

# Recent Patna Flood—Causes And Background

( By a Staff Reporter )

Flood at Patna, Danapore and Arrah came not without notice; river Sone had given sufficient indication of its intentions. Bihar Cabinet and other important Government authorities were aware of the situation. But still it is a fact that flood could not be averted which took a heavy toll and caused an unprecedented damage of all sorts. When everybody should stand by the side of the flood-stricken people—as the Central Committee of our Party, the SUCI, has appealed to the members and supporters as well as to the public at large—it is necessary at the same time to go into the details of incidents that may be helpful in drawing some objective conclusions.

On August 22 night, engineers of Indrapuri Barrage on river Sone near Dehri-on-Sone received wireless message from M. P. flood control department that Sone river was gushing towards Bihar and barrage there might be threatened. The Bihar Government also received similar message on the same night. Although official reporter said that the barrage embankment had been breached and attempt to protect it failed but the unofficial report suggested that the barrage recorded a discharge of 18 lac cusecs of water, which was 3-4 lac cusecs more than what was designed to discharge. At least 24 hours before the water submerged the vast area from Arrah to Danapore and Ganga rose to a level more above danger mark. The Chief Secretary, Behar was informed on 23rd August morning about the situation when threat to Patna was imminent and Danapore and Arrah already flooded.

It is well known that the behaviour of Sone is sometimes very curious and it has menaced the adjoining areas on a number of occasions in the past. But this time, all the previous record has been surpassed.

Although this year water level of Sone and Ganga rose high and crossed danger level several

times, ( but every time it ultimately receded ) the fact is that the canal of Sone could not irrigate the fields in the areas of Ganga and Aurangabad because of shortage of water resulting in near drought condition.

Now, if we come to facts we will find the following:—

The river Sone carried much water from Madhya Pradesh on 22nd August threatening Indrapuri barrage near Dehri-on-Sone.

The entire pressure of water was released all on a sudden from the barrage which was not less than 18 lac cusecs, being 3-4 lac cusecs more than normal on 22nd night and 23rd morning.

During this release of water all the 12 sluice gates were kept open. So release of water was not envisaged in a phased manner.

On 23rd the western embankment of the canal was breached at two to three points and several areas of Danapore including Danapore cantonment were flooded and Patna was threatened.

It was only on 24th evening that the Government put house guards, police and some labour with sand bags ready only

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## SUCI'S FLOOD RELIEF PROGRAMME CANCELLED

Calcutta, September 13: Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI in the course of a statement to the press has said:

"The State Committee of our Party at the instance of our Central Committee's appeal adopted a programme of collecting Relief Material from the members of the public at Calcutta on 14th & 21st September, 1975 in aid of the worst & seriously flood-affected people of Patna, Cuttack and its surrounding areas and also made a public appeal yesterday to this end.

"We express our regret to the people as we have to cancel the scheduled programme in want of necessary permission."

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## IN MEMORIAM

[We lost Com. Subodh Banerjee a member of the Politbureau, Central Committee and a front-ranking leader of our Party on 16th September last. It is worth-while to recall, at this present critical situation of the country and difficult condition of people's life, the most educative evaluation of his life and character made by our beloved leader, teacher and the General Secretary, Com. Shibdas Ghosh in the memorial meeting held on 23rd September '74 at Saheed Minar Maidan, Calcutta. We quote below some excerpts from that speech which are of paramount importance and immense value for our country's present juncture and for that matter the people's struggle.]

".....As because I have known Subodhbabu most intimately and very thoroughly I know him, I can tell you that.... in spite of all favourable conditions existing in the surrounding for one to fall victim to populism—I am speaking not only of his achieving a high standard of political consciousness, attaining a remarkable power of oration and brilliant organising ability but of his successfully reaching such a height of cultural-ethical standard and revolutionary character where he could always unconditionally and without any reservation surrender his self-interest, his everything personal to the revolution, to the ideology through an untiring struggle following the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the thoughts, ideals and the revolutionary basic teachings of our party. Even many eminent leaders appearing in the revolutionary movement fail to attain this standard.

"...Those qualities of Subodhbabu which you

praise—at a time of crisis as at present, when such degeneration has set in on all sides and at every field of social life, such a degeneration from whose poisonous influence the left movements, the mass movements, even the revolutionary movements



are not free—when lack of ideals and immoral conducts in the political movements, revolutionary movements that we experience every moment and which are hurting us so much—at such a time what should be kept in mind is that the qualities, the dedication of Subodhbabu what every-

body admits—the qualities he could maintain in tact despite reaching such a height of popularity, the unconditional submission of his everything personal to mass movements, to revolution and party—which cannot be found now-a-days even in renowned leaders....Even in the midst of such an all out decadence, wherefrom this has come into being—the politics, the ideals, the ideology, the organisational process, the essence of party's teachings centring which this has developed—you shall have to take note of that, you shall have to know that, you shall have to realise that...

