

# Delhi Conference of Political Leaders and the Role of CPI(M)

From the National Conference of leaders of political parties and other non-party leaders held at Delhi on 25th and 26th November last a statement was issued in which wholehearted support was extended to the people's struggle in Bihar. The Conference noted the heroic way in which the people of Bihar have been carrying on their struggle against the repressive regime during the last eight months; many lives have been lost, hundreds injured and maimed and thousands of men, women and children arrested and put in jails. This conference felt that a democratic government, alive to the public opinion, would have taken note of strong popular feelings in Bihar long ago and bowed out.

It also observed that the struggle in Bihar and the one which preceded it in Gujrat, were not isolated events. They were symptoms of general disillusionment and resentment of the people against the continuous misrule. As concrete steps to bring pressure on the Central Government to change its anti-people attitude and policies, the conference decided that a massive people's march to the Parliament should be organised. A charter of demands should be presented to the Parliament on behalf of the people. The conference set up a National Co-ordination Committee to extend this movement in other states as far as possible.

In the backdrop of the Bihar movement in general and this conference in particular, the Central Committee of CPI(M) which concluded its session on 9th December last issued a statement. The CC statement of the CPI(M) greeted the people of Bihar who were engaged in a prolonged struggle for certain legitimate and democratic demands, including the dissolution of the Assembly and the resignation of the Government and free and fair election. It rejected outright the Congress Working Committee's stand on this issue and noted with indignation that the Right Communists (i.e. CPI-writer) are acting as shameless agents of the ruling party. The CC while according full support to the popular demands and the movements in Bihar, was unable to participate in Bihar

Jan Sangharsh Samity or in the all-India Co-ordination Committee due to the inclusion and active participation of avowedly reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh, BLD, Congress(O) etc. It appealed to all left and democratic parties, organisations and individuals to realise the need for well-organised and country-wide movements and also the necessity of the unity of the left and democratic forces in the country but refrained from participating in the united front of the entire opposition as, according to them, it would help ruling Congress confuse the people.

Before we take up for discussion the stand taken by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) and give our viewpoint afresh on this issue it is clear from all accounts that the Bihar movement and the subsequent Delhi Conference have assumed an all-India significance so much so that no political party can remain silent on it. As far as the ruling Congress is concerned, it has, in keeping with its class character and the role played by Sm. Indira Gandhi, taken a completely despotic and fascistic attitude towards these legitimate democratic movements of the people. The inhuman barbarism perpetrated by the Congress Government has surpassed all its previous records both in intensity and extent. The CPI being tied with the apron-string of both Indira Gandhi Congress and the Soviet revisionist leadership has not only joined the bandwagon of ruling

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Congress Government in suppressing these legitimate and democratic movements of the people directed against this anti-people government but also outdone even the ruling party more nakedly and unabashedly in the name of fighting right reaction. The toiling people of our country should have no difficulty whatsoever in finding the real character of these parties in spite of all sorts of mouthful slogans of "socialism", "progress" etc. by the ruling party on the one hand and the CPI's occasional militant

stance against Indira Congress in their bid to project a popular image before the masses on the other.

Everywhere the vast multitude of our country is raging today in anger and fury and spontaneously bursting out in all kinds of agitational forms of movement against the government, whatsoever may be the character of leadership provided in the movement. And in the event of a favourable situation, they are even prepared to jump in the movement on their own

and to make sacrifice to any extent. This is, in short, the lesson of Bihar movement which our party has not failed to take note of.

But people must understand that until and unless they are able to organise, lead and direct all these movements against capitalism for the overthrow of the very exploitative capitalist system as such, until and unless they are able to build up political power in their own hands with the help of which alone they

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## Stand by the poor Village People

Harvesting is going on in full swing throughout the country. And it is the time for all district committees in rural areas and members and workers of the party to go to the village, stand by the Khet Mazdoor, poor peasants share-croppers and lower middle peasants in their just struggle for the realisation of their due share of the crop and to protect them from every kind of attack by the jotedars, ruling party and the police. The party urges so and urges them also to help those poor village people to develop their own organisation KKMF staying with them all through the harvesting season.

The party urges upon all the members and workers of the rural districts and district committees to organise

mass protest meetings at prominent places of the villages and explain to the village people the character of the anti-people projected a pro-mill-owner policies of the Congress Government and the urgent need of developing an iron-strong organisation of their own. The leaders, workers and volunteers should with utmost sincerity make the village people feel that they have no other alternative but to develop KKMF to a mighty organisation and stand unitedly behind it to safe-guard their own interest.

Khet Mazdoors, share-croppers, poor and lower middle peasants, in each and every corner of the districts must be approached and get enrolled in millions as members of KKMF and every possible

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## U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani)'s Statement in Protest of the Imposition of DIR in Jute and other Industries

On December 6th, condemning the imposition of DIR in Jute and other industries, Comrade Fatik Ghosh Secretary of the West Bengal Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in a statement said, "On the eve of the proposed strike from 6th January of the Jute workers the Government has imposed Sec 119 of DIR on the Jute industries and 34 other industrial concerns, in accordance with an order issued on 27th November. Under this Section the Government usurps the power to employ in these industries, subjugates the democratic rights of the workers under its complete control and thereby

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# Com. Pritish Chanda from UTUC (Lenin Sarani) exposes the Anti-working class role of the Government in the National Seminar on Minimum Wages

[ A National Seminar On Minimum Wages was held at Calcutta on 2nd and 3rd December '74 at the auspices of the ILO and in co-operation with the Central Government. Comrade Pritish Chanda, Secretary, all-India Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) while participating in the Seminar circulated a paper and exposed thoroughly the stark anti-working class role and attitude of the Government in discussions on various points. We are here reproducing the points dealt in his paper in an abridged form and brief reporting on certain other points touched upon by him in course of discussions at the Seminar.

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## The I. L. O. and the concept of Minimum Wages :

The fundamental purpose for fixing minimum wages, particularly in developing countries, has been stated by the I.L.O. as "one element in a policy designed to overcome poverty and to ensure the satisfaction of the needs of all workers and their families" in its Recommendation 135, specifying at the same time "to give wage earners necessary social protection as regards minimum permissible levels of wages."

The criteria laid down by the ILO for determining the level of Minimum wages have been :

- (a) the needs of workers and their families ;
- (b) the general level of wages in the country ;
- (c) the cost of living and changes therein ;
- (d) social security benefits ;
- (e) the relative living standards of other social groups ;
- (f) economic factors including the requirements of economic development, levels of productivity and the desirability of attaining and maintaining high level of employment.

