

# Congress(R) Reverses Much-Trumpeted Food Policy

So the Central and the State Governments have announced their decision to reverse their much-trumpeted stance on food policy. It goes without saying that this reversal is not intended to deal firmly with and suppress the hoarders, black-marketeers and profiteers. On the contrary, it is directed to leave the country and the people to the entire mercy of these anti-social big guns in so far as distribution of so important a thing as food is concerned.

In passing, it may be recalled that the wholesale dealers in foodgrain were snubbed with deliberate ostentation by the Congress leaders at the Ahmedabad session of the AICC in October, 1972 to refurbish the declining image of the Congress. It was at that session that the party with an air of charlatanism declared that it was going to solve the food problem once for all and, accordingly, decided to introduce monopoly wholesale trade in wheat by the state to be followed by the similar take over by the state of wholesale trade in other grains. The West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. Siddhartha Sankar Roy, at that session made a thundering speech in favour of state take over of wholesale trade in wheat. The political gimmick of this votary of wholesale state-trading was completely exposed when a few days later, in formulating the new food policy of the current kharif season in West Bengal, he openly opposed any take-over by the state of wholesale trade in paddy, rice or wheat.

The farce of wholesale state-trading in wheat has further been exposed by the outcome of the very cordial meeting the Prime Minister had a few days back with the All India Food grain Dealers Federation on the question of procurement of food grains and their prices to be paid by the government. The outcome of the meetings, in the opinion of the Federation made the dealers very happy. Rumours of reversal of food policy was in the air. At the deliberations of the Chief Ministers on 16th March last, Mrs. Indira Gandhi gave broad indications of what the new policy of her govern-

ment was going to be. According to reports published so far in the different newspapers, this new food policy will abandon the take-over of wholesale trade in wheat by the state introduced about a year back, impose a levy on the wholesalers and "lean heavily on private trade to help the government in procurement". This is exactly the policy the West Bengal Government has adopted this kharif season in the matter of procurement of rice and paddy. We all know the disastrous result of this policy—even the extremely modest target of procurement of 5 lakh tonnes of rice has not been reached (a little over 25 per cent of the targeted amount has been procured so far), price of rice has gone up surpassing all limit, corruption among the government officials and the police not only has increased tremendously but has been institutionalised and become a part of the way of life, hoarders, blackmarketeers, profiteers and smugglers are having the market under their thumb as never before, general mass of the peasants and consuming public are suffering acutely due to non-availability of foodgrains and high prices and a reign of police terror and goondaism by Congress *mastans* has been let loose upon the common men in West Bengal. The Central government's so called new food policy is brought with similar consequences. Our country is going to face another catastrophe due to bungling in the food front by the present rulers.

To be candid, during the long period of about twenty-seven years since the independence of India

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## Free Trade Union Movement From Economism and Opportunism

—COM. SHIBDAS GHOSH

Durgapur, March 19—With great eclat the first annual conference of the Durgapur Steel Workers' Co-ordination Committee was held here on 17th and 18th March last. It was a grand success.

The inaugural open session of the conference held on 17th March was presided over by Com. Madhu Sinha, President of the DSWCC and was addressed, among others, by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist thinkers of the day and President of the All India United Trades Union Congress (Lenin Sarani) and Com. Subodh Banerjee, President of its West Bengal State Committee.

After the fraternal

delegates from TISCO, IISCO, Bokharo Steel Plant and Rourkela Steel Plant had felicitated the leaders of the DSWCC for the very successful inaugural session and expressed on behalf of the workers of the respective steel plants their determination to develop united struggle of all the steel workers, Com. Shibdas Ghosh occupied the floor. In his one and a half hour long speech, Com. Ghosh elaborately discussed the prevailing situation in our country, illustrated

with concrete instances the deepening of crisis in every walk of life of the people, and explained how the three major tasks of solving the unemployment problem, modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture, thereby overcoming the economic backwardness of the country, and the opening of the door of uninterrupted development of industry were inseparably linked up with the task of making the anti-capitalist socialist revolution of India victorious and replacing in the main, the capitalist relation of production and motive force of production by the socialist relations of production and motive force of production. He dealt with the various problems now confronting the trade union movement in our country, showed how economism and other forms of opportunist ideas had made inroad in our trade union movement, pointed out that the trade unions were schools of communism and emphasized that the real significance of conducting the day-to-day class struggles and democratic movements for the realization of economic and other democratic demands of the workers could be achieved only if these movements would conduce to the revolutionary preparation in the country. And here came

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## Observe SUCI DAY on 24th April

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India has issued the following appeal on the eve of the august occasion of 26th Anniversary of the Party,

"On 24th April next, we will be celebrating the 26th anniversary of our Party.

"To observe this historic day of revolutionary significance to the toiling Indian millions with all solemnity and gravity, the Central Committee directs all the State units to organise elaborate programmes of meetings, squads, group-meetings, street-corner meetings, literature sale campaign, postering and poster exhibitions and fund collection campaign to propagate the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the leader, teacher and General Secretary of our Party and one of the greatest Marxist-Leninist philosophers of the present era, among the workers, peasants, students, youths and women, among every section of the toiling millions of our country.

# Basavapunnaiyah's Laborious Intellectual Exercise

## Attempt To Assure Soviet Leaders that CPI (M) is Pro-Soviet revisionist Leadership

Anyone going through the article that has been published in the People's Democracy dated 16th Dec. 1973, under the heading "Indo-Soviet Agreements and the CPI(M)", written by Mr. Basavapunnaiyah, a well-known leader of the CPI(M), would wonder what might be the real purpose of the said article?

It may superficially appear as if Mr. Basavapunnaiyah in his article has attempted to give reply to charges labelled against the CPI(M) by the CPI that the former is anti-Soviet and is following a policy pretending equi-distance between the Soviet Union and the Socialist China. But, is it really so? Or is it an attempt, that under the pretext of replying to the CPI, Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has actually made to assure the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union that whatever the CPI might say against them, the CPI(M) is not at all anti-Soviet revisionist leadership?

Let us examine if such an idea is a product of one's wishful thinking or based on objective ground. For this purpose let us at first see what might be the reasons that have led the CPI to label the charges against the CPI(M) as stated above.

Like us, along with others, the CPI knows that recently CPI(M) leaders, one after another have visited the Soviet Union.

It also knows that a journal published on behalf of the GDR was being printed in the Ganashakti Press i.e., the press owned by the CPI (M). Like us, along with others, the CPI must have noted that one no longer finds outbursts against Soviet revisionism in the pages of the organs and other publications of the CPI(M) which one most often used to come across in the past. Rather, in place of criticism against the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union one is increasingly noticing praise of the role of the said revisionist leadership even on issues which are not only looked upon with suspicion by the resurgent nationalist countries of Asia and Africa but also at times strongly condemned by the freedom-loving people all over the world. A glaring example among many such issues is the shameful humiliating cease-fire resolution on the recent West Asian conflict that was jointly engineered by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union along with the U.S imperialists and imposed on the fighting Arab people tantamounting to a betrayal of their cause.