"...The qualities of Com. Banerjee are...the products of definite, concrete, ceaseless struggles—struggle both inside and outside the party. But not a slogan-oriented, idealless, unethical struggle—not a commonplace struggle mouthing certain demands of the people. But on the contrary—it is the product of a firm, definite, ceaseless process of struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, party's thoughts and teachings and revolutionary political line—it is the product of a struggle based on principle, ideology, ethics, morality and culture.

"...Truth lies in the fact that a struggle conducted in a correct process, with definite ideology, ethics, programme and a philosophy—such a struggle alone

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# Rise of Fascism in Italy and Germany (3)

## III. Fascist Rule in Italy & Germany :

Declaring the object and goal of the Fascist movement, Oswald Mosley, the leader of the Fascist movement in Britain said :

"Our policy is the establishment of the Corporate State. As the name implies, this means a state organised like the human body. Every member of that body acts in the harmony with the purpose of the whole under the guidance and driving brain of the Fascist government...Class war will give place to national cooperation. All who pursue a sectional and anti-national policy will be opposed by the might of the organised state. Profit can be made provided that the activity enriches the nation as well as the individual...." (Mosely—"Fascism in Britain").

On Mosley's mission, Osborn very aptly comments :

"The main emphasis in the above is upon the priority of 'national interests'. It is, however, an old trick of the capitalists to present their own interests as the interests of the nation as a whole. Thus when their private investments, their foreign possessions are in danger, they proclaim that the 'national interests' are menaced. In the Great War, for example, the national honour was said to be at stake. When what was really at stake was the supremacy of British capitalism in the markets of the world...The general strike of 1926 was likewise described as a threat against the 'nation'; the miners, it was declared were holding a pistol at the 'nation's' head. This, notwithstanding the fact that the workers form by far the greater part of the nation.

### 'Nation's interest and the interest of the capitalist class for that class identical

In short, the 'national interest' and the interests of the capitalist class are, for that class identical." (Osborn-pp. 60-61)

While explaining the object of the economic

policy of the Corporate state that was established under his leadership, Mussolini was assuring the Italian capitalists in no uncertain terms :

"The Corporate economy respects the principle of private property. Private property completes the human personality. It is a right. But it is also a duty. We think that property ought to be regarded as a social function. We wish therefore to encourage not passive property, but active property which does not confine itself to enjoying wealth, but develops it and increases it. The cooperative economy respects private initiative. The Charter of Labour expressly states that only when private initiative is unintelligent, non-existent, or insufficient may the state intervene...We shall proceed with great caution and not try to rush things. We are sure of ourselves because our revolution has a whole century before it." (Quoted in Salvemini's book "Under the Axe of Fascism").

And what was the experience of the whole century that Mussolini was reminding the Italian capitalists? It was in the words of the German Fascist economist, Reithinger: "The century of expansion is past—at least for the European industrial countries...one cannot expect to push the organisation and rationalisation of the individual economic unit to its maximum without being drawn into a corresponding rationalisation and organisation of the entire economy."

"The issue raised thereby", Reithinger proceeds to explain, "are not those of collective versus individualistic society, of state or private enterprise. The either or is false because it is a mistake to believe that a planned organisation of the national economy

makes private initiative superfluous." Rather, is it true that the degree of freedom or control must be adjusted to the role each economic form plays in the total economic structure. The state must "oversee" all that which lies beyond the competence of the individual enterprise. It may do this directly or through a 'suitable representative of the individual economic or professional estates."

So, there are two basic purposes of all the Fascist economic programme. First, they are designed to eliminate the self-destructive tendencies inherent in business practices and changes in business or organisations. Second, are all those programmes designed to eliminate the least challenge to the social political and cultural foundations of the capitalist system itself."

—(Quoted in Brady's "The spirit And Structure of German Fascism").

Let us see how these twin objectives were followed in practice by the Fascist rulers.

"Strikers are promptly gaoled. The labour problem in Italy no longer exists"—said Mr. A. P. Dennis, formerly American Commercial Attachi at Rome in 1929. "Italy", wrote the 'Saturday Evening Post' "became a commonwealth of industrial peace. Between 1926 and the closing months of last year (1930) there was not a single ripple on the labour surface."

Boasting on this so-called 'social peace', Mussolini was lending his wisdom to the American capitalists :

"Why are there strikes in America? They are not necessary here in Italy. We have done away with strikes and lock-outs; we do not waste our time in brawls. I believe the New Deal basically sound. If it does not function it is because the methods of application are at fault. America must work towards closer cooperation between capital and

labour." (Quoted in Salvemini's book).