The above criteria, although in general terms held the prospect for new standard in countries like ours, yet the above sub-clause (f), keeps wide room for jeopardising the very purpose of fixing minimum wages. Thus, whatever might have been the intention of the ILO the very formulation of the criteria suffers from serious loopholes and provides wide scope for the Government and employers in

India, which has developed a capitalist socio-economic structure to escape their obligations as regards ensuring minimum wages as a "necessary social protection" for overcoming poverty and for satisfaction of minimum human needs of all workers and their families. To be specific, in India both the Government and the employers are seeking to link wage with "productivity", "capacity to pay" and the overall "interest of national economy" which actually means the interest of deriving maximum profit by expropriating labour.

Thus, the Indian workers are being denied what was the declared objectives of the ILO that "Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity."

## India Government's role :

In regard to fixation of minimum wages, the Government of India did not care until now to ratify the ILO Convention 131 and its recommendation 135 which brooks no further delay. Again, the old ILO Convention of equal wages for equal work in respect of female workers, barring a few cases like coal industry, is not followed in practice. Even the Government has not yet implemented the decisions of the 15th Indian Labour Conference (1957) on need-based minimum wage.

The norms fixed in the said 15th Indian Labour Conference for deciding the minimum needs of

workers and their families in respect of consumption unit, minimum food requirements, clothing requirements, fuel and other items, of miscellaneous expenditures were far below the actual requirements and as well denial of basic facts. This is more true particularly in respect of the calculation of standard working class family taken to be consisted of 3 consumption units for one wage earner. The reality is average Indian working class family consists of 5 to 7 consumption units.

In India in the recent past in respect of fixing minimum wages, undue weightage was given to capacity of industry to pay etc., and the matter was left to individual committee or respective State Governments to determine their own standard and conclusions. But, of late, a new dangerous trend is being observed in the Government that the minimum wage fixing authorities are deviating from standards enumerated in the ILO Convention and putting erroneous emphasis on the following factors while fixing or revising minimum wage rate :

- (i) productivity level ;
- (ii) employment level in industry concerned ;
- (iii) its impact on inflationary measures ; and
- (iv) economic growth.

This emphasis completely shatters the principle of satisfaction of the needs of the workers and their families when it is not the 'wage-price-spiral', the fanciful theory of the government and its economic advisers that is responsible for the present inflationary condition rather the inflationary trend and the price-rise of all commodities are the inevitable outcome of the law of maximum profit of the present day capitalist economy which has been further accentuated by the anti-people, pro-capitalist, pro-monopolist policies of

the government, such as unbridled deficit-financing, continuously increasing unproductive defence expenditure, extortionate indirect taxation, inflationary credit policy, complete failure of the government to check black money and black marketing, failure to create conditions for expansion of internal market etc. the government is introducing wage-curtailment measures on the poor wage earners on the so-called plea of containment of inflation.

In India the provisions of Art. II of ILO Convention 131 are followed more in the breaches than in observation. Court or Tribunal decisions/awards remain non-implemented, statutory provisions frequently abetted. Collective agreements violated and so on and so forth.

The question of removal of poverty of the working people which is supposed to be very bedrock of the purpose and concept of minimum wages is still far away. In the Approach Paper of the Fifth Plan that is yet to see the light one year after its scheduled timing, it is now being admitted that :

"The elimination of abject poverty will not be attained as a corollary to certain acceleration in the rate of growth of the economy alone. In the Fifth Plan, it will be necessary to launch a direct attack on the problems of unemployment, under-employment and massive low-end poverty."

The Fifth Plan assuming Rs. 20/- per capita per month (on 1960-61 price level) as the minimum level of consumption estimated that "at present over 220 millions are estimated to be living below the level". But this concept of national minimum even if revised as Rs. 40/- per month per capita at current prices, is hardly a subsistence level even. What is the extent of this below-subsistence existence

of the Indian working people ?

Even the organisation of the monopoly capitalists in the country, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries in the figures given in their document, "Planning for Results," 1972, admits that on an all India average 218.3 millions i.e. 41.2 p.c. of the population live below poverty line and the figures for states like Orissa, Nagaland, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh reach such staggering proportions as 64.7%, 52.9%, 49.4% and 44.8% respectively.

But these figures do not take account of the high rate of inflation that has been going on for the last few years. The price of food articles rose by 71 p.c. between 1968-73 and the increase in the general price level was 62 p.c. In 1973 alone, the general price level rose by 28.2 p.c. and food prices moved up by 34.3 p.c. In the first half of the current year, Consumer Price Index rose by 27.5%. These are all Government statistics which the workers call 'fraud' in as much as they have no real bearing on the actual prices prevailing in the markets. But the fact of the matter is that workers' real income has been showing a steady downward trend. So whereas the money earnings of the workers rose from 106 in 1962 to 181 in 1971, the index of real earning fell from 103 in 1962 to only 99 in 1971 (Indian Labour Statistics, '73). And as such, with the rise in productivity instead of a rise, wages and salaries as percentage of total costs of production has registered a steadily declining trend. A Reserve Bank of India Study shows that wage cost as p.c. of total cost of production has gone down from 15.1 p.c. in 1965-66 to 14.5 p.c. in 1969-70. (R. B. I. Bulletin, July 1972). The

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# On the Joint Indo-US Commission

## Our Party's Approach to the Character of the Indian State is

### Vindicated Once Again

The Indo-U. S. Joint Commission set up for the active co-operation in the fields of trade and commerce, economic co-operation etc. just formalised (as all the spade work for it had been done earlier) in an agreement signed on the occasion of the state visit of Dr. Kissinger, the U. S. Secretary of state to Indian capital at the invitation of the Government of India from 27th to 30th October 74, has stirred up divergent political reactions reflecting different base political approaches of different parties. No wonder, the ruling Congress Party representing the aggregate interest of the ruling bourgeoisie, in unison with the top industrialists and businessmen are hailing this agreement as 'historic'. The parties like CPI and CPI(M), although couched in different languages are reacting in the same manner as both of them see in it a 'reversal of anti-imperialist stand', the Indian Government, according to their view, took during Indo-Pak war in 1971, a "sell out" of national interest, a "grave threat" to national independence and sovereignty etc., betraying once again their completely wrong understanding as to the character of the Indian State, the developing imperialist character of the Indian bourgeoisie, the nature of contradiction existing between a developing imperialist power and an already developed traditional imperialist power and above all the total renunciation of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the questions of independence and sovereignty of bourgeois states in the era of imperialism. The correctness of our position to all these fundamental points is once again vindicated.

