

Some Comments on CPI's National Council Resolutions

It might appear to any sensible man that for sometime past, the CPI is posing itself to be critical about activities of the Congress Government both at the Centre and in different states. In the resolution "on prices, monopoly and government policies" adopted in its meeting of the National Council held in New Delhi on Aug. 24-28, the party has stated, "The sharp blow that was given to the Indian economy by the unprecedented rise in prices and that too on the eve of the silver jubilee celebrations of Independence has stunned millions of people of our country and woken them up to the realities of life, the realities of the capitalist system under which we are living. ... On vast areas of the country, shadows of famine are cast and reports of starvation deaths have begun pouring in. The draught which has affected large areas of the country has further aggravated the situation the present crisis in three of the basic consumer goods like food, sugar and cloth, the consequent starvation of the people and the rise in prices was due to the unholy collusion of the big monopolies, the bankers, the bureaucrats and leadership of the government. The masses of the toiling people have been victims of the profit mongering of monopoly capital and their allies in the government, which is the inevitable outcome of the capitalist path."

Now, from the above observation of the CPI no one should be in an illusion that the CPI would begin an anti-government democratic movement, and break the CPI-Congress alliance, the only logical outcome that would follow from the above consideration. The party, however, stated that the present trend of events should be halted. But how? The leadership of the CPI, being obsessed with the idea of "progressiveness" of Congress (R), stated that the present leadership of the government, however anti-working class and anti-toiling people it might have become owing to its class nature, there still exists the possibility of halting and defeating the present slide back in its policies and forcing it to shift towards the left and this it expects to realise by creating militant movement by mobilising democratic forces existing both inside and outside the Congress (R).

In the recently concluded West Bengal State Council meeting too, the CPI has expressed a similar view. In that meeting it has been decided that the party would start campaign to strengthen the "progressive democratic forces" in the Congress (R).

The CPI-Congress alliance has been claimed by the CPI to be the left and democratic unity, the instrument of struggle of the people against monopolists, jotedars and other sorts of vested interests.

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Now, the left and democratic people all over the country are well aware of the fact that the desperate bid of the CPI, to search for 'progressiveness' in the Congress(R) with which it has formed so-called alliance both at the all India as well as at state levels is not something new.

The CPI has stated on innumerable occasions that in the existing CPI-Congress alliance, it would form a closer tie with the so-called progressive and democratic section of Congress(R) and thereby would guide the alliance, on the one hand, to fight against the growth of fascism, the danger it apprehends might be created by the right reactionary forces in the country and, on the other hand, it expects that by utilising the existing contradiction between the monopolists and non-monopolists, the alliance might be used to demolish the power of monopoly capital and help

the country to develop in a non-capitalist path. The party has given unstinted support to the social democratic measures of the government like bank nationalisation, take-over of industrial undertakings etc., and labelled them as progressive steps for, according to the CPI, these measures would be used to curb the power of the monopoly and to help develop the country in the path as desired by it.

Now let us briefly analyse the viewpoints put forward by the CPI. The CPI argues that the danger of fascism comes from right reaction by which it means conservatism. But any student of politics and history is well aware of the fact that this idea is absolutely wrong. Fascism has never grown anywhere nor it can grow and develop from conservatism. In the face of the economic crisis, the ruling capitalist class in a country, solely with the view to safeguard the aggregate interest of capitalism, develops fascism, which requires support from the broad masses for its growth and development. Conservatism, which reflects individual monopoly interests, can not reflect the aggregate interest of capitalism, which fascism defends. To get the mass support, to attract the people, a radical cloak is necessary. Fascism puts on this cloak of radicalism, often manifested through the adoption of various social democratic measures. Conservative forces cannot do this. Moreover, fascism poses itself in the garb of national interests, and preaches national jingoism, class collaboration, and the so-called need of the unity of entire people, unity of all classes, of exploiters and the exploited and such ideas hostile to the thoughts of scientific socialism.

