

Neither The Janata Nor The 'Left Front' Government Can Shake Off Their Responsibility Towards the Refugees From Dandakaranya

Thousands of helpless refugees are trekking their way back to West Bengal from Dandakaranya and many are still coming in thousands every day. The number has already exceeded fifty thousand. After arriving in West Bengal the refugees have expressed their resolve to settle in the deep forest reserved for the Tiger Project of the Sunderbans, crossing the river Ichhamati near Hasnabad. So desperate is their position that they are prepared to face any hazard even to face tigers, the fiercest of animals in their search for a shelter. Death haunts them at every step,—such is the pitiable condition of these people who are victim of a political crime of partitioning the country.

Whether the refugees are coming back at the instigation of the conspirators or on the false assurances of the leaders of the 'Left Front'

This is not the first time that the refugees are returning to West Bengal in groups abandoning Dandakaranya after the Dandakaranya Project was started in 1958 to rehabilitate the refugees from East Bengal. Expecting to get rehabilitation here, many times in the past they came back to West Bengal in groups. Of course, the recent influx has far exceeded all the past records. But every time they came to West Bengal in the past with the hope of getting rehabilitation here during the Congress regime—they had been sent back to Dandakaranya forcefully with the help of police. Never was any objective and rational attempt made either by the Central Government or the West Bengal Government for effective rehabilitation of these helpless people. Nor was there any attempt to critically examine with a humanitarian outlook as to why they were coming back time and again and what were their real problems. What is more, the Congress Governments in order to impair the sympathy of the common people for these uprooted people from East Bengal, who lost even their hearth and home, very subtly raised such propaganda as if it is these refugees who were

responsible for all the problems of the country. And in those days along with our party all the leftist parties who are today in the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal organised many movements in order to give defeat to such a heinous anti-people politics of the Congress and demanded proper rehabilitation of these refugees.

Naturally, when the 'Left Front' Government is in power now in West Bengal then in conformity with the tradition of the left movement, it was their duty to critically examine and ascertain what is actually standing in the way for the rehabilitation of these refugees in Dandakaranya and take appropriate steps for their effective rehabilitation. It was also their duty to treat humanely and compassionately these neglected and hounded people. But what did the people of West Bengal witness? Being deprived of the bare necessities for survival and being unable to stand any more the unbearable condition of life there these refugees sold all their belongings at throw away prices to arrange for their passage to West Bengal. But as these people started to arrive penniless—the leaders of the 'Left Front' including Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu made the disparaging remark: "Definitely some sinister design of some evil-doer is at work behind this to harass the 'Left Front' Government.

Otherwise, wherefrom the refugees got the train fare, how could they arrange for the trucks" etc. etc. In what way such remarks of the 'Left Front' ministers and more especially of those representing the CPI(M) differ from those of the Congress regime when they refuse to answer the basic questions like what is the reason for such mass exodus of refugees to West Bengal staking everything including life as also who are the conspirators and how could they conspire? To evade all these questions is to evade the responsibility as also to work out a so-called plea for such evasion of responsibility.

And is it at all necessary to set up an enquiry commission to understand this simple truth that no conspirator could have succeeded in inducing them to abandon a relatively secured life and plunge into such a state of uncertainty had there been the minimum conditions for life to them? What a helpless condition can push a man to such a state of desparateness as to comment, "It is all the same for us—either we shall be eaten by the tigers or tigers shall be eaten by us." Is it at all possible for conspirators to induce a man to go to the den of a tiger? Say for instance, can those refugees from East Bengal who are, to whatever minimum extent, settled in West Bengal—be induced by any conspirator even arranging for a free transportation, to go to Tripura in order to put the 'Left Front' Government there in difficulty?

The Chief Minister of West Bengal Mr. Jyoti Basu is calling them "evil-doers" who have incited the refugees, to come to West Bengal from Dandakaranya. He even said that he knew the names of these evil-doers.

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THE INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF THE 'LEFT FRONT' GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO SERVE OBJECTIVELY THE BOURGEOIS CLASS INTEREST

The 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal officially announced its new industrial policy on 9th January last. The declaration has come at a time when not only West Bengal, the country at large is passing through unprecedented industrial crisis. In the jute industry alone, about 80,000 workers have already been retrenched, while the engineering, textile and other industries are faced with similar crisis. Closures, mass retrenchment, lay-off, etc. are the order of the day. No industry today is running according to its installed capacity, in as much as more than 50%, on an average, of such capacity remaining idle. Hence let alone any increase in production, even commodities produced at normal rates have to be dumped. This grim condition of the industrial sector has also been acknowledged by the 'Left Front' Government, which has had to admit in its recently published Economic Review, that the number of newly-established industries in this state over the last few years, is miserably low.

In the last three decades and particularly during the 19 months of Emergency the Congress was extremely vocal over increase in production. They tried to make out to the people that it is because of unmitigated labour unrest and continuous strikes in industries that production is being hampered, and hence the industrial crisis. Right from the days of Congress administration, the ruling bourgeois governments of our country have always squarely blamed the workers for this sordid crisis in production, whereas the fact is that even according to official statistics: as much as 80% of the man days lost in industries are due to closures and lock-outs declared by the managements and have nothing to do with labour movements. In fact, both the Congress and the

present Janata Government have all along tried to evade the truth that with the severest present-day crisis of world capitalist market, no amount of exhortation for increase in production can help tide over the present crisis in industries, since the world capitalist market has completely lost even its relative stability it once enjoyed, and is currently passing through the third phase of its acute crisis. Naturally therefore, Indian capitalism, as an integral part of world capitalism, and with its own complexities, cannot remain free from this crisis. Hence, today's reality is that the crisis in capitalist market, both within the country and abroad, has intensified out of all proportions as a result of grinding capitalist exploitation. And the truth is that if there is no

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Alongwith our party all the parties of the 'Left Front' organised mass movements against the Congress Government and demanded rehabilitation of the refugees in West Bengal

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But strangely enough he did not say what steps had been taken against them. However, a leader of the refugees has told the press reporters that since 1973 many leaders of the 'Left Front' addressed many meetings of the refugees at Mana, Malkangiri etc. Not only that, Mr. Samar Mukherjee, MP, a recently elected member of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), the General Secretary of UCRC was present in person in the meeting at Mana Camp in 1974 where the resolution for their rehabilitation in the Sunderbans was first adopted. What is more on the 17th of December last year a seventeen-member delegation of the refugees came to Calcutta and met Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister of West Bengal. It is so reported that Mr. Jyoti Basu, at that time, told them: If you can do so—settle in the Sunderbans. The 'Left Front' Police will not hinder. If this report, published in the newspapers is true then the present attitude of the Chief Minister of West Bengal is simply unthinkable.

