

OBSERVE ALL INDIA MASS PROTEST DAY

ON 3rd MAY '74

New Delhi 6th April: The meeting of the left and democratic parties that was held at Delhi for two days (4th and 5th April) decided to jointly observe a nation-wide Mass Protest Day on 3rd May 1974.

The form of action in each state will be decided by the parties in consultation with such other left and democratic parties and mass organisations that share the call for action. The form of action will include demonstrations, dharnas, gheraos and bundhs depending on the situation of each state and on the basis of consultation among the left and other democratic parties as well as mass organisation of that state.

The different left and democratic parties that participated at Delhi meeting, with us include the CPI, CPI(M), SP, RSP and others.

After the meeting Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee member West Bengal State Committee, SUCI who represented us in the said meeting issued the following Press release and Hand-out on our behalf.

PRESS RELEASE

The majority of the participants in the meeting of 12 Left and Democratic Parties held here on 4th and 5th April '74 could not agree with our view on certain fundamental issues. For the sake of unity, however, the S.U.C.I. decided to remain with the combination with the following note of dissent.

"The S. U. C. I. is opposed to take over of only wholesale trade in food-grains and other essential commodities. It is of the firm opinion that all out state trading both in wholesale and retail trade should immediately be introduced in wheat, rice, coarse-grains, pulses, sugar, edible oils, kerosene, standard cloth, matches and essential drugs.

"It is the considered opinion of the S. U. C. I. that so far as the question of land distribution is concerned, land should be distributed among the poor and landless peasants. The S.U.C.I. also holds the opinion that job throughout the year should be ensured for the agricultural workers and statutory minimum wages must be guaranteed for them."

PRESS HAND-OUT

1. The growing economic and political crisis, enveloping every aspect of life of the people, has created an well nigh explosive situation in the country. People's

discontent is bursting forth with increasing fury in this or that part of the country every now and then. They want to be relieved of the present miserable and unbearable condition which is getting worse with every passing day. The people want some radical change in the economic and political condition. With this strong yearning the oppressed and the exploited people from every walk of life are on and often participating in anti-government movement which are getting larger in magnitude day by day and reaching the stage of no less than mass upsurges.

2. But parties believing in revolution, know very well that these mass upsurges, whatever may be their magnitude and however strong yearning of the people for a change might be behind them, are not revolution. Consequence
(Contd. to Page 8)

To Our Readers

Due to enlarged size, especially for abnormal rise in the price of newsprint and cost of printing, we have been reluctantly compelled to increase the price of Proletarian Era from 20 paise to 30 paise per copy with effect from Volume 7 No. 14 issue dated 1st April 1974. The annual subscription, therefore, would be Rs. 7-50 from that issue.

Manager, Proletarian Era,

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

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Lessons of recent movement in Bihar

The cumulative effect of all-round exploitation during the last 26 years after independence, severe economic crisis, unprecedented price rise of all essential commodities, ever swelling problem of unemployment, non-availability of foodgrains because of artificial scarcity due to cornering of stocks by the hoarders and black marketeers taking advantage of the Government's food policy if not in collusion with the Government itself, failure of the Government to introduce a statutory rationing system and ensure a regular supply of adequate ration at fair price to the people and also to bring about reforms in the educational field catering to the needs of the common people coupled with rampant administrative corruption at all levels of the Bihar Government for decades together are only few to mention which actually resulted in the recent violent explosion of the deep-seated indignation of the people against both the Bihar Government and the Central Government headed by Sm. Indira Gandhi. Even a blind man could not fail to see the genuine grievances of the people particularly of those who lie below the poverty line. But it is interesting that Congress Ministers with myopic vision could see that it was a part and parcel of an all-national conspiracy as it followed the suit of Gujarat.

So far as the mood of the people was concerned it was unmistakably militant. Not only that; a tremendous mass support, unprecedented in the history of Bihar, was mobilised behind this recent agitation. The whole situation became so much suffocating for the common people that people from all walks of life wanted somehow a change of the situation even without always deeply realising what was waiting for them in future. But the tragedy is this that due to the absence of a real revolutionary party organisationally capable and effective enough to handle this situation and lead the movement to its logical conclusion and because of the failure of the left par-

opened up in this movement had been fizzled out and the glorious sacrifice of the people could not bring about the desired result generating only greater frustration among them.

CONDOLENCE

The West Bengal State Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India deeply mourns the sad premature death of Com. Ranadhir Dhar, a member of the Party and a prominent Trade Union Leader of Durgapur, West Bengal, on 8th April last.

In fact, the repeated appeal during the past several years of the Bihar State Committee, SUCI to all the left and democratic parties for building up of such an instrument of struggle went unheeded. The question of formation of united front, which is the need of the hour and an indispensable instrument of people's struggle

(Contd. to Page 5)

26th Anniversary of SUCI Mass Meeting

at Saheed Minar, Calcutta
24th April 1974, 5 P.M.

Main Speaker : Com. SHIBDAS GHOSH

JOIN IN THOUSANDS

Outcome Of Planning In India Scientifically Examined

Bourgeois Plans have Brought miseries to People

Mr. D. P. Dhar, Union Minister for Planning, in his speech at the annual conference of the North India Economic Association at New Delhi on 31st March last took those, who are talking of plan holiday, to task. He observed that since the operational part of the Fifth Plan, namely, the annual plan for 1974-75 would commence from 1st April 1974, it was foolish to talk of plan holiday which "has become fashionable now."

Plan Holiday

The Planning Minister has certainly the right to hold this view and express it in public. But the fact is that on 1st April 1974, the date of commencement of the Fifth Plan, the annual plan for 1974-75 was nowhere in sight nor even the details of the Fifth Plan were finally worked out. The Minister himself had admitted it in his speech. Besides, it may be recalled that during the three years from 1966 to 1969 when plan holiday was officially declared, there were annual plans. The operation of an annual plan, therefore, does not establish that there is no plan holiday at present. The reality is, no matter what the Minister says, that a virtual plan holiday is on.

