realize it and engage themselves sincerely in struggles so as to be able to discharge due role in the ultimate struggle for the overthrow of the existing rotten capitalist order in our country basically responsible for all the ills they are suffering from. That is what is called for.

College Education in Kerala Disrupted

Trivandrum, June 24—Kerala, though a very small state, has nonetheless 20 government and more than 100 private colleges. Annual admission of students in these colleges is about 70,000, out of which the government colleges are unable to admit more than 3000 students. It is, thus, the private colleges in Kerala that mainly cater to the need of college education of students in the state. A collision between the Kerala Government and the managements of the private colleges has brought about complete disruption of college education in this tiny state.

The Youth Congress and the ruling Congress-controlled Kerala Students' Union, apparently to show their 'progressiveness' to the people but actually guided more by the desire to discredit some of the old leaders of the Congress including Mr. R. Shankar, former Chief Minister of the state, who are closely associated with the management of private colleges, have advanced the slogan of nationalization of private colleges and threatened the Government that they would start mass movements if their demand is not met. The convener of the Liaison Committee of the ruling United Front, Mr. A. K. Anthony, who is also the Secretary of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, has, in the mean time, reiterated the demand of the Youth Congress and the Students' Union by suggesting a take-over by the Government of the private colleges.

The Liaison Committee, however, is not ready to go to the extent of nationalizing the private colleges against the wishes of some of the powerful leaders of the ruling Congress, the Nair Society, the Christians and the Muslim League whose support is vital not only for the survival of the present Coalition Government but also for victory in future elections in the state. The Liaison Committee, therefore, as a means to come out of the problem, deliberately created by the Youth Congress and the Kerala Students' Union to discredit the old leaders of the KPCC and some other parties, without being

discredited and antagonizing the leaders who control the management of the private colleges has decided that the tuition fees in the private colleges should be reduced and brought at par with those obtaining in the government colleges. However much the CPI Chief Minister and most of his cabinet colleagues would like to avoid it, the decision of the Liaison Committee has been imposed on the Government which has issued notices to the private colleges asking them to reduce their fees to the level of those in government colleges. The managements of the private colleges have refused to carry out the Government order on the ground that the fees can not be reduced unless state grants are increased appropriately. Since the Government has paid no heed to these demand for increased state grants, the managements of the private colleges have closed the colleges *sine die*, resulting in complete disruption of college education.

Common men in Kerala cannot understand how such a thing can take place. It is the powerful leaders of the ruling Congress, the Muslim League and other partners of the United Front (the Nair Society and the leaders of Christian community are supporters of the ruling Congress) who manage the private colleges. It is these parties that constitute the Liaison Committee of the United Front which runs the Government. So, if these parties have agreed to reduce the tuition fees of the private colleges and bring them at par with those in

the government-run colleges, why do the leaders of the self-same parties running the private colleges refuse to implement it? Is it not running with the hare and hunting with the hound? Is it not hypocrisy? Had the ruling Congress and the Muslim League mainly and other partners of the United Front partially been really serious of implementing the decision to reduce the fees, could not they force their leaders who now manage the private colleges to agree to the decision? There is much truth in the suspicion of common men that the whole thing is a got-up show meant to add glitter to the 'progressive plume' of the Congress.

It goes without saying that the private colleges in Kerala are a sort of business and full of corruption. There are admittedly heaps of evidence of gross irregularities, extortion of fat sums from students by way of capitation fee and the like, maladministration of the colleges, sub-standard education and many other vices. They should be removed without any further delay. But we do not feel that nationalization of college education in Kerala is the way to do that. We are dead against nationalization of college education in Kerala not on the alleged ground that nationalization means erosion of minority rights, as advanced by the student organisations of the CPI, RSP, PSP and the CPI (M) but from a fundamentally different point of view.