Failure to concretely analyse a concrete event in all its aspects invariably leads one to take a one-sided view. Such is the case with CPI and CPI(M) who have not only betrayed this one-sided view but have also displayed their utter ignorance about the fundamental teachings of Comrade Lenin on the questions like independence and sovereignty of bourgeois state in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In fact, the latter is at the root of the former. The same ignorance about the base understanding of Marxism-Leninism on the said important questions not only led these parties, in the past, to present utterly erroneous one-sided views on any issue involving the economic and political relations between the Indian State and the powerful imperialist capitalist states but even now they go on repeating the same whenever any such issue comes up as in the present occasion. Otherwise, the motive behind the present move of both Indian and U. S. Governments should not

have been missed, as they are explicit enough. What are they?

Immediately after the signing ceremony, Sri Chavan pointed out that India's export to the U. S. A. only constituted 0.7 p. c of the latter's total volume of world import. Dr. Kissinger reciprocated the feelings by holding that India's position as 26th in the list of trading partners with the U. S. A. was "totally unnatural" and pointed out the fact that "the agreement specifically lays down that the Joint Commission will recommend measures and activities to stimulate two-way trade between the two countries." He also emphasised the need to encourage joint ventures of capitals of two countries to accelerate the growth of Indian economy. Talking to top Indian industrialists and businessmen, Kissinger assured them that there would be reflow of American Private Capital as soon as they were convinced of the congenial investment conditions in India.

K. K. Birla and N. S. Bhat, two spokesmen

respectively of the two apex organisations of the industrialists and businessmen of India, e.g. the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries and Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industries expressed their jubilation at the prospect of increased areas of co-operation with the big partner of U. S. finance capital by holding that: "Businessmen in both the countries were already co-operating with each other through trade and joint ventures. Their knowledge and experiences would be of considerable value in the new arrangement." Assuring Kissinger about the "congenial investment conditions in India the spokesmen of the Indian monopoly capital showed their bargaining skill by holding that "guarding national interest" (of Birlas and Bhats!) the American multi-nationals were welcomed and "even the minimum block of 40 p.c. holding in an undertaking—(i.e. Indian undertaking—writer) envisaged in the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, by itself was substantial."

[Economic Times—  
Oct 30, '74]

Whether this assurance of 40 p.c. equity participation would be encouraging to the 'big partner' is a matter for the two partners to bargain out but the fact remains that this partnership has no meaning other than exploiting the labour power of the working people and natural resources of this and other countries by the U. S. and Indian finance capitals. The blood suckers are in partnership, the quarrel is over their respective shares!

The calculation behind this agreement on the part of the Indian Government has been that it would ensure better US understanding of this country's aid needs especially in the wake of the year-old oil-crisis,

widespread draught, spiralling prices and galloping inflation. So in the context of all these, the present agreement will usher in bigger U. S. economic aid particularly in the shape of massive foodgrains supply either on deferred term or on long-term basis at concessional rates of interest and resumed flow of U. S. private capital that can be of help to the Indian economy before the situation deteriorates further.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is happy, so is its political spokesman the ruling Congress-led Government over the fact that the misunderstanding that was persisting on the political plane for the last three years between the two Governments since the war in 1971 when Washington was showing a 'tilt' towards Pakistan is now resolved. Kissinger says that the U. S. now regards India as a major power in this part of the world and it does, no longer think in terms of balance of power or equating India with somebody in the region and also does not think that the Indo-Soviet treaty "as it exists and the manner in which it has been implemented affects improvement of relations with the United States, as although they (Soviet revisionist leadership—writer) knew I was going to India prior to my going to Moscow, I found no expression of disquiet or unhappiness by them" and hoped that India would continue its policy of non-alignment in world affairs. The Indian Prime Minister also spoke in the same mien while she was talking to the reporter of Dacca's "Daily Ittefaq" that, "People sometimes think that if we do not do what they think we should be doing, then we are against them"! (E. T. October 29, '74) Quite true Madam! That is why we did not miss to grasp the real impost of the policies and 'brave words' of you and your government during

1971. That is why we are not to show utter political discomfiture of parties like CPI (M) who are writing today that "it is the Government of India that is tilting towards the U. S. A., backtracking fast from the anti-U. S. position it was forced to take at the time of the Bangladesh struggle". (Peoples' Democracy, editorial comment, Nov 3, '74)—we know, neither was it anti-U. S. position nor has therefore been any "backtracking" from it.

We explained then that: "At present India is passing through a phase when for Bangladesh and other issues of international importance, the Indian bourgeoisie consider that it would gain much from a closer economic relation with Soviet Union than with the U. S. A, though of course it has not cut off its relation with the USA and is receiving aid from the U.S.A. But one should not conclude from this that India's present stance regarding the U. S. A. symbolises its drifting from imperialism as such".

We also showed that "the present posture of the Indian bourgeoisie as regards the U. S. A. is just a reflection of dual role of the ruling capitalist class and hence, not to be confused as a progressive move as so often depicted by some left parties including the CPI and CPI (M)" [Proletarian Era, December 1, '72]. Whom does history corroborate? Not only does it corroborate the correctness of our stand but it exposes at the same time the utter bankruptcies of these parties.

Bankruptcies of these parties stem principally from their ignorance of the base Marxist-Leninist understanding about the relation of capitals between the bourgeois states in the era of imperialism. From this ignorance, these parties when united under a single signboard 'CPI', danced to the tune of

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can offer protracted struggle against the capitalist state in the overthrow of which the solution of fundamental problems of the people lie—the rightist and the pseudo-left forces will invariably misguide and distract time and again such gigantic movements in furtherance of their election designs and ultimately these movements in spite of huge bloodshed and sacrifice on the part of the people, will repeatedly end in fiasco. So to give these movements an anti-capitalist orientation, to make this the central focal point of any struggle on the one hand and to lay the foundation of an organised struggle of the people capable of offering a protracted battle against the capitalist state on the other as against spontaneous popular outburst of the discontented masses which the capitalist state can quell at any moment—are the most important tasks before the real revolutionaries of our country. This is the watershed that clearly distinguishes the genuine revolutionaries from the fake one, the real friends of the people from the disguised one.