Alleged Objective of Planning

Be that as it may, we are not so much concerned about the question as to whether there is a plan holiday or not as we are for the actual outcome of the plans. When the First Plan was adopted by the bourgeois state of our country in 1951-52, its objective was defined as initiating "a process of development which will raise living standards and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life." The Second Plan reiterated this alleged objective. The Third Plan "set the achievement of a good life for every citizen" as its goal and defined the task of the next three plans to be: (i) to achieve self-reliance, (ii) to provide employment to all those

who seek it, (iii) to abolish poverty and ensure a minimum level of living to every family in the country and (iv) to narrow economic and social disparities and by all this to establish a socialist pattern of society. Since the commencement of the First Plan up till now twenty-three years have passed by and four five-year plans and three annual plans have been completed. It can be said that the period of twenty-three years is too short and the plans are too few in number to achieve at least to a reasonable degree the declared objective of planning as mentioned before. Now that another five-year plan has, in the words of the Planning Minister, begun operating with effect from 1st April last, it is high time that the outcome of planning *vis-a-vis* its declared objective should be critically examined on the basis of scientific reading of facts as they obtain in our country. It will be suicidal for our people to take the demagogic claims and tall promises of the ruling party, its leaders and the governments as gospel truth.

Self-Reliance

To achieve self-reliance has been defined to be the first of the four tasks of planning. Before examining how far or if at all this task has been achieved during the not-too-short period of twenty-three years of planning in India, it should be made unambiguously clear at the very outset that in a capitalist society like ours, self-reliance by itself is no panacea for the various ills from which society suffers

and the acute distress of the people. It is no guarantee against capitalist crisis that breaks out periodically and insecurity in the life of the people either. A capitalist country may be self-reliant but it does not necessarily mean a "good life" for its people, far less a situation ensuring continuous improvement in the material and cultural condition of their living. On the contrary, with the achievement of self-reliance the bourgeois rule having become more consolidated and further strengthened, the people are liable to be subjected to relatively greater exploitation and more ruthless suppression by the ruling bourgeoisie. It should be realised that a "good life", meaning a life becoming increasingly rich from the point of view of not only material but also cultural and ethical standard, for the people can be had only under socialism, not fake socialism but scientific socialism, when freed from all sorts of exploitation of man by man, the people enjoy real power to shape their own life. So self-reliance of the existing capitalist state in our country cannot be the prime interest of our people. Even then they certainly do not want that India should move with a beggar's bowl from one country to another for food, money, technical know-how, etc., nor do they like that we would be looked down upon by others as a nation of beggars. But those who miss no chance to wax eloquent on self-reliance have been following a policy the result of which is that self-reliance even after about twenty-seven years since independence of our country still remains as elusive as before. India owes now about Rs. 6000 crore to other countries. Not only that India needs

every year external credit to cover the balance of payments gap as also for supplementing the resources available for investment.

The talk of self-reliance by the government sounds so hollow that even the World Bank could not help commenting on it. In a recent report it had observed: "From the outset of its economic planning, the Government of India has hoped that it would soon be possible to eliminate the need for aid. In formulating the Third Plan, the Government estimated that it would be possible to bring the net transfer of aid down to zero by the early 1970s and the current target, as given in the draft Fifth Plan, is the mid-1980s. But, especially in view of the impact of the world energy situation, even this seems too optimistic and on economic development grounds it can be expected that aid in substantial amounts will continue to be needed in the period beyond."

So you see that the objective of self-reliance declared in the plans is receding. As things are proceeding, no body, not even the Planning Commission, knows when this so-called necessity of foreign credit will be over. Compare this position of India with that of China. India gained national independence in 1947; China was liberated in 1949. At the time of liberation, China was miles behind the then India in the development of industry, power, transport and communication system, irrigation, banking, etc., China's population was and still is about one and a half times as much as India's. China was ravaged by decades of war. In spite of all these initial disadvantages, China today is far ahead of India in every sphere of economy and development works. Yet

China has no internal as well as external debt. It is the only country in the world which has no kind of public debt. Why cannot India do what China has already done? The reason is simple. China is a socialist country where the people led by the revolutionary working class are actually in power to build their country and shape their life while in India the bourgeoisie is in power, the whole socio-political-economic system serves the interest of the exploiting bourgeois class and the people, exploited and oppressed by the ruling class, are in chains. This basic difference in the system between the two countries accounts for all the differences between them and their actual performances.

Solution of Unemployment Problem

The second alleged objective of planning is to solve the unemployment problem in our country. In course of twenty-three years since the country embarked on planning in 1951-52, what has been the progress in this respect? The less said, the better. For, the progress has been not in the forward direction but in the backward direction with accelerated speed. According to official figures, the number of unemployed persons on the eve of the First Plan was 33 lakh; at the end of the Second Plan it rose to 70 lakh; at the beginning of the Fourth Plan it was between 90 lakh and 1 crore; by 1971, in the estimate of the Bhagavati Committee, it increased to 1.87 crore. What about the educated unemployed? Between 1966 and 1972 the number of unemployed matriculates rose from 6.19 lakh to 17.35 lakh, of unemployed undergraduates from 2.04 lakh to 9.35 lakh and of unemployed graduates and post-graduates from 0.94 lakh to 6.03 lakh. It goes without saying that these official figures err on the side of underestimation. A reference to the latest (1971) census report will prove it. Persons belonging to the age-group of (Contd. to Page Three)

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM HAS ASSUMED ALARMING PROPORTIONS

CAPITALISM CANNOT PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT TO ALL

(Contd. from Page Two)

15 years to 55 years constitute 51.1 per cent of the total population. In our country boys less than 15 years of age and persons above 55 years of age also work and should, therefore, be included in the working force of the country. Lest one would object to their inclusion, we leave them aside here and take 51 per cent of the total population as the working force. But in 1971, 38.40 per cent of our population were employed. So 12.60 per cent of our population, which according to 1971 census report would be about 6.95 crore, were unemployed at that time as against 1.87 crore, the figure of unemployed persons given by the Bhagavati Committee. Not only that. Add to it several crores of agricultural labourers who for the greater part of the year remain jobless but nevertheless have been taken as employed in the census report because of their casual work. From it one can easily see how the present rulers in our country have succeeded in fulfilling the second alleged objective of planning, to quote them verbatim, "to provide avenues and opportunities for employment to all those who seek it", of course, if one does not contend that these crores and crores of unemployed persons are not seeking employment.