In all these respects, fascism links itself closer to the social democratic forces than to the right reactionary forces, that is, the conservatives. In

fact, history has repeatedly revealed that it is the militant social democratic forces, that have given birth to fascism. It is precisely, social democracy within whose womb fascism has been born in Germany and Italy. To quote Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, "once fascism came out of the womb of social democratism; now social democratism is the last pillar of fascism?"

Now, in our country at present the Congress (R) is posing itself as a great danger to the Indian people as potential fascist force. In fact, it is the ruling Congress(R) Government under the leadership of Sm. Indira Gandhi which is laying the foundation-stone of fascism. In the economic sphere, to solve the acute crisis facing the capitalist economy the Congress(R) with a view to serving the aggregate interest of capitalism is implementing social democratic measures like planning, nationalisation of banks, insurances and take-over of different industries. All these are being done with a view to bringing about a coalescence of the state capital with private monopoly capital to safeguard the aggregate interest of the capitalist class thereby giving birth to state monopoly capitalism and in this way, gradually subjugating the state to the interest of the monopolists. The right reactionary forces, no doubt, do exist in our country and they are to be given a crushing defeat for promoting the cause of democracy and leftism in the country. But at the same time, it should be clearly understood that at present one of the major tasks of the left and democratic forces is to launch an all-out mighty militant left and democratic movement against the ruling Congress (R) Government both at the Centre as well as in the states to arrest the growth of the potential danger of fascism.

Now when the bounden

CPI's Fictitious Logic in Allying itself with the Congress

duty of any left and democratic party is to strengthen the unity of left and democratic forces, to fight against both the potential danger of fascism being created by the Congress(R) and all sorts of right reactionary forces, the CPI by maintaining its alliance with the Congress(R), in reality is trying to weaken the left and democratic forces and in the name of fighting fascism is actually strengthening the hands of the potential fascist forces in the country. The CPI puts forth this argument that it intends to forge unity with the left and democratic forces within the Congress in order to fight against the right reactionaries both inside and outside the Congress and contain fascism. We view that this contention of the CPI is wrong. History teaches us that it is not the right reactionary forces which has brought about fascism in any country. These forces, can, at best, lead the country to military dictatorship but not fascism. Rather, fascism is possible to take place with the help of those political forces which puts out radical slogans, and displays a social-democratic approach in order to win over the support of the masses behind its policies designed to fulfil the interests of monopolists. So far the basic class approach is concerned, there is no difference between the two wings, namely, the social democratic forces and the right reactionaries. The difference lies only in their pattern to serve the capitalist class. Whereas the right reactionaries, that is, the conservatives, uphold the individual interest of the monopolist, the left and social democratic forces as designated by the CPI, look after the aggregate interest of the capitalist class. It is the latter forces, which confounding the broad section of masses by virtue of radical utterances mobilise their support behind its pro-monopolist policies, helps to

develop monopoly still further and lays down the economic base of fascism. Notwithstanding the fact that the danger posed by the right reactionary forces should not be lost sight of and given organised resistance, but to render support to the so-called left and democratic forces within the Congress, as the CPI is doing, is to welcome a dangerous enemy which works with subtlety to bring about fascism in the country. In our country it is with the help of this social democratic approach that the Congress has become an instrument in the hands of the monopolists to increase its domination and reduce the state to an obedient adjunct to fulfil their interests. So, judging in the light of history and actual experience in our country the logic of the CPI is strengthening the forces actually responsible for laying down the economic base of fascism.

The CPI's proposition of utilising the existing contradiction between the monopolists and the non-monopolists to curb the power of the monopolists and thereby help the country to develop in a non-capitalist path is also based on a faulty premise. Any man with a knowledge of ABC in Marxism-Leninism is well aware of the fact that so far as the interest of capitalist class as a whole and the maintenance of the capitalist state structure in our country are concerned, the existing contradiction between the monopolists and the non-monopolists is non-antagonistic and the idea of utilising the same to curb the monopoly and develop a non-capitalist path towards socialism is against the basic premises of Marxism-Leninism. The CPI does believe in the realities of the capitalist system under which we are living. Then, how can further growth of our country is possible without giving a defeat to capitalism?