Be that as it may, no real revolutionary can miss a very important point that in order to build up mighty struggles of the masses and channelise these struggles to their logical conclusions, it is highly necessary, in the present phase of democratic mass movements, to build up a political united front of all left and democratic forces on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme. This front will act as an instrument of struggle in the hands of the people in their fight against the common enemy. Our party has time and again approached all the left parties including the CPI(M) to come forward to build up this united front for organising democratic movements of the people who are practically groaning under the grinding machine of the capitalist state. But this suggestion of ours not only went into the

## It is Criminal to leave the People as a pawn in the hands of the rightist forces

deaf ears of the CPI(M) leaders but also was rejected by them outright because of their recent fanciful theory of issue-based front as against the political united front on the plea that since there is vital difference of opinion among the left parties on so many issues the formation of a political united front is not feasible and hence cannot be materialised. It is mainly due to CPI(M)'s denial to form any political united front that the golden opportunity of developing mighty mass movement was lost by the left parties taking advantage of which the rightist forces came in the forefront and took upperhand in the movement. The formation of a united front of left and democratic parties on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme—the only course to keep the people's movement free from the political ideological influence of the rightist forces repeatedly placed by us, was opposed by CPI(M) before but now the same party is making a general appeal to the left parties to build up united movement as if it is due to the stand taken by other left parties that this united front could not be built up. They have not clarified their position with regard to their reservation regarding the formation of a political united front of all left and democratic parties on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme either. From all this it is perfectly clear that even after this statement of the Central Committee of the CPI(M), the CPI(M) leadership will not make any serious attempt to form any political united front and will continue to encourage issued-based unity to suit their own opportunistic purpose.

Even if we set aside the question of serious blunder that the CPI(M) leadership committed in the past in respect of formation of united front damaging the

very prospect of united mass struggles—the policy as pursued by the CPI(M) even today will, although indirectly, help the rightist forces to pose themselves as the champions of people's cause. Because we all know that to highlight the cause of the people, to make common cause with the people, at least apparently, may very often become the tactics of not only the left forces, the pseudo-revolutionary forces i.e. the well-known social democrats of various brands—even the rightist forces can, under certain circumstances, come forward to build up people's struggle with the sole object of playing with the discontent of the people against the existing set-up keeping always an eye on the next election.

Now the question is— if in any circumstances the rightist forces associate themselves with a struggle based on the legitimate and democratic demands of the people, if they come forward even to a limited extent to participate in movements directed against the most undemocratic and uncivilised government— then what should be the stand of a real revolutionary party? Should it be unnerved by the complexity of the situation? Should it remain a dumb spectator to all sorts of vile parliamentary games by these forces, should it allow these forces to play with the people's cause and give them the chance to pose themselves as friends of the people, should it leave the people as a pawn in the hands of the rightist forces or should it take courage to be with the masses trying its utmost to win over the people from the ideological influence of all their fake friends, to give this movement an anti-capitalist orientation and lay the foundation of an organised struggle as against the spontaneous outburst of the unorganised people. A real revolutionary party takes the latter

stand, does not feel shy or touchy in the apprehension of its revolutionary image being lost or confused because of its association with the rightist forces, but does everything possible for channelising these movements step by step against capitalism, for pushing these movements out of the traditional orbit of protests, sporadic outburst and agitations. A real revolutionary party is always alive to the task of freeing the people from the political ideological influence of all the non-revolutionary forces including the rightist forces and can never shirk this responsibility. It, therefore, never poses these forces as "progressive" simply because of their association with it. On the contrary it conducts a relentless ideological political battle against all such forces of compromise between labour and capital with a view to exposing and ultimately exhausting these forces from being able to exert influence on the masses. This is the only way to make people politically conscious which alone can save them from any confusion.

Thus in the event of emergence of any such strong, militant and organised struggle against capitalism given correct leadership and by the effective participation of a real revolutionary force, the rightist forces will either be arrested in the movement or thrown away and isolated from the movement as also from the people, failing to cope up with such a struggle. It is no doubt a difficult task but why should a real revolutionary leadership feel afraid of performing this task? A real revolutionary, a genuine Marxist-Leninist knows that there are twists and turns, ups and downs and zig-zags in the course of revolutionary struggle. The path of revolution cannot be conceived as a straight line. Whatever

may be the complexity of the situation, it is only the genuine revolutionaries who can correctly play in between and properly handle the contradiction. It is the bold revolutionary leadership which knows the very art and technique of isolating all sorts of non-revolutionary forces from mass movements, win over the people from the influence of pseudo-revolutionary forces while unitedly moving with them against the common enemy but conducting at the same time fierce political ideological battle to that end. History of revolutionary struggles of the whole world is replete with such instances.

Judged in the anvil of the above analysis it  
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## DIR On Jute Industries

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snaatches away the workers legitimate right to strike.

The statement further adds, "At a time when the Jute workers, being left with no other alternative, decided to go on for a continuous strike on a seven point demand, their repeated appeals for justice being turned down by the Government, and when at a time the workers of the Engineering Industries too decided to launch a movement against the all out contraction of employment in these industries, the Government using its administrative power in a fascistic manner has curbed the legitimate democratic right of the worker to strike. Through this action, the Government has also set a shameless example of siding with the employers with a view to nakedly jeopardising the interest of the workers.

The statement adds further "We appeal to all to come forward and organise a mighty movement of the majority of the working-class together with the Jute and Engineering workers to frustrate this sinister anti-working class conspiracy of the Government".

## UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Leaders address UCTU Convention at Cuttack

### Sectarian game of CITU-CPI(M) mars the Conference

In accordance with the decision of the U. C. T. U. (United Council of Trade Unions), a convention of the working people was held at Cuttack on the 1st and 2nd December '74, to fight against price-rise, wage-freeze, unemployment etc.

The said convention which was jointly organised by the U T U C (Lenin Sarani), C I T U, H M S, H M P along with L I C and Bank employees Associations was attended by more than three hundred delegates from different parts of the state including representative delegates from U T U C (Lenin Sarani) affiliated unions in steel, ceramics, engineering, fertiliser, refractory etc., namely Rourkela workers Union, Rourkela Engineering Workers Union, Sukinda New Firm Workers Union, Jajpur Rd. Shramik Shangha etc.

The delegate session that was held at Barabati Stadium was followed by an open massive rally organised at Gopabandhunar as the concluding programme of the convention. Both the delegate session and the open rally were addressed by some eminent trade union leaders including, Com. N. R. Singh a central leader of the U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani), Com. Tapash Dutta, one of the Secretaries, All India UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and the President Orissa State Committee, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), Coms. Rammurthy General Secretary, CITU, Md. Ismail MP (CITU), Kamala Sinha (HMP) among others.