Like us, along with others, the CPI must have also noted that for sometimes past, the CPI(M) leadership while, on

the one hand, are praising the Soviet revisionist leadership on and often even on trifling issues, on the other, contrary to their previous attitude towards the CPC, are more and more reflecting an attitude of bitter criticism towards the CPC and the Socialist China in their gestures and deportments. Again, in the wake of understanding with the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union the CPI(M) is trying to be closer to the CPI for a better mutual understanding and with this end in view, the CPI(M), instead of calling the CPI any more as 'Dangeite revisionist' has began to term it simply as 'Right CPI.'

Moreover, like us, along with others, the CPI must have also noted that for sometimes past, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union on their part are also showing an attitude of softness towards the CPI(M). The CPI can easily understand that the advice given to it by Mr. Brezhnev during his last visit to our country, to come to a closer understanding with the CPI(M) is an outcome of this soft attitude that is being at present expressed by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union towards the CPI(M).

Now, like us along with others, the CPI also understands very well that all these facts and incidents clearly show that attempts are being made by both the CPI(M)

leadership and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union to come to a closer understanding behind the screen.

Now, for obvious reasons, the CPI, being apprehensive of the fact that any sort of relation developing between the CPI(M) and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union might jeopardise its own interest, has actively engaged at impairing the growth of the same. To fulfil this desired objective, the CPI has attempted to mislead the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union by trying to depict the CPI(M) before them as anti-Soviet revisionist leadership.

This is quite understandable and any sensible man can easily follow the meaning of it.

Now, if Mr. Basavapunnaiyah would not have desired to assure the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union that they were not anti-Soviet revisionist leadership and, more over, if he would have meant to maintain at least on word for word's sake, their once announced old position that the CPI(M) would fight against modern revisionism and particularly the revisionism practised by the Soviet revisionist leadership then he could have stated in his reply to the CPI that, 'what is wrong in one's becoming anti-Soviet revisionist leadership? The CPI(M) leadership were always against revisionism and anti-Soviet revisionist leadership which they are still now.' But Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has not uttered anything like this. On the contrary, it would clearly appear that the CPI(M) leader has become perturbed at the possibility of their growing relation with the Soviet revisionist leadership being impaired by the CPI's attempt, and with a view to frustrate this attempt has promptly come forward to denounce the charge labelled against them by the CPI that they are anti-Soviet revisionist leadership.

The CPI(M) leader, in his reply to the CPI has virtually assured the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union that they are not anti-Soviet revisionist leadership though sometimes they have to

criticise the said leadership on certain issues. In no case this proves that the CPI(M) is going against the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union. For, they have to do this for preserving their so called 'revolutionary image' among their cadres which they expect of their revisionist friends of the Soviet Union to understand. Moreover, in his argument, Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has pathetically tried to impress upon the Soviet revisionist leadership that when they even criticise them, do they not do it in a fraternal tone like a close ally or friend? Do the Soviet revisionist leadership not observe that they are far, far more critical of the CPC?

To any critical reader it would therefore appear that on the plea of replying to the charges labelled against them by the CPI, Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has in reality tried to assure the Soviet revisionist leadership that whatever the CPI might clamour against them, they are really pro-Soviet revisionist leadership. But this has not been an easy task for him. For, apprehending lest their so called 'revolutionary image' would become tarnished if his real motive becomes exposed to their cadres, Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has to take recourse to a subtle way of assuring the Soviet revisionist leadership through which he assumes they can escape the danger of being exposed to their own cadres. In fact, being guided by this deep rooted objective, Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has to perform a laborious intellectual exercise through two and half pages which has taken the form of the present article under examination, though how far he has succeeded in his job is anybody's guess. No doubt, it is due to the low standard of ideological and political make-up of their cadres that Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has dared to launch such a futile attempt. For, any cadre of a revolutionary party, with adequate political and ideological education could have easily grasped the inner motives that have led Mr. Basavapunnaiyah to perform such an unsuccessful exercise.

We would like to raise some pertinent questions before the CPI(M) leadership including the author of the article under review. When the CPI(M) emerged as a separate party from the united CPI, its very emergence was sought to be justified by making the pledge that it would have to fight against modern revisionism and particularly the revisionism practised by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union—a trend that, after being once developed in the past as the main danger to the world Communist movement, has now become the worst enemy against the healthy growth of the international Communist movement.

But, do the CPI(M) leadership still consider modern revisionism, the floodgate of which has been opened up by the Soviet revisionist leadership, at least as the main danger if not the main enemy before the international Communist movement which they openly stated in the past at the time of the formation of their party from the united CPI? Do they still pledge to fight against modern revisionism, the rotten enemy of the international Communist movement which they pledged to do in the past during the formation of the CPI(M) out of the split in the united CPI? Moreover, and perhaps one of the most crucial issues is, do they still consider the present leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet state as arch revisionists? If not, then how can they justify the existence of the CPI(M) any more as a party separate from the CPI other than for preserving the group interests of the leaders, as because all other points of its difference with the CPI relate only to tactical questions? We hope the rank and file of the party would seriously ponder over the matter.

We have had to raise these questions, because for sometimes past, along with others, we too have been observing that the CPI(M) is trying to be closer to the Soviet revisionist leadership and that too, in a very surreptitious manner. (Contd. to Page Three)

# CPI(M) Leadership Eulogise Treaty Designed to Realise the Interest of Soviet Revisionist Leadership

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tious way at the very back of their own rank and file, supporters and the masses.

Apart from the facts and incidents that we have already mentioned, the manner in which Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has given rather unqualified support to Indo-Soviet economic agreements, Indo-Soviet treaty and eulogised Soviet aid, has also revealed without any doubt that with days passing on, they are gradually becoming more and more inclined towards the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union. In this regard, Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has quoted the relevant portions of the Polit Bureau resolution of the CPI(M) where the Soviet aid, economic co-operation with the Soviet Union and Indo-Soviet treaty have been highly praised for fulfilling our CPI(M) friends' wishful thinking that they 'have helped in lessening the dependence of our country on U. S. imperialism'. Now, so far as the Indo-Soviet treaty is concerned, we would like to refer to our former issue (Prolet. era 15th Sept, 1971) where we have thoroughly analysed the said treaty in detail and placed our considered views on the same. For the present, with a view to place our main observations on the said treaty vis-a-vis the view point of our CPI(M) friends that we have already stated above before our critical readers, we would like to quote certain relevant portions from our earlier issue that has been referred to above. 'It is important to note here that at a time when China is attempting to normalise her relationship with all countries including India ... This treaty was concluded with hot haste by the Soviet Union taking advantage of India's complete dependence on her due to Bangladesh issue. So, in the background of prevailing hostility between the Soviet Union and China, such an apprehension can not be ruled out that this treaty, particularly the Clause X of this treaty may be aimed at frustrating the necessary move required from the side of India Government to

restore our old friendship with China.