It should be realized that nationalization of education would entail complete absence of autonomy of educational institutions, reduce universities, colleges and schools as an appendage of powers-that-be and establish unrestricted governmental control over the entire education world. This would not only bring about autocratic administration of

educational institutions by bureaucracy but also give absolute power to the ruling class and its governments to pattern education in a particular way so as to achieve regimentation of thought, a pre-requisite for developing conditions for fascization in the ideological-political-cultural sphere. Curtailment of autonomy of educational institutions, be it by nationalization of education or by temporarily taking over the administration and management of educational institutions by the government, may in some cases, bring some improvement for a while; but in the long run it would create more chaos and import more serious evils in the academic world. The remedy for the various ills from which our universities, colleges, schools and boards of education are suffering today lies not in curtailing autonomy of educational institutions but in expanding and strengthening the autonomy in the true sense of the term and introducing truly democratic, secular and scientific education in the country. Our opposition to nationalization of education does not, of course, mean that the government should not bear all the cost of education. Far from it. It, on the contrary, presupposes that the government should bear all the educational costs, ensuring at the same time full autonomy of educational institutions.

This being our general approach to education vis-a-vis government control over the academic world, we are opposed to any move to nationalize college education in Kerala. Government should render necessary financial assistance to the private colleges so that the fees in the private colleges may be reduced not only to the level of those obtaining in government colleges but also much below that in order

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CONGRESS TRIES TO CONFUSE THE PEOPLE

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Bengal had been entirely rigged, reducing elections to a farce and destroying largely democratic atmosphere in the state, the democratic phase of struggle and consequent necessity of participating in parliamentary politics is not yet over. So long as this necessity of participating in parliamentary politics remains, the slogan of 'boycott the election' is a leap in the air only to meet with disgraceful failure. Only when the people are completely convinced of the futility of parliamentary politics and are riding on the high tide of revolutionary struggles, do revolutionary parties throw the slogan of 'boycott the election.' It is then that the slogan becomes a reality and succeeds. That it is not the condition in our country now. Hence, it would have been wrong to adopt the decision of boycotting the by-elections and asking the people not to vote in the by-elections, as the CPI (M) unilaterally decided. The Left Front, as already stated, decided not to participate in the by-elections. Why? The by-elections were meant to fill up vacancies in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly which is a rigged House. There can be no question of participating in the by-elections and trying to send representatives in such a rigged House, particularly when the decision to boycott the Assembly stands. Thus, considered from all aspects, the decisions of the Left Front to boycott the rigged Legislative Assembly and not to participate in the by-elections have been quite correct and consistent and widely accepted by the people of West Bengal.

The bourgeois Press, with a view to misleading the people, is trying to confuse the issue by raising some questions. Do the left parties in the Left Front recognise

the Legislative Assembly and the Government in the state? Contradictory statements by some leaders of the CPI (M) have given opportunities to the bourgeois Press to further create confusion. The last general election in West Bengal had been entirely rigged. This being the truth, the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and the present Ministry, both of which are the outcome of the rigged general election, cannot but be rigged also. But though they are rigged, their existence as such is a reality which no sane man can dispute. The Left Front, therefore, certainly recognises their existence as rigged bodies and not as fairly elected bodies. This is the position.

DSO & DYO Committees Formed in Singbhum

(From Our Correspondent)

Ghatshila (Bihar), June 28, A joint conference of youths and students of Singbhum district was held here on June 18 with 269 delegates.

Com. Sujit Bhattashali placed the organisational report. Resolutions were moved and supported by Comrades Subal Kundu, Sarala Mahata, Pradip Sen Gupta, Baidyanath Thakur, Dulal Sanyal, Pranab Banerjee, Swapan Banerjee and Manas Roy.

Two organising committees of DSO and DYO were formed with Com. Sarala Mahata and Com. Subal Kundu as conveners respectively.

The open session was presided over by Com. Srikanta Patra. Com. Provash Ghosh, Com. Chhaya Mukherjee & Com. Gopal Kanjilal addressed the Conference.

Move to take over colleges in Kerala

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that college education can come within the reach of the poor. Strong movements should also be conducted to free not only the private colleges but also the government colleges (the Youth Congress and Kerala Students' Union leaders are not saying a word against the government colleges, as if there is no corruption there) from corruption as also for the introduction of truly democratic, secular and scientific education.