While the leaders of the other organisations mostly spoke of economic and political repressions, curtailment of democratic rights, imposition of barbarous Black Acts etc. in general terms, Com. N. R. Singh, in his address exposed the real character and motive of the ruling capitalist class of our country who for the realisation and protection of the aggregate interest of capitalism was actively engaged to take recourse to all these heinous means with the help of the capitalist state machine.

He drew the attention of the people to the phenomenon of all out fascism that the ruling capitalist class and their Congress Government were fastly bringing in, in order to

ruthlessly suppress the resentment of the working people, and crushing the people's democratic movement of which the ruling class was mortally afraid.

Com. Singh further elaborated the point as to how in a capitalist society, the economic system was bound to generate crisis, and that was why the existing economic system of the country was also in a crisis-ridden state—to encounter which the ruling capitalist class was left with no alternative but to establish the rock bottom foundation of fascism in the country.

He further observed that trade union movements free from political movements, activities, thoughts and ideals would give rise to economism which would basically betray the real interest of the working people.

In his conclusion, Com. Singh firmly stressed the dire need for the building up of a political united front of the left and democratic parties as the most powerful instrument of the people to fight against the capitalist class rule and the ruling party of the capitalist i.e. the Congress(R). In this connection he referred to the heroic struggle of the people in Bihar where in spite of our serious efforts, a genuine left unity could not be forged due to the anti-movement attitude of the big left parties, as a result of which the rightists

usurped the leadership.

While addressing the convention Com. Tapash Dutta emphatically stated that it was not only the present Congress(R) Government that was responsible for the present all embracing crisis of our country. In fact it was the capitalist state with its capitalist socio-economic system that was basically responsible for creating spiralling price-rise, growing acute unemployment, poverty and all other crises of our country. He further observed that those who spoke against monopoly capitalism that grew out of capitalism as a particular phase of capitalism itself, but did not call upon the people to overthrow the existing capitalist state that protected, consolidated and strengthened monopoly capitalism, in reality were helping to preserve the capitalist state vis-a-vis monopoly capitalism by diverting the attention of the people from their main enemy.

Now while reporting on the convention, we could not help but draw the attention of our readers to the same old sectarian game of the CITU—CPI(M) leaders that to a certain extent marred the spirit of the convention. They tried to prevail over the convention through their heinous unethical manipulations and undemocratic behaviors and activities.

In spite of all serious efforts made by the representatives of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and HMS, due to the opposition from the CITU leaders the resolution demanding the release of Com. B. Jena, Secretary, Orissa State Committee, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), who had been behind the bar for over 2 months, being arrested thrice within 9 months, could not be tabled in the convention on behalf of the preparatory committee dominated by the CITU. However, the persistent insistence of the delegates forced them to adopt the said resolution in the meeting.

They managed to get the delegates affiliated to their organisation i.e.

CITU allowed to speak and tried to prevent others and especially those who were affiliated to the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) to speak before the house and even when others were allowed to speak, they were allotted much lesser time to express their views and that also after a lot of protest and pressure. Even they tried to impose their partisan views in the resolutions accepted in the convention and while recording the note of dissents, at times put forward by the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) delegates they intentionally distorted them with comments.

Such an attitude on the part of the CITU-CPI(M) leaders more and more renders it awfully difficult for others who really believe in democratic norms and ethics to have a track with them and generates annoyance and disgust among the left and democratic minded people all over the country. Rather this hits right at the spirit of left unity.

It is therefore imperative to the left and democratic minded people that they should take note of this sectarian, narrow partisan unity-disrupting attitude of the CITU—and wage untiring struggle against their parochial and undemocratic behavior so that they are forced to give it up.

### Stand by the poor Village People

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effort should be taken to realise the membership subscription and donation in full.

While recording the tremendous enthusiasm that has already been created among the landless labourers, poor peasants, lower and middle peasants and share-croppers to enroll themselves as members of the KKMF the party is giving utmost importance to this programme of KKMF membership drive and accordingly the party workers and members should make an all out effort to make it a grand success.

### BIHAR

## Meeting And Demonstration Organised By DSO At Singhbhum

On 1st December '74, a mass meeting of students was held at Musabani Bus Stand under the auspices of Musabani and Atkoshi DSO units of Singhbhum District. The Meeting was presided over by Comrade Sarala Mahato, the renowned student organiser of Ghatsila and a member of the Singhbhum District Committee of AIDSO.

A resolution consisting of 14 demands e.g. reconstruction of dilapidated school buildings supply of papers, text books and kerosene at cheap rates to poor students, regular stipend to the Adivasi and non-Adivasi students, construction of the Atkoshi-Musabani Road, arrest of the profiteers and black-marketeers, was raised by Comrade Akshoy Patra, member of the District Committee. Com. Barin Ghosh member of the District Committee spoke in support. The main resolution urged upon the students to develop the massive anti-Congress movement into an anti-capitalist militant movement.

Comrade Dulal Sanyal, Secretary, District Committee, in his speech as the main speaker of the meeting called on the student community to develop the present movement of Bihar to a protracted anti-capitalist movement freeing it from the blind alley of parliamentary politics.

It is to be mentioned here that, on 26th November last a protest demonstration in front of the BDO Office was organised by the Atkoshi-Musabani DSO unit and a ten-point memorandum was submitted to the BDO.

## The So-called Policy of non-alignment is giving good dividends to the Indian Bourgeoisie

(Contd. from Page 3)

Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru seeing in his policy of non-alignment a great deal of 'progressiveness' when they should have noted as we pointed out then some eleven years back that this policy of non-alignment, in reality, was nothing but the political device where by the newly independent under-developed capitalist countries like India would try to benefit by utilising the contradictions existing between the socialist and imperialist Camps—in its pursuit of class motive and aspiration—(India's policy of non-alignment—Socialist Unity, No. 1 vol 2, Feb '63)

Even now this policy of so-called 'non-alignment' is giving good dividends to the Indian bourgeoisie when one sees that within weeks after the Indo-U. S. agreement, the Government of India had no difficulty in signing agreements with socialist countries like Hungary and East Germany for not only increasing the volume of two-way trade but for establishing joint ventures with the capitals of those countries in third countries, particularly in Iran and West Asian countries.