A question still haunts the minds of conscientious public why the Soviet Union particularly chosen this time in signing this treaty and hastily concluded it containing certain clauses which may be interpreted as an attempt to bind India closely with her against China, now a hostile country of the Soviet Union taking advantage of India's difficulty on Bangladesh issue. Where as it was expected of the Soviet Union carrying a long revolutionary tradition as socialist state to take a patient, real, energetic and objective approach towards restoration of normal relationship with China, thereby cementing unity of of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union on the contrary is obstructing China's sincere effort to develop friendly relationship with all countries which is clearly evident from their recent hectic diplomatic move precisely designed for that purpose.... Soviet Union was worriedly and anxiously, noticing for sometime, the growing symptoms of India's eagerness to restore normal relationship with China.

Precisely under this background one is likely to presume that the Soviet Union has particularly chosen this moment for signing treaty with such a haste with the sole motive of binding India closely with her against China when India is in a difficult situation and completely dependent on Soviet Union's help for Bangladesh issue... If it is seen that in the course of time it becomes possible to have a rapprochement between the Soviet Union and China... then this particular clause of the treaty will have practically no bearing on India in playing her full independent role.... But if such a situation does not occur in the near future and the hostile attitude of the Soviet Union against China still continues then whatever small benefit the Indian side might have accrued out of this treaty in respect of Bangladesh issue... this treaty in the long run in course of 20 years, will virtually

subjugate Indian interests and this particular clause will definitely act as a brake on our attempts to normalise relationship and restore old friendship with China'.

So our question is, how can anyone, other than the choir boys of the Soviet revisionist leadership eulogise such a treaty which was solely designed to realise the interest of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union to extend their spheres of influence and to bind India along with her against China, with a view to frustrating any attempt on former's part to restore her old friendship with China, by observing that this 'have helped in lessening the dependence of our country on US imperialism'? Is it not an wishful thinking on the part of the CPI(M) leadership if they still consider the leadership of the party and state of Soviet Union as revisionists? Of course, the position would fundamentally change if the CPI(M) leadership no more consider the Soviet leadership as revisionists. We hope the rank and file of the CPI(M) will think over this pertinent question.

Now, let us concentrate our attention on the issue of the aid given to India by the Soviet revisionist leadership and the economic co-operation in which the said revisionist leadership have entered with India.

It is known to all that on the questions of giving aid to, entering into economic co-operation, or making treaty with any under developed or developing capitalist country, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist leadership of any socialist country is to be guided by the primary and basic objective of intensifying the contradiction of those countries with imperialism, to make them free from the influence of the imperialist powers as far as possible, with a view to gradually weakening the world imperialist chain and thereby ultimately create conditions in favour of world revolutionary movements. Again, no wonder that the ruling capitalist class of the countries receiving the aid would naturally try to utilise the aid to consolidate and strengthen capitalism in their respective countries, which

even a layman understands. Any effort on their part even to utilise the aid for lessening their dependence on foreign imperialism would only be aimed at fulfilling their own natural aspiration of developing themselves into imperialist powers. Such attempts, only to a certain extent can be contended by organising vigorous and mighty left and democratic movements in those countries. But, in order to completely frustrate the attempts of the ruling bourgeoisie once for all, a fundamental transformation of the society is necessary. This can only be achieved by overthrowing the bourgeoisie from power and establishing socialism. But, still one should welcome the aid provided the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist leadership of the socialist country, being fully conscious of the primary and basic objective of the aid that we have earlier elaborated, extend the aid to the underdeveloped and developing capitalist countries to fulfil the aspirations of the people for the development and progress of their countries. Though how much this aid would be utilised by the ruling bourgeoisie against the interest of the people, or to what extent, this would be really utilised for fulfilling the people's aspiration for developing their countries, would mainly depend upon how far the class-conscious workers of the aid receiving countries could correctly handle and resolve the problems and contradictions, relating to the aid programmes of the socialist countries in manners conducive to the growth of the revolutionary movements in those countries. Now a pertinent question is, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, who from the role they have repeatedly played in the important international events that have happened since the twentieth party congress of the CPSU till to day, like the Vietnam war, Cuban crisis, Nixon-Brezhnev summit, West-Asian conflict etc, have clearly revealed that they have reached the ultimate stage of pervasion in the game and tactics of revisionism, and are hand-in-glove with the U. S imperialists to

enter into nefarious agreement for mutually extending their spheres of influence—can they fulfil the desired objectives of the socialist aid programme that we have earlier elaborated? No Marxist-Leninist can ever believe that.

At present, when it is being glaringly testified that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union are in collusion with the U. S imperialists for mutually extending their spheres of hegemony any aid given, or a treaty made by the said revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, with a view to fulfilling our CPI(M) friends' wishful thinking of 'lessening the dependence of our country on the U. S imperialists' is, on the one hand, actually an attempt on the part of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union to increase their spheres of influence and on the other, to restrain as far as possible any attempts on the part of the ruling bourgeoisie of our country to normalise relationship and restore old friendship with the Socialist China. Any true Marxist-Leninist can easily see to it in spite of the fact that Mr. Basavapunnaiyah is trying to make us believe otherwise.

Even if the CPI(M) leadership do not agree with our observation that in the present situation the supply of aid to different countries is actually an attempt on the part of the Soviet revisionist leadership to increase their spheres of influence, still we hope that they would agree with what we earlier stated in regard to the primary and basic objective of the aid given by the Socialist countries to others. But what is most curiously lacking in the observations made by Mr. Basavapunnaiyah, is a critical examination of the character of the aid given by the present Soviet revisionist leadership in the background of the fulfillment of these objectives. Not only that Mr. Basavapunnaiyah has refrained from making any such critical examination; over and above the manner in which the CPI(M) leadership have

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# CENTRAL BUDGET—a glaring example of nefarious tricks of deception with the Toiling People

Budget in a capitalist state serves the aggregate class interest of the ruling capitalist class, no doubt. But while a certain minimum bourgeois democratic norm of equity is observed by other capitalist governments, here in our country the ruling bourgeois party feels no qualms to keep that much. It, on the other hand, makes dirty tricks of deception with the people. This year's budget is a glaring example of that deception trick.