Student organisations of the CPI, RSP, PSP and several other parties, it is reported, have joined hands with their CPI (M) and Congress (O) counterparts against any possible move for a take-over of the private colleges by the government on the alleged ground that the step would lead to an erosion of minority rights. But what is minority right? The Nair Society, Muslim League and the churches that mostly run the private colleges in Kerala certainly do not represent genuine interests of the people belonging to the religious minority communities. They, in the name of defending minority rights, really impart communal

education as against democratic and secular education which presupposes complete freeing of education from religious tutelage. This imparting of communal education in private colleges in Kerala in the name of protection of minority rights as elsewhere must go. And for that, introduction of truly democratic and secular education is called for. But if there is any genuine democratic right of the people belonging to the religious minority communities that should be safeguarded. Imparting of communal education is inimical to genuine democratic interests of the people of minority communities.

But the ruling Congress, Muslim League, CPI, RSP, PSP, CPI (M) and the Congress (O) all without exception have been propagating communalism or and banking on communal forces of this or that variant to win elections in the state. These parties and for the matter of that their student organisations can ill afford to launch mass movements for the introduction of truly democratic and secular education in the state. This the people of Kerala must not forget.

Nationalized Coal Mine Workers Fleeced As Before

(By a Staff Reporter)

Dhanbad, June 20—In October last year, 214 coking coal mines were taken over by the Union Government by an Ordinance under the Emergency Provisions Act with the declared objective of conserving coking coal reserves and making their scientific exploitation. The declared objective is being grossly violated.

According to reliable reports, coking coal is still being allowed to be used by non-essential consumers for ordinary purposes like steam-raising in boilers and even brick-making. This wastage of coking coal, even after

government take-over of coking coal mines, is all the more deplorable and against national interests.

After the take-over of the management and control of the coking coal mines by

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How Ruling Congress Curbs Monopoly

The Prime Minister of India never misses any opportunity to tell our people that she is all for radical changes in order that the poverty of the masses can be wiped out and socialism established in our country. At the last conference of ruling Congress leaders also she did not forget to harp on the same string. It is an undeniable fact that a substantial section of the Indian people, particularly the backward section, has developed an illusion about Sm. Indira Gandhi and her Congress for such so-called radical utterances about socialism and the 'garibi hatao' slogan.

In the fitness of things, therefore, our people should carefully examine these utterances and the slogan not on the basis of some pre-conceived notion but on the anvil of scientific logic and hard reality. The working people in our country should not harbour any illusion about any slogan advanced by the capitalist class and their parties, if they do not want to be bamboozled. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties have always advanced and still advance slogans in order to deceive the people. As Lenin said: "The point is to test their sincerity, to compare their words with their deeds, not to be satisfied with idealistic or charlatan phrases but to get down to class reality."

Sm. Indira Gandhi and other leaders of the ruling Congress loudly proclaim that they will establish socialism in our country. But how? The teaching of political science is that socialism cannot be established without revolution, without the overthrow of the existing bourgeois rule and replacement of it by people's rule led by the working class, without replacing the capitalist relations of production based on wage-labour by socialist relations of production based on social ownership of the means of production, without replacing the capitalist motive force of production, namely, production for maximum profit possible under the circumstances by socialist motive force of production, namely,

maximum satisfaction of social needs and without establishing social ownership of the means of production. In other words, without fundamental transformation of society there can be no socialism. But is Sm. Gandhi or her Congress prepared to bring about these fundamental changes in our society by necessary means? Certainly not. They are not prepared to replace the existing bourgeois state by a new state, a new form of state, the people's state led by the proletariat; they want the capitalist relations of production, the capitalist motive force of production and the capitalist ownership of the means of production to continue; they do not even want to abolish monopoly. Sm. Indira Gandhi in her address to the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries, an organisation of monopolists, expressed her view that in co-operation with the monopolists she would lead the country to its goal which is establishment of socialism. So, it is quite clear that what Sm. Gandhi and the ruling Congress mean by the term, socialism, as used by them, is not socialism proper. You may call it by any name but certainly not by the term, socialism, as scientifically understood by all real socialists and toiling peoples throughout the world. In fact, the socialism, as understood and practised by Sm. Gandhi, her government and the ruling Congress, is a variant of Hitler's national socialism which every demo-

cratically minded person abhors as fascism.