How correct was the analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our beloved leader and teacher and an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era when in his famous speech in 1959 on "War and Peace, Peaceful Co-existence and Peaceful Transition to Socialism" he said:

".....failure to realise the exact nature of internal contradictions within the Imperialist camp and those between the newly independent bourgeois states in Asia and Africa on the one hand and the western imperialist countries on the other hand and also infatuation on question of peace, many harmful acts and activities of the newly independent capitalist countries are being tolerated even in the present changed international situation... tantamounting to appeasement in some respects.

".....only the anti-imperialist and anti-war acts and policies of the ruling bourgeoisie of the countries that are objectively helping to maintain world peace are being eulogised and ostentatiously displayed and highly commended while no notice is being taken of (1) the fundamental difference between the consistent peaceful policy of the socialist states and the undependable policy of peace pursued by the newly independent capitalist countries, (2) the increasing tendency of fascization and appearance of fascistic characteristic in diverse forms in the state structure and administrative set up of these countries, (3) the developing trend of imperialism and expansionism which in the case of some of these countries is assuming naked form at times and above all, (4) of the fact that these newly independent capitalist countries are going to play, more and more, the main role as agents of world imperialism-capitalism in Asia and Africa in the matter of forcible suppression of the growth and development of socialist revolutionary struggles. And there is no attempt on the part of so-called communist parties whatsoever to educate the people by conducting relentless ideological struggles on these points."

But thanks to the bankruptcies of these parties, the Indian bourgeoisie in its process of development, has already stepped into the stage of finance capital and as such assumed the 'Cosmopolitan' character, itself taking share in the imperialist plunder by exporting capital which is quite distinct from simple export of commodities to external markets. It is therefore a partner, even though a junior one, of world imperialism, a part and parcel of world forces of reaction of imperialism-capitalism standing face to face against peoples liberation movements all the world over, the aim of which

is the destruction of this world-wide chain of exploitation by capital. Herein lies the significance of the epoch as every overthrow of the imperialist-capitalist order under the leadership of the working class, though national in form so far as the national boundary within which it takes place, is in reality international, as a part and parcel of world revolution, in content as it breaks the chain of world-wide exploitation of imperialism-capitalism. And Indian bourgeoisie's sense of belonging to this world Camp of imperialism is finding its expression in its more and more pronounced expansionist policies, the recent glaring example of which, is its brutal suppression of the nascent national aspiration of the Sikkimese people while annexing the territory of Sikkim to Indian Union. But along with this political akinness to world imperialism, Indian bourgeoisie is also showing more and more intense contradiction with developed imperialist powers in the economic sphere over the share of market. Although apparently contradictory, these two expressions come from the very nature of contradiction between the Indian bourgeoisie at its present stage of development as finance capital with developed imperialist powers as has been brilliantly explained by our beloved General Secretary, an eminent Marxist thinker of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, concretising the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism that, "The increasing akinness of the present Indian state to imperialism as such is no indication of its being a satellite to foreign imperialist powers, as its growing antagonism with foreign imperialists for economic reasons is no sign of its progressiveness. These two are different expressions of the same complex contradiction between a developing imperialist country and a already

developed imperialist countries". (Quoted in Proletarian Era—November Special Issue—Nov' 7, 1970)

The tragedy for these parties like CPI and CPI (M) is this that from a non-dialectical approach, they take either of these two aspects in isolation failing to integrate both of them with the basic class motive and aspiration of the Indian bourgeoisie. So, seeing the conflict of interests in the economic sphere, CPI (M) discovers progressive character of the Indian monopoly bourgeoisie in its so-called defence of 'national interest' against imperialism in this era which can not be other than the Birlas and Bhats as in the present occasion and even goes to the absurd extent of incorporation in their party programme the political stand of its 'unstinted support' to the monopoly bourgeoisie whenever such conflict arises. The CPI (M)'s party programme therefore, says: "The working class and the Communist Party does take cognisance of the contradictions and conflicts that do exist between Indian bourgeoisie, including the big bourgeoisie, and foreign imperialists.....the working class will not hesitate to lend its *unstinted support to the government on all issues of world peace and anti-colonialism which are in the genuine interest of the nation, on all economic and political issues of conflict with imperialism, and on all issues which involve questions of strengthening our Sovereignty and independent foreign Policy*" (Italics ours) [Para. 108 of CPI (M)'s party programme] It, thus, reduces all its talks of 'struggle' only in parliamentary rivalry with the ruling party.

Again, whenever the stronger U. S. finance capital makes a better bargain over the weaker Indian finance capital as in the present case of Indo-US agreement, this party jumps to the conclusion that the independence and sovereignty of the bourgeois

state of this country are at stake due to the possibility of increased CIA 'interference' in internal politics which caused toppling of Sukarno and Allende Governments in Indonesia and Chile and thus adds to the delight of Smt. Gandhi and the Indian bourgeoisie because the same type of propaganda and distorted parallels were let loose by Smt. Gandhi herself, some time back to confuse the minds and divert the attention of the patriotic common people who were seething with discontent against the crudest of capitalist exploitation compounded by the fiscal and economic policies of Indira Government. Instead of helping Indira Gandhi, her Government and the party as also the Indian bourgeoisie to refurbish their tainted political image in this inverted manner, these parties should have presented the truth that the real danger of CIA activities, the US naval base in Diego Garcia and all bourgeois intrigues, role of money etc. are posed not to the Indian monopoly bourgeoisie and its Government but to the working class movement in our country which has as its class objective the end of class rule of the bourgeoisie. Besides, the parallel of the events in Indonesia and Chile has no relevance to the Indian bourgeois Government because of the simple truth that the nature of contradiction between Indian finance capital and the US finance capital is completely different from what existed in both the cases of Indonesia and Chile where from the national bourgeois aspiration the weaker capitals of both the countries were only trying to have a better share in the national market.

But anyway these parties have taken a political stand which is sure to cause immense harms to the working class movement in the country, as was done by the very same leadership in the past. In taking this distorted stand, these parties have conveniently forgotten the immortal teaching of Com. Lenin that,

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## Increasing rate of capital formation and growing destitution of the working people are the outcome of 'Garibi Hatao' Policy of Indira Government

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Annual Survey of Industries data also show that compared to the level of 1960, "salaries and wages as p.c. of value added have declined from 55.8 p.c. to 53.3 p.c. in 1969". And the National Commission on Labour had no other way than to admit: "Wage cost as a proportion of total cost of manufacture have registered a decline."