The unbearable life in Dandakaranya has in reality forced the refugees to once more come back to West Bengal

Now let us critically examine, what is that objective situation that has forced the refugees of Dandakaranya to desperately rush towards West Bengal after so many years. Even in the initial stage of the Dandakaranya project as far back as in 1958, our party gave a note of caution. We said that this forest covering a wide area of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh is, excepting some tribal people, not only uninhabited but also the rocky soil of that area is unfertile as well as non-irrigated. Naturally, such

an area was totally unfit for an agriculture-based rehabilitation for the refugees, as decided by the Congress Government then. In such an unfertile area, the representative of the bourgeois class interest, Congress took up an agriculture-based multi-million Dandakaranya Project—whereas, they did not take up an industry-based rehabilitation for the refugees by establishing industries with the money they spent in the Dandakaranya Project. Why? Because even though underdeveloped, capitalist economy of our country was facing acute crisis of market and this intense crisis was standing in the way of industrialisation. Naturally, they wanted to keep the refugees confined in patches of land. Both the state and central Congress leadership at that time argued that in the Dandakaranya which was rich in minerals both by mining of those minerals in near future and making the fallow forest land cultivable it would be possible to establish a new society with economic viability. And for this they wanted to utilise and exploit the cheap labour of the refugees. Over and above that the West Bengal State Congress leadership then wanted to shake off their own responsibility by sending the refugees anyhow outside the state. So, when they started to send thousands of refugees to Dandakaranya in the name of rehabilitation—we pointed out that rehabilitation by no means ends in providing some shelter or a few bighas of land for each family. A man as he is a human being has his language and culture. And language and culture have their own way of development. Naturally, together with economic rehabilitation arrangement for a condition congenial

for the development of a suitable cultural atmosphere is also an essential task of rehabilitation. But the Congress Government did not pay any heed to what we said then. In this connection, it is to be noted here that both at the initial stage of the Dandakaranya Project as well as afterwards UCRC, the central organisation of all the committees organised by the left parties for the refugees demanded the rehabilitation of the refugees in West Bengal alone. But strangely enough those very left parties who are the partners of the "Left Front" Government today and who just a few days back were so vocal on that very demand are today, after assuming governmental power, determined to avoid their responsibility by anyhow sending back the refugees outside the state.

However, the recent onrush of the refugees prove that in Dandakaranya they got neither economic nor cultural rehabilitation. The recently published various informations also show to some extent what a pitiable life they were living in Dandakaranya.

At the initial stage of the Dandakaranya Project 7 acres of land was allotted for each family—although this 7 acres of land is by no means sufficient for even bare sustenance of a family in such unfertile and non-irrigated land of Dandakaranya. The soil is so unfertile there that 3 acres of land yields only 3-4 maunds of paddy. Over and above that the Orissa Government have recently brought down that quota of 7 acres to 4 declaring that area as irrigated area though no irrigation project has yet been commissioned in that area.

For two consecutive years there was no harvest due to severe draught. If by chance one got a job of a day-labourer in far off places, he could earn only Rs. 4/- a day. It was such

a terribly difficult situation—but the Dandakaranya Development Authority sanctioned a loan of only Rs. 400/- per family last year. What is more, out of this paltry sum no family got more than Rs. 100/- in hand—when the refugees were almost on the verge of death from hunger the government bureaucrats adjusted the balance towards repayment of earlier loans.

The Dandakaranya Development Council which was constituted of the representatives of the West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and the Central Government and which was supposed to look after the specific problems of Dandakaranya—was so long practically defunct. No representative on behalf of the last Congress Government of West Bengal attended the meetings of that organisation. Taking advantage of this despicable indifference of the concerned governments—more particularly of the Central Government—a class of bureaucrats has not only filled their pockets with the money from refugee welfare fund but also treated those helpless people inhumanly days after days.

With this was added the motivated attempt for sometime from some interested quarter to develop enmity between the local tribal people and the refugees which added further to their already unbearable miseries. There is already a question that behind the development of this enmity between the local tribal people and the refugees some leaders of the political parties representing vested interest, a section of the administration and the local interested circle have their nasty hands. There can be only one probable motive behind the diabolical design of the local vested interest and the state governments, who to cover up their failure to open up employment opportunities to local poor people set them

against the refugees. That is—the refugees through their hard toil and skill made the unfertile forest land cultivable to some extent although the ownership of those plots has not been recorded yet in their favour even after such a long time; if they can now be driven out of those plots those can be distributed among some of the local tribal people. This is the nasty game the bourgeois politicians are now resorting to in order to divide the oppressed people in every part of the country.

Create tremendous public opinion to pressurise both the Central and the State Government to perform their responsibility for the total and complete rehabilitation of the refugees

The attitude and behaviour of the Janata Government and the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal they are showing towards the thousands of suffering people who have once again come back to West Bengal as refugees being pressed under such a suffocating situation, can by no means be called responsible and humane. No doubt, it is the Central Government that has greater responsibility on this score. And Mr. Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister of that Janata Government has clearly declared that the refugees will have to go back to Dandakaranya. And if the refugees have sold all their belongings at throw away prices in order to come to West Bengal, the Central Government is not responsible for that. The only thing the Central Government assures is, if the refugees after returning to Dandakaranya ask for their land, they will get those back. What does it in reality mean? This means that after the refugees return to those unfertile land—whether they die or not, the Central Government has no concern. Of course, what

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BEFORE ANY TASK OF SETTING UP NEW INDUSTRIES PRIORITY MUST BE GIVEN TO RE-OPENING CLOSED UNITS

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market, there can be no urge for production in a capitalist economy, since the very motive force of production in such economy is maximisation of profit. And it is on account of this severe crisis of market that industries in India are faced with such unprecedented crisis. The 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal has declared its industrial policy against the backdrop of this objective situation. Naturally therefore, our study of this policy must be against this very background, and the people are to judge for themselves how far a government claiming itself to be 'Leftist' is giving admission to this reality and what course it actually wants to take in the given industrial situation.