What is the basic cause of unemployment in our country? The present exploitative capitalist system is the root cause of unemployment problem in India. It should be realised that no capitalist country, in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, more so in the third phase of the period of general crisis of world capitalism marked by the absence of even the relative stability of market which

world capitalist economy used to enjoy till the second world war, is in a position to solve its unemployment problem, no matter how industrially developed it is. Look at the USA, Great Britain and other advanced capitalist countries and you will see how these countries are faced with serious unemployment problem. If by greater militarisation of economy and heavy recruits to the armed forces they try to solve the problem this day, it burst forth with far greater intensity tomorrow with the change from war manoeuvre to peace manoeuvre and consequent disbandment of armed personnel necessitated by economic and political reasons. This explains why in not a single capitalist country the right to work has been recognised as a fundamental right of the people. Ours being a capitalist country, the right to work has not been recognised in the Indian Constitution also as a fundamental right of our people (the Article on employment in the chapter on Directive Principles in the Constitution is not justiciable and has no legal force) though under the Constitution the employer has the right to retrench the workman or otherwise terminate his employment. It is only under socialism that the unemployment problem is permanently and correctly solved. Socialism alone guarantees work to all. This is confirmed by the fact that where India with a population of 55 crore is being rocked to its foundation stone by the turbulent waves of unemployment problem, China with a population of 80 crore knows no unemployment problem. We too will be able to solve the problem when we will make our anti-capitalist revolution victorious and establish a socialist society here.

Parties like the CPI(M), however, think otherwise. They are of the opinion that by carrying out the programme of distribution of land to the landless peasants and agricultural labourers, the unemployment problem in our country can be solved. We do not undermine the importance and necessity of carrying out this programme. It has got to be done by all means. But to say that the unemployment problem can be solved by distribution of land to the landless peasants and agricultural labourers is wrong and is to harbour an illusion. Firstly because, India has not that much of land with which it can provide to each and every family engaged in agriculture, including landless peasants and agricultural labourers, an economic land holding, at least just enough land to maintain the family. So even after distribution of land there will remain the problem of providing employment to those who could not be given land. Secondly because, those who will get land will in course of time have sons and daughters. When after the death of the father the property will be shared by the heirs, the land the heirs will get will be uneconomic. In that circumstances, most of the heirs will again be landless in course of time and there will again arise the question of providing them employment. Land being limited, new generations cannot all be provided with land. So there will always remain the problem of providing employment to the new generations as well as to those who would not get any land even after land distribution. The only way to solve the problem is to absorb them in industry. This can be done only if the door of uninterrupted industrial development in our country can be opened. But the present capitalist relations of production based on wage-labour and the capitalist motive force of production, namely, production for maximum

profit possible in the prevailing circumstances, of our country are acting as a severe brake on further and continuous industrial development. Indian capitalism, though relatively backward, is part and parcel of crisis-ridden moribund world capitalism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is absolutely incapable of carrying out industrial revolution by opening the door of uninterrupted industrial development. This being the reality, it is naive to expect that under the existing capitalist system it will someday be possible to liquidate unemployment and provide employment to all those who seek it. And when the Congress leaders and ministers hold out to the people the hope of giving employment to all in course of time, they do it with the deliberate intention of fooling them. It is an ill-designed political gimmick of theirs.

Eradication of Poverty and Uplifting Standard of Living

The next important objective, as set out in the plans, is to eradicate poverty and ensure "a minimum level of living to every family in our country." In the Approach Paper for the Fifth Plan it has been stated that "the lowest 30 per cent of the population will attain a more satisfactory level of living." The term, "minimum level of living" used in the earlier plans or "more satisfactory level of living" used in the Approach Paper for the Fifth Plan, is extremely vague. Even then let us examine if this alleged objective of planning has, in any measure whatsoever, been materialised. It should be realised that the concept about poverty and minimum or more satisfactory level of living is neither absolute nor static. It is relative and changing. This concept varies from country to country and even, in a single country, with time. What is

taken as affluence in one country may be regarded as poverty in another country. What is "satisfactory living" at one time may be rightly considered a wretched condition of living at a different time in the same country. Hence, any examination as to whether poverty among our people is decreasing or not naturally requires a norm of measuring poverty. The norm fixed by the present rulers of our country is the expenditure of Rs 20 per head per month in 1961-62 prices. This expenditure, according to the Congress governments, indicates "satisfactory" level of living and expenditure below this norm is considered poverty. But what is the scientific basis of this norm? No scientific basis. It has been fixed most arbitrarily without taking into account the actual minimum amount necessary even to keep the body and soul of a person together in 1961-62 prices. The fixation of the norm at this extremely low level has been made with the deliberate intention of understating the extent of poverty in our country and conceal the truth from the people.

Even this low norm exposes the appalling poverty of the masses of the people in our country. The West Bengal Planning Board has estimated in the papers for the state's fifth plan that 70 per cent of the total population in West Bengal now live below the poverty line. The Planning Board for Orissa has given almost the same figure for that state. Maharashtra is supposed to be the most economically well-placed among all the states in India. The Planning Department of the Maharashtra Government in its note on the formulation of district plans has admitted that the "number of persons below the poverty line is estimated to be nearly 66 per cent" of the total population. Official documents assess that of the 55 crore people in India 20 to 25 crore live in abject poverty. The per centage comes to about (Contd. to Page Four)

During Twenty-Three Years Of Planning People Have Been Bled White To Fatten The Purse Of Capitalist

(Contd from page 3)

40. Is the extent of poverty declining or increasing? The ruling Congress party and its governments claim that due to operation of planning poverty in our country is decreasing both in its extent and in the intensity. But facts tell a different story. Take for instance the case of Maharashtra, the most economically well-placed state in India. In this state while in 1960-61, the percentage of those getting less than the national minimum consumption was about 58; in 1970-71 the percentage rose to 65. This means that in the decade more people in Maharashtra have become poorer (Vide Main Stream dated 21st July 1973). In the corresponding period, the percentage of the poor people in West Bengal has gone up by about 10. According to a calculation by a renowned bourgeois economist of our country, the percentage of the poor people in India was 30 at the beginning of the First Plan, 33 at the beginning of the Second Plan, 35 at the beginning of the Third Plan and 38 in 1968-69. The trend is unmistakably clear indicating increase in the extent of poverty. This increase in the number of the poor people both in absolute term and in percentage of the total population proves that it is not due to increase in population. The outcome of planning has been that those who were not poor before have now become poor even according to the extremely low norm fixed by the Congress rulers and the national minimum consumption. The truth of it is confirmed by census reports as well. During the census decade 1961-71, the number of agricultural labourers rose at an annual rate of 5.2 per cent and simultaneously, the number of cultivators declined at an annual rate of 2.2 per cent. In plain words, it means that during the decade economic pressures made the poor peasants lose

their land and become landless agricultural labourers, a definite sign of pauperisation of the masses of the peasantry.