Our people should realize another truth. Without a revolutionary party, there cannot be any revolution. And for the victory of a revolution aimed at establishing socialism, a revolutionary working class party is indispensably necessary. That the ruling Congress is not a revolutionary working class party is as true as the sun rises in the east. The class character of a party is not determined by its name or by the slogan it advances. Many a die-hard reactionary party is named socialist, e. g., Hitler's National Socialist Party. Similarly, many a petty-bourgeois party is named communist party. As for examples, the parties going by the name communist in our country and many other countries. The class character of a party is determined by its philosophy, its process of thinking, the methodology it uses in analysing phenomena, its organisational principles, the values of life its members individually and collectively strive for and its objective behaviour. In all these matters a working class party fundamentally differs from a bourgeois or a petty-bourgeois party. Since in a class-divided society every political party is always a party of one class or another and since a particular party comes into being precisely to fulfil the aspirations of a particular class, the ideals, the principles, the process of thinking, the organisational principles, the values of life of the workers of that party grow and develop on the basis of philosophy, ideas, process of thinking, habits and culture of that particular class whose aspirations it seeks to fulfil. Judged by this yard-stick, the only scientifically logical conclusion is that the ruling Congress is not even a

revolutionary bourgeois party, let alone revolutionary working class party. It is a reactionary bourgeois party representing aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism. Such a party, under favourable conjuncture of circumstances, may, in course of time, emerge as a fascist party and establish fascism in the country but it can never bring in socialism. And in fact, the ruling Congress through its various Social-Democratic plans, programmes, policies and measures is leading our country along fascistic lines. Symptoms of administrative fascism have already made their appearance here.

Some so-called communists in our country, on the ground of alleged mass popularity in favour of and the presence of a large number of individual elements belonging to the toiling people in the ranks of the ruling Congress, regard the party as progressive and are, hence, assiduously trying to form political front or alliance with it. It goes without saying that these so-called communists are wrong. History provides innumerable instances of most reactionary parties enjoying popular support and having in its ranks a large number of individual elements belonging to the working class and other exploited sections of the people. Take the case of Hitler's National Socialist Party. German people in general swelled its ranks and supported it. Nevertheless it was not a progressive or pro-people party. It was an enemy of the people. Same was the case with the Muslim League before the partition of our country. Bulk of the Muslim masses in undivided India, ordinary workers, peasants, students, teachers, professional men, etc. constituted the ranks of the Muslim League and fully

And Wipes Out Poverty of Our People

supported it. But still then it was not a progressive or pro-people party. It was an arch communal party. So, simply on the alleged ground of mass popularity and presence of democratic forces in the ranks of the ruling Congress it would be wrong to hold that it is a progressive party.

We very often come across terms like democratic parties, progressive forces, etc. There must be some yard-stick to decide which party is democratic or which forces are progressive. What is that standard? We like to quote at length what we wrote in our issue dated August 1, 1970, in answering this question. "The line of demarcation between a progressive and a reactionary man now lies in whether or not he is free from bias against communism, supports the just class struggles by the exploited people against vested interests and is one with the masses of workers, poor peasants and other sections of exploited people. In the present era when world social forces are divided into two camps, the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism, one cannot be democratic, even in the liberal bourgeois democratic sense, by being hostile to the ideology of communism. In the present correlation of world social forces, anti-communism is historically bound to become pro-imperialism. Look at the world history and you will find that champions of democracy of yesterday have become enemies of democracy and social progress today because of their hostility to communism and consequent refuge in the lap of imperialists. Patriotism now demands support to the just struggles of workers, poor peasants and other exploited sections of the people against their respective exploiters and oppressors. To oppose these struggles on any plea

means to side with the exploiters and oppressors. To be not one with the masses of the people objectively tantamounts to directly or indirectly helping enemies of the people. By helping exploiters, oppressors, enemies of the people, one can never be patriotic, democratic or progressive. Apply this standard and you will find that the Indira wing of the Congress is no less anti-people and pro-capitalist than the Syndicate Congress."