The main contentions of the industrial policy declared by the 'Left Front' Government, are—
1) The government cannot simply think of expanding established industries under the existing pattern of ownership and control, because if the stress is mainly on rejuvenation of industries, it would only help strengthen the grip of monopoly houses and multinational corporations over the economy of this state. 2) Hence, the government is not thinking of re-opening all the industries closed down. The government would rather consider the question of reopening only those particular industries which will be found to be viable in terms of demand. 3) In cases where industries under private ownership are not willing to invest, nationalised industries must take their place. 4) Expansion of small-scale industries must be encouraged wherever possible, and they must also be provided with financial help, as necessary, since these industries may open up avenues of employment on a large scale. 5) The government will particularly take care so that the already-esta-

blished monopoly and multinational institutions of this state reinvest their profits in this state alone, since this will be very much in the interests of the people. 6) Joint sectors will remain, but their mode of control must be changed. 7) The government will not hesitate to seek foreign co-operation if there be dearth of technical know-how in running any industry, but the Central Government will be consulted in such event. These precisely are the main contentions of the industrial policy of the 'Left Front' Government. As for the declared aims of this policy, the following have been outlined—1) to resist the tendency towards stagnation in production and revive industries; 2) to resist growth of unemployment and arrange for more employment both in the industrial and agricultural sector; 3) to loosen the grip of monopoly houses and multinationals over the state's economy, and 4) to encourage use of local technology and self-sufficiency of industries. These are the declared aims of this industrial policy. We now invite the readers to juxtapose the main contentions and declared aims of the industrial policy of the 'Left Front' Government, and judge for themselves the real character of this policy.

Firstly, the 'Left Front' Government has said that the main object of this policy is to revive industries, resist growth of unemployment and arrange for more employment. Now, everyone must agree that if the government really means to arrange for more employment or revive industries, the primary task of the government must be to re-open the large number of industries already closed down on the plea of sickness. Because there can be no dispute over the fact that the task of providing more employment must start with reinstatement of retrenched workers. And

if the thousands of workers already retrenched are to be reinstated, reopening of closed-down industries must be given priority before any talk of setting up new industries. If, on the other hand, the government fails to reinstate workers already retrenched, or deliberately avoids this task, then all talks of providing more employment cannot be anything but a mere repetition of hackneyed assurances. And what has the 'Left Front' Government to say to that? It has said that if the stress is on rejuvenation of industries, it will help strengthen the grip of monopoly houses and multinationals over the economy of this state. The government has further added, that "this will also be contrary to the policies pursued by the 'Left Front' since it has all along been creating pressure on the Central Government to curb the activities of the monopoly houses and the multinationals." We cannot but mention here that it is for the first time we have come to know all of a sudden, that the 'Left Front' Government has been creating pressure on the Central Government to restrict activities of the monopoly houses and multinationals. We are not sure if this is due to any misunderstanding on our part, but is this why the 'Left Front' Government, ever since its coming to power in this state, has been welcoming the monopoly houses and multinationals, time and again, to invest more capital in this state without any needless fear or inhibitions? Or is it to this end that Mr. Jyoti Basu has been frequently assuring big industrial houses that the government would not hesitate to accept the reality of their existence? Only last December there was a news which ran: "Mr. Jyoti Basu has sought the guidance of Chambers of Commerce to solve 'prob-

lems such as unemployment and chronic sickness of industries'..... The Chief Minister told the participants: "The economic situation is so serious that no one can afford to be tardy. You can pull us up if you find us wanting in any respect." (Statesman, December 1, 1977). This was Mr. Jyoti Basu's appeal to the Chambers of Commerce on the occasion of the inaugural of a project named 'Potentials of Haldia', organised by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Was this too an instance of the 'Left Front' Government's efforts to curb the activities of the monopoly houses and multinationals? Or was Mr. Jyoti Basu making a serious attempt towards this end when he said in his address to the workers of the CESC that it does not matter whether the capital invested is foreign or Indian, so long as it ensures production and provides employment? The people will judge that for themselves.

To come back to the 'Left Front' Government's main contentions, we are told that the Government is bent on reviving industrial growth and providing more employment, but is not willing to reopen industries already closed down, since, according to the government, that would strengthen the grip of the monopoly houses and multinationals. Much to the convenience of the 'Left Front' Government, it seems to have completely forgotten its pledges made in its 36-point programme before the last elections. Had not one of its important pledges been to reopen all the industries closed down and reinstate all retrenched workers if it came to power? The 'Left Front' certainly expressed no apprehensions then, about the possible strengthening of the grip of the multinationals and monopoly houses in the event of implementing this promise. Did it then deliberately avoid these questions at that time to make

its promises and the future look rosier to the West Bengal electorate, and thus make its access to power easier? Secondly, it should not be unknown to the 'Left Front' Government that when Indian capitalism has already given birth to monopoly capital and even finance capital, giving rise to a financial oligarchy, it is only natural that in this present stage of development of capitalism in India, monopoly finance capital would rule the country's economy. As such, it cannot be anything but sheer slyness on the part of the 'Left Front' Government to raise these questions at all. What else did it expect in our present economic set-up? Then again, the 'Left Front' Government has particularly said in its industrial policy that wherever private industrial homes are unwilling to invest, or wherever their management would prove inefficient, they must be replaced by the nationalised sector. This, the government says, would be an 'easy way out' of the present problems. Then, if the 'way out' is that easy, why isn't the 'Left Front' Government taking over the closed-down industries, so that they can be nationalised? After all, this is the remedy the government itself has suggested. Everybody knows of course, that ultimately nationalisation is no solution either, to the present industrial crisis, since in a capitalist economy the law of capitalist mode of production operates in the nationalised sector too, which actually serves the aggregate interest of the bourgeoisie. But this is the suggestion of the 'Left Front' Government itself. What prevents it then from taking over the sick industries? Then again, while the 'Left Front' government has argued that reopening of all closed down industries will help strengthen the hands of the monopoly houses and multinationals, in the same

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Humanity Demands A Rational and Sympathetic Attitude towards the Refugees

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else can we expect from Mr. Desai, who is only the prime minister of the Janata Party Government—a handiwork of the bourgeoisie as an alternative to Congress Government.

