

BARANAGORE-COSSIPORE MASS MASSACRE

The recent gruesome incidents and mass massacre that took place in Baranagar-Cossipore area of greater Calcutta shook, in fact, the whole of West Bengal. It is really very sad that this tragic massacre of the innocents happened before the ink of the joint declaration of the leaders of 28-political parties decrying individual killings and terrorism could dry up. These incidents have brought to the fore the height of callousness of the local police administration, not excluding the high officials, whose primary responsibility is supposed to be nothing but maintenance of peace, law and order.

During the long spell of seventeen hours when this carnage was carried out there had been no intervention by the police authorities suggesting only a candid connivance of the police with the culprits as it is difficult to believe that all the officers were completely in dark about such elaborate arrangement of mass killing. Such a situation calls for immediate suspension of the concerned police officers pending a suitable enquiry capable of unveiling the real conspiracy and bringing the culprits to book.

But the way in which the whole issue has been tackled by Sri Siddharta Shankar Ray caused a serious concern to the democratic minded people casting grave doubts about his honesty and sincerity which is so very essential at this critical juncture. It is known to all of us that he agreed at the initial stage to suspend the concerned police officers and to form an Enquiry Committee composed of the representatives of different political parties—a unanimous recommendation of the all party meeting—but later on refused to do the same on some flimsy grounds. Suspension of officers pending enquiry is no real victimisation and thus the question of making the thana officers "scapegoats", as put by the Minister himself, does not arise at all. Such an attitude is prone to shield the men in position and is definitely detrimental to the interest of common people. How can

the Minister expect to inspire "popular confidence" by simply transferring two thana officers when the very public confidence was shattered to pieces by his unilateral refusal to act according to the unanimous decision of the all party meeting—is beyond comprehension. In fact Sri Siddharta Shankar Ray is out to make the whole issue clouded as far as possible to the best interest of those responsible for such criminal acts. His statement to the Press "that a large number of people in the affected area expressed a sense of relief after the incidents as, according to their own statements, they could now safely come out for their normal vocations of life"—(Statesman, 17th August '71) subtly finds a justification for such massive killing of innocent people. We express our deep resentment against such anti-people, bureaucratic attitude of the Minister in charge of West Bengal affairs. The above statement of Sri Ray when read along with another statement of Sri Abdus Sattar, acting President of the West Bengal Congress (R) that "no party was involved in the incidents....." and it was a spontaneous resistance of the local people excited over brutal murder of Sri Nirmal Chatterjee" only indicates how nakedly the whole organisation of the Congress (R) is engaged today in shielding the real culprits. When the common people of West Bengal simply shudders

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Flood Havoc in Bihar and West Bengal

(By a Staff Reporter)

Bihar is now in the grip of flood. 13 out of 15 districts of the State are now flood-affected. Due to heavy rain-fall since 1st week of April last and absence of drainage facilities, the situation has become worse resulting in a heavy toll of death, damage of crops and properties, loss of cattle etc. About Rs. 600 crores worth of crops have been perished and 15 million people, rendered homeless.

Com. Shankar Singh, The Secretary Bihar State Unit of SUCI has, in a statement strongly repudiated the tardy way in which both the Central and State Government administration is handling the situation. Out of a demand of Rs. 136 crores to meet the situation the Centre has allocated only

Rs. 2 crores so far. He has urged upon the Governments to provide immediate adequate relief to the flood affected people, take measures against outbreak of epidemic, and undertake speedy effective methods to check recurrence of flood. He has also called upon the people of Bihar to build up mighty movement so as to compel the Governments to accede to these demands.

Most of the districts in West Bengal are now reeling under flood and there is no sign of its abatement as yet. Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, in a statement has urged upon the Governments to rush immediate relief to the flood stricken people of this State.

at the idea of the brutal butchery at Baranagar, Sri Ray finds in it "a sense of relief". When the conscientious public opinion is to denounce the spirit of retaliation, which generally sets in motion a chain reaction of terrorism and murder, the Congress (R) leader Sri Sattar quite nakedly terms this recurrence of retaliation as a "spontaneous resistance of the local people". What can be more naked, more shameful act of holding the brief of the culprits? How can the common people give credence to the repeated assertions that the Congress (R) had no

connections with these incidents after such shameful statements of the Congress (R) leaders?

Some political parties have asserted that this brutal murder took place at the joint auspices of the local Congress (R) and the C.P.M., making the police completely inactive. We do not have any concrete proof which can establish, at this stage, the truth of such assertions. So we consider it absolutely unwise to come to any hasty conclusion. But how is it that such a bureaucratic behaviour of Sri Siddharta Shankar Ray in the

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Formation of North-Eastern Council

(By a Staff Reporter)

The Central Government has proposed to constitute the North-Eastern Council comprising Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, NEFA, Mizo Hills and Tripura, upgrading Meghalaya into a full-fledged state and Mizo Hills into a Union Territory before formally constituting the Council.

It is true that the entire scheme has not yet been fully brought out by the Centre before the people. But from the reports so far published in different newspapers in this regard, it appears that the Central Government, in the name of setting up an organisation for co-ordinating the development projects of different states and union territories in this region, is out to take away some of the powers and authorities even now enjoyed by the states under the Constitution of India by vesting the common Governor for this

region with powers to give directions to the constituent units of the Council in certain matters like security, development, etc., such directions being binding on the constituent units. The Council will have its own secretariat and finance.