The Indian Government, has not only not helped the working people to attain the norm worthy of human dignity but has been actually putting serious obstacles to the working peoples' struggle to attain it. The Government of India came out with Ordinance, "The Additional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposit) Ordinance, 1974" to cut the increase in money wages of the workers and employees who are in the midst of critical situation arising out of galloping rate of inflation. The Ordinance prohibits wage settlements for one year and makes a direct impost on whatever little earnings in money terms the workers can have from defective index figures. This is a brazen attack on the workers' living standard.

While discussing many questions relating to principle regarding fixation of minimum wages, the Fair Wages Committee, held that: "Rapid capital formation and the consequent growth of the total national income might be facilitated by an extremely unequal distribution of incomes, but that cannot be a justification for tolerating or perpetuating conditions which offend against the social conscience". But this is exactly what is happening in India as will be obvious if anybody cares to compare the figures of rate of savings and gross capital formation of the capitalists along with the figures of steady decline in real earnings and standard of living of the poor working people, given earlier. The Economic Times, in

its issue of November 4, 1974 gives an economic survey of 1008 large and medium sized non-financial public limited companies in the private sector. These companies with an aggregate total assets of Rs. 7281 crores account for two-thirds of the total assets of all non-financial and non-governmental public limited companies in India. The figures show that net capital formation of these companies amounted approximately to Rs. 781 crores, substantially higher than the capital formation of Rs. 455 crores during 1972-73. Gross capital formation also got a leap forward from Rs. 893 crores in 1972-73 to Rs. 1,253 crores in 1973-74. The net savings of the private industrial sector rose from Rs. 159 crores in 1972-73 to Rs. 246 crores in 1973-74. The net savings thus achieved, far surpasses the peak of Rs. 237 crores recorded in 1970-71. The industries like shipping (32.2 p.c.), paints & varnishes (19.6 p.c.), sugar and woolen textiles (15.7 p.c.), industrial machinery (14.8 p.c.), cotton textiles (11.2), engineering (11.1 p.c.) scored high rate of capital formation. This is a standing contrast between the growing destitution of the working people and the increasing rate of capital formation of the capitalists. But then, this is what is happening in India, thanks to the Government's positive role in defending the "aggregate interests" of the capitalists. In view of the above picture of formation and growth of capital in India, can anybody reasonably deny the immediate need of progressive revision or re-fixation of National Minimum Wages on the basis of fulfilment of satisfaction of the needs of the workers and their families?

### The Freedom of collective bargaining :

The Freedom of collective bargaining as enumerated in ILO Convention 131, Clause 2 of Art. II,

in practice has been reduced to farce, when one notices that the Government of India and the State Governments deny

(a) rights of trade unions to represent and negotiate wages and all other conditions of work :

(b) rights of trade unions to exercise their activities in the undertakings and other work places ;

(c) right to strike ;

(d) right to choose the workers' own representatives,

and blatantly disregard and violate Courts, Tribunal Awards and Statutes. The Government and the employers (i) arbitrarily and unilaterally decide collective bargaining agent, (ii) patronise stooge unions and black-leggars to the extent of even publicly paying money and rewards from the State Exchequers to them in breaking strike (vividly witnessed during the last historic May 1974 Indian Railwaymen's strike), (iii) indulging gangster methods and keeping muscle-men on roll to forcibly break trade unions or occupy trade unions, (iv) victimization for participation in lawful trade union activities and above all, by permanently banning strikes both in public and private sectors by exercising undemocratic black Acts like Defence of India Rules, Maintenance of Internal Security Act, Essential Services Maintenance Act etc., and also more and more use of police, para-military and military forces against strikes and other forms of workers' agitation as well as arresting and detaining trade union workers

### Implementation Machinery :

As regards the implementation machinery it can be said that although the express desire of the ILO has been that "it must have force of law" and that it shall not be subject to abatement and that any default should attract the application of penal and other sanctions.

For India practically there is no implementation machinery as has been desired by the ILO.

We would suggest that both in minimum wage fixing machinery and implementation machinery, provision shall be made for direct participation in their operations of representatives of workers on a basis of parity between trade unions. Secondly, to start with, District machineries for rural sector and Zonal machineries for cities, have to be set up with powers to the Government Inspectors to enforce the minimum wages in the defaulting establishments and imprisonment of defaulting employers extending up to one year by modifying law. The defaulting establishments are to be black-listed and shall forfeit all government helps by way of subvention, credit facility, import quota etc. In respect of recovery of amounts, the obligation of the government to recover from the defaulting employer and to pay to the workers concerned should be ensured.

### Other difficulties :

We mention certain other difficulties connected with the question of minimum wages that the trade union movement faces in this country. They relate to want of adequate data and information, a defective machinery for compilation of Consumer Index Numbers so much so that the workers in West Bengal sustained a loss of about Rs. 90.00 crores. The defects in linking factor, under-pricing of articles, refusal to take into account open market price in cases of controlled articles, wrong imputation of weights etc. partially rectified by the Expert Committee on Consumer Price Index in West Bengal will increase the benefit by Rs. 54/- at one stroke in Jute industries alone. The State Government has not yet given effect to this partial rectification of the defects. [The West Bengal Govern-

ment has since put a ban on the strike of the Jute workers who have demanded among other things the implementation of the Expert Committee's recommendation regarding rectification of index fraud —Ed. Board P. Era]. But the defects as regards collection of price figures etc. still persist.

We would, therefore, like that firstly compilation of index numbers be done on the scientific principles laid down by the international organisation. Secondly, the periodical revision of the minimum wages at the interval of two years at least, should be ensured by appropriate machinery and thirdly automatic revision in the rate of minimum wages be introduced by appropriate machinery.