But can the 'Left Front' Government deny their own responsibility in this regard? Because, it was not only their election pledge that all refugees would be provided with adequate rehabilitation—but if there is any truth in the reports published in the newspapers, then it is a fact that the refugees have come to West Bengal after being assured by their talks with many leaders of the 'Left Front' including the chief minister Mr. Jyoti Basu. But are the attitude and behaviour of the 'Left Front' leaders shown towards them when they arrived in any way different from those of the previous Congress Governments?

Though they possessed railway tickets, the police of the 'Left Front' Government forced the refugees to detrain in different railway stations, sent some to refugee camps and some others straight back to Dandakaranya by special trains without making any arrangement for food and other amenities and thus despatching them straight-way to jaws of death.

Not only this, those who could somehow escape the rigid police vigilance, the other name of undiluted brutalities, in different railway stations and national highways and assembled in the Burdwan, Barasat stations with the resolve to go to the Sunderbans to settle there, the police of the 'Left Front' Government with the object of stopping them from reaching Hasnabad resorted to lathi-charge on the hungry and travel-weary people as a result of which many of them received serious injuries. When thousands of helpless people were fighting with death under the scorching sun of the

hot summer without food and drinking water then barring a few unofficial organisations no arrangement for minimum relief was provided by the Government which is even available to prisoners of war. Pressed under such a situation the refugees have desparately stood against the police.

Defying 144 Crpc. they assembled in thousands at Hasnabad and reached the Sundarebans. Time and again they have declared their firm resolve that they cannot be sent back to Dandakaranya alive—only their dead bodies could be sent. Being faced under such a surcharged situation the 'Left Front' Government and its Police dared not use force any more. The police think that if they stop them forcefully at least several thousands would be dead and injured.

Noticing such a determined attitude of the refugees and in the face of public opinion in favour of the refugees Mr. Jyoti Basu was forced to change his attitude a bit and said that the state government would look after them till the next harvest but the refugees would surely have to go back to Dandakaranya. The state government, it is reported, will also place a demand to the Dandakaranya Development Authority for the deployment of a Bengalee officer for Dandakaranya.

But the question still remains why the 'Left Front' Government is not adopting a programme for mass movement by organising the refugees and drawing public opinion in support of the refugees to mount pressure upon the Central Government to compel it to shoulder its responsibility towards the refugees? Is it because the Janata Government at the Centre is a 'friendly' government? Will it be too much to say then that to the leaders of the 'Left Front', more particularly to the leaders of CPI(M),

the fate of the fifty thousand refugees is not at all a matter of concern? They can by no means impair their 'friendly' relation with the Janata Party—even if it goes against toiling people's interest; can such an attitude be called leftist or does it not reflect an out and out opportunist out look—it is time for the people to think over.

The refugees should be provided with proper rehabilitation after a thorough enquiry into the objective situation by an All Party Enquiry Committee

It is to be probed thoroughly as to why the refugees have left Dandakaranya in thousands. But for that it would not do to depend upon the Government officials—we demand that immediately an All Party Enquiry Committee be set up. In our opinion the Enquiry Committee are to perform the following:

(a) Assessment of the total cultivable land available there;

(b) To determine how many bighas, according to the quality of land, is actually necessary for the sustenance of a family?

(c) What type of irrigation is necessary there that will make the land there actually cultivable.

(d) Many experts have on many occasions, opined that the land in Dandakaranya is such that even if after much labour it is made cultivable this year, one or two monsoons will wash away the top soil and turn the soil rocky again and uncultivable. Has any plan been adopted to make this rocky soil permanently cultivable? If not, it should be done and in our opinion that may not be impossible with the help of modern technology.

In our opinion all the families cannot be provided with cultivable land. So, the rest of the families should be provided with employment by establishing industries there.

MAY DAY OBSERVED AT AHMEDABAD

Ahmedabad, May 3rd: Under the joint auspices of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), Maha Gujrat Labour Union, Hind Mazdoor Panchayat (Fernandez Group), Sri Mahajiban Sayan Sawrakshan Council, Lok Adhikar Sangh a mammoth meeting was held at the J. P. Chawk, Ahmedabad on 1st May to observe 'May Day'—the international solidarity day of the working people.

Mr. U. Kumar presided over the meeting. A big procession of working people jointly led by UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and other organisations paraded the main streets of the city and assembled at the J. P. Chawk.

Addressing the gathering Comrade Krishna Chakraborty on behalf of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) said in a brief speech that it is true that the 30 years' Congress rule, especially the nineteen months autocratic 'Emergency' rule of Mrs. Indira Gandhi has ended but the miseries of the toiling people have not ended. The leaders of the Janata Party as well as other political parties including the CPI(M) and the CPI claim that they have brought back democracy in the country. But what is the experience of the toiling people? Wherever the toiling people are organising movements for the realisation of their legitimate demands—the Janata Party Governments, as well as the governments run

by other political parties including CPI(M) are suppressing those movements with police brutality.

Police have killed a good number of workers with bullets at Swadeshi Mills at Kanpur. At Panthagar, Bailadella, Bhilai, Dhanbad, Rourkella etc. hundreds of workers have been killed in police firings. Even the bourgeois daily Amritbazar Patrika had to admit that in March only the mass murder of more than 300 workers by the police at the instance of the Janata Governments have surpassed all past records of mass killing by the Congress Government.

The working people should realise today that so long capitalism remains their miseries cannot end. They should also realise that all these parties the Janata, the two factions of the Congress, the CPI, the CPI(M) all are there to serve the interest of the capitalist class, they are there to arrest peoples' urge for revolution within the narrow confines of parliamentarism-reformism. Naturally, it is high time working people should realise their class politics, strengthen their own revolutionary party, and establish the leadership of the working class over the struggles of the exploited toiling people of our country. Then and then only their cherished dream will come true.

But as all these arrangements will take quite some time to complete—as long as those arrangements are not complete, the Central Government will have to take the full responsibility of their sustenance, either by providing them with employment or relief or both. It is the responsibility of the State Government to see that the Central Government perform all these.

If the State Government does not fulfil this responsibility and simply

drives them out of the state with the help of the police it would mean that it matters little to them if the refugees rot and die in the streets but not before the eyes of the people, here.