When the people of our country are agitating for powers and more flexible sources of earnings for the states, the Central Government's proposal to set up a super state organisation in the shape of the North-Eastern Council and curtail even some

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RESIST PRICE INCREASE

(By a Staff Reporter)

The Assam State Committee of the SUCI, in view of the deteriorating food situation and steep rise of essential commodities in the state, has submitted a memorandum to the Chief Minister of Assam.

The memorandum has dealt with the causes of the spiralling prices of daily necessities of life of the people of our country, holding the economic and fiscal policies of the Congress Governments, particularly the Central Government, and price manipulations by speculators and monopolists mainly responsible for the increase in prices. In doing so, it has shown how indiscriminate enhancement of indirect taxes like Excise duties etc., unbridled deficit financing by the Governments, huge loans and advances given by the banks to the speculators and hoarders against food grains and other essential commodities and failure to introduce all out state trading in food grains and other essential commodities leading to giving the speculators and monopolists a free hand to corner goods, create artificial scarcity of them and manipulate prices according to their will have brought the situa-

tion to its present serious state.

The memorandum contains eleven demands of the people which include opening up of a large number of fair-price shops and ensuring regular and adequate supply of food articles at fair prices to the people, introduction of all out state trading in essential articles, declaring the flood-affected areas as famine-stricken areas, large-scale G. R. and T. R. schemes, moratorium on payment of land revenue, all debts, tuition fees of students for affected areas, granting of seed-loans, cattle-purchase loans, fertiliser-loans and cash-loans to the cultivators at nominal rates of interests, etc.. The memorandum has reminded the authorities that if the demands are not met without delay, the people will have no other alternative than to organise mass movements against the State Government for the realisation of their demands.

By The Way

The *Hindustan Times* in its issue dated July 25 last had reported as follows: "It is common knowledge in Maharashtra that people who had hardly any means of living before their association with the Government and the ruling party today own scores of acres of irrigated land and buildings. Many have acquired flats in Bombay." You certainly do not cite it as an instance of corruption and nepotism by the Congress (R) leaders and ministers. This is just implementation of Sm. Gandhi's pet slogan of 'Garibi Hatao'. After all, charity must begin at home.

The American magazine, *Times*, reports that the USA has used over 90,00,000 tons of ammunition in Indo-China which is more than twice as much as it used in the Second World War. It has also dropped over Vietnam alone 1,35,00,000 gallons of chemicals affecting 50,00,000 acres of its land and destroying as much commercial timber as South Vietnam used in thirty-one years. In spite of the USA thus going the whole hog in suppressing the national liberation movements, it is meeting with defeats one after another at the hands of the patriotic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Time is not far off when the US gangster will be driven out of Indo-China. The myth of American supremacy in military might is completely exploded. Oh! What a heart-rending shock to the friends of the US imperialists in our country!

On behalf of the CPI (M), a memorandum was submitted to the Planning Commission which *inter alia* states that "The goal of planning in India should be for a socialist, democratic and independent India. Nothing in recent policy pronouncements or measures by the Government indicate a step towards this goal." (Vide Supplement to *People's Democracy* dated 4th July last) It implies that the CPI (M) believes that the present Government can take steps for socialist India within the framework of existing state and social structure. This is how the CPI (M) leadership fights revisionism. The ranks of the party may please note.

According to some, in our country there are at present "2 crores of people who are living on an income of 12 paise per day, 4 crores with 25 paise per day, 6 crores with 32 paise per day, 27 crores with 67 paise per day." This is the condition of our people after twenty-four years of independence. There can be no better testimony to the sincerity and seriousness of the Congress (R), the governments run by it and its leaders, including Sm. Indira Gandhi, in removing the appalling poverty of our people and establishing an egalitarian society.

One of the Rajya Sabha members belonging to the CPI is reported by the *New Age* (issue dated August 1 last) to have said thus: "We welcome the appointment of S. S. Ray as someone who would really go deep into the problems of West Bengal, would stop repression of the workers by employers, would stop repression by the landlords and jotedars over the peasants, would seriously organise the police force in the state which has totally failed to bring law and order." It seems that to the CPI Shri Ray has appeared as the Messiah for West Bengal. It is, no doubt, a clear case of 'presence of progressive elements within the Congress (R)' fixation now suffered by the Party.

Some Weaknesses of Democratic Movement

[Com. Shibdas Ghose, General Secretary of S.U.C.I. delivered a speech on "Bangladesh" at a convention, organised by Democratic Youth Organisation, held at University Institute Hall Calcutta on 11.7.71. As we have already published another speech on "Bangladesh" by Com. Ghose in a previous issue of Proletarian Era, we are omitting that portion relating to Bangladesh and are trying to give an English rendering of the other portion relating to the democratic movement of our country on the basis of his illuminating speech on the said occasion—Ed. P. E.]

I would request you to ponder over this simple fact that although the strength of almost every left political party has increased more or less, still the democratic movement in the State, far from being further accentuated has slid back many steps. If we consider the party strength, and not the public or popular support of the left political parties in the early fifties just after independence, there can be no denying the fact that the strength of each party was considerably much less than what we witness today.