How Mussolini brought about this cooperation between capital and labour hangs a tale.

"On October 12, 1925, the Confederation of Industrial Employers concluded with Rossoni an agreement known as the Viadini Palace Pact, so called from the place where the Fascist Party had its headquarters and where the pact was signed. By the terms of this pact the industrial confederation recognised the Fascist unions as being the only representatives of their workers and promised to make no agreements with their workers except through the Fascist unions: the latter authorised the industrialists thenceforth to ignore the factory committees elected by the workers. On October 6, 1926, the Grand Council of Fascism approved the Viadini Palace Pact and decided that it should be consummated by the abolition of the right to strike" (Salvemini).

Salvemini, therefore, remarks about the sham nature of 'cooperation' between capital and labour claimed to have been brought about by Mussolini, thus: "Strikes are forbidden by law and punished by a rising scale of penalties according to whether they are economic or sympathetic and whether they take place in privately owned or public enterprises, the maximum penalty being seven years imprisonment for a strike aimed at bringing pressure to bear upon the public authorities. Lock-outs are forbidden as well as strikes. This is supposed to be the proof that equality reigns between capital and labour. But since the workers cannot strike, the employers have no need of recourse to the lock-out. If an employer declares that he can no longer maintain the existing volume of employment in his concern, the stoppage of work is then not a lock-out but a closing down induced by a justified motive." To this

Salvemini adds a foot note quoted from Lavoro d'Italia, Sept. 3, 1929: "It is well known that the employers can reduce the number of employees or of working hours without closing the factories and producing a lock-out."

And that is so, no wonder that Dr. Paul Einzig, the bourgeois economist and a warm admirer of Italian Fascism expressed his jubilation that, "in no country was it so easy as in Italy to obtain a consent of employees to a reduction of wages."

(Economic Foundation of Fascism).

"Italian 'social peace' therefore, in the word of Salvemini, is 'the passivity with which manual workers and clerks endure wage cuts, unemployment and want.' And this passivity is brought about by the compulsory arbitration which replaces strikes, legally enforced on the workers by the state. The arbitration means meeting of the representatives of the employers who are chosen by them and the representatives of the workers who are the appointed officials of the Fascist Union. And Mussolini, boastfully claimed: "The Fascist Unions form a great mass completely under the control of Fascism and the government; an mass that obeys." (Quoted in Osborn's Book).

And how this 'social peace' was brought about by the Fascists would be obvious from the following facts :

In the Corriere della Sera of March 26, 1932, Signor Biagi, a high official in the Confederation of Fascist Unions stated: ".....between June 1927 and December 1928, wages had fallen by about 20p.c.; a further drop of approximately 10 p.c. had taken place in 1929 and in November 1930 there had been a general downward movement in some cases 18 p.c. but in particular instances as much as 25 p.c.; many (Contd. to Page 3)

## Both The Advanced And The Backward Capitalist Countries Are Laying The Economic Base Of Fascism

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other adjustments had been made in 1931." Salvemini's calculation is that between 1926 to 1934, the industrial workers lost at least 40 to 50p.c. of their wages.

Mussolini was getting the satisfaction: "Fortunately, the Italian people is not yet accustomed to eat several times a day: It's standard of living is so low that it feels scarcity and suffering less."

(Quoted in Salvemini's book).

Regarding Fascist State of Italy, Salvemini, therefore, comments: "those who believe that Mussolini is leading Italy towards the left, cite the fact that the Fascist Corporative State has done away with the doctrine and practices of laissez-faire....."

And, "the world now-a-days teems with people who have fits of enthusiasm whenever they hear of state intervention, planned economy, five year plans and the end of the laissez-faire. They do not care to ask who are the social groups in whose interests the state, i.e. the bureaucracy and the party in power, is to intervene, and plan. It is for them a matter of indifference whether the laissez-faire of big business is limited in order to protect the little fellow and the worker or whether the laissez-faire of the little fellow and the worker is sacrificed to the interests of big business...

The policy of the Italian dictatorship during these years of world crisis has been no different in its aim, methods and results from the policy of all the governments of the capitalist countries. The Charter of labour says that private enterprise is "responsible to the State. In actual fact it is the State, i.e. the tax payer, who has become responsible to private enterprise. In Fascist Italy, the state pays for the blunders of private enterprise. As long as business was good, profit remained to private

initiative. When the depression came, the government added the loss to the tax-payers burden. Profit is private and individual. Loss is public and social." .....In order to avert the bankruptcy of the big concerns that were on the verge of ruin, the government created certain public institutions to take over the shares of the rescued companies and to supervise the companies in question until they were again in a healthy condition.

What about the unemployment problem and land reforms? They will be obvious from the following account given by Salvemini and fully justifies what Gentile, the Fascist Philosopher of Italy once said: "It (Fascism) has often announced reforms when the announcement was politically opportune but to the execution of which it, never the less, did not believe itself to be obliged." (Quoted in Osborne's book).