Some other so-called communists in our country, till the other day, found within the fold of the ruling Congress "a healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists"; According to these so-called communists, the ruling Congress has "taken certain measures which are in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people." But do not facts prove otherwise? Can it be denied that under the aegis of the undivided Congress and the ruling Congress, monopolists in our country have bled our people white and thereby amassed fabulous wealth and property? Sm. Gandhi loudly proclaims that she would wipe out the appalling poverty of our people. The proclamation, no doubt, produces a sweet sensation in the mind of our people engaged in a fierce struggle to anyhow keep their body and soul together. But is it not a hard fact that even after twenty-five years since independence, it is because of the policies of Sm. Gandhi and her father that "about 35 per cent of the total population in our country have a monthly income of Rs. 15 while the top 8 monopoly families appropriate 35 per cent of the total national income"—a figure given by a ruling Congress MP in course of his speech on the floor of the Lok Sabha? What better

testimony can there be for "anti-monopoly democratic" "healthy trend" in the ruling Congress! And it is a pity that such unreal study is passed on as Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the ruling Congress in our country.

Let us quote some more figures to see how Sm. Gandhi and her government are fighting monopoly. The assets of the companies controlled by the 75 big monopoly Houses in our country have increased 1000% compared to pre-independence days. Leave aside what happened in long past. We confine ourselves to recent times. During four years from 1963-64 to 1967-68, the assets of these companies rose from Rs. 2600 crores to Rs. 4032'40 crores; the assets of these companies accounted for 53'8 per cent of the total assets of the entire private sector as in 1967-68. During this period of four years, the assets of the House of Shri Ram increased by 96'4 per cent, of the Birlas by 96'6 per cent, of the Bajaj by 115'4 per cent, of Mahindra and Mahindra by 155'2 per cent, of the Mafatlal by 195'9 per cent, of the Parry by 300'5 per cent, just to mention only a few.

One may argue that this was before the split of the Congress. The argument does not stand; because even then Sm. Gandhi was in the Congress, she even headed the government for some years in the corresponding period. Still then we reproduce facts relating to the period after the split. The Dutta Committee recommended that the monopoly Houses should not be allowed to expand their empire and achieve further concentration of economic power. And what the government headed by Sm. Gandhi did? Her government issued 86 licences in 1969; 20 licences out of a total of 47 in 1970 and 114 out of a total of 159 in 1971 to the 75 monopoly

Houses, the Tatas and the Birlas together getting 55 licences in 1971 alone. To form a correct idea about the extent of patronage distributed by the government headed by Sm. Gandhi to these tycoons, it is necessary to know the total amount of money involved in the licences. We cannot off-hand give that figure. But this much is certain that these tycoons have enjoyed the lion's share.

Over and above the issue of licences, these monopoly Houses have been helped in various other ways by the ruling Congress and its governments. For example, take the case of financial assistance. When the fourteen major Indian banks were nationalized, ruling Congress leaders proclaimed that the credit policy would be so formulated that monopoly is curbed. But what do we see now? Just the reverse. The amount outstanding from the 75 monopoly Houses to the nationalized banks on July 18, 1969 stood at Rs. 440'28 crores whereas on March 26, 1971 it was Rs. 491'73 crores. LIC's total investments between 1967-68 and 1971-72 in the private sector totalled Rs. 13'2624 crores out of which Rs. 7'0208 crores were in the companies of the monopoly Houses. The position of the Industrial Development Bank of India and the Industrial Finance Corporation follows the same pattern.

These facts glaringly show that, whatever Congress leaders and pseudo-communists in our country might be saying, it is a hard fact that the ruling Congress and the governments run by it by acts of omission and commission are actively helping the monopolists to expand and achieve more concentration of economic power. And in fact, the present Chief Minister of

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Congress Actively Helping Monopoly to Consolidate

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West Bengal, a ruling Congress stalwart openly canvassed for the expansion of the monopoly Houses in West Bengal. Of course, this patronage by the ruling Congress is not a one-way traffic. It is being suitably reciprocated by the tycoons also. In what way? Ways are many but it is certain that change of place of crores of rupees, mostly black money, from the secret vault of the tycoons into the coffer of the ruling Congress is one of the ways.