Impact of C.P.M.'s growing might

Take the case of CPM for example. Even the united CPI at that time had much less strength in the Assembly than the strength of the CPM alone in the last dissolved House (although it is true that the Assembly representation does not always provide a true barometer of strength, still it is referred to for easy understanding). From the points of view of organisational position, number of cadres, mobility of the cadres, number of whole-timers of the party—all these account for a much lower party strength than at present. It is true for almost all the left parties. But still at that time,

during the Congress regime, with this relatively weak organisational strength of the left political parties, we had been able to conduct left democratic movements, mobilising the support and gathering the emotions of the popular democratic forces throughout West Bengal on each and every incident of repression, whether in the form of any unjust killing of any individual or suppression of any legitimate democratic movement. We could launch with that weaker strength a mighty mass movement against one paisa rise of tram fare, in which case even the military had to be deployed in the city of Calcutta to suppress that movement. The strength of each party separately was far below the present level. Compared to that, the CPM alone had 113 M.L.A's in the last Assembly and barring a few political parties, whose overall impact over the masses was insignificant even before, all other left parties have improved their organisational positions. But despite this fact, the tempo of democratic movement in the State, instead of gaining higher heights has almost subsided. Let us consider the party, the CPI (M); although it is true that it has vastly increased its strength, still its capacity to mobilise the broad masses in a democratic movement and develop a mighty mass movement against any injustice has deteriorated considerably. To-day, even in the face of innumerable instances of police atrocity and excess, social injustice and other sorts of oppression, no

effective massive resistance movement can be built up by them, notwithstanding the fact that the CPM alone has much higher strength than that of the united CPI in the early fifties.

The total strength of all the left parties has increased manifold compared to early fifties, but the potentiality to develop the mass movement has now disappeared. We are not now interested to develop seriously any movement of the people. What we simply do is to exhibit a mock fight, in the form of propaganda, agitation, issuing statements, organising demonstrations, meetings etc., directing all these in such a way that we can save our skins. We cannot build up any effective widespread resistance movement now though we could do so earlier with much less party strength solely due to mass support. What does it prove then? That the increasing strength of a political party does not always necessarily signify intensification of democratic struggle of the masses—is proved beyond doubt by the existing reality. It is observed that the democratic movement was gradually expanding in scope and intensity, when the organisational strength of the left political parties was relatively quite weak. But when the might of the left political parties and organisations has increased tremendously, the democratic movement, let alone its further development, has totally subsided. We have no power to create an effective resistance movement any more. Each party puts forward this logic that it is necessary to build up its strength in order to advance the cause of democratic movement. With its strength being increased as a revolutionary party, other pseudo-revolutionary parties will become isolated and the movement will be directed towards revolution. It is for other political parties that the democratic movement is restrained and cannot take a mighty shape. If this logic is valid, then when the CPM alone has acquired a strength more than the combined strength of all other left parties then the democratic movement should

have been more intensified and well-conducted, but just the reverse has occurred; there is practically no movement now. So you have to think over this question seriously.

An acid test

You should also ponder over another aspect. The party whose strength is increasing should also bear the burden of responsibility. While you are supporting the party which is big, sustaining it by all means, holding up its banner, joining its meetings and processions, rendering it monetary assistance, in a word, are reducing yourselves as its followers and yet at the same time, in any difficult situation, you will come to us to provide some solution,—such type of opportunism cannot be allowed to go on any longer. You should put question to the party which you support and this should be the principle People who have helped the CPM and the Congress (R) to become big should ask this question to these parties that according to you (these parties), your ideology alone is correct and only you can bring about socialism in the country. Both the Congress (R) and particularly the CPM which call itself as genuine Marxist are saying so. If your ideology is really correct, then this ideology can not preach the people to come down, rather it preaches them to ascend; it cannot ask them to rob, to indulge in mass-copying, and to become morally degraded. Such an ideology would on the other hand inspire them, develop them, show the correct way of social progress to them and elevate their moral and ethical standard. If this be your ideology then how is it that with the increasing strength of your party and mass organisations and consequent increase of your ideological influence over all sections of the people the youths today are showing a vulgar mentality and taste, mass-copying in examinations, and degrading themselves in their moral and ethical standard? This is an acid-test and no amount of arm-twisting can negate this. What is the use of endless arguing whether this glass contains water or acid—simply by applying the

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Essence of any Progressive Revolutionary Ideology is its Culture

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common sense, when judgement by way of theoretical analysis becomes difficult we can settle this question, namely by applying it on the body. If it is acid, it will burn the skin. This is the acid test, and it leaves no scope for useless argument.

What is the purpose in raising a fuss whether you are a genuine socialist or the other? The entire youth community of our country is primarily divided among you (the big parties). Even during the Indian nationalist movement, which was conducted under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, about whom we constantly make criticism now, in spite of its serious shortcomings, such as the fact that this nationalism was not a true secular nationalism or secular humanism, but it intermixed with religion, the effects of which are still corroding the body-politic of our country—but despite these weaknesses, the nationalist ideology, the nationalist movement, the bourgeois humanism of that period was in essence a progressive revolutionary ideology conducive to the growth of social progress in the then period. As such, with the increasing influence of that ideology and nationalist movement over the youths of our country and breaking up of feudal and religious bondages of our society the student community of our country were inspired with this progressive ideology. The students then were ready to go to the gallows, but did not practice mass-copying in examination. They fought against the University authority and the British rule, they sacrificed their career even though they could secure high marks in the examination, they ignored the tearful entreaties of their parents and responded to the call of the nation for national independence. Nobody could term them as indisciplined or degraded at that time.