For obvious reasons, the path of further development of the country should be the anti-capitalist path and not non-capitalist as proposed by the CPI.

Now any one might have noticed the fact that though the CPI is maintaining a close tie with the Congress(R) at times it appears to be critical of the activities of the latter. When the Congress (R) takes recourse to fascist onslaught and methods to physically annihilate the left parties and their mass organisations the leadership of the CPI says without any prick of conscience that all these charges are false and are made to tarnish the image of the CPI-Congress alliance. But when the Congress blow is directed against the mass organisations, workers and cadres of the CPI, the leaders of the party face a precarious situation and criticise these activities of the Congress(R). But neither from this nor from the fact that the CPI has publicly pledged to launch mighty movement against all sorts of vested interests any one should conclude (as we have already stated) that the CPI would launch anti-government democratic mass movement.

It is a fact that as days pass on it is becoming increasingly difficult for the Congress(R) to maintain the facade of radicalism in this period of growing crisis of capitalism. Under the rule of the Congress, supported by the CPI, the hoarders, black marketeers and speculators are living in paradise. More and more prices of the essential goods are rising. An unprecedented rise in prices is being observed in case of food materials. More and more the monopoly houses are flourishing day by day. Whatever might be the Congress leaders saying, it is a glaring fact that the government is actually helping the monopolists to expand and achieve greater concentration of economic power.

Sm. Indira Gandhi often proclaims that the monopoly would be curbed. But actually what is happening is the fact that most of the licences for establishing new industrial undertakings are being issued to the monopoly houses. When the fourteen major Indian banks were nationalised, the ruling Congress leaders proclaimed that the credit policy would be formulated with a view to fulfilling the objective of curbing the economic power of the monopolists. In reality what has happened? The monopoly houses have received the major share of the total investments both of the nationalised banks and of LIC. In the agrarian field, the Congress(R) government is pursuing a pro-jotedar policy. More and more the number of landless peasants are increasing, the share croppers are being evicted forcibly by the jotedars in unholy collusion with the government administration. In fact the situation is becoming very critical and under the existing capitalist rule the toiling people are becoming intolerably hard-pressed to keep their body and soul together. Even the CPI has to acknowledge the fact that there is an "unholy collusion of the big monopolies, the bankers, the bureaucrats and the leadership of the government". Obviously any right-thinking man would agree with us, that the left and democratic forces would have to launch mighty democratic movement against the Congress(R) government, which, owing to its class nature is acting as the protector of the interests of the monopolists, the bankers, the jotedars and other vested interests.

But the CPI has clearly proclaimed that it would fight against the monopolists and other vested interest but not against the government. This has been made quite clear to Mr. Siddharta
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CPI Not Willing to Part Company With Congress for Sectarian End

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Shankar Ray, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, whom the leaders of the party have assured that the CPI campaign would not be aimed at embarrassing the government. Like a pupil eager to get his good conduct certificate from his teacher, the CPI leaders have been stated to have made it clear to Mr. Ray that the party's proposed programme of civil disobedience movement only constitute a part of an All India programme. It would not at all mean to put the government in an embarrassing position. We would like to ask the CPI leaders, if the leadership of the government, that is, the Congress party headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi is in unholy collusion with the big monopolists then how can they fight against the monopolists without fighting against the Congress government?

At least none should blame the CPI leaders for their ungentlemanlike behaviour. For, there is a proverb in Bengali which states 'Bhadraloker ek Katha' (Gentleman does never change his word). Whatever anti-people pro-monopolist might be the attitude of the Congress(R), under no circumstances the CPI would do anything that might offend the Congress(R) and thereby deprive the leaders of the party from receiving blessings from Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

The CPI is considering itself clever and is trying to pursue a line that would cut both ways.