It is our appeal to all to approach the whole problem of the refugees from a national and humanitarian point of view and not to do anything that would add to the miseries of the suffering humanity.

Country Responds to the Call of 24th April

The call of 24th April reached far and wide in the country this year on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Party foundation. The day which heralded, thirty years back, the only genuine communist party on our soil marked, on every succeeding anniversary, a step forward in the struggle to spread the revolutionary consciousness among the people and fulfil the historic task of the SUCI under the leadership of our great leader, teacher, guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, one of the greatest Marxist thinkers of this era.

It has now assumed a further significance: 24th April calls upon the toiling people of India to fulfil the behest of the departed great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, what emerged on that day as the nucleus of the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in our country has now taken firm roots throughout the length and breadth of the country as the vanguard of the exploited masses in their struggle for emancipation from exploitation of all sorts. Whereas all other parties proclaiming themselves as Marxist-Leninists have thrown away the banner of Leftism and oppose militant democratic mass movements in conformity with their reformist political outlook to subserve the interest of the capitalist class, it is SUCI alone, the only genuine communist party in our country, which holds aloft the banner of revolution and defends the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism from the attacks of bourgeois and social democratic parties. The party is now the only ray of hope to our toiling masses and that is why its call now elicits so deep a response from them.

The anniversary of the Party foundation this year witnessed a spontaneous manifestation of this response among the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people throughout the country. In all the states where the anniversary has been celebrated, unmistakable signs of the increasing interest and attraction of the toiling people towards our party have appeared.

Innumerable mass meetings, street corner meetings, group sittings in the remotest corners were organised. An extensive drive for sale of the party literature and drive for the party fund collection were also part of the programme that was followed through during the month preceding the foundation day. The party's pledge on the occasion was read out in different languages at the meetings and gatherings, and workers, peasants, youths, students and other sections of the common people vowed to fulfil the pledge braving all odds. Details of reports have not yet been received by us from the states, but whatever is available from some of them tells that at every place the people evinced a deep eagerness to listen to the party's analysis of the current political situation and the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

BIHAR

In Bihar, the State Committee of the party carried out a programme of intensive ideological campaign in all the districts where party units and frontal organisations are engaged in conducting democratic mass movements. The campaign culminated in a mammoth meeting in Patna on the 22nd April. The meeting was organised by the Bihar State Committee of our party and held on the Telegraph Recreation Culb ground. The city was under section 144 and an atmosphere of terror prevailed; large contingents of police were posted at several places. But a large number of people braved all these to gather at the meeting place to listen to

the party's analysis and call of the hour. A big procession of several thousand people paraded along the streets in the scorching heat holding aloft the portraits of the great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, and shouting slogans on the party's call of the hour and the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**.

As it entered the meeting ground, the people from the neighbouring quarters converged on to the ground. **Comrade Shankar Singh**, an eminent mass leader of the state and Secretary of the Bihar State Committee of the Party presided over the meeting. **Comrade Pritish Chanda**, Member of the Central Committee of the Party was the main speaker. **Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey**, Secretary, Bihar State Committee of UTUC (Lenin sarani) also made a brief speech. **Comrade Pritish Chanda**, in course of his speech, explained the historic significance of 24th April and made a penetrating analysis of the present political situation. He dealt extensively on the despicable role of the social democratic parties like CPI and CPI(M) and urged the people to strengthen the SUCI to lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution through to success. He recalled how **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, along with a handful of revolutionary compatriots, undertook the most arduous and painstaking task of

building up a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in our country and embarked on an all embracing struggle covering all aspects of life. **Comrade Chanda** dealt with the specific context of the Indian situation and showed by way of analysis that the Indian national bourgeoisie is firmly in the state power and the state is being led by it. He pointed out that the installation of the Janata Government at the Centre at the last parliamentary polls took place as the class compulsion of the bourgeoisie. He explained in the light of the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that fascism may manifest itself not only through rejection of the parliamentary system but also by maintaining a facade of democracy and even under the garb of two-party system. Referring to the caste riot raging in Bihar and UP, **Comrade Chanda** pointed out that this poisonous caste animosity was instigated by the Government and all the bourgeois parties in these states but what is more, even the CPI and the CPI(M) were playing the same game by their support to the policy of reservation of jobs on the basis of caste discrimination. He urged the exploited people of the country to preserve and consolidate their unity against this conspiracy of the capitalist class, demand of the government provision of jobs to all the un-

employed irrespective of caste and religion and pending this, grant of unemployment allowance. **Comrade Chanda** pointed out that the left and democratic unity as conceived by the CPI(M) and the CPI had nothing to do with the concept of unity of left and democratic forces as the instrument of the people's legitimate democratic movement conducive to the struggle for emancipation. Our party alone stands for the unity of the left and democratic parties and forces to develop mass struggles against capitalist exploitation. He urged the audience to strengthen the SUCI and help build up the democratic mass movements and give birth to the political power of the people as the indispensable instrument for the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country.

ASSAM

The toiling people of Assam responded to the call of the party with great enthusiasm on the occasion of the party foundation anniversary. The month-long ideological campaign culminated in three big mass meetings at Gauhati, Mangaldai and Chunari (Goalpara). Workers, peasants, students, youths and middle class intelligentsia came from neighbouring and distant places to attend each of these mass meetings and big processions were taken out, which made deep impression among the

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A section of the large audience at the 30th Party Anniversary rally at Patna on 22nd April: At the top Comrades Pritish Chanda and Shankar Singh addressing the rally.