"...Unemployment was intense in the first months of 1922 due to the depression which Italy, like all other countries was then passing through. But during the rest of 1922 till 1925...France needed to import Italian labour to feel the gaps created by the world war to rebuild the devastated areas and to replace German labours in Alsace-Lorraine...Thus in those three years the immigration removed 6 lakhs of workers from the Italian market. Finally Mussolini embarked on a grandiose programme of public works designed to impress Italians and foreigners with the idea that something great was going on. Public works have always been the preferred field of action of dictatorship, and Italy is no exception to this rule."

"Now that the government was giving employment to the entire Italian people on public works or land reclamation the peasants no longer had any need to leave the country for the

city in search of work. A royal decree of December, 24, 1928 instructed the police to expel from the cities and send back to their native parishes all who had no visible means of support.

The Corriere Della Sera July, 11, 1933 published the news that "on coming back to their native villages those poor people did not find a farmer father to relieve their hunger. There were among them it is true, persons who had left the country for the city in quest of adventure but most of them had gone to the cities because the country could not give them a living. In many cases they had left their native villages twenty or thirty years before." Without discrimination, all were sent back to starve without hope, far from the cities. These measures were described by Mussolini as the "reduction of urban overcrowding" or "back to land".

Summing up the Fascist rule in Italy, Salvemini comments:

"The Capitalist proper—big businessmen, big land-owners and the upper professional classes—would not be able to survive in Italy if the masses of the middle, lower middle and working classes were not kept in obedience by no less than three bureaucracies; the officers of the regular army, the civil service and the officials of the Fascist Party.

"The state will rescue the businessmen at the expense of the tax-payers, but the former must submit to the supervision of the state, that is, of the high civil servant who is its living embodiment.

In this attempt, the high civil servant finds himself as a rule in agreement with the Fascist leaders. The latter, almost without exception, come from the intellectual lower middle classes and live on salaries which will never equal the gains of those who in Italy are

called 'Sharks'. They no longer depend, as they did from 1921-26 on the money of private capitalist.

In Italy, to-day everyone who wish to live an untroubled life must become a member of the party and pay a yearly contribution in proportion to his means. The officials of the party have therefore their own revenues. Even the Fascist militia is no longer maintained like the Fascist bands of the early times, by the subsidies of the bankers, big land-owners and big businessmen. It is supported by the taxpayers...the Fascist unions have put into the hands of the Fascist leaders a formidable instrument which has hitherto been used to bring pressure to bear upon the employers, but which could also be used against the employers if they dared to come in conflict with the Fascist Chieftains. If the capitalists stopped playing the policy of the party, the party could easily steer to the left. Thus although the employers are protected, they are intimidated at the same time".

The people of Italy, therefore, tested during the Fascist rule, the true essence of the Hegelian ethical state defined by Gentile the Fascist philosopher. According to which definition, "the only freedom that can be taken seriously is that of the state and of the individual within the state."

When we turn to Germany, we find the same picture. The purpose of the corporate organisation has been defined by Dr. Ley, chief of the German Labour Front in the same manner, as follows:

"Our corporate organisation will as its first work restore absolutely, leadership to the natural leader of the factory that is the employer and will at the same time place full responsibility on him...only the employer can decide" (Fundamental ideas on Corporate Organisation—Osborne quoted in his book), and Hitler said: "There,

does not exist a capitalist system. The employers have worked their way up to the top by their industry and efficiency. And by virtue of this selection which shows that they belong to a higher type they have the right to lead. Every leader of the industry will forbid any interference by a factory council". (Quoted in R. P. D's book).

So the leader in industry is the employer and is responsible for making decision "In all matters affecting the establishment" which he owns and operates as "an administrator of public property and should use their capital" in such a way as "to make it yield profits corresponding to the necessities of national business".

Brady comments: "In order to make profits without interference, from labour it was necessary to coordinate spirit to the Nazi World Outlook—this required a double-edged programme. First, destroy the trade unions, eliminate class war and neutralise all opposition to the employers—destroy in short, 'Marxism' and 'Communism'. Second, to see that the gaze of the masses was diverted from the material to the ideal values of the nation (Weltan—Schanung Writer). And about the Second, Brady makes an important remark which is worth mentioning. It is "to take advantage of one of the most interesting scientific discoveries of the modern age—that non-commercial incentives promote labour efficiently than do commercial."

So, "In order to see that all officials, major and minor, of the Labour Front should be permanent, fanatical idealistic preachers of National Socialism, the Labour Front was placed under the direct supervision of the National Socialist Party and its organisation, patterned very closely after that of its spiritual parent. The identification between the two is practically complete.