Now about the standard of living of the people. The big-wigs in the ruling Congress party and its governments may congratulate themselves on their assumed achievement that "a minimum level of living" which is "satisfactory level of living" has been ensured to every family. This assumed achievement is palpably false. Let alone "satisfactory" level of living, not even "minimum level of living" has been ensured to the bulk of our people who are at present leading a sub-human life. This is hard reality which no amount of statistical jugglery can controvert or conceal. Look at the consumption pattern of our people and you will be convinced of it. In 1973-74 the lowest 50 per cent in the rural areas and in the urban areas have a share of 28.83 per cent and 26.03 per cent respectively of the total national consumption while the top most 10 per cent have a share of 23.48 per cent and 27.14 per cent of the national consumption in the rural and urban areas respectively.

Take for instance the case of per capita consumption of food. FAO statistics on nutrition confirm the deterioration in the condition of living of the masses of the people. The per capita calorie intake in 1964-65 was 2110; it came down to 1990 in 1969-70. The protein content of the diet in 1969-70 was at the 1954-55 level of 49 grammes a day. Pulses constitute main source of protein in the diet of the masses. In 1972, consumption of pulses per head per day was 1.65 oz, that is, about 46.70 grammes which was 32 per cent below the consumption in the 1950s. In 1965, consumption of food grains per head per day was 16.93 oz. It has remained almost the same.

It should, however, be noted that these are average national figures of per capita consumption per day which are calculated after taking into account the consumption by the Tatas, Birlas and such other rich persons, well-to-do peasants, jotedars and poorest agricultural labourers and then making their averages. So the actual consumption by the masses of the people is far less than the average figures. With steep rise in the prices of essential commodities, particularly food grains, during the last one year by about 30 per cent, the standard of living of the masses of the people has further gone down. There can be no two opinions about that.

All these facts conclusively show that our people in spite of planning (it would be more correct to say, because of planning) are becoming relatively and absolutely poorer. This is so because of the law of relative and absolute pauperisation of the masses of the people which operates in a capitalist society and, for that matter, in India also.

Narrowing Economic and Social Inequalities

The fourth alleged objective is reduction of income inequalities, between the rich and the poor. We think that there is no need of producing facts and figures to establish that this so-called objective not only has not been achieved but, on the contrary, has all through been worked out since independence in the reverse direction. It is now well established by facts and even the government is forced to recognise in the face of stubborn facts that during the last twenty-three years of planning, despite the alleged objective of the plans to reduce income disparities between the rich and the poor and the promises of the rulers of the country to do it, the poor have become poorer and the rich richer. The disparities in income between the

rich and the poor have grown, the maladministration in the distribution of national income has gone tremendously in favour of the rich against the commonmen, most of the country's wealth and property have entered into the coffer of the multimillionaires and the sufferings and distress of the masses of the people have increased manifold. Tons and tons of proof of it can be had from such official documents as the Mahalanobish Commission Report, the Monopoly Commission Report, the Dutt Committee Report and the Reserve Bank of India Bulletins. Any one interested in finding out the truth can go through them and convince himself of the correctness of the statement that it is the economic, fiscal, credit, industrial, industrial licensing, trade, food and other policies of the present bourgeois state in our country and its caretaker, the congress governments, that have bled the people white to satisfy the insatiable greed of the capitalists for maximum profits and help them amass fabulous riches, wealth and property. Let alone other measures, by just one stroke reducing the rate of personal income tax for the highest slab of income from 97.75 per cent to 77 per cent in the current year's central budget, the Congress Government at the centre has made a gift of Rs. 60 crore to the richest persons in our country, a gift to be continued every year unless and until it is withdrawn. After this to talk of reducing income inequalities between the rich and the poor is sheer hypocrisy on the part of the Congress, its leaders and its governments.

We sometimes hear some so-called intellectuals say that along with the capitalists the industrial workers also have profited at the cost of other sections of the people during the present regime. Let us examine this charge against the working class. It is true that their money

wages have gone up to some extent. But with the spiralling of prices of all essential commodities and steep fall in the purchasing power of the Indian rupee, in spite of increase in money wages, the real wages of the industrial workers have fallen. The National Commission on Labour set up by the India Government had admitted it in its report. We give further concrete proof of it. With 1961 as the base year equal to 100, the index of real earnings of the industrial workers was 103 in 1962, 103 in 1963, 94 in 1964, 97 in 1965, 95 in 1966, 91 in 1967 and 94 in 1968 (vide India 1971-72). These are latest available figures. So, the industrial workers have not profited at the cost of other sections of the people. Do you want any more proof? In 1969 the net output per worker accruing to the employer, after payment of wages and all other costs, was 495 percent of that in 1949. It shows that while real earnings of the workers are falling, they are being more exploited resulting in higher net output per worker being accrued to the employer which means more profit to the latter.

Socialist Pattern of Society

From the facts stated hereinbefore it is as clear as daylight that the outcome of twenty-three years' of planning in our country has been a paradise for the capitalist class and economic ruination of our people. We have not discussed here the political persecution and cultural and moral degeneration that the present regime has heaped upon the people in this period. In fact, there is a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the ruling bourgeoisie, its principal political representative in the prevailing situation, namely, the ruling congress party and its governments to pollute the people culturally, ethically and morally so as to perpetuate

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Despite sacrifice no battle can succeed unless leadership of genuine working class party is established

(Contd. from Page 1)

at the present phase of democratic movement had been time and again by-passed by the leadership of both S. P. and CPI(M) by raising a slogan of unity on "specific issues," which only confused the whole thing. Short of this political united front all the left parties in Bihar are united today in a 'morcha' to conduct struggles on various demands i.e. specific issues and we have participated in it with the consideration of availing what even little opportunity is there to develop mass struggles. But if the SP and the CPI(M) would not have frustrated our continuous attempt to build up a united front of all left and democratic parties on the basis of a common agreed programme, then it would not have been absolutely impossible to lead the present struggle to a higher and organised form which could have compelled the Government to concede to the just demands of the people. In fact, what did these left parties do in the recent period? The SUCI, CPI(M), SP and S. S. P organised a big protest march to Assembly, staged picketing and dharnas before the D.M.'s in almost all districts of Bihar in 1972; the S.U.C.I., S. P., S. S. P and R. S. P. made the Bihar Bandh of 7th June '73, a grand success against the anti-people and capitalist policies of the Indira Government. It may not be out of place to mention that 'Searchlight'—the well known daily of Bihar at that time warned all other left parties and suggested not to take "an extremist party like SUCI" in united movements as it would dig their own grave. Be that as it may, since these movements, however successful, were conducted on specific issue they could achieve only some limited objectives. These movements were not visualised to give birth to and provide the people with an effective instrument of struggle.