True democratic consciousness

So we find that as the nationalist ideology spread its increasing influence, it enlightened the youths with the touch of it. In fact the ideology which is spreading, if it is progressive and revolutionary, will undoubtedly raise the moral standard, since the quintessence of any revolutionary ideology lies precisely in the level of culture and ethics reflected by the persons imbibed by this ideology. The other issues like political slogans, political programmes etc. are just a superstructure over this ideology. To cite an example, a human body, as soon as it is dead, ceases to serve any purpose for the society. It should be burnt or buried under grave, otherwise it will spread foul smell and diseases, harmful to the society. However beloved the person might be, the moment he is dead the body becomes a nuisance to the society. Similarly, a political programme, a slogan minus its culture is nothing but a superstructure just like a human body devoid of life. The political programmes have great utility, no doubt, still the essence of an ideology is its culture. Here is the acid test. You claim yourself as a revolutionary party and you alone will bring about socialism. Then will the youths of the country learn rock-n-roll culture due to the impact of your so-called 'socialist' ideology! We are then not interested in such an ideology. The influence of true Marxism should give new life to the people of our society. If you were a true Marxist, then as your influence is growing over the youths, in the fields and the factories, the people coming under your influence should be rejuvenated with new life by virtue of your ideology. But what sort of rejuvenation is this? These people are recklessly and desperately doing all sorts of mischief without coming forward to make any sacrifice whatsoever. They want right but do not fulfil any obligation. "We the govern-

ment employees should be given more money but we will not do anything for you and we are not public servants. We will simply sit on and that is our right. You cannot say anything to us since we have got an union. You are to accept our demands and since we are low paid we have a right to sit idle." Does it correspond to the consciousness of democratic movement? The democratic consciousness will say that you are doing injustice on me by giving me a paltry sum of money, you are cruelly oppressing me, you are trampling down my rights—so even if you give me an increased pay you cannot make me a slave; I will go on protesting against your injustice and I will continue to fight for the right of man. But unfortunately, due to lack of this consciousness, irresponsibility is rampant everywhere, in every walk of life.

So I want to raise this question to the so-called big revolutionary party which is moving in the name of Marxism. How is it that as you are increasing your might there is a corresponding increase of evil tendencies, petty considerations of the petty bourgeoisie, selfishness, irresponsibility etc., among your rank and file, your followers and a section of the people? It is due to this ideological influence that a 'responsible' left students' organisation, which has committed itself to fight against mass-copying in examination before the Vice-Chancellor, due to the public pressure on it, was objectively seen to be defending the practice of mass-copying by adducing some social causes behind it. Their contention is that the wards of the rich families have an opportunity for learning by keeping tutors, getting notes from them and passing in the examination, but for a poor student, since there is no such opportunity he is compelled to adapt to mass-copying for passing in the examination, otherwise how can he fill up the stop gap? Their second argument is, to

pass in the examination through learning by rote is just as bad as to pass through mass-copying—both these practices actually make one learn nothing. What sort of queer logic is this? This is nothing but a direct patronisation in favour of mass-copying. The society is responsible for making thieves—the social system creates them. The society causes the ground for moral degradation. But can there be any justification for myself becoming morally degraded on the plea of the social system? So such a thing is going on.

Hypocrisy Galore

The democratic movement is practically now left without any ideology or principle. No mighty democratic movement has been developed in our country on the basis of a correct ideology. There is no clarity of ideology. Ego-centric bogus theoreticians and humbug politicians have now filled up the political stage. Under the smokescreen of pious words and wearing a cloak of a renouncing devotee, all of them are nothing but a living symbol of individualism, narrow-minded selfishness as are evident from their speeches and articles. Hypocrisy is galore everywhere. What you are actually made of, you do not express yourself or move about like that; you speak in one way, think in a different way and earn in some other way. These are the peculiarities. Saratbabu once had said that our wrongs and mistakes do not cause so much harm to the nation as our hypocrisy does. There is glaring inconsistency in our belief, way of life and conviction. This untruthfulness is destroying the very basis of our society. This is the first point. The second important thing is what should be the ideology before the democratic movement? I think such an ideology is Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism alone can place before you a co-ordinated and comprehensive picture of the world problems. Marxism on the basis of dialectical materialism can co-ordinate one

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NO CLEAR IDEOLOGY BEFORE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

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with the other thus making out a comprehensive approach to all phenomena. It is on the basis of this outlook that the correct insight to analyse the society can be attained. It is only thus we can avoid ourselves becoming victims of subjectivism in analysing social problems. We suffer from various preconceptions which develop out of our fanciful ideas, tradition and environment. As a result, even when we discuss with a supposedly open mind and neutrally, such preconceptions work within us even without our knowledge. There is only one science which has appeared in human history, that is dialectical materialism, which can find out these preconceptions influencing us in our judgement. According to dialectical materialism, even in case of science which only searches out truth, it is not free from class preconceptions. To believe otherwise is simply to believe in absurdity and it amounts to deceiving oneself and the others.