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# Social Democracy Is The Last Prop Of Capitalism In The Present Era Of Decay Of Imperialism And Proletarian Revolution

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As Ley, Leader of the Labour Front, stated in an address to the foreign newspaper reporters..... 'the management of the Labour Front is in the hands of the National Socialist German Labour Party as regards its structure and its regional divisions' and 'as regards organisation and personnel, but especially as regards policy.'

Ley, himself is simultaneously organisation Leader of the Nazi Party and National Leader of the Labour Front. The thirty-three regional offices as well as the district, local and cell offices of the two organisations are in the same places, and in each the Leader of the Party Office is ex officio leader in the Labour Front Office."

As to the economic policy, "the sanctions on which capitalistic business enterprise rests have not been disturbed in any significant sense... 'rights' of property, free contract, pursuit of profit and the exercise of individual business initiative have not been at any place seriously abridged. The official literature, in fact, approves of these 'elemental rights', as the foundation-stones for the new economic system of the Third Reich. The simple rule laid down that no businessman shall behave dishonourably with respect to business and marketing policies means nothing more than that, 'fair competition' shall be the rule, not the exception. ... No businessman in Germany, nor any important governmental official is to be found who doubts that 'good business' is identical with service to the 'common good' and that 'good business' means profitable business..... Not only have the fundamentals of capitalistic economy not been disturbed, but, in the second place, none of its organisational forms been seriously altered. The combines have not been broken up, the trade

associations have not been dissolved, and that cartels function as before. All of the big combines of industry and trade continue to function as usual. Siemens and Halske and the German General Electric have remained intact and undiminished in size or influence. The gigantic united works was reorganised, its capital written down and certain properties separately segregated..... In fact, with few exceptions the combines have not only not diminished in number and importance, but have either held their own or considerably expanded their influence..... True, the Government has been expanding its activities in some directions, but mainly where there is no talk of competition with private enterprise, and with an eye to providing businessmen with effective guarantees against losses."

(Brady—Same book)

About unemployment and land problems, we would give an account as to how Hitler tried to solve them. They are particularly of interest in view of the facts that almost same kind of 'solution' is to be noticed in the promises and programme of the bourgeois politicians in other countries, especially after the Second World War.

Hitler boasted about agrarian programme thus :

"...if this regime can carry through the objectives which I have laid before you then the peasantry will become the supporting foundation for a new kingdom of Blood and Soil." Specifically, the programme means : (1) to counteract rural proletarianisation and the threat of agricultural revolt ; (2) to provide a loyal peasant counterweight to the radical urban proletariat and (3) to promote the military defences of the country.

".....this means giving every labourer some land, however small and attaching him through his

new globe, simultaneously to his 'nature chosen' occupation....and to his 'locale' and thereby preventing 'certain number of surplus peasants' from drifting to the towns.....'The centre of the rural settlement programme is in the east... where bulk of the land..... remained in the hands of large estate owners collectively known as the Junkers...

"...Since agricultural revolt is associated with proletarianisation the focal points of unrest, associated with gangs of labour on the large estates, are to be liquidated as far as possible. The limit to such liquidation is assumed to be that point where there is a proper relation between land supply for the necessary nobility and labour supply can be drawn from the lower ranks of middle class farmers, peasants and rural trades people.

"All the estates in words, are not to be broken up. In practice this means only those which are bankrupt and whose owners are willing to sell in order to be cleared of indebtedness and thus enabled to retire with substantial annuities to one of the large cities of local towns. The estates broken up are to be so divided as to create small villages and cross roads community centres."

How important is the warning of our beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh about this social democratic trickery. Let us remember his important teaching :

"Now if we find that those political parties who are known as Marxist-Leninist are also suggesting the same type of land reform policy of distribution of land to the tillers as the only solution of agricultural problem which in fact means to confine and arrest the multitude of rural population with a very small holding of land in a half-fed and half-clad condition when we must

understand that these political parties are not essentially different from the bourgeois parties..... This is a method of confining the entire village population with 1,2, or 3 bighas of land in a half-clad and half-fed condition just like the uncivilised men of the primitive age. This I understand may be a task of the agents of capitalism getting no way out in face of the constant threat of unemployment problem but how can it be the programme of those who claim themselves as Marxist-Leninist?"

(Proletarian Era-Vol 7 No. 19 : 15.9.74)

Along with this programme of 'small peasant land economy' in Hitler's Germany was tied the programme of 'Land Service and Land Help which were nothing but devices to keep the youth of employable age engaged under the Nazis slogans of 'Coordination of Labour' and 'coordination of youth'. The principal objective of these programme was "to provide free labour for rural reclamation projects and for supplying direct servant help to peasants and peasants' wives (the latter two come under 'Land Help' by young men and women's free service—Writer)...sent out by Nazi party having finished boarding school and university education."