The budget wears a deceptive look by giving some amount of relief in income tax to lower and middle income salary earners. It minimises the deficit gap to Rs. 125 crores. It brings a lighter burden of taxes to the tune of Rs 186 crores. It speaks of increase in development expenditure and all that. But the facts it attempts to hide are quite clear at a simple scratch.

For, take the case of income tax concession. It is just a cover to give more liberal concession to the upper income bracket gentry. Of course this liberal concession to the rich will not ensure collection. Hundreds of crores of rupees remain and will remain unpaid. Black money accumulation will not be disturbed in any way, rather it may increase. Wanchoo Committee's recommendations have not been accepted in totality, but only its plea for tax-rate concession to the rich has been accepted. Again, the relief in income tax to the lower and middle group salary earner will be more than offset by withdrawal of present concessions in regard to conveyance, books and other professional expenses as also further price hike of daily necessary items due to tremendous inflationary potential generated by fresh impost in Excise and Customs duties to the tune of Rs 186 crores in the general budget and enhancement of freight charges and fares for third-class travellers to the tune of Rs 136'38 crores. Besides, the small deficit figure is a

hoax. It is sure to touch, if not actually exceed, the deficit of Rs 750 crores of last year.

Money supply will also increase in all probability exceeding the rate of 9'6 p.c prevailing during the last 8 months. And this is in the background of zero rate of increase in industrial production for the last two years. Naturally, the Finance Minister also could not spell out much hope when he proposed increase in developmental outlay. In his own words, it was just "to keep wheels of production going"; At least, it is no sign of relief to the 10,000 people, daily being thrown to the scrap heaps of jobless millions. This, in short, is the picture.

Now, let us come to the budget proposals which are merely indicative of the terrible mess, the crises-ridden bourgeois economy of our country has been put into, in the present phase of development of productive forces. But before that, let us take a quick glance at the broad indicators of the economy as they come out of the Government's own document, the Pre-budget Economic Survey, presented by the Finance Ministry along with brief comments of ours thereon.

The Economic Survey presents a grim picture and what is worse, holds out no hope for the next year. It says, "the balance sheet of the economy looks distinctly unfavourable" and that the next year "promises to be another

very difficult year is beyond doubt".

The Survey comes out with a plethora of admissions of failures. For example, it admits that variety of measures adopted by the Government to relieve the basic causes of economic difficulties and to minimise their adverse effects on poor people have totally failed. In its own words "That these policies have not made a significant impact on price situation is too obvious to need any elaboration".

Then again, the Survey admits that even though the kharif crop has been good it has made no impact on prices. The explanation for this failure has been that because of continually rising prices, affluent consumers, traders and producers are holding stocks and that one good crop by itself can not balance supply and demand. It has further admitted that though the food production had increased in 1973 that increase was over the production in 1972 but it still failed to reach the 1970 level! The impact of the green revolution (!) is also dwindling, necessitating further technological improvement.

It therefore makes a frank admission that management of India's food economy is crucially dependent on our ability to increase production and to ensure through orderly procurement and distribution an equitable supply of available food grains.

Yes, gentlemen, this is what we have been demanding of you since 1956. The only points to be added are that firstly, the Government's distribution machinery will have to be stretched to the stage of retail trade, otherwise the loopholes will remain for the free play of speculative capital by the jotedars and traders. And secondly, the ruling party lacks the political will to do so, for

fear of antagonising the jotedars who constitute the 'vote bank' both in respect of money and influence for the party.

Industrial production has been steadily on the decline. It was at the rate of 9'2% between 1960-66 and 4'5% after 1966 but zero in the last two years.

The Survey notes that data on industrial production are available for the first half of the calendar year 1973 only. These show that there was a small decline in certain critical sectors. Production of steel power and fertiliser was particularly unsatisfactory and "on present indications it was likely that the growth of industrial production in the current year would be very low."

This is because of widespread power shortage apart from other factors like inadequate availability of raw materials, transport bottlenecks, labour unrest (a cause or effect?) low level of industrial investment and management problem etc. Power generation was lower than that of 1972. The country's pressing needs for higher investments in such critical sectors as coal steel, power and irrigation were stressed in the Survey but with a note of caution that in order to control inflationary pressures they were to be made with minimum recourse to deficit financing. And here is the rub!

The Finance Minister could balance in between the two only by non-planning.

But the most interesting part of the comments that the Survey made on industrial field is the following:

"In a country as poor as India, the very considerable under-utilisation of industrial capacity that prevails in the country constitutes a waste which we can ill afford and the restrictions that come on the wake of full utilisation of capacity serve no useful social or

economic purpose."

Does it not show the utter perplexity of the ruling class, eager to have an escape route in the midst of complex problems and inherent contradictions insoluble by it as a class as also by the economy, historically limited and outmoded particularly at this third stage of overall crises of capitalism as a world wide system?

That the deficit financing during the current year may be substantial, has been hinted at in the Survey. It says, "The Government's efforts to contain the size of the budgetary deficit are unlikely to meet with success" because of higher expenditure on relief, unexpected fall in collection of excise duties, increased food subsidy, deterioration in railways financial position and financial commitments on Pay Commission's recommendations etc.

The Survey admits that there is limited scope for any increase in indirect taxes and an extremely small possibility for any increase in direct taxes although need for additional resources is substantial. An interesting point has been mentioned. After labouring much to show that indirect taxes can not be called regressive it however admits that as the Public Sector is often a major consumer of many excisable products, a part of customs and excise duties is paid by the Government itself and so the gross yield of these taxes is not a true indicator of net additional resource mobilisation.

The vital point, not mentioned is that in order to meet the extra burden of excise and customs duties, both the public and Private sectors, are increasing the prices of goods and then by transferring the incidence of imposts on to the shoulders

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## TRANSFORM PEOPLE'S DISCONTENT AND ANGER INTO POLITICAL CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS, ORGANISE THEM UNDER THE BANNER OF THE SUCI, THE GENUINE WORKING CLASS PARTY ON OUR SOIL

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of common people as consumers of goods. This in turn is making a contraction of the home market whose base is already low.

In the background of this dismal picture of the economy, let us now see the broad outlines of the new burdens of taxations by way of increase in freight and fare rates in the railway budget and excise and customs duties in the general budget, and other budgetary provisions which will prove unmistakably the utter reactionary character of the ruling party.

In a desperate attempt to retain the present high level of railway dividend to the general exchequer, the Railway Minister, in his budget proposals has brought an all-round increase in freight and fares to net an additional sum of Rs 136.38 crores.

The Minister has significantly remarked that had he not increased the freight and fare rates, the net deficit for the year 1974-75 could have been only Rs 7.5 crores. But he was imposing the additional burden because he had to pay Rs. 181.67 crores as dividends to the general revenue. Even after this additional burden a short fall of Rs. 52.79 crores remains. It means in other words that instead of bringing the aggregate sum of new taxes in the general budget, the trick has been to split it up into two parts and one part coming through the railway budget. And this is for wearing a deceptive look in the general budget!