So, you see what kind of socialism Sm. Gandhi, her government and the ruling Congress are bringing. Our people have already a taste of this 'socialism.' Exasperated, they are praying for a halt of march of this 'socialism'. Common men as they are, they want drinking water and irrigation facilities to fight chronic drought, efficient drainage system to save themselves from chronic floods, stoppage of closure, lock-out, lay-off and retrenchment, free education upto school-leaving stage, some improvement of the highly deplorable condition in government hospitals and health centres, the lowering of the prices of essential commodities, restoration of democratic atmosphere, etc. It does not require socialism to do all these things. Even within the basic limitations of capitalist society they can be implemented provided that there is sincerity of purpose. Money will not be wanting. The plugging of wastage, realization of outstanding taxes due from tax-evader millionaires, practice of economy by curtailing huge unnecessary expenditure incurred for the President, Governors, Ministers and embassies abroad and such other savings will provide the necessary fund to implement the burning demands of the

people. That Sm. Gandhi, the ruling Congress and the governments it runs are not moving to remove these long-standing grievances of the people is a proof of their lack of sincerity also.

It is our social duty to register our protest against the fraud which the ruling Congress, its leaders and its governments are perpetrating on the people in the name of establishing socialism and implementing the slogan of 'garibi hatao'. It will be suicidal to remain indifferent or suffer from despondency. Social indifference, inaction against social injustice, frustration and dejection only help anti-people forces to gain strength and embolden them to carry on fascistic attacks on common men. In the face of mounting fascistic attacks on the people by ruling Congress hoodlums backed by the administration and the police, our people must organise themselves for a sustained organised movement for the restoration of democracy. We urge upon the people to do it.

Coal Mines Workers

(Contd. from page 5)

the government the prices of coal have recorded sharp rise. The prices of hard-coke and soft-coke have already been increased. The Bharat Coking Coal Limited proposes to raise the prices of raw coal also by Rs. 3'50 per tonne.

It was expected that the government after the take-over of the coking coal mines would at least implement the recommendations of the Coal Wage Board and arrange for payment of arrear dues to coking coal mine workers. But strangely enough the management of the Bharat Coking Coal Limited has shown least interest in undoing the illegal and unjust practice of the

Organise Mass Movement to Restore Democracy in West Bengal

(By a Staff Reporter)

Berhampore, West Bengal, June 21—Despite heavy rain and storm thousands of people marched in processions and joined the public meeting today at Hariharpara organised by the local committee of the SUCI. The meeting presided over by Com. Prasanta Das continued for about two hours and the people, undaunted by rain and storm, heard with rapt attention different speakers.

Com. Subobh Banerjee, who was the main speaker in the meeting, dealt elaborately how the ruling Congress in connivance with the administration and the police entirely rigged the last general elections in the state in order to capture governmental power anyhow, reducing election to a farce. He explained why the Left Front in West Bengal to register a protest against the rigging of election had decided to boycott the rigged state Legislative Assembly. Com. Banerjee also explained the decision of the Left Front not to participate in the last by-election in the state and clearly pointed out the difference between the decision of non-participation and the decision to boycott by-elections. He drew the attention of the people to the fact that though the Front

had not decided to boycott by-elections, the ruling Congress and, toeing its line, the big newspapers made it appear to the people that it had decided to boycott elections with no response from the people.

Com. Banerjee showed concrete instances how the ruling Congress after capturing governmental power had been smothering democracy by carrying on planned and organised violent attacks on the workers and supporters of left parties and mass organisations led by left parties with the backing of the administration and the police. He illustrated the sufferings of the drought affected people of Murshidabad, Bankura, Purulia and other districts of West Bengal, the sufferings having been more acute due to criminal apathy of the Congress rulers. He cited how bargadars were being forcibly evicted most illegally and poor peasants deprived of their holdings under duress by local jotedars and armed hoodlums belonging to the ruling Congress. He concluded his speech by urging upon the toiling millions to organise themselves and develop movements to restore democracy in West Bengal and safeguard hard-won rights.

Com. Raihan Biswas, who had been returned to the state Legislative Assembly from Hariharpara constituency as an SUCI candidate also spoke in the meeting.