In support of this so-called agrarian programme the Nazi propaganda were the following. "It was contended that *small-size form was technically superior* to the large estates, that the peasantry were inherently more national-minded and hence more reliable in the event of war than the other classes, that a peasant system was economically more stable in time of crisis, that a *growing peasantry would enlarge the internal market for machinery and other manufactured goods*, that *intensive cultivation of the soil would make Germany more nearly self-sufficient in her food and agricul-*

*tural raw materials supplies*, that the country must depend for population increase on high rural birth rates and so forth." —(Brady—emphasis added).

Summarising the three principal socio-economic problems which can be invariably found in all the relatively under-developed bourgeois countries, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, offers us the most valuable guidance :

".....the main three questions, the question of solution of unemployment problem, the question of modernisation of agriculture and also the questions of uninterrupted industrial development—all these questions are closely related with the question of overthrow of the capitalist economic system and the capitalist state structure as a whole. So...the revolution is a revolution for overthrowing capitalism, for removing the bourgeois from state power.....evading this fundamental question and avoiding this main task under what so-ever pretext under what so-ever varieties of the theories—mean in effect protecting the capitalist system and help the fascist tricks to win in hoodwinking the masses."

Brady's comments on these so-called Nazi arguments will be nothing new to those who are acquainted with the brilliant analyses on land questions of our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Still, we quote them as they may have some bearing on the particular historic experiment.

Brady says : "...Agricultural self-sufficiency is out of the question. What can be gained along this line is of relative unimportance for other than short-term reasons and then it comes more from 'pulling in the belt'—by resuffling population' and getting

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## In Memorium

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creates such a personality...

"...I say that struggle will again appear, today or tomorrow. But if politics is wrong, if ideology is wrong, if in struggles ethics, morality are absent, people will fight, people will burst out in anger but movement will proceed not far. A movement becomes decisive, becomes invincible and reaches its logical culmination—even if insignificant at the outset but gaining in strength it becomes victorious at the end—only when it is based on correct ideal, correct politics and when it is tuned to a definite and a very high ethical-cultural standard.

"...Not in pulpit speeches, not in simple preaching, but the real necessity of an ideal lies in awakening and changing the people by bringing them with its golden touch in the midst of struggle and shaking the very foundation of the decadent ethics and culture, inherited from the old society and creating a new man in body, mind and culture. The question of ethics, culture and ideology is so important as it makes men worthy of the revolutionary struggle to bring about a change of the society.

"... The revolution shall surely have to wait till the proletariat can transform themselves to make them fit for accomplishing the task of revolution. If the workers cannot change themselves, cannot build themselves worthy of the revolution then by slogans alone, by laying their lives even, they will not be able to bring about revolution. SUCI is a firm believer of this essence of revolutionary teachings. And as because we believe in this essence of revolutionary teachings, so in SUCI, not only Subodhbabu but, if you enquire you will find that none can become a first-ranking leader in our party who cannot surrender his everything personal—happily and unconditionally—even his affection, his love, his sex, his family to the party for

the interest of the revolution.

"...To preach and talk of revolution outside without having any bearing on inner life cannot suffice. Succeed or not—we are to constantly conduct struggle to inspire the members of our family with our revolutionary thoughts and ideals. Revolution outside and not inside the family, no! Subodhbabu was a vehement and glaring protest against it. Subodhbabu with all his life has brought this valuable lessons that despite immense sacrifice, it was due to this falsehood and pretension that the door of our liberation could not be opened up. Leaders appeared in the past and will appear time and again but as the leadership, the struggle and our activities could not be freed from the ominous influence of pretension and falsehood despite tremendous sacrifice, we could not achieve our emancipation."

## SUCI OBSERVES THE '59 FOOD MOVEMENT MARTYRS' DAY

Calcutta: On the 31st August, in a solemn atmosphere, the Martyrs' Day in memory of the immortal martyrs of the food movement of 1959—was celebrated at Raja Subodh Mallick Square at 9-30 A. M. under the auspices of SUCI and different fraternal mass-organisations.

At the inception, the SUCI volunteers paid Red Salute with closed fists, the greatest honour of the toiling people—to the martyrs, and raised the slogan "The immortal martyrs of the food movement—we shall never forget you": to accomplish the tasks for which the workers, peasants, students and youths laid their lives in the food-movement in the year 1959 they also pledged for the movement for introducing all-out state-trading of food-grains and raised the slogan—"Introduce all-out State-trading of food-grains."