It is precisely because of the absence of a revolutionary party in Bihar organisationally strong enough to influence the situation in a right direction and because of the opportunistic policies of the S.P and CPI(M) that frustrated all attempts for the formation of a united front of the left and democratic parties on the basis of a common agreed programme that the Jan Sangh led Vidyarthi Parisad, Samajbadi Yuba-Jan Sabha of S.S.P and elements having link with Cong (O) and the dissident fraction of the ruling party who were dissatisfied with Gafoor Ministry for personal reasons came to the forefront and formed the Chhatra Sanghars-Samity which sponsored the mass demonstration before the Bihar Assembly on 18th March 1974.

The ruling Congress Government instead of paying any heed to the genuine grievance of the people and conceding to these just demands took a despotic and fascistic attitude in order to crush this gigantic movement. The Bihar Government therefore, took all possible means to put down this movement starting from promulgation of Sec 144 Cr P.C., and putting heavy police cordon to obstruct the demonstration to opening of fire by the police at places taking heavy toll of life. Twelve battalion of army, contingents of B.S.F and C.R.P were deployed and curfew was clamped for almost a week. We strongly condemn this fascistic armed attack upon the unarmed people fighting for food and in fact no right-thinking person could support this act of brutality of the Bihar Government. We appeal to all of them to raise their voice of protest against the inhuman barbarism perpetrated by the Bihar Government.

We cannot but also view with concern that the leaders of Chhatra Sanghars-Samity who initiated the present

struggle issued an appeal to desist "politics" rather to resist the entry of political parties in the present struggle. It is known to all that to speak of desisting politics in a class divided society like ours is itself a politics of the bourgeoisie, if not a brand of worst kind of narrow politics in order to stall the revolutionary politics of the working class.

In this background the incident of the attack on Searchlight and Pradip Press should be examined. It is only usual that agitated masses make government concerns their object of wrath and attack. Never before a daily press was subjected to such an attack under similar circumstances and no police was there to protect the press. It is interesting to note that the editors of the affected press alleged in an open statement that this attack on the press was not done by the students or by the professional goondas but was a part of a high-level conspiracy by the ruling party and the CPI. Up till now and to our knowledge neither Congress nor CPI has contradicted this statement. The "Searchlight conspiracy" if it is so called, has surpassed even the "Reichstag conspiracy" of Hitler in excellence in so far as the object of attack was concerned. Be that as it may, it must be admitted that it was a deliberate attempt to misguide the whole movement and put the entire blame on the struggling people. Everybody must be alert of this dangerous conspiracy of the ruling class.

Danger also looms large in the patronisation of different "senas" by the ruling party whose main object is to spread all sorts of parochial sentiment, blind fanaticism and fissiparous tendencies which are sure to obstruct the growth of even left and democratic movements in our country. All democratic minded people must combine against this

menacing force.

The most important lesson that the people must draw from the events of such a gigantic movement is that—until and unless the real revolutionary party can attain sufficient strength to establish not only ideological leadership but also organisational leadership for conducting these mass struggles in a right direction, any amount of sacrifice, and any amount of bloodshed cannot ameliorate the present exasperating conditions of people's life.

It is known to all of us that all the political parties and forces excepting the revolutionaries—be it the right reactionaries, the fissiparous forces, the social democrats or the pseudo-left and pseudo-revolutionary forces—always try to arrest the movements of the people within the span of bourgeois type of agitational movements with a view to taking advantage in the next elections. It is only the genuine revolutionary party which tries to give all kinds of mass struggles, in whatever form they might have originally started, an organised shape and make people politically conscious so that they can develop political power in their own hands with the help of which alone they can offer protracted struggle against the capitalist state in the overthrow of which the solution of fundamental problems of the people lie.

So what are of paramount importance for the people of Bihar as well as for the people of whole of India? Firstly, a correct base political line with a correct programme of action, secondly a genuine and effective revolutionary party capable of conducting the movements of the people in a right direction and thirdly and the most important at the present moment an instrument of struggle i.e. the united front of all the left and democratic forces on the basis of a common agreed programme. Fulfilment of above mentioned three conditions is the need of the hour. Unless and

until these three conditions are fulfilled the right reactionaries, the fissiparous forces and the other pseudo-left and pseudo-revolutionary electioneering parties will invariably misguide and distract time and again such gigantic movements in furtherance of their election designs and ultimately these movements, inspite of huge bloodshed and sacrifice on the part of the people, will repeatedly end in fiasco.

Let us examine in this background the role of the left political parties who are working in the state of Bihar. The CPI, as is well known, has alligned itself with the Congress and 'people have very little to expect from this party in this regard. The S. P., the diehard social democratic party, much of whose wind has been taken away from its sail by Sm. Indira Gandhi by her so called radical slogans, has not much to offer excepting exploring the present volcanic situation against the Congress Government for furtherance of its parliamentary interest. The case of CPI(M) presents no better picture either. Politically, this party has denied the necessity of anti-capitalist socialist revolution inspite of the fact that it is capitalism that is at the root of all evils of people's life. Their shouting of slogans against feudalism, imperialism and monopoly capitalism is keeping the main enemy unhurt and is acting as a denial of anti-capitalist socialist revolution, which tantamounts to giving a fresh lease of life to the exploitative capitalist system. It is of course true that CPI(M) is also not a quite major force to reckon with in the state of Bihar. But what seems to us to be urgent is the political attitude that governs the activity of a party. The CPI(M) apart from denying the necessity of anti-capitalist socialist revolution is also by-passing the question of building united front of all left and democratic parties and forces on the

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Congress Government In West Bengal Practises Falsehood False

Claims Of Performances

On the occasion of the second anniversary of its installation, the Ray Ministry in West Bengal has published in the local newspapers full page advertisements depicting its so-called performances within the two years of its existence.

Last year also, it came out with similar full page advertisements. But the little courtesy and modesty shown last year are conspicuous by their absence this time. It has been proudly claimed this year that the government is striving "reasonably successfully" for "all round progress" of West Bengal and that "our performance within these two short years has actually surprised our own expectations in many areas." There is no admission of any mistake or shortcoming; there is no recognition of the acute sufferings which the people have been undergoing during these two years; there is no sign of any respect for truth and reality; there is no trace of any political scruple expected of a political party and its government. On the contrary, the advertisement is full of vainglorious assertions based on fiction, wilful suppression of truth and concocted figures meant to befool the people. Had there been sufficient space at our disposal, we would have exposed the whole game in all its details. But for want of enough space we are not in a position to do it in this small article. We, therefore, confine ourselves to exposing the falsity of some of the claims made by the Ray Ministry in the advertisement. We are confident that the illustrations will suffice to prove the mendacious nature of the claims of performances alleged to have been made by the Ray Ministry during the last two years.