The main burden of railway budget has fallen on freight charges of all raw materials for industries including consumer industries to cover Rs. 93.72 crores. The increase rate ranges between 5 and 11 p. c. in proportion to the distance of haulage.

Freight rates on the single item, coal, alone is expected to fetch Rs. 88

crores, pushing the transport cost as high as 12%. Freight rates on almost all essential commodities like, oil, cakes, firewood, charcoal, sugar cane, salt, paper, sugar, kerosene, mustard oil hydrogenated oil have been increased.

Moreover, freight rates on iron ore, gypsum, coal, ammonium sulphate, caustic soda, cement, manganese, pig iron, urea, castor seed, iron and steel and raw cotton will certainly push up the prices of manufactured goods.

If past experience is any guide, there will be sympathetic rise in prices of almost all goods whether being taxed or not. Traders will raise their profit margin under the ostensible plea of rise in transport cost and this government will be a silent spectator. The railway budget will therefore in all probability push the price spiral and may ultimately lead to hyper-inflation. Besides, by fare increases of third class coaches, the government expects to raise a total sum of Rs. 34.54 crores out of a total burden of Rs. 41.16 crores coming from total fare increases. The rich will have to pay only a sum of Rs. 4.4 crores out of fare increase in air-conditioned chair cars and first class coaches. This is socialism indeed!

Out of the aggregate budgetary outlay of Rs. 8,865 crores, proposed in the budget, defence expenditure accounts for Rs. 1,915 crores i.e. 21 p.c. of the total outlay. This is already an increase by Rs. 162 crores over the last year's outlay. Total developmental outlay of Rs. 4,538 crores constitutes 51%, interest payment by the government on loans (mostly to rich people) totals Rs. 973 crores. Provision for power and irrigation, so very vital at this stage, has come down over the last year's expenditure from Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 61 crores.

The budgetary gap estimated in last year's budget as Rs. 87 crores has in actuality been Rs. 750 crores. In this year's budget a gap of Rs. 125 crores has been estimated, which will be definitely higher. Additional taxes to the tune of Rs. 186 crores have been proposed. This is again by way of increase in excise and customs duties on altogether 43 items of essential raw materials or daily necessities like postal items, toothpaste, raw tobacco, rubber and plastic goods. Besides, concessions to passenger carrying buses, three-wheel vehicles, auto-rickshaws have been withdrawn thus pushing up the fares further. The incidence will surely be transferred on to the shoulders of common men as consumers by the traders and businessmen in multiplied rates.

While the Government is restoring more and more to indirect taxes and thereby pushing the prices of daily necessities beyond the purchasing power of common people, this is inevitably leading to contraction of home market where base is already low due to very low purchasing power of the people. Naturally, in a bid to compensate the loss of home market, the Government is trying to explore foreign market and for that, scarce commodities like fine rice, cement, textile goods are being shifted out of the country. The people suffer. But here also the position is not stable. Even after sizeable increase in export, Rs. 100 crores worth of foreign reserves have been drained out to meet the increasing bills for import of food grains and crude oil.

Naturally, the government is depending more and more on foreign assistance which has been on the decline for several

years. The proportion of foreign investment which was 19 P.C. during second plan, 27 P.C. in 1967-68, came down to only 8 P.C. during 1972-73. Recently, there has been a fresh effort to woo foreign investment otherwise the developmental outlay proposed in the entire fifth plan will come nowhere near the target.

The strain in resources is marked on the very first year of the fifth plan. The investment should have been 14 P.C. of the total outlay of Rs. 37,250 crores but it is actually below 10 P.C. In real terms it means only an outlay of Rs. 455 crores and that too not on price level of 1972-73. Inflation has already mauled the real worth of money, Mr. Chavan could only make do this amount only to keep the wheel of production moving. This shows the desperate mood of the bourgeoisie enmeshed in problems beyond their power to solve.

The utter bankruptcy of the ruling class is being revealed in its monetary and fiscal policies. This year's budget is a glaring example of this bankruptcy.

So in the background of this reality, the budget abounds in deceptions, nothing more. More ruthless exploitation, poverty, destitution, soaring number of unemployed, moral degradation and all the patent symptoms of a decadent bourgeois economic system are bursting forth all around in the social life of our country. The common people are seething with discontent and anger. But discontent and anger will have to be transformed into base political class consciousness which can only take the concrete shape in building up the political power of the exploited working people under the ideological and organisational leadership of a real working class party. Under the concrete leadership

of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the eminent Marxist thinker of the age, the teacher and guide of our party, SUCI is the only working class party, that has emerged in the soil of our country, through complicated battles with revolutionary firmness and determination. This party alone can lead the oppressed masses to liberate their life and society from the yoke of capitalism. For that, what is urgent and has already appeared as a social necessity is unity of all democratic and left forces at the all-India and state levels on some concrete common programme and urgent democratic demands of the people. Our party has been making efforts for this unity of the left and democratic forces of the country which alone in the given situation provide a secular democratic alternative to the exploited masses. But the left social democratic parties like CPI and CPI(M) and the socialists are more interested in petty party gains by opportunistic parliamentary games and horsetrading in elections than feeling the higher obligation to the people. So, all our efforts for a programmatic united front of left and democratic forces to lead the masses to democratic battles against the mounting onslaughts of the ruling class have foundered on the rocks of pragmatic 'realpolitik' of these parties. But unless the oppressed masses are united and organised to unleash a real mighty movement, no amount of sacrifice and bloodshed will be of any avail.

We therefore urge upon the democratic minded people to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the left and democratic parties for forging a United Front which alone in the present situation can save the people and the country from utter ruin.

# CPI(M) While Rendering Support to Soviet Revisionist Leadership Directs Unprincipled Criticism to CPC

(Contd. from Page 3)

highly praised to the superlative degree the Indo-Soviet treaty and the aid given by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union through their observation that they 'have helped in lessening the dependence of our country on the U. S. imperialists' has glaringly revealed their growing inclination to the Soviet revisionist leadership. However, from all these things one should not conclude that the CPI(M) leaders have completely refrained from criticising the Soviet revisionist leadership any more. It is a fact that they no more call them revisionists. They even unequivocally lend support to those activities of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union which are condemned by the freedom loving people all over the world. But, apprehending lest their motive may become exposed they still make certain ostentatious criticism against the Soviet revisionist leadership. In fact, in the present article too, Mr. Basavapunnaiiah has made some criticisms of this sort. For obvious reasons, these criticisms made in a very very mild tone are fraternal in nature.