After this, was started the placing of wreaths on the Martyr's Column and

## Comrade Fatik Ghosh Demands Immediate Stoppage Of Anti-Labour Policy Of The Employers

Comrade Fatik Ghosh, Secretary West Bengal State Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) expressed his deep anxiety in course of a statement, "According to a special estimate of the labour department of the state government, 17,000 workers have lost their jobs on account of closure of 206 small and big industries till 7th August 1975 last. Industries numbering 29 are under lock out rendering 18,000 workers jobless. Due to lay-off in 8 industries 10,000 workers have lost jobs. In another industry due to lay-off 3,000 workers are jobless. Because of strike by 1800 workers, 12 industries are closed for some time. Hindusthan Iron and Steel Co. at Dum Dum have retrenched, laid off and suspended about 250 workers defying govern-

ment's order. National Engineering Works at Belgatchia, Saha Industries at Jessore Road, Industrial Trading Corporation at Lock gate Road, Ispat Corporation at Liluah (Howrah) etc. etc. are resorting to lay-offs, lock-outs, retrenchments and suspensions. Workers' unions of the above industries, affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) are fighting to resist the onslaughts of the employers valiantly. Apart from the above industries, the workers of the United Cereal Products Ltd. (controlled and financed by Industrial Reconstruction Corpn.) are not receiving their pay from the month of June till today. A good number of workers of Patelnagore Minerals and Industries Private Ltd. at Mohammadbazar P. S. at Birbhum, are for quite a long time under retrenchment. The employers are not paying any heed to the tripartite conciliations. At the Shipping Corporation of India Ltd. at Strand Road, Calcutta, many workers have been retrenched till Aug, 1st. About 1,000 workers of Kohinoor Art Press P. Ltd. and Kohinoor Binding works Ltd. are rendered jobless. The jute and textile owners forcing extra burden of work on the workers, are bringing cut in working strength as well as squeezing the scope of employment in the state."

Comrade Fatik Ghosh further added, "The concerned authorities must

Annyachoke News weekly, Com. Sadhan Muzumdar of Dum Dum Local Committee of SUCI and many others from numbers of mass organisations.

The function was concluded with spontaneous slogan from the common people rallied around—"Red Salute to Immortal Martyrs of Food Movement of 1959", "Valiant Martyrs—we did not forget you, will never forget you"!

take necessary firm steps in order to save the situation that has arisen out of the non-compliance of conciliation decisions reached at the government level even at a time of emergency where according to government's declared policy production should not be hampered in any way."

## Martyrs' Day Observed by AIDSO

In a solemn atmosphere, the West Bengal State Committee of the All India Democratic Students Organisation observed the Martyrs' Day, like every year, to pay homage to the student Martyrs who were killed in the food movement of 1st September, 1959. In a ceremony, held at Subodh Mallick Square, wreaths were placed at Martyrs, memorial alter by Com. Sujit Bhattasali on behalf of the West Bengal State Committee of the All India DSO, Comrade Robin Samajpati on behalf of the Calcutta District Committee, Com. Nibedita Saha on behalf of the Jogomaya Devi Girls' College Students' Union, Com. Sandhya Sarker on behalf of the Muralidhar Girls' College Students' Union, Comrade Ashim Pramanik on behalf of Surendra Nath College, Com. Subhankar Banerjee on behalf of Presidency College, Comrade Satyen Bhattacharya on behalf of Dum Dum Local Committee, Com. Pronab Maity on behalf of Kidderpore Local Committee, Com. Swapan Saha on behalf of Behala Local Committee, Sri Balai Mahinta on behalf of Behala Sahid Kshudiram Smriti Pathagar, Jaishini Barman on behalf of Ashutosh College.

The meeting which was scheduled to be held at Subodh Mallick Square on this occasion could not be held due to unavoidable circumstances.

# It is Impossible to Put an End to Capitalism Without Putting an End to Social Democratism

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people accustomed to lower standards of living—than by expanding production. Nor again are domestic markets apt to be expanded by ruralisation of only ten lak more people working on a base subsistence margin.... There is no reason to believe that under a system of scientific agronomy and mechanisation of operations the estates would not be in every significant respect superior to the small peasant forms. In fact, some of the experiments conducted by the National Bureau for Technique in Agriculture.... before the coming of the Nazi regime would seem to indicate that the peasant system of agriculture was extremely inefficient compared to pooled and communally formed holding. So far as technique is concerned there is no reason why the big estates could not be formed just as efficiently as could the pooled peasant holdings."

(Brady—Same book—pp 250-53.)