To draw parallel between Vietnam and India when their economic system is qualitatively different is either born out of ignorance or deliberately motivated to confuse the people

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breath it has also said that the government may consider reopening of only those industries which will be found viable in terms of demand. Which then is the real cause of the government's total reluctance over reopening the industries closed down? Is it not simply juggling with arguments with the motive to hide the government's unwillingness to reopen closed-down industries, or shake off the responsibility it cannot disown, to reinstate thousands of retrenched workers? Otherwise why is this question of viability being raised at all? Does the 'Left Front' Government then mean to say that the large number of factories in the jute, textile and engineering industries closed down on the plea of sickness, are not viable? Can the government deny that these are the key industries of our country which provide maximum employment? Are the managements then right too when they close down such industries on the plea of sickness and non-viability? Will the 'Left Front' government then decide to close down all such key industries on the ground that they are not viable? The constituents of the 'Left Front' Government ought to remember that when they were in the opposition in the past, they had strongly put forward the argument that the workers cannot be made to suffer on the plea of non-viability or on account of the crisis inherent in our economic system, and that the government must therefore take over sick industries and save the workers from starvation and sufferings. The Congress Government, on their part, had to take over several such closed-down, sick industries under the impact of the pressure. And it was in tune with that democratic demand that the 'Left Front' too, had promised in its 36-

point programme, that it would reopen all closed-down industries if it came to power. Why is it going back now on its pledges made before the elections? Why should not the 'Left Front' Government go even to the extent of nationalisation if necessary? Why is the question of viability being given priority instead? Does it become a government which had a diametrically opposite role to play while in the opposition?

Hence, the only motive that can exist behind raising such questions is that in this manner, the 'Left Front' actually wants to do away with one of the main items of its election pledges, which said that the 'Left Front' would reopen all closed-down industries and reinstate all retrenched workers if it came to power. No doubt, an ingenious way of promptly dispcsing of an important pledge to the people! The Government might easily argue, 'yes, we had pledged to reopen all closed-down industries, but now that we find that most of them are not viable, the question of reopening them does not arise.' With this, the chapter is summarily closed. And yet, on paper one of the main objects of the government's industrial policy is to provide more employment. One cannot but marvel at such astounding arguments, for who has ever heard of a government providing more employment by keeping most of the key industries in their present state of closure? We don't know what the 'Left Front' Government thinks of the people, but isn't such nonsense far too inadequate even for the purpose of deception? For what are its arguments after all? In the first place, the government says that it wants to revive industrial growth and resist stagnation in production.

Immediately thereafter, the government starts arguing that most of the industries closed down cannot be reopened because they are not viable. And the worst part of this excuse is that the 'Left Front' Government has motivatedly chosen this argument, not to expose the basic limitations of the present economic set-up and call for its overthrow, but to use it as an excuse in defense of the government's inability to carry out its earlier promises to the people.

This is not all. Regarding the very monopoly houses and multinationals which it pretends to fight, it has been said in the industrial policy: "Till the Central Government is made to agree with the measures recommended in the programme of the 'Left Front', concerning these institutions, it will be very much in the interests of the people of this state to see that these institutions invest their profits in this state... So long as they abide by the laws of the land, the State Government will allow these already-established monopoly houses and multinational corporations to reinvest their profits in this state." Now, does this solemn decision leave us any room to believe that the 'Left Front' Government is at all concerned about the growing influence of the monopoly houses and multinationals? When it is a fact indisputable, that the more the monopoly houses and multinationals are allowed to operate in a country like ours, the more they would be given the opportunity to perpetuate capitalist-imperialist exploitation on our people, the 'Left Front' Government has no scruples in arguing that if they are made to reinvest their profits in this state, meaning, if they are made to continue to exploit our labour, it will be in the direct interests of our toiling people. Can any

argument be more brazen than this, which seeks to assert, in effect, that more exploitation would be in the interests of the people? Had not the constituents of the present 'Left Front' vehemently emphasized in the past, when they were in the opposition, that the entire capital of the multinationals and monopoly houses should be confiscated, while the Congress Government merely wanted these houses to reinvest there profits here? Is not the 'Left Front' Government, now simply echoing the stands, taken by the Congress? Secondly, has the 'Left Front' Government really recommended any such measures concerning the monopoly houses and multinationals with which the Central Government has any basic difference? The measures the 'Left Front' Government has recommended in their industrial policy, are certainly not of such character that would make the Central Government raise any objections, since the approach of the Janata Government too, is very much the same. It is also the policy of the Janata Government to continue seeking foreign collaboration. It has only laid emphasis on 'Indianization' of industries and buying technical know-how where it is necessary. The 'Left Front' Government too is in no way averse to it. It has expressly said in its industrial policy that if there is dearth of technical know-how, the government will not hesitate to seek foreign collaboration. Not only that, the 'Left Front' Government has gone a step further to argue that if a country like Vietnam can seek foreign help, there is no reason why India should not. This may appear to be a strong argument if the idea is to deceive the masses, but the main question the 'Left Front' Government has tried to evade in the attempt is that while

Vietnam is a socialist state with its economy and productive system directly under the control of the proletariat in power, India is a capitalist state with its exploitative capitalist economic system controlled by the bourgeoisie in state power. Are the two cases the same? When a socialist country like Vietnam seeks foreign aid and assistance, such capital is directly under the control of the proletariat in state power, which precludes any possibility of free operation of capital. But this is not so in a capitalist state where capital operates freely. The 'Left Front' Government has deliberately sought to confuse these basic questions by juxtaposing the two cases as if they had a common ground. No wonder, therefore, that the 'Left Front' Government should think it would be very much in the interests of the people to persuade the monopoly houses and the multinationals operating in West Bengal, to reinvest their profits in this State. Wherein then lies the difference between the Janata Government and the 'Left Front' Government in their attitude to the activities of the multinationals?

Another instance of the 'Left Front' Government's so-called attempts to curb the activities of the monopoly houses, is also worth mentioning. In the industrial policy it has declared, the 'Left Front' Government has not even given any thought to the question of bringing the joint sector directly under government control, although the government has had to admit that it is the private owners who are gaining more and more control of the joint sectors and it is they who are extracting the lion's share of the profits reaped on them. The government has remained satisfied with simply expressing concern over the fact and saying that it is necessary to change the mode of con-

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Without overthrowing capitalism uninterrupted industrialisation is no longer possible today

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ducting this sector. But the fact that the 'Left Front' Government actually feels no concern at all over the development of the joint sector, becomes palpable from current developments. The Haldia Petro-Chemicals to be set up shortly in this state, is a case in point. This project is a glaring example of a joint entrepreneurship taking shape under the direct encouragement of the 'Left Front' Government, for it includes, besides the state government, partners like West German multinationals and the Birla house of our country. The people of this state certainly remember that in the past, when the present constituents of the 'Left Front' Government were in the opposition, they had, along with us, opposed the operation of the joint sector on the ground that it is directly helping the private owners to establish their control over basic and heavy industries in the public sector, directly affecting the people. Why then have the constituents of the present 'Left Front' Government suddenly changed their tune, now that they are in power?