But, side by side along with this sort of attitude that is being expressed by the CPI(M) leadership towards the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, for sometimes past, it is being observed that the said leadership have been gradually revealing an attitude of intensive unprincipled criticism towards the CPC and the Socialist China—a criticism that is not based on even a single fact and correct understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In this regard, we would like to quote a relevant portion from an article by Mr. Sundarayya, the General Secretary of the CPI(M) (People's Democracy 23.12.73.), where he has bracketed the CPC and the Socialist China with the Jansangh, Congress(O) etc, for their alleged anti-Soviet position and stated, 'It is unfortunate that the Socialist China, its press

and Radio (the Chinese Communist party and the Chinese Government) carried away by its sharp conflicts with the Soviet Government and Soviet Communist party (not even a single word is mentioned about the revisionist character of the leadership!—writer), have been attacking Indo-Soviet economic relations from the same angle as that of the Jansangh, Congress (O) and other reactionary forces in our country.' We would have appreciated if Mr. Sundarayya, before making such rotten false allegation against the Socialist China and the CPC would have placed an analysis in support of his observation. But we are constrained to note that any such attempt is lacking on his part.

Moreover, the CPI(M) leadership claim themselves to be Marxist-Leninist. But, any Marxist-Leninist knows it well that situation may arise when a particular issue may face opposition or suffer criticism from both the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and the right reactionary angle. For that reason, no other than fools and idiots can equate them alleging that they possess identical angularities in views. So, any sensible man might conclude that Mr. Sundarayya, though he claims himself to be a Marxist-Leninist, has in reality behaved like a simpleton who equates the angularity of the revolutionary viewpoint at par with that of the reactionary view on the plea, that both have opposed a particular issue, without judging at all which has opposed it from what view point and for what underlying reasons.

A growing tendency of directing unprincipled criticism towards the CPC and Socialist China has also been reflected by Mr. Basavapunnaiiah in his observation that the CPC showed opportunistic distortions of some basic ideological and political questions. Here Mr. Basavapunnaiiah too, has failed to establish his contention and the political resolution adopted by the CPI(M) in the Ninth Congress,

that he has referred to in his support had been thoroughly and critically analysed by us before, when we clearly showed that the charges labelled against the CPC by the CPI(M) in regard to the allegation made against the CPC for basic distortions in the ideological and political field do not stand on a correct analysis on the anvil of Marxism-Leninism.

In fact, the CPI(M) leadership have taken recourse to some nasty tactics. When their main objective is to lend unequivocal support to even those activities of the Soviet revisionist leadership that have been condemned by the freedom loving people all over the world, they in a very formal tone observe that they also support the Socialist China and the CPC even though they never attempt to appreciate or appraise the fact that at present it is the CPC which in the main is reflecting the correct revolutionary line against modern revisionism, the floodgate of which has been opened up by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union. Again, when their main motive is to criticise the Socialist China and the CPC even in an unprincipled manner and on a totally false premise, they express in an inaudible feeble tone that they do not agree with some of the observations of the Soviet leadership. By this manner, the CPI(M) leadership are trying to show that they are pursuing a policy of equi-distance both from the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and the CPC, for while they support both the Soviet revisionist leadership and the CPC, they are at the same time critical of both of them on some of their observations and activities. A queer position indeed!

Any right thinking man may ask them, how can one equally support the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union practising modern revisionism and the CPC which in the main is reflecting the correct revolutionary line against modern revisionism? Again, any one may not agree with many observations of the CPC;

may not support many activities of the CPC. But, without even ascertaining the validity of one's contentions regarding those observations and activities of the CPC, what one would like to ask is, how can any one under any circumstance equate one's criticism of the CPC which in the main is at present reflecting the correct revolutionary line, at par with his criticism of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union practising worst possible type of revisionism? But, this is exactly what the CPI(M) leaders are doing at present. Does this not tantamount to a crime, particularly for people claiming as Marxist-Leninists? This clearly shows, what direction the CPI(M) leadership are actually moving in. We think this is very important to note and all fighting people including even the rank and file of the CPI(M) should take note of it.

In fact, solely with the view to shielding their revisionist character, to covering up their growing inclination to and understanding with the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, the CPI(M) leadership are engaged at posing themselves to be pursuing a policy of equi-distance from the Soviet revisionist leadership and the CPC, while in actuality they are advancing in a surreptitious way towards the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union.

More over, Mr. Basavapunnaiiah in his article has not only attempted to cover up their growing inclination towards the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union by posing themselves to be pursuing a policy of equi-distance from both the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and the CPC but also tried in vain to establish the same on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism through a ludicrous intellectual exercise. He has stated, 'It is no secret that our pro-Sovietism and our pro-Chinesism is born out of our fundamental loyalty to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and to the cause of Socialism and Communism;' We of course never have come

across and do not know if any real Marxist-Leninist has ever come across through such terminology like 'pro-Sovietism' and 'pro-Chinesism' in Marxism-Leninism. We will appreciate if Mr. Basavapunnaiiah can help us in this regard.

A real communist, being a proletarian internationalist, as a co-fighter in the international Communist movement would feel ideological identity, in spite of difference on any issue, if there is any, with fraternal Communist parties of different countries, all fighting for the common cause of social progress, emancipation and world revolution. For obvious reasons, he will feel sympathy for and obligation to the world socialist system in general. But what has it to do with one's becoming inclined towards the arch revisionist leadership of a party, like the CPI(M) which in the name of its so called 'pro-Sovietism' is, in reality advancing towards the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union? Mr. Basavapunnaiiah has tried to gloss over this fundamental question under the pretext of rendering support to all including even the arch revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union.

It is one thing to feel obligation to a socialist state and a Communist party but it is completely different thing to sacrifice oneself at the feet of the revisionist leadership of the party in the name of rendering support to the socialist state and the Communist party, which we doubt if Mr. Basavapunnaiiah's intellectual ability is up to the mark to understand.

Again, Mr. Basavapunnaiiah has stated that, 'The CPI(M) is decidedly pro-USSR and pro-Peoples' Republic Of China since these two are the big socialist states of the World Socialist system' We would like to ask, 'Mr. Basavapunnaiiah, what attitude would you have shown to these states had these been small states of the socialist system? What would be ones attitude to any small state of the world socialist system? Does the size of a socialist state, big or small has any relevancy in the question of

(Contd. to page 7)



## Once More an Anti-People Railway Budget

That Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, her party and her colleagues in the Central Ministry are very very pro-people—spend sleepless nights for the betterment of the lives of the toiling people is glaringly revealed in the Railway budget placed on 27th February in the Lok-Sabha by the compassionate Minister of Railways. Kind-hearted and sympathetic as he is, he has assured us that he has carefully scanned the budget and prepared it in such a fashion that it will not affect the daily life of the toiling people of our country. Very very kind of him indeed!