Comrade Chanda in course of discussions showed the discrimination as regards wages for same work still persists in our country between male and female worker, contrary to the declared objective of the ILO. And what is worse, it is being practised mostly in public sector undertakings as regards casual and contract labours. This charge could not be denied by the representatives of both the government and public sector bodies present at the Seminar. Secondly, Comrade Chanda charged the Asst. Labour Commissioner of Orissa Government as to why there were repeated strikes in Rourkela Industrial complex on the demands of implementation of Standing orders and payment of Legal dues by the employers there? Why instead of bringing to book the offending employers the Orissa Government was putting leaders of the workers, like Comrade B. Jena, the State Secretary of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) again and again behind the bar under MISA? How many defaulting employers have so far been arrested by the Government? The Asst. Labour Commissioner had to admit that the

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strikes of the Rourkela workers were justified and the employers were at fault but he pleaded the governments inability to bring any redress in this regard! On the questions of arrest of workers' leaders, demand of legal dues and the employers denying the legal obligation, the Orissa Government's representative kept mum. Thirdly, Comrade Chanda demanded that the minimum wages to be fixed in the perspective of galloping inflation should include as elements, DA and minimum social security measures. Fourthly, on such basis, the national standard minimum wages, should not be less than Rs 9.00 per day and the zonal rates if fixed should not be less than this minimum. Fifthly, as regards compilation of data, Com. Chanda showed their fraudulent nature by citing the concrete instance: while the Government of India had to admit at the time of nationalisation of collieries that in 75% of them, the Wage Board Awards had not been implemented and this fact was said to be one of the reasons for the governments decision to take them over, the government's own statistics as regards wages now include the figures recommended by the Wage Boards. This is a glaring example as to how government figures are inflated. The managements' representatives and Director of the Simla Bureau (the Bureau that compiles such index) had no reply to this. Besides, Com. Chanda demanded of the Bureau to give comparative data on capital formation, savings of the industries and business together with money incomes of workers and employees as also the rate of price increase so that a real picture can be obtained as to the distribution of income in the national income.

Comrade Chanda also touched upon the point of coverage showing that a very negligible percentage of industries and trade had

been formally brought under the Minimum Wages Act, not to speak of establishments in unorganised sector and the vast number of agricultural labourers in our country. As a result such low rates as between Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 3 still prevails as the wage rate for the agricultural workers in vast areas of Bihar, Orissa, part of West Bengal and other states.

Comrade Chanda very nicely pricked the bubble of 'Socialism' of Indira Gandhi Government which the representatives of the bourgeois Government try to present in the international conferences of the ILO every year in order to hide the ugly face of robbery that is being perpetrated on the Indian working class by a direct combination of the monopolists and traders along with the Government of their own class.

### INDO-US COMMISSION

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"...finance capital in its desire for expansion will 'freely' buy and bribe the freest and most democratic republican government and elected officials of any country, even though it may be 'independent'.... The domination of finance capital, as of capital in general, can not be abolished by any kind of reforms in the realm of political democracy...." (Lenin—Critical Remarks on the National Question—pp 173).

That is why it is the teaching of Lenin that the only course left to the proletariat to free their labour power and national resources from the tentacles of finance capital is to overthrow the class rule of the capitalists and replace it through proletarian revolution by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as this exploitation of finance capital or of capital in general "Can not be abolished by any kind of reform."

That is why the warnings of Comrade Stalin that in the present time it is only the working class that alone can hold aloft

## CPI(M)'s ambivalent attitude towards mass movements reflects an utterly weak, confused and opportunist character of the leadership

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becomes clear that the Central Committee statement of the CPI(M) reflects a peculiar ambivalent attitude towards mass movement growing out of the weak-kneed and confused character of the leadership. What answer will the CPI(M) leadership provide to the following questions:

How is it that the CPI(M) has reportedly decided to join in any Committee along with Jana Sangh, Congress(O) etc. for bringing about **electoral reforms** but rejected the idea of joining in Jana Sangharsh Samity in Bihar or the All India Co-ordination Committee on the plea of inclusion and active participation of the rightist forces in spite of the fact that the object of this Committee is to organise **mass movements** against the misrule of the Indira Gandhi Government? How is it that the CPI(M) leadership did not feel hesitant to maintain constant touch with JP—before, during and after the Delhi Conference rather it feels highly interested in keeping constant contact with JP even in future, for reasons best known to it, but is extremely indifferent to participate in the mass movements initiated by

the banner of true national interest, freedom and sovereignty.

That is why the call of S. U. C. I. under the noble leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to uphold the proletarian base political line in Indian soil, the political line of Socialist revolution which alone can bring about an end of exploitation of capital and guarantee true national freedom and sovereignty to the people by smashing the state machine of the Indian bourgeoisie.

JP?

The theory of organising independent mass movements and synchronising them with the mainstream of the struggle is nothing but a patchwork and eye-wash designed to cover up its serious reluctance to jump in any serious mass struggle so that the cadres of the party are not exposed to the administrative repression before the next election on the one hand, punctuated by an equally extreme desire to bag as much electoral gain as possible in the next election getting the blessings of JP on the other. In our issue dated 15th November '74 we, therefore, observed—"As an opportunist social democratic party, they (i.e. CPI(M)-writer) also understand that in view of the movement gaining people's massive support and their actual involvement against the government, the anti-ruling party sentiment of the people will surely find expression in the coming election. And JP holding a pivotal position in the movement will be an important 'factor' in the coming election no doubt. So, even not involving in a actual struggle of the people, if any chance in winning a few seats in the coming election is to be ensured that can only be done by winning the favour, the blessings of J.P." This position of CPI(M) has not altered in any way even after its last Central Committee meeting. In fact, the CPI(M) is trying to maintain just the appearance, the show of its so-called concern for the people's struggle in Bihar. Its relatively more concern for election than for mass movements can today hardly escape anybody's attention. Who does not know that the CPI(M) did not find any difficulty to

ally itself with any rightist party wherever the question of election was concerned? Its alliance with the rightist parties like Pragati Party in Orissa, Muslim League and Kerala Congress in Kerala, Akali Dal in Punjab and similar rightist forces in TamilNadu and Goa are some such instances. Then how is it that they feel so much touchy about the inclusion and active participation of the rightist forces whenever the question of building up strong mass movement on all-India scale against Indira Government has come up? It is all the more confusing when people find that on all such occasions of association with these rightist parties during elections—the CPI(M) always projects these parties as 'democratic' and 'progressive' in their bid to justify such alliance but does not take more than a moment's time to brand the very same parties as extreme reactionary whenever these parties dissociate themselves from the CPI(M). If anything has confused the people which the ruling Congress can take advantage of—then it is nothing but this utterly contradictory and extremely opportunistic policy of CPI(M).

We appeal to the comrades of CPI(M) to pause and ponder over these questions, to shake off all reservations and to set up pressure on the leadership to help in the building up of a political united front of all left and democratic parties on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme—which is the need of the hour.

We fervently appeal to the people to take courage and initiative and to boldly come forward for building massive and gigantic movements against the autocratic regime of the Indira Gandhi Government and channelising them for the overthrow of the capitalist state by establishing the real revolutionary leadership at the helm of the movement.