If you really want to know the truth then you must bear in mind that you yourself while searching for truth are not free from preconception. So you can acquire the knowledge of science provided you can follow your own preconception, and can detect yourself, whether you are getting misguided. Only then you can attain the ability to analyse correctly the different phenomena. But those who are holding the banner of Marxism-Leninism have so long refrained themselves from making any cult in this direction and caused a great harm as a result of it. It was seen in the past that all sections of the intellectuals, whether they did understand or not, developed keen interest in knowing about Marxism-Leninism. Only one thing had obstructed those intellectuals who could not leave aside idealism and thought about Marxism as a materialistic evaluation of life. They felt that values, ethics and principles were lacking in

Marxism. Those who could not correctly study the dialectical materialism were unable to grasp that the ethical principles are much higher and deeper in it. They only saw superficially about this ideology. But still they also had highly appraised the social and economic aspects of Marxism-Leninism and viewed it as the only instrument to liberate mankind, holding aloft all the lofty ideals. But today the intellectuals have queer ideas about Marxism.

Democratic movement only guarantee

Those people of our country who have now developed a notion that the communists speak one thing and do the very opposite thing should be put this question—what type of communists have you seen? You have only seen those who are simply masquerading as communists in our country. Many people argue, if they are not the communists, why then China or Russia give recognition to them? They may do so wrongly or rightly,—rightly, may be the reason for granting this recognition is not known to us. But whatever it may be, one thing is sure that they are not the real communists. Their behaviour bears no resemblance to the communist ideology. It is by way of this type of practice that the pseudo-communists in many countries have disgraced communism in the estimation of the people. This is a big tragedy for our country also. The youths of our land should accomplish this vital task and bear in mind that if they berate this aspect of the ideological struggle and simply carry on democratic movement on some demands or raise slogans against the Congress or the ruling capitalist class then the democratic movement in the present stage cannot go ahead very far. While fighting against the Congress and the capitalists, the enemies remaining internally, the forces which are polluting the democratic movement from inside and breaking the very backbone of it, must be thoroughly exposed

in order to buttress the democratic movement from the attacks of these internal enemies. If the democratic movement of West Bengal as well as of the rest of India cannot be maintained and developed then there is no guarantee whether the atmosphere we are creating throughout the country by raising demands for recognition of Bangladesh Government or extending full support to the freedom struggle there will be streamlined in the right direction or the Indian monopolists will make best use of it for their class interests and frustrate the freedom movement itself. The only guarantee lies with the conscious democratic mass struggles of the people of West Bengal and the rest of India. Such a democratic movement will not only compel the Indian Government to extend support to the freedom struggle, but will also muster support in favour of any correct stand taken up by the Government and protect it boldly from any attack from outside by virtue of its own strength. Again if the Government moves in a wrong way, tries to expand the field of domination of the Indian monopolists and even attempts to sabotage the whole freedom movement there by shoring up some stooges, then in that case, the democratic movement alone can check it. But unfortunately, the democratic movement itself is now gasping for want of an ideology.

No cohesion in thinking

The real problem lies in the present state of the democratic movement. The capitalist socio-economic, political system of our country is in a general sense responsible for the problems like moral degradation, hypocrisy, corruption, mass-copying in examination etc. In all the capitalist countries these are quite evident. But why the magnitude of such problems has become so enormous? What restrains such a situation and keeps it in balance? It is only the anti-capitalist democratic movement and revolutionary struggle of the people and it is the level

at which these struggles are conducted now that determines the magnitude of the problems created by capitalism. It is true that the democratic movement is bereft of any ideology at present; the old ideology is finished now, though no new ideology has yet taken shape in the society—the democratic movement has failed to develop any standard, rather it has developed a sense of privilege, a conception of benefit and has transformed right into a privilege. The so-called big left parties did not uphold any clear ideology before it. But apart from this lack of a clear ideology another factor is added to it. As capitalism is advancing, so also the production is becoming technicalised and labour, with which our way of life, our thinking are closely associated, is also becoming more and more compartmentalised, alienated and technicalised. Previously, a workman or a technician used to plan the whole of the factory or a greater part of it. But now he is doing only a small part of it. Thus the entire human knowledge is becoming absolutely compartmentalised and technicalised. Although in our educational system, the basis of high technicality is being laid, the approach of humanity, moral principle and ideology which alone can integrate and keep in cohesion the entire education system is singularly lacking. On one hand a vacuum in the field of ideology has been created and on the other, the highly technical industrialisation and technical advancement is bringing about split personality, expert ego-centric psychology of technicians and self-centred people to whom nothing can be expected. These technocrats have no ideology, no country, no people and nothing of the sort. They are simply technocrats and they are to serve as against money. The object of education has become to anyhow get hold of a degree with the purpose of getting a job and nobody cares about knowledge. As capitalism is advancing, notwithstanding the

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Vacuum in the field of Ideology plus absence of a Correct Leadership Capable of Providing Effective Alternative Organisationally Mainly Accounts for the Present Crisis