We are moved by his kindness when we find that a meagre (!) 136'38 crores of rupees have been decided to be collected extra on and from the following heads:

(i) From III class passengers with an increase of 5 paise to 8 rupees per ticket total rupees 35 crores.

(ii) From increased fare of Air-conditioned and first class coaches rupees 4'4 crores.

(iii) From increased rate of freight on carriage of coal rupees 39'33 crores.

(iv) From increased rate of freight on carriage of other commodities rupees 44'89 crores.

The railway authority have assured us that due to this extra levy of 136'38 crores, the price structure of commodities will only be affected by a meagre 10%. We are, of course, delighted! Not very much, is it not? When we are already shouldering a 26% rise, can we not shoulder another 10% extra? The big bosses of the society, air-conditioned and first class coach passengers, are shouldering 4'4 crores! The Minister of railways was very very apologetic about this burden on the big bosses! Of course he should be!!

But it is our sad experience that never the Government estimate of probable price rise tallies with the actual rise in the market. Due to profiteering, the market-price always remains at a few times higher level than the price estimated by Government.

The traders have already started to say that they will not pay this increased freight from their own pocket. Naturally, prices will go up.

Can we demand of the traders to curtail their profit? It will be sheer injustice to them!

The Minister of railways have been very sympathetic on us and have not enhanced the freight on the carriage of food-grains because any rise in cost of food-grains will cause great hardship on the people! What is it? Foolishness or humour? If it is foolishness we are constrained to say that such a talent should not be wasted in such a place. If it is humour then he should be better placed as a manager in a slaughter house.

When according to the railway authority the wholesale price-index will go up by 10% due to the enhanced rate of railway freight, how is it that the price of food-grains will remain static, even if the cost of carriage of food-grains remain static, is best known to the Minister of Railways. Even a simpleton will understand that with the enhancement of the cost of commodities required for farming as well as subsistence of farmers, the cost of production of foodgrains will go up automatically. As a retrospective effect the price of food-grains will go up. Over and above, this will come the profiteering of the Jotedars hoarders and monopolists. Of course we should not be surprised at such wisdom shown by the Minister! Mau-pasant, the great French writer, once said that to be a Minister one needs not acquire common sense even the ability of tall-talks and flattery will be considered fit for the position.

We may recall the economic review placed in the

## To Cover up Inclination to Soviet Revisionist Leadership—CPI(M) Leadership Pose to be Equi-Distant from Soviet Revisionist Leadership and CPC

(Contd. from page 6)

one feeling obligation and sympathy to the socialist state?' Any man having a knowledge of ABC of Marxism-Leninism can easily understand that what Mr. Basavapunniah has contended can only evolve out of an utterly muddle-headed brain. Moreover, by stating like this, Mr. Basavapunniah has confirmed that after so many attempts still now he could not free himself from their old mental make up of mechanically dittoing a big Communist party or socialist state. Over and above, we think it smacks of big party chauvinism in the reverse order. The same vice which is still being practised by the CPI(M) leadership, on the one hand drives a party fallen victim to it, to show big brotherly attitude to the smaller fraternal parties and try to even forcibly dominate over them and on the other, in the reverse order, directs the said party not only to yield but also to sacrifice its self to another party bigger than it.

It is our experience that these sorts of terminology like 'pro-Sovietism' and 'pro-Chinesism' are used in our country by party or parties with the nomenclature of Communist party like the CPI, CPI(M) and CPI(ML), who have totally failed to grasp the real significance of the dialectical relation that exists between the fraternal Communist parties of different countries no matter whether big or small and in the name of rendering allegiance to the international Communist movement they blindly and mechanically follow the big

Lok-Sabha on 25th. Feb. in which it was unequivocally declared that the Government resolves to fight and diminish the last year's record rise of price-index. There is a contradiction in the railway budget?

Communist parties of other countries, this or that and at times express their identity as 'pro-Soviet' or 'pro-Chinese.'

The CPI(M) which at present, with a view to covering up its gradually growing inclination towards the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union is attempting to pose itself to be both pro-Soviet revisionist leadership and pro-CPC, immediately after its formation out of the split in the united CPI, mechanically and blindly dittoed the line of the CPC for sometime, just only to get recognition from the same and thereby strengthen the party by drawing the militant section of the cadre of the united CPI in its favour. Circumstances including the fact that the Soviet revisionist leadership gave recognition to the CPI, led it to attempt to be closer to the CPC.

At this stage the CPI(M) was highly critical of the leadership of the Communist party and the state of Soviet Union and the leaders of the party never even touched water before bitterly criticising them as utter revisionists. But, after the split in the CPI(M), when the newly formed CPI(ML) which attracted the militant section of the rank and file of the CPI(M) to its side, attempted to be closer to the CPC, the CPI(M), with a view to finding a new ally in the international field, once even tried to be closer to the Rumanian communist party,—a party whose leadership are more right in the direction of revisionism, than the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union.

Now, at present in the changed situation, after being confident that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union would give due recognition to their growing allegiance to the said leadership, the CPI(M) leadership are becoming

gradually more inclined towards the Soviet revisionist leadership.

Of course, they are at liberty to render allegiance to any revisionist leadership of any Communist party, even if the party too has become revisionist, and we have nothing to say against it. On the contrary, we are rather happy to note that by this, they are gradually exposing their revisionist character before the masses. But, for what any right thinking man would accuse them is the fact that with a view to covering up their revisionist character and conceal their growing inclination to the Soviet revisionist leadership from the the people, they have taken recourse to fraud and deceit.

Finally, we would like to conclude that at present, the CPI(M) leadership are trying to cover up their growing allegiance to the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union by posing themselves to be pursuing a policy of equi-distance from the CPC and the Soviet revisionist leadership. But, if the leaders succeed in bringing a change through propaganda by surreptitious methods, in the mental make up of the rank and file of the party that once was tuned high with revolutionary phrases by the same leaders being guided by political exigencies and pragmatic considerations, then we would not be astonished if in near future we find the CPI(M) leadership, like the CPI to openly let loose their antagonistic attitude towards the CPC and the Socialist China (the ground of which they are utmost trying to prepare among their rank and file) and ultimately completely identify themselves with the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union.

# All Out State Trading Can Ease Present Alarming Situation

(Contd. from page 1)  
no comprehensive all-out plan has been adopted to tackle so important an issue in the life of the people as food. In this respect the Central Government and the State Government are equally guilty of criminal negligence. As a result, almost every year the people are faced with some sort of food problem. If there is timely and required rainfall or fair assistance by some countries abroad in the form of gift, loan or sale of food grains, the situation remains tolerable; in their absence the problem assumes alarming proportions with famine or near famine condition stalking the country. In fact, this has been the history in our country since independence and food problem bursting periodically in food crisis has become a chronic feature.