There is perhaps not a single individual in the whole of West Bengal who is not aware of the tremendously acute sufferings the people have been undergoing due to non-availability of rice, wheat, edible oil, kerosene oil, coal, sugar and other daily

necessaries of life and their spiralling prices much above the purchasing capacity of the common men in the state. It is also admitted on all hands that this suffering of the people is entirely due to repeated bungling by the Government and its anti-people pro-jotedar pro-blackmarketeer policies with regard to procurement and supply of food articles and other essential commodities. Any honest and responsible Government would have recognised this truth, admitted its mistakes and failings and seriously tried to rectify the errors and move correctly. But it is too much to be expected of the Ray Ministry. It has tried not only to absolve itself of the blame by stating in the advertisement that the "present crisis is true for the entire nation and not a singular problem for the State alone" but also to play down the acute sufferings of the people by falsely claiming that the price hike in West Bengal is much lower than in other states. We refer to the Economic Review 1973-74 published by the Government of West Bengal to prove the falsity of the claim that the rise in prices of essential commodities is lower in West Bengal compared to other states. Look at page 38 of the book and you will find that whereas in Bombay and Madras consumer price index numbers for the industrial workers with 1960 as the base year rose by 25 and 23 points respectively between October 1972 and October 1973 (latest figures available in the book) the increase in the corresponding period for Calcutta was by 36 points. The consumer price index number for agricultural labourers with 1960-61 as the base year rose by 54 points in West Bengal as against a rise of 49 points for the whole of India

during the one year ending in October 1973 (vide the same book at page 39). Thus, it is a travesty of truth to claim that the rise in prices in West Bengal is lower than in other states, a claim made by the Ray Ministry in the advertisement.

It has been very loudly claimed that West Bengal is one of the few states which can be proud of the law and order situation now. The bourgeois Press also plays second fiddle to this tune of the ruling Congress party and its Government in the state. But what is law and order situation? Does it include gross violation of law of all kinds? In any case, does it include blackmarketing, profiteering, smuggling, adulteration in food, baby-food and medicines resulting in irreparable damage to national health and premature death and permanent disablement of persons? Does it cover railway wagon-breaking, theft of railway overhead wire, abducting and raping minor girls, snatching of ornaments from travelling passengers in trains and buses, carrying unlicensed fire arms in broad daylight and using them against political opponents and innocent citizens? Does it include corruption, bribery and illegal practices in high places in society? Certainly all these do not come under the definition of law and order situation as understood by the Ray Ministry and the State Chief Minister, Mr. Ray himself. Otherwise his Ministry would not have claimed that West Bengal should feel proud of the present law and order situation when the reality is, as every body knows, that all these anti-social crimes not only are continuously on the increase but have been institutionalised as well. Perhaps because of petty party politics and liaison with them in different spheres the Ray Ministry considers these anti-social elements gentlemen. Otherwise how could this Ministry make "gentlemen's agreements" with many of these hard-boiled criminals?

We produce here some instances to show our people how the so-called law and order situation of Mr. Ray's conception obtains now in West Bengal. They are verbatim reproduction from the Statesman, a monopolist newspaper ever obliging to the Ray Ministry since it came to power through complete rigging of elections. "Rajaram(30), a factory worker, was killed and nine others were injured in two clashes between members of rival unions of the Bengal Potteries" belonging to the Congress trade union front. "A group of young men carrying pipe guns and other lethal weapons forcibly entered a house at Jagatdal and allegedly kidnapped a young man late last night." "Sensation was created today when several people in a private car came to a colony near the Calcutta Airport and tried to kidnap a girl of 18". "A group of young men carrying pipe-guns and other weapons boarded a bus at Biraahi under Chakda thana and snatched all the valuables from their possessions." These are not all; there are many other incidents of this type to be found in the pages of bourgeois newspapers. These are incidents not for the whole month nor even for a whole week; they happened on just two days, 25th and 26th March last, a day or two after the publication of the advertisement. What a wonderful testimony to substantiate the claim of the Ray Ministry that West Bengal should be proud of the present law and order situation in the state!

The Chief Minister himself has admitted on the floor of the Legislative Assembly that in 1973 "only 941" cases of murder were reported. As in the opinion of the Chief Minister, the police and the jail authorities cannot murder people, the number of persons killed inside jails, in thana lock-up and on the open streets on the plea of maintaining law and order has naturally been excluded from this figure. And 941 is so small

a number, in the Chief Minister's view, that the attribute "only" has been prefixed to the number. But even after 941 reported cases of murder, of which more than 100 are political murders, if the Ray Ministry can pride itself on its performance in maintaining law and order in West Bengal then there is no earthly reason to blame on this ground the United Front Ministry during the regime of which the number of murder was at least less than 941, to be precise, 641 in 1967 and 708 in 1969. Why murder alone? What about armed clashes between rival groups within the Congress? What about other crimes? They are on the increase. In the circumstances, to claim that West Bengal should feel proud of the present law and order situation is to brag and lie.

Now take the case of rural electrification. The rosy promise of electrification of 10,000 villages in one year is no more to be heard. Rural electrification now objectively means the installation of poles and the drawing of electric wires overhead. It does not mean actual supply of electricity. Even if we leave it aside, what is the position? In last year's advertisement, the number of villages electrified from 15th August 1947 to 20th March 1972 was shown to be 3,328. This is the figure mentioned in this year's Governor's Address also. But in this year's advertisement the figure has been slashed down to 3,054. Is it just a statistical inexactitude from which official figures suffer by and large, or, is it a deliberate falsification of figure to denigrate the performance of other Ministries prior to the Ray Ministry? Whatever might be the cause of this discrepancy, it proves the utter undependable character of the advertisement.