The party is seriously facing with the problem of reviving its left image that has already been tarnished due to its pro-Congress policy. Moreover, of late, the attacks mounted by the Congress(R) on the workers and cadres of the party at different places, has created new problems before the party. In the face

of these attacks, the party, with a view to boosting up the morale of the workers and cadres and at the same time arresting its growing alienation from the toiling people due to its pro-Congress policy, has felt the need to launch the so-called movement, the purpose of which is stated to bring about a forcible shift in the policy of the Congress(R). But the CPI is as eager as before to maintain its tie with the Congress. Under no circumstances it could risk losing the privileges and opportunities it enjoys now for maintaining its alliance with the party in power.

If the leadership of the government, that is, the Congress (R) misunderstands its strategy, so the CPI leaders do not lose a moment to convince the leaders of the Congress(R) that the party's proclaimed movement would not embarrass the position of the government in any way. We, however, apprehend that the CPI's call for launching movement might appear to the left and democratic people as particularly designed and motivated. For obvious reasons, day by day, the anti-Congress attitude and sentiments of the masses are sharply developing. The left and democratic people are already re-organising themselves under the banner of the different left and democratic parties to participate in mighty mass movements against the ruling Congress governments. In such a situation we apprehend that the CPI's call to launch rather a pro-government movement is motivated to create confusion among the people, to divert the attention of the masses from the real focal point of the whole issue. We are, however, confident that the CPI would not succeed to befool the working people. Its so-called pledge to launch mighty

movement would sound as an empty phrase. The first phase of the so-called movement i.e. the civil disobedience movement has already ended. As expected, except in some states, in most of the states the way in which the movement has been conducted and brought to an end has become a subject matter of ridicule by the left minded people all over the country.

The CPI has claimed the CPI-Congress alliance to be the left and democratic unity, the instrument of struggle of the people to fight against all sorts of vested interest. We would like to ask the leaders, how can the unity be called left and democratic when the major partner, the Congress is pursuing palpably an anti-people, pro-monopoly, pro-jotedar, anti-democratic fascistic policy? How can such an unity be called left and democratic when the unity itself is working as the spearhead of mounting attacks on workers, peasants, teachers, students, youths and various other sections of the common working people? How can such an alliance be labelled as left and democratic unity when even the CPI considers that the major partner of the alliance i.e. the Congress(R) being in the leadership of the government is maintaining an unholy collusion with the big monopolists, bankers etc.?

How a government being anti-working class and anti-toiling people in character due to its class nature can be forced to change its class nature and assume a role which is pro-working people? Is there any such instance known in the history? Does it conform to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism?

It has been stated in the said resolution of the National Council of the CPI that measures of nationalisation and take-overs, instead of being used to demolish the power of monopoly capital are more and more being utilised only as a means of "repairing and streamlining capitalism, which had found itself in a deep crisis". May we ask the leaders of the CPI if there is any instance known where in a capitalist country measures of nationalisation have not been undertaken for "repairing and streamlining capitalism, which had found itself in a deep crisis"?

Lastly, we would ask the cadres and workers of the CPI, how long would they allow their leaders to pursue the policy of placating the ruling Congress leaders? How long would they allow their leaders to use them as a mere tool to strengthen the forces of counter-revolution in the country? How long would they allow to keep their party tied to the apron-string of the Congress(R), the greatest enemy of the toiling people of our country?

Real Picture of Congress Raj

Calcutta, October 21—Ekadashi Bera, aged about 45 years, was an agricultural labourer of Mahendrapur under Digambarpur Anchal of Patharpratima police station in the district of 24 Parganas. For several days he had no work and, so, no food not only for himself but for the whole family as well. When all his attempts to get work and food miserably failed, he along with his wife, three children and a grand daughter committed suicide on the night of October 20 last and thus escaped the pangs of unemployment and hunger. This is not the single instance of its kind in this part of the country. Some time back another man for similar reasons committed suicide in Kankandighi area. These tragic facts reflect the true character of the much-publicised Congress Raj.