We are not one with those parties which hold that wholesale state-trading in foodgrains can solve the chronic food problem in our country. Because, the character and form that the distribution system in our country has by now assumed are not such as will allow wholesale state-trading to be used as a stepping stone to all-out state-trading in due course. The social system, the psychology of the business community, mass psychology and the condition under which wholesale state-trading can be profitably utilised to introduce all-out state-trading step by step are at present conspicuous by their absence in our country. You will hardly come across in any country other than ours where adulteration in food, baby food, medicine and drug is carried on in so gigantic a scale and with impunity. Intricately linked up in a chain with these anti-social criminals are the corrupt police administrative machinery, the ruling party, its petty sectarian party politics and quite a large number of its top leaders. Not to speak of others, even Congress leaders are branding other

Congress leaders and Congress Chief Ministers as "king of thieves". With the backing and patronage of the administration, police, the ruling party and its Governments a gang of anti-social elements centring round food trade has sprung up like a poisonous weed spreading its corrupt influence among the people. A section of the people, deprived of any and every means of honest living by honest labour, destitute and starving, have fallen a prey to and become a part of the net laid by unscrupulous business men throughout the country to carry on blackmarketing, profiteering, smuggling, adulteration and such other anti-social activities. In such a situation, the taking over by the state of wholesale trade in foodgrains alone is bound to fail. Because, in that case, retail traders not being banned, the wholesalers in connivance with the corrupt police and administrative machinery will succeed in carrying on their corrupt anti-social business with the help of thousands of *benamdar* retailers appointed by them for the purpose. The shameful failure of the taking over by the state of the wholesale trade in wheat is a glaring proof of it.

It should be realized that it is not "leaning heavily on private trade" that can ease the chronic food problem. It would simply worsen the problem. It is, on the contrary, the complete banning of private trade, both wholesale and retail, and introduction of all-out state-trading in food-grains that alone can ease to the maximum the present alarming food situation and ensure relatively regular supply of equitable quantities of foodgrains to our people at fair prices. Those who oppose all-out state-trading in the name of safeguarding the interest of the poor retailers or on the plea of this or that difficulty, in the prevailing situation, want to protect the interests of the jotedars and blackmarketeers and

to carry on their petty sectarian party politics even at the cost of the people.

There are parties, to name now only two, the CPI and the CPI(M), that oppose all-out state trading in foodgrains on the ground that it would throw the poor retailers out of their means of livelihood and cause untold sufferings to them. We are not sure if they really believe it or it is a subterfuge on their part to serve the interests of the jotedars, wholesalers and blackmarketeers at the cost of the retailers and the consuming people under the smoke-screen of anti-wholesaler pro-retailer utterances. Whatever may be their belief or motive, the plea is absolutely untenable. Because, for the introduction of all out state-trading in foodgrains the Government will have to set up a vast machinery extending to the lowest unit of the village. In this machinery the present retailers in foodgrains can very well be absorbed as permanent Government employees or as agents on commission basis as is in vogue in the statutory rationing areas. Then again, it is argued that the peasants would not sell rice, paddy and wheat to the Government in case all-out state-trading is introduced. There is no earthly reason why the peasants should not sell their produce to the Government, if they are paid fair prices. Firstly, private trade being banned, they will have none other than the Government to whom they would be able to sell their foodgrains. Secondly, the poor peasants, lower middle peasants and bargadars have no special love and preference for the jotedars and private businessmen. The latter cheat the former in two ways at two different times. They do not pay fair prices when the poor peasants, lower middle peasants and bargadars are compelled to make distress sale off their foodgrains when the harvesting is over. This is the first time the rural poor are cheated. Thereafter when rain sets in and in the

houses of the poor peasants, lower middle peasants and bargadars there remains not a grain of food, the jotedars and businessmen sell foodgrains to the poor at cut-throat prices much higher than those at which they purchase the grains from the poor or lend paddy, rice or wheat at unbelievably extortionate rate of interest (sometimes somewhere for one maund of paddy taken as loan in the month of June or July the poor are to clear off the debt in December or January by paying three maunds of paddy). Thus the poor men are cheated doubly. Now if the Government pays them fair prices for the foodgrains and assures them of regular supply of foodgrains at fair prices at the time of their distress and takes the people into confidence, there is no valid reason why the masses of the peasants would not sell their foodgrains to the Government. As for the jotedars and rich peasants, stricter and stern measures are to be taken so that they are forced to disgorge their hoarded produce.

In any event, there being no other way to free food trade from the tentacles of the jotedars, hoarders, blackmarketeers, profiteers and smugglers and ensure relatively regular supply of equitable quantity of edible quality of foodgrains at fair prices, all-out state-trading in foodgrain has got to be introduced, no matter

what teething difficulties the people have to face for it. At best this concession may be granted that if all-out state-trading of all items of food cannot be introduced all at a time then there may be a phased programme. Let there be a beginning with one item say rice and paddy in the rice-producing states and wheat in the wheat-producing ones. And that now.

The pseudo-Marxist parties in our country; that in opposing the demands for all-out state-trading preach that under capitalism there cannot be all-out state-trading and it is only under socialism that it can be done, should know that all out state-trading in foodgrains is nothing but nationalisation of the foodgrains trade. Nationalization of trade can and, in fact, has been done in capitalist states.

When the Congress Government is retreating from even wholesale state-trading, it is needless to mention that it would not introduce all-out state-trading in food grains. But it is the poor people and not the Congress bosses who are to go without food and starve because of food crisis. So it is they who are to assert for the adoption of the correct measure which would solve the food crisis and ensure food to them. All-out state-trading in foodgrains alone is that measure. So they are to force the Government to introduce it by mass sanction. That is what they should strive to achieve.

## Com. Ghosh's Speech

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the question of establishing the ideological and organisational leadership of a real working class revolutionary party over the trade unions, the trade union movement and the working class.

Com. Ghosh laid great stress on the necessity of continuous upgrading of the moral and ethical standard and Communist education and character formation based on such education of all the trade union workers, particularly of the leading cadres, if one seriously meant to imbibe the working class with the ideal of Communism and proletarian internationalism.

The delegate session held on 18th March was attended by about 1000 delegates including about 200 fraternal delegates from other steel plants. The delegate session started

with an illuminating speech by Com. Shibdas Ghosh wherein he lucidly explained the problems of training cadres and how to solve those problems.

The delegate session adopted the organisational report presented by Com. Gopal Kundu, General Secretary of the DSWCC and several resolutions, among others, on trade union unity in our country, police atrocities on the people in general and the workers in particular, a acute unemployment problem, the spiralling of prices of essential commodities, and severe food crisis.

A strong Executive Committee of the DSWCC for the coming year with Com. Madhu Sinha as President and Com. Gopal Kundu as General Secretary had been formed.