The points of similarity between the Janata Government and the 'Left Front' Government on the question of industrial policy, are not these alone. Let us now examine the other aspects. Faced with the country-wide, severe industrial crisis, the Janata Government at the centre has taken recourse to a shrewd, fascist device. Being unable to keep the country's heavy industries running for want of market, the Janata Government has already started a campaign in favour of so-called economic decentralisation and has raised the slogan—we must have small, decentralised industries throughout the country since heavy industries are unable to function under the onslaught of labour unrest. In the economic programme the Janata Government has recently released, it has been said: (1) production capacities for consumer goods in the large scale sector must be

frozen and (2) items like soap, shoes, etc. must be set apart for exclusive development in the cottage sector. The central home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh's comment in this connection, is all the more significant. In an interview with a local weekly, he has said, large factories in the public or private sector should be 'very few'. He has further said, "And so we will be saved from this problem of trade unionism and all these industrial labour headaches. Trade unionism is good so far as the interests of the labour are concerned, but now it is being used to hold the country to ransom. Our greatest asset is cheap labour. We are not able to make use of it owing to trade unionism (quoted in 'The Economic Times', 19.12.77)." This single observation by Mr. Charan Singh gives us an idea as to why the Janata Government is so eager to introduce small-scale industries throughout the country in the name of economic decentralisation. It is not unknown to us today that faced with the severest market crisis, when the capitalist economy our country has been thrown into a miserable plight, when, in its desperate attempt to tide over one crisis, it is plunging into deepen crisis. The bourgeois economists of our country are particularly laying emphasis on cottage and small-scale industries in order to save the capitalist system from total collapse. Yet, one must remember that however much the bourgeoisie might talk of economic decentralisation, the truth is that when, even in an underdeveloped, capitalist country like India, monopoly capital has already developed through the continuous process of centralisation of capital, and has also given birth to finance capital, and when the reality is that it is this monopoly finance capital which is controlling the market and the entire economy of the

country, it would be absurd to believe that there is any possibility of actual decentralisation of capitalist economy a fresh. Such development is unhistorical, preposterous. We must understand that just as centralisation of capital, was not the consequence of someone's fancy or wishful thinking, rather it was the logical outcome of the law of development of capitalist economy operating in a country, likewise, it is not possible to go against the flow of social and economic development and bring about decentralisation of capital by mere choice. We have historically left all that far behind: Hence, we must remember that however much the Indian bourgeoisie might talk about economic decentralisation, it is in reality a programme of centralisation of capital itself under a different guise. Because even if the small scale sector is introduced, it can by no means be free of monopoly control, since historically it is not possible for small-scale industries to create market or survive on its own in the present era of monopoly capital, particularly with the financial institutions highly centralised, subserving monopoly capital. It is not really very difficult to understand this simple fact. What is the condition of small-scale industries in our country today? Is it not a fact that the very small-scale industries which could create market on their own initiative in the days when capital had not been considerably centralised, are now gasping for survival? Today they cannot even exist without clutching at heavy industries. Why then is this miserable plight of small-scale industries? Is it on account of their dearth of technical know-how, or is it because they have had to surrender to the sway of monopoly capital in the process of development and centralisation of capital and their subsequent elimination

from competition for market? We must not forget that in reality it is monopoly capital which holds complete sway over these so-called decentralised industries. No only that, all these small scale industries actually function with the direct help of monopoly and finance capital. In other words, it is the public and private monopoly financing organisations and banks which actually supply capital to these small scale industries. Yet, the ruling bourgeoisie of our country always try to keep the vast number of unemployed under the illusion that it is possible to solve this nagging problem of unemployment through expansion of the small-scale sector. But the fact that small-scale industries must survive with the direct help of the monopoly houses, both for components as also for the outlet their products, has had to be admitted by the Janata Government itself. In its recent directive to the monopoly houses of the country, the government has asked them to set up as many ancillary industries as possible and make use of cheap labour largely available in the country. The meaning of this is absolutely clear. Through these small units, it is the monopoly houses which will be enjoying credit facilities, tax concessions, export subsidy and all other concessions, besides having the facility to exploit cheap labour. The economic programme of the Janata Government thus leaves no room for doubt as to what the advantages of these small-scale industries actually are. The points of advantage briefly are—(1) Workers employed in the small-scale industries will not have the strength to build up organised trade union movements even if they technically come under the purview of the Industrial Disputes Act, and hence, will not be able to assert their legitimate rights and demands like workers in the heavy industries. In this way,

organised trade union movements can be throttled to a considerable extent. (2) Workers in the small-scale industries will have to do the same kind of job as is done by workers in the heavy industries, but against far less wages and other benefits. Thus cheap labour, as designed by Mr. Charan Singh, can be freely and more savagely exploited. (3) In case there is no market at home, the monopoly houses of our country will be able to try for a place in the foreign market with commodities produced in these small-scale industries at a much lower cost. And (4) in this manner, monopolists will be able to reap relatively bigger profits despite the present crisis of market, and capital may be better consolidated. This, in essence, is the real significance of the so-called theory of economic decentralisation.

It is interesting to note how the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal too, is playing second fiddle to the economic planning of the Janata Government, which carries all the ingredients of a fascist economy. The fact that there is no difference at all between the two governments even on economic questions, let alone basic differences, can be easily seen in the industrial policy presented by the 'Left Front' Government. Hence, it is noteworthy that the 'Left Front' Government too has laid major emphasis on the growth and expansion of the small-scale sector. In defending its stand, the 'Left Front' Government has, however, taken recourse to a different, elusive argument. According to this government, it is the small-scale sector which can help in a big way to tide over the problem of unemployment and industrial crisis, since it is heavily dependent on manual labour. In its industrial policy, the 'Left Front' Government has said, "Wherever possible, production cooperatives must be set up for the purpose of conducting these small-

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24th APRIL OBSERVED

(Contd. from Page 5) people of the localities. Comrade Asit Bhattacharya, Secretary of Assam State Committee of the Party, Comrade Jainal Abedin, an important organiser of the Party and MLA of this State, and Comrade Prabhat Khatnari, spoke in these meetings. Comrade Ashit Bhattacharya pointed out that all the present problems in the people's life were cropping up from the exploitative capitalist system and reminded the audience that unless the people became conscious of it they would never be able to emancipate themselves from the clutches of exploitation and there would be no end to their miseries.