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growing intensity of its own crisis, there is more and more rationalisation and technical advancement with the inevitable outcome of growing compartmentalisation and distintegration in thinking. Capitalism at its initial stage in spite of having these tendencies, was able to maintain a cohesion of its ideology centring round the questions of revolution, humanism, democracy, individual liberty, freedom of womanhood, values of life etc. . . "Why I am a scientist, why I am doing this—I am doing so for my society." Thus there was a close tie between social obligation, the society and the work of an individual. Such a close link between an individual's work and the social obligation will again be established in socialism from a different end. During this intermediary period, a vacuum is existing and yet the link with the society, the coordinated knowledge and the overall planning which the artisans, in the beginning of capitalism used to manifest, is fastly disappearing with the process of high technical industrialisation.

So at this stage and in such a situation democratic movement is the only hope till revolution gains the ground. It is now impossible to arouse the masses anymore by adhering to bourgeois humanism or praising the old traditional values just as it is impossible to make one honest by preferring him good advices of religion. All old ideologies have exhausted and the new ideology is yet to grow and develop. Those who are imbibed with this new ideology are still a very small force, having no effective control over the majority of masses of our society. The people do not as yet know about them and have a notion of them almost similar to their notion about other political parties. "All parties are opportunist and behind

sweet words carry on nefarious activities"—such is the common impression. So it is of utmost importance that those who adhere to this new ideology should carry on relentless activity to propagate this ideology to the masses so as to bring them within its fold.

People symbolise the State !

The question must be, put point blank, that it is C. P. M. on one hand and the Congress (R) on the other which have immensely increased their strength and correspondingly enhanced their influence over the people—then why the moral standard of youths has fallen so low? Will they take upon themselves the responsibility for creating such a situation? They must be put into the dock. What is the utility of a political party if it cannot provide the guideline to the people who are still giving support to them? If your ideology is not a devil's one under the smokescreen of Marxist vocabulary, then with your increasing influence the people should become more attracted towards revolution, just like the people of Bangladesh, who even under a moderate leadership, not guided by any Marxist theory, have risen to the occasion and are laying down their lives for national independence of their country from the ruthless military regime of Pakistan. "But you are doing the very opposite. While keeping the devils well in peace, you have unleashed attack on the common people, and are in a killing spree on the cadres of political opponents. You profess to wage a revolutionary struggle against the state but the ordinary cadres of different left and democratic parties have assumed the position of state to you. So they have become the symbolic expression of state—to kill them is to strike against the state. The big monopolists, the military, the police and other wings of the repressive machinery no

longer constitute the state according to you."

Fighting Morale Running Low

Another mentality of our people has caused an incalculable harm to the democratic movement. So long the people were used to come out in struggle, as they knew that it was only out of struggle that they could fulfil their demands. But now they say that we 'fight to live and live to fight' of course, hidden behind it is the word that we fight only when we get protection from the Government. Such has become the situation. So long the police is behind us, we are raising slogans 'fight to live and live to fight' in the streets, but the moment the police and the military mount their repression, we at once turn our back and are not ready to fight anymore. The peasants who knew before that we would have to fight and even to die for our cause, now frankly say that "let the Government be formed first and thereafter we will launch our struggle. If the Government is not there, how can we be engaged in struggle?" Whereto the so-called 'revolutionary' leaders have led the class struggle? "If the Government and the police back our movement, only then we can build up a fierce class struggle—so make haste to form anyhow a Government through another election and then you will see how many gigantic class struggles we can organise against the jotedars and how we teach them a lesson?" What type of struggle is this? A struggle of the cowards. The Naxalites and all others are doing this same thing. So this is a vital task for the youths today to reawaken the spirit of struggle, the struggle not under any Government protection. They should bear in mind that when they are trying so hard to arouse the masses even in a small

measure, the other forces are conspiring in thousand and one ways to demoralise them, make them selfish and indifferent to struggle. Since independence, when the illusion about Congress was painstakingly being removed from the mass-mind over a period of 15 to 20 years and the broad masses of workers and the peasantry gradually learnt how to fight due to the combined efforts of all the left parties, notwithstanding many shortcomings, then within a span of four or five years these so-called big left parties after running the Government, have spoiled this fighting spirit and created such a psychology of the toiling masses, that they say that let there be a Government first, and let there be a guarantee that the police will not arrest them if there be any struggle since the leaders are behind them and will give them protection, and only after such an assurance is secured the masses will be on the march to fight like gallant heroes. These parties have created such a psychology of the people, doing the greatest mischief to them. But still they are being fed by the people. The people have a soft corner for them and tilt in favour of them on many occasions. So it is another important task before the youths to expose these parties without which no good can be achieved.

Tasks of Youths

The youth community should also bear in mind that it is not enough to give support to Bangladesh freedom movement. They must be conscious about their own responsibility. While they are loud about Bangladesh, they themselves are not fully awake of their own tasks. They are light and not serious and not making others serious also. They are not seriously trying and taking all pains to free the democratic movement of this

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Centre Infringing on State's Rights

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of the existing powers of the state is all the more undemocratic and an unjust encroachment on the democratic aspirations of the people, particularly the people of this region.