Same is the case with Social Housing Schemes. In the Governor's Address, we find the following statement: "Construction of about 38,000 flats/houses

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Publicity Stunt By Ray Ministry Fails to Conceal Truth

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was completed under different Social Housing Schemes administered by the Housing Department up to the end of the year 1972-73. It is expected that construction of a further 1,725 flats will be completed during 1973-74." Assuming that this expectation was fulfilled, the total number of flats and houses under different Social Housing Schemes constructed by the Government up to 31st March 1974 becomes 39,725. This year's advertisement states that up to 19th March 1972 construction of 36,726 flats and houses was completed. Hence during the period from 20th March 1972 to 31st March 1974 the Ray Ministry had constructed 2,999 flats and houses. But in the advertisement it has been claimed that during two years of its rule the Ray Ministry has completed construction of 3,298 flats and houses. How do you account for this discrepancy? Is it a bonafide mistake, or, a deliberate falsehood practised by the Ray Ministry to give an inflated picture of its own performance? Whatever might be the ground of this discrepancy, it is another example to show that the claims of performances as made in the advertisement are totally false.

But if there is any case of *suppressio veri* in the advertisement, it has been wildly practised in presenting the performance of the Labour Department. In the advertisement, you will not find any mention of the fact that during the period of the first eleven months of 1973, 107 industrial units employing 11,773 persons were closed; you will not also find that in 1972 and 1973 there were 36,17,124 and 62,58,066 mandays lost respectively of which lock-outs accounted for about 70 percent. You will not see that in 1973

alone more than 5'98 lakh workers were laid-off for various reasons. You will not also see how the unemployment problem has assumed alarming proportions during the two years of the Ray Ministry. All these facts have been suppressed lest they would expose the utter hollowness of the claims made in the advertisement.

Want of space forbids us to give more examples to prove the falsity of the claims made by the Ray Ministry in the advertisement. This Ministry believes in publicity stunt and for that reason does not hesitate to give bluff to the people. Hitler's Propaganda Minister, Mr. Goebbels, is long dead. But his disciples are there and in the tradition of their master, keep on telling lies and repeating them over and over again, each time more loudly than before with the hope that the lies would one day be taken as true by the people. This fraud may work for some time but it is destined to be detected and suitably dealt with by the people in the long run. This is the lesson of history. No amount of false propaganda and publicity stunt by the Ray Ministry can save it. Its real character is now exposed to the people of West Bengal.

EXPELLED FROM PARTY

The West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI decided on 4th April last to expel Bazle Ahmed of Murarai Police Station in the district of Birbhum, West Bengal, from the Party for his selfish and self-centred work, repeated gross violation of Party discipline and anti-Party activities.

WEST BENGAL STATE K.K.M.F CONFERENCE

The Thirteenth Annual State Conference of West Bengal Krikak & Khet Mazur Federation was held in the midst of magnificent enthusiasm in Saheed Bhabanagar (Bankura Town) on and from 29th to 31st March '74. The venue of the conference was named as "Seheed Bhabanagar" in memory of Com. Bhaba Adhikari, a leading K.K.M.F. organiser of Bankura who was murdered by the Congress goondas and the jotedars.

The inaugural open session was held at Banga Vidyalaya Maidan, Machantala of Bankura Town on 29th March which was presided over by Com. Subodh Banerjee. Thousands of landless peasants and agricultural labourers including 2853 delegates from all the districts of West Bengal paraded the streets of Bankura Town braving the heavy shower and assembled at the meeting place first of all. The meeting started with International Song' by the DYU music squad.

Our beloved leader, teacher and guide Com. Shibdas Ghosh was present as the main speaker of the open conference. In his long analytical speech he showed that the main enemy of the peasants as well as the people was the present capitalist state. The question of emancipation of the people was, therefore, closely linked up with the question of overthrow of the capitalist state machine which in its turn was impossible without the emergence of a genuine revolutionary party.

Com. Ghosh said that in spite of severe economic exploitation and political persecution "a nation can hold high its head with honour if it does not lose its moral character. The genuine revolutionaries, therefore, can ill afford to ignore the vital task of instilling a sense of revolutionary morality in the masses of the people."

Analysing the recent incidents of Bihar and Gujrat he said that we could not forget for a moment that spontaneous outburst of the people was not one and the same as revolution. It was absolutely wrong to equate these two.

But unfortunately, the big left parties masquerading as Marxist-Leninist had already appeared in scene for any-how utilising this fighting mood of the people for petty interest of parliamentary politics and were thus jeopardising the indispensable necessity of developing a revolutionary consciousness and conscious combatibility among the people.

Exhaustively analysing the present political and economic situation in India Com. Ghosh showed that it was capitalism that was acting as the greatest obstacle in the way of all-round development of the people.

Referring to a recent report of the Tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party Com. Ghosh said that the Chinese party like our party thinks that those who have innumerable workers and immense mass support but are not possessors of a correct base political line have in fact nothing at all. The most important thing, at the present moment, is a correct philosophy, a correct base political line and a genuine revolutionary leadership. He appealed to the people to find out that correct revolutionary party and extend their hands of all-out co-operation to that party in the interest of coming revolution. Com. Yakub Pailan and Com. Protiva Mukherjee also spoke in the meeting.

The delegate session of the conference was held on 30th and 31st March '74 in Brihat Hazra Muntangan. In the first session of the delegates' conference Com. Shibdas Ghosh, reminded the delegates that they should be conscious that it was in them that the possibility of revolution was potent. In fact, he made

an elaborate discussion in the delegate session as to how to develop the mass organisations, the base of the party and the political power among the people and how to discharge the responsibility as an organiser.

In the remaining three sessions the report of the Secretary, main political resolution, a charter of demands and some other resolutions on food problem, price rise, unemployment, eviction of peasants from land, democratic rights and release of political prisoners were adopted.

Apart from delegates of different districts those who took part in the deliberations were Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Com. Subodh Banerjee, Com. Provash Ghosh.

DSO Marches Forward

The Democratic Students' Organisation has captured without contest 63 of the 64 seats in the election of the students' union in the Muralidhar Girls' College, Calcutta. There has been no election in the remaining one seat as yet.

In the direct election of portfolios of the students' union of Raghunathpur College, Purulia, on 2nd April last, the DSO had captured all the posts by defeating the candidates of the CPI(M)-led SFI and the Congress-led Chhatra Parishad. It should be noted in this connection that the SFI and Chhatra Parishad joined hands and made common cause to defeat the DSO candidates but the general students thoroughly rejected this most opportunist and reactionary combination to win the election.