Orissa

On the occasion of the Party Foundation Day this year numerous meetings, group sittings and processions were organised in different parts of the vast rural belt of the state. Mass meetings have been held also in Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Baleswar, Bhabra, Sambalpur, Rourkella, Dhenkanol, Sonapur, Bolangir, Jajpur, Rajnagar, Jharsuguda and several other townships in the state. Comrade Tapas Dutta, Secretary of the Orissa State Committee of the Party, and Comrade B. Jena, an eminent trade union leader of the state, spoke in many of these meetings. The historic significance of 24th April and the party's analysis of the political situation and of the role of the social democratic forces made deep impact on the audiences.

Kerala

In Kerala, the State Organising Committee of the Party organised six big meetings in Trivandrum, Allepi, Kottayan and other places as preparatory to the central meeting in Calicut. Everywhere the meetings drew large number of people who showed a keen interest to listen to the party's analysis of the present political situation

and the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, an eminent organiser of our party, spoke at the meetings. Comrade Chakraborty explained the significance of 24th April, pointed out that the CPI(M) and the CPI were making no secret of their intention to emerge as the third national alternative by aligning with parties and forces like the Akali, DMK, ADMK and the so-called 'progressive' forces within the Janata Party and the 'honest elements' in both wings of the Congress, to fill in the vacuum created in the bourgeois parliamentary politics. Their call of unity from Jullunder and Bhatinda is an expression of this intention. But this left and democratic unity as conceived by the CPI(M) and the CPI has nothing to do with the concept and unity of the Left and democratic forces as the instrument of people's legitimate democratic movements conducive to the struggle for emancipation.

Madhya Pradesh

In Madhya Pradesh a meeting was organised by the State Committee of the Party at the Makhanlal Chaturvedi Hall in Jabalpur on 15th April last. Comrade Shankar Singh, Member of the Central Committee of the Party, was the main speaker and Comrade Ashok Ganguli, Secretary of the Madhya Pradesh State Organising Committee, presided. Explaining the historic significance of 24th April and analysing the present political situation Comrade Singh reminded the people of the warning of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, during the Emergency and even before that it was the historical experience that people wanted to fight but unless and until they could be organised and made politically conscious, the reactionary opportunist parties

Industrial Policy

(Contd. from Page 7) scale industries, and these co-operatives must also be helped with subsidies, if necessary." The government has further said, "There are several areas where, given the necessary financial help and marketing facilities for commodities, these small-scale industries can be made easily profitable." Not only that, the 'Left Front' Government also feels, "given adequate help and technical advice, these small industries can open the floodgates of production and employment." Whereas the finance minister himself has had to admit by suggestion that it is due to the acute crisis of capitalist market that not much

would reap the benefit from the people's movements in their parliamentary game and confine these movements within the narrow bounds of the parliamentary politics. Comrade Singh urged the audience to rally round SUCI, the only revolutionary party in our soil.

Alipur Central Jail

Our Party Comrades who are now in the **Alipur Central Jail** as convicted or under-trial prisoners celebrated the 30th Party foundation anniversary inside the jail. At a solemn ceremony Comrade Kabbaz Sardar presided. Comrades Abu Bakkar Ali Sardar, Jagannath Gayen, Bhim Kayal and Nitai Maira, among others, spoke on the occasion pledging themselves to strengthen the SUCI, the only genuine communist party in India to fulfil the historic task of leading the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution through to success following the correct line shown by our great leader, teacher guide and founder general secretary of the Party **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. The celebration aroused keen interest and response among the ordinary prisoners of the jail. [Report from Delhi state just received will be given in the next issue.—Ed. P. Era]

investment is being made and the industries have become severely crisis-ridden, by what supernatural process, under such circumstance, will the small industries increase production or create employment when they themselves are mere ancillaries of heavy industries? One simply marvels at the manner in which even a government claiming itself to be 'Left', is satisfied with airing the same utterly reactionary views like the ruling bourgeoisie itself, and with the same purpose of protecting the present decadent capitalist system from any possible harm it may come to. Is it not the historic duty of a truly Left Government to point out to the masses struggling for emancipation, that the very unfounded theory of economic decentralisation is a fascist device of the ruling bourgeoisie to throttle revolutionary labour movements and ensure a longer lease of life for the moribund capitalist system? It would be very much relevant in this connection, to uphold once again the invaluable teaching of our beloved leader and teacher and the outstanding Marxist thinker and philosopher of the era, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, who unmistakably pointed out in course of explaining the basic problems before the people of our country today, that if we are to really improve the lot of the down-trodden masses, particularly that of the 70% of the people tied to agriculture, it is imperative that modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture are introduced forthwith. But why is this most urgent task still left unfulfilled? **Comrade Ghosh** has shown that although this task can brook no further delay, it is the present moribund capitalist system itself which is the main stumbling block before this task. Because, if modernisation and mechanisation are to be introduced in agriculture, they must be backed

by uninhibited expansion of industries, since it is only the industries which can absorb the thousands of people who will lose job at one blow as a result of modernisation of agriculture. But with the present world-wide crisis of capitalist market and the consequent stagnation in production, massive industrialisation is unthinkable in our present economic set-up. Hence, this most urgent task of modernising and mechanising agriculture has historically been linked up with the ultimate programme of overthrow of the capitalist system itself, by accomplishing the socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. For without the overthrow of capitalism, industrialisation is historically impossible. But nowhere has the 'Left Front' Government even as much as made an attempt to explain the underlying reasons behind the problem. Instead, it has laid stress on more investment—very much in the spirit of Mrs. Gandhi—without answering why this problem of non-investment has at all become a general feature of our economy. After all, leftists can surely be expected to be at least less superficial than an ordinary bourgeois politician!

We, therefore appeal to the people and particularly the supporters of the 'Left Front' to ponder deeply whether or not this is yet another instance of how the 'Left Front' Government is consistently following in the footsteps of the Congress and the present Janata Government in every respect. Naturally, besides other policy matters and approach, the industrial policy of the 'Left Front' Government makes no departure from the policy pursued by the previous regime.

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