On behalf of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI, Com. Ashit Bhattacharya has issued the following statement:—

“The Union Government has, of late, come forward with a scheme to constitute North-Eastern Council comprising Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Mizo Hills, Nagaland and NEFA. Clearly what is being envisaged is a new political structure intended to exercise Central Government's superintendence and control over the administration of this region.

“The people of Assam have not forgotten that the Union Government, in connivance with the Congress Government

of the State initiated a process of dismemberment of Assam on the plea of accelerated development of the area. The SUCI at that time strongly protested against Congress move *inter alia* on the grounds that the dismemberment would not only not conduce to development of the area but, on the contrary, foster distrust and disunity among the people of the State, jeopardise the cause of united democratic mass movements, give premium to a handful of opportunist career-seekers and separatist elements and retard the progress of the area. It may be recalled that the State Congress (R) and the Assam Government supported the proposal of the scheme of the proposed Council at the time of passing the Reorganisation of Assam Bill. We strongly condemn this anti-people role of the State Congress (R) and the State Government.”

The more the influence of CPM and Cong.(R) the more the moral degradation of youths

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country from all vices. The damage which has already been done to the democratic movement will take a long period of straining efforts to heal it up. We have not advanced a dot, rather we have slid back many steps in an already trodden path.

Though the CPI (M) had a legislative strength of 113, our country did not move forward even an inch with this increased strength of the CPI (M). It can be recalled that the Indonesian Communist Party having 30 lakh members did not take the country forward—rather, it handed over the country into the hands of the arch reactionaries. India is also moving in that direction. The youths and their organisation who want to really uphold the correct ideology must combine this aspect of the ideological struggle with every issue of the democratic movement,

isolate the so-called progressive parties, expose their rotten ideology and propagate the true progressive and revolutionary ideology to every corner in towns and villages, in fields and factories, bringing within its influence the entire sections of youths of our country. The question must be raised that why the parties which have gathered enormous strength have failed to elevate the moral and ethical standard of the youths and why with their increasing strength and influence over the people their moral standard is fastly going down. This is an acid test which proves that these big parties are not really progressive or revolutionary—so they must be rejected, and the real force, the real revolutionary party having a noble, progressive and revolutionary ideology which can revolutionise the people should be extended all help and opportunities to gather increasing strength. The people must not

feel frustrated and sit idle as that will help them in no way and even contrary to their expectations will destroy their peace at home but come forward and constantly decide by themselves which is the true political force that can really deliver goods to them.

It is my appeal to you that everyone must discharge his duties faithfully and earnestly. The time is very hard. It is a time not to be wasted, not to be spent in merely dreaming about revolution but to be utilised in patient and hard work. To reiterate, the small headway which the democratic movement had been able to make has been destroyed owing to the increasing strength of the CPM, the absence of any progressive ideology before left mass movement and the low moral and ethical standard reflected

through it. The militant, fighting spirit of the toiling masses has now been replaced by an attitude of theirs to stand behind a mighty, big party. Either the backing of the Government, or the support of a big party must be ensured in which case they are ready to fight, but otherwise, they will not come forward to launch any struggle. The fighting mentality of the people has been reduced to such a position thereby damaging incalculably the cause of progressive left and revolutionary movements of our country. The youths today should therefore take a firm pledge and join their efforts to effectively combat the evils of the prevailing situation which are eating into the very vitals of progressive mass movements, weakening it to an extent as seen never before.

Local Jotedars opened fire on SUC Supporters

(By a Staff Reporter)

Com. Ratan Das, a supporter of S. U. C. of Goladuaara Village, Gopalpur Anchal in Canning P. S. District 24-Parganas was severely injured on 25th August last due to firing by local jotedars and is still lying in a precarious condition.

On 25th morning when some peasant workers and supporters of SUC were working in the field, some local jotedars accompanied by an armed gang suddenly attacked and opened fire on them, resulting in severe injury of Com. Ratan Das, and many others. Although this incident was reported to the local police officials by Com. Aminuddin Akhand, SUC organiser at Canning and demands for arrest of the offending jotedars and criminals as also immediate seizure of their guns were made to them no action has been taken by the police as yet in this regard. This has caused serious indignation of the people of the locality.

'People's Liberation Pledge Day' observed

(By a Staff Reporter)

On 15th August last, a big meeting was held under the auspices of Assam State unit of SUCI at Nabin Bardoloi Hall, Gauhati, in observance of 'People's Liberation Pledge Day'. The meeting was presided over by Com. Asit Bhattacharyya. Resolutions strongly condemning Pak military junta's attempt to kill Mujibur Rahman, extending full support to Bangladesh freedom movement and decrying State Government's food and price policy were among others adopted in the meeting.

Dhanbad District Committee of SUCI, also observed 'People's Liberation Pledge Day' and organised a meeting on this occasion at Digwadih, Dhanbad on the same day. The meeting was presided over by Com. Hem Chakravarty. Com. Prithish Chanda addressed the huge gathering as the main speaker explaining the significance of the day for the Indian people and urging the people to take a firm pledge to advance towards the final objective of liberation of the toiling masses by overthrowing the present oppressive capitalist rule.