Successful Students' Strike

The students' strike throughout West Bengal on 9th April last, call for which was jointly given by the DSO, PSU and SB, was a complete success. The

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Congress Socialism Strengthens Capitalist order

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the present rotten, exploitative, anachronic capitalist order in our country which goes by the name of socialist pattern of society. There is not an iota of socialism in the Congress-brand socialist pattern of society. There can be no socialism, not even an iota of it without overthrowing the ruling bourgeoisie from state power, smashing the existing capitalist state machinery, concentrating state power in the hands of the working class and other sections of the people led by the revolutionary proletariat and replacing the capitalist relations of production and capitalist motive force of production by the socialist relations of production and socialist motive force of production in the main. This means the successful carrying out of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country. If socialist pattern of society is not even an iota of socialism, what then is it? It is a definite and positive drive of the ruling Indian bourgeoisie to exploit the sentiment of the down-trodden masses of the people about the term, socialism, minimize the antagonistic competition between individual capitalists, establish basic and heavy industries under the state sector to give the the economic base of the capitalist order a strong foothold, nationalise some industries in the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly capitalism, develop-state monopoly capitalism through the merger of the state with the individual monopolists, subjugate the state to the interest of monopoly and thereby lay the foundation stone of fascism in the economic sphere of the country. Thus, the planning by the bourgeois state in our country is a positive step to carry the country along fascist path. The sooner our people become conscious of it and play their due role, the better for our country and the people.

Observe All India Protest Day

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quently, these cannot bring about revolutionary changes in the existing politico-economic and social set-up.

3. But a serious party cannot but take note of this fighting spirit of the people for a change in their condition. This has definitely created a favourable situation for the development of mass movements throughout the country, capable of ameliorating the sufferings of the people, as far as possible, in a capitalist society. Not only this; from the mood of the people it is also very clear that if the parties, professing revolution, genuinely like, they can as well give a working-class and revolutionary orientation to these movements. We are of the firm opinion that differences on the question of strategy and tactics of revolution should not be a bar in giving working-class and revolutionary orientation to these growing mass-movements.

4. But these objectives could only be fulfilled by a strong United Front or an action platform, as it may be called, of the left and democratic parties having a minimum common agreed programme based on the greatest, common measure of agreement.

In absence of a such a united front of the left and democratic parties, the reactionary forces are utilising the grievances of the people to fulfil their class design as well as to divert the attention of the people from the main enemy, Congress and Capitalism, which are responsible for the miseries of the people.

5. But we are constrained to say that this most urgent task of building of a United Front or Action Platform or a viable alternative, as it may be called, of the left and democratic parties is virtually being by-passed on this or that plea, and instead, issue-based combinations, from time to time, are being formed.

It is being argued that

through actions these issue-based combinations would develop into a United Front. It is also being said that attempts to develop united front would be made simultaneously with the formation of the issue based combination from time to time. We are of well considered opinion that this very process of trying to transform issue-based front into United Front through actions or through simultaneous attempts—both are acting as positive obstructions to the formation of a United Front of the Left and Democratic parties and forces having minimum common programme as the only instrument of struggle at the present stage of democratic movements.

The argument that a United Front would develop through actions is untenable since without a leadership with a correct political perspective sustained struggle of the masses against the main enemy, Congress as well as capitalism could not be developed. And hence the issue-based front can not release the process of the emergence of an united front.

We do also strongly feel that this type of issue-based combination are formed from time to time on different issues and some forms of agitational movements developed aiming at gaining popularity with the sole object of capturing governmental power in the coming elections. But parties believing in socialism and revolution know very well that the peoples' condition cannot be changed radically through governmental power.

So, in order to develop mass movements, capable of ameliorating the conditions of the people, at the present stage of democratic movement, our party proposes that urgent and positive consideration be given to the immediate building up of a United Front of the left and

democratic parties having minimum common programme on the basis of greatest measure of common agreements.

Unfortunately, inspite of our strong plea this proposal of our was not taken up even for consideration by the majority of the combinations.

We, however, made it clear that as most of the parties are not ready to accept our proposal, we shall, at the present circumstances with protest, stay with the combination and be a party to the Nation wide Protest Day keeping in view of the necessity of utilising every little opportunity, to develop mass movements in order to create situations capable of ameliorating the sufferings of the people as far as possible and at the same time to propagate the idea of the urgent necessity of a United Front as a reliable instrument of struggle, though we are thoroughly opposed to this type of issue based combinations as it is hindering the very development of the United Front.

Regarding the proposal of Bharat Bandh we supported it. The Bharat Bandh must be against the Congress Government which is solely responsible for the miserable condition of the people.

We also suggested that to force the Government to concede the legitimate demands of the people, sustained mass movement will be necessary and programmes for such a sustained movement should be taken and Bharat Bandh should be considered as a part of it.

To make the Bharat Bandh a success we proposed to organise sustained campaign against spiralling price rise, rapidly increasing rate of taxation, food scarcity, growing unemployment, retrenchment of workers, eviction of peasants from land in massive scale, curtailment of democratic rights by the Government through the Black Acts like DIR, MISA and Emergency provisions and demanding introduction of all-out state trading in Food grains and in daily necessities of the people, distribution of lands including benami lands among the poor and landless peasants and provision for work throughout the year both for the landless labourers and urban workers. This campaign movement shall include country wide meetings, demonstrations, gherao,

mass violations of laws, courting arrest on massive scale, massive non-cooperation with the Government machineries—all aiming at building up of people's instrument of struggle with the common masses at the grass root level which is a pre-condition for the successful observance of the Bandh as well as continuance of sustained mass struggles.

We also proposed that even after the Bandh higher forms of struggles will surely be necessary to force the government to concede to the demands of the people. What would be the form of those struggles, may be considered but the need of such a sustained struggle cannot be denied.

We would place our considered view on this matter in our next issue.
Ed. Prolet. Era.

BIHAR SITUATION

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basis of agreed common programme while clamouring for unity on specific issues which may be very useful for election battle but can never provide the people with an effective instrument of struggle, rather this process itself carries in it an element of disruption in the way of emergence of an instrument of struggle i.e., the united front on the basis of an agreed programme. So except their verbal allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary verbiage, the CPI(M) is behaving just like a typical parliamentary party in the body-politic of India and has no fundamental difference with the well known social democratic parties like SP and SSP. A close examination of their base political line and approach to their various tactics will reveal the truth.

So if the people of Bihar are serious that the present movement which is pregnant with immense possibilities does not end in fiasco then they must come forward to strengthen the real revolutionary party as speedily as possible. This is why we appeal to the people of Bihar to rally round in thousands behind the call of the Bihar State Committee, SUCI to form 'Jana Sangram Samity' in every locality to make the present movement a success.

STUDENTS' STRIKE

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strike was organised to register protest against the anti-people education policy of the government, scarcity of food, abnormal rise in prices of all essential commodities, etc..