A Thorough All Party Probe and Punishment of Guilty Officials Urgently Needed

(Contd. from page 1)

all party meeting on the second day did not meet with any strong resentment, any sharp rejoinder from the C.P.M. leader, Sri Jyoti Basu and was, on the contrary, greeted by a diplomatic rebuke flavoured with typical affection of professional brotherhood? How is it that the C.P.M. leader could not find time probably in preference to some more "urgent" programmes and left the meeting without pressing for the urgent demand of the joint enquiry? Is it not a fact that the C.P.M. all through maintained a more or less lukewarm attitude to the question of a probe being conducted jointly by the political parties? It is of course true that the C.P.M. leaders did not officially oppose the suggestion of such a joint enquiry; but the manner in which they highlighted the futility of such an enquiry on the plea that nobody will come forward to open his mouth and reveal the truth in view of the present horrifying situation and their arrogant adherence to the proposal of one-day "bandh" in the greater Calcutta actually led to the abandonment of the idea of a joint enquiry which was mooted again in the meeting of the non-Congress (R) parties held in Calcutta at S. U. C. office. Thus if Sri Siddharta Shankar Ray was responsible for frustrating the programme of a joint enquiry in the Rotunda meeting, it was the leaders of the C.P.M. who were responsible for similar act in the said meetings of the left parties. Does it not reflect an identity of, view, if not identity of interest of the C. P. M. with the Congress (R) in spite of the fact that the latter has been very loudly held responsible for this incident by the former? Can any honest man deny the urgent necessity of a thorough

probe, inspite of recognising the limitations imposed by the present situation, to throw light on this gruesome incident so that the culprits may be put into the dock? Does the statement of Sri Jyoti Basu that "the local units of the party (i. e. C.P.M.) were long ago disbanded and this area was practically deserted by the cadres of C.P.M." seem very much convincing and reflect the actual position which obtains at present? Can it be ruled out that the local Congress (R) found in C. P. M. an effective accomplice to fight the "menacing activities" of a section of the Naxalites which was threatening both the Congress (R) and the C.P.M.? A special correspondent of "Hindusthan Standard" hinted at similar conspiracy on 17th August last. He observed that the "happenings of the Baranagar-Cossipore area perhaps indicate a new strategy in so far as both the Congress(R) and the C.P.I.(M) are concerned. It may be that for the time being, the strategy is localised, in the sense that the involvement of both the Congress (R) and the C.P.I.(M) has been effective on a local basis to curb the activity of the Naxalites in a certain specified area."....."When the news of Mr. Chatterjee's murder spread in the area, local people mostly led by the Congress (R) organised an angry demonstration before the police station. There the crowd was joined by others including local C. P. M. supporters, and the entire mob started doing what they did throughout Thursday night". If this observation has at all any element of truth then the reason of both the Congress (R) and th C. P. M. for not being interested in an all party probe into the incident becomes clear.

Another point should be noted in this connection. Recent local reports reveal that

a f t e r this incident the activities of the Naxalites have shown some signs of decline and this vacuum is being speedily filled up not only by the Congress(R) but also by the C.P.M. which, according to the statement of its leader Sri Jyoti Basu, deserted this area long before. Sri Prafulla Kanti Ghosh, another leader of the Congress(R) said the other day that the present situation is being utilised by some political forces to expand their organisational influence in these areas which also gives a similar indication. From all these it appears that it is the Naxalites that have suffered most and the Congress(R) and the C.P.M. (and particularly the C.P.M.) that have been highly benefitted following the murder of Sri Chatterjee. Is it then the act of some "camouflaged Naxalites" or the agent provocateurs who had no personal love for Sri Chatterjee and who were sure to gain in future organisationally provided it was possible to put the whole blame upon the Naxalites? If this be true, then it is reminiscent of the most worst type of gestapo tactics nurtured in Nazi Germany during the time of Hitler. Such a politics that has given birth to these gestapo tactics, and the phenomenon of individual murder and terrorism is standing today as a stumbling block not only before the revolutionary movement but also before the legitimate democratic movement of the people. If this suffocating situation is allowed to continue further, the common people will become more and more sceptic about politics and political movement which will adversely affect the interest of those who are seriously trying to come out of the present impasse on the basis of a correct line and ideology. As far as our Party is concerned we strongly feel that this

ominous march of fascism must be halted at any cost. This is why the West Bengal State Committee of our Party took the first initiative to call an all-party meeting in the Rotunda, gave maximum stress upon the formation of the Enquiry Committee at every stage which, at the present moment, has been frustrated both by the Cong (R) and the C.P.I.(M).

Thus those who are seriously concerned about the disastrous politics of murder and terrorism should decide once for all whether they would continue to extend their support behind these two big parties, the Cong.(R) and the C.P.M. To curb this politics of murder and terrorism it is essential to curb the strength of these two parties who are, in the main, responsible today for patronising such politics. Any threat posed by these parties should be resisted by the peaceloving, democratic minded people in the greater interest of legitimate democratic movement of the masses. We call upon the people of West Bengal in general and Baranagar-Cossipore in particular not to yield to the threat of the organised gangsters in any area and to resist it by all means even at the high cost of price of lives. Unless we are able to fight this menace courageously and in an organised manner the Baranagar-Cossipore mass massacre may not be the last incident in the near future in West Bengal.

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Ed. P.E.