The Nazi programme for elimination of unemployment runs about as follows:

".....an increasing percentage of the youth coming of employable age will be absorbed into the army, the Nazi Party, and given positions in the various government services. Propaganda through direct control over the Hitler Youth Organisations, and indirectly via newspapers and the general cultural programme, will mould the youth into the Nazi pattern. So long as the bulk of the younger generation can be kept out of the normal channels of employment, the army of unemployed will tend gradually to shrink through decimation of their ranks because of accident and old age. Of those who remain to be employed, the politically 'reliable' portion will be given part-time work in the factories and allowed to supplement their earnings with produce grown on small settlement holdings. The women will be

drawn off the market by a special programme combining marriage loans with preferential treatment given to the men in factory and office employment.... The balance will be put to 'Compulsory Labour' in the more normal sense of the term, or scattered so as to no longer constitute a political threat to the ruling regime. The children of labour attached to plants will be so far as they are not drawn into the military and political services, expected to inherit the jobs of their fathers when the latter are not able to maintain factory tempo." Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader wants us to take appropriate lesson from this particular historic experience. He has laid bare the heinous conspiracy of the ruling bourgeois class to destroy the moral and ethical fibres of the unemployed youths of a country and turn them into the musclemen behind fascist movement. Comrade Ghosh has shown:

".....battalion of unemployed youths, particularly coming from the middle class families opt unethical means of livelihood under the impact of crisis of life and being pressed upon by presence of circumstances. This is also a part of wider conspiracy of the ruling capitalist class against the youths of the country. How did fascism come into being in Europe? When the bourgeois rulers and the capitalists of those countries who amassed huge capitals found that they were unable to solve the problem of unemployment—they made a conspiracy of 'killing two birds with a single stone'. They felt that if these unemployed young men were educated and cultured then it would not be impossible for them out of sheer grievances against the society to give birth to the thoughts of revolution. So what they did was to kill that aspect of educa-

tion and culture which was vitally concerned with morality and ethics on the one hand and to purchase a section of young men with money, for pushing them to dishonest path of livelihood on the other." (P. Era—Vol. 8. No. 7 Dec, 1, '74.)

Summing up and drawing the essence of the fascist economic programme, Brady therefore comes to the conclusion that, "..... Laissez-faire capitalism in other words, has been giving way to control capitalism, with the clear and unmistakable implication of ultimate exercise of deliberate, formal and all-inclusive monopoly powers; power to control policy relative to wages, unions, prices, markets, production, investment and other features of business strategy has been, is being, and gives every indication of continuing to be centralised throughout the entire business world, and in every capitalist country. The tendency is to all intents and purposes, well nigh universal, unidirectional and quite inevitable."

(Brady—same book)

In the 'New German State' in which the government and business are fused together—there must, according to the Nazis, be a strong internal unity between State and 'culture.'

There is no mistaking the intent. "For the National Socialist State, culture is the affair of the nation." It is the "means for spiritual leadership and requires, therefore, to be positively manipulated in order that all may be educated to a sense of responsibility which promotes the shaping of the nation." In this state, culture will no longer be under the influence of "changing opalescent voting majorities and coalitions, but under a fixed, definite, absolute law....."

The will of the state is the "will of the people" and this is not to be found

"on the surface of daily life and in day by day interests" but only where "the final and partially unconscious longing is formed....the national soul." (Quoted in Brady's book).

But this authority cannot be determined by vote, by popular election, by representation of the people, nor by allowing them any will in the determination of policy. The Nazis have done away with all these things. "The so-called elections still are not elections but plebiscites", says Brady.

"The Nazi's say that '.....out of the 'national soul' emerges the law from which the National Socialist leader derives his legitimation and his policies. He is not thus an organ of will superior to the people but 'instrument of the will of the people which exists in him':..... who knows the direction." (Quoted in Brady's book).

Similarly, according to the press law of the Fascist state, "there shall be no State press established, but that there shall be under definite conditions, free and voluntary co-operation, will assure the fulfilment of its tasks in the sense of the leading idea of the press." Hitler answers those demanding 'press freedom' thus: "It is in the interest of the people and the State to prevent to prevent great mass of the people (who believe everything that they read) from falling into the hands of bad, ignorant, or unwilling educators. Accordingly the State has the duty of overseeing all education and preventing all misdemeanours. It must pay....especial attention to the press...since its influence over the class of mankind is especially strong and effective....In the uniformity and eternal repetition of this instruction, lies an unheard of significance...The state dare not forget that all media have a duty to serve which... flunkis of a so-called 'press freedom' dare not be allowed to confuse." (Italics in the original, quoted by Brady).

And finally the words of Dr. Goebbles who was in charge of an elaborate and apparently very effective intelligence service whereby he was able to "keep in close and constant touch with all expressions of opinion and all changes in popular moods whether these centre around large national problems or whether they are focussed on minutiae of administrative routine in the most out of the way corner of the Reich." Goebbles said: "We wish to put our ears to the soul of the people." (Quoted By Brady).

No wonder, that the German national philosopher, Alfred Baismeler asserted that "with the Nazi seizure of power the period of Hegelian striving was at an end. Hitler had transformed Hegel's 'idea into reality.'"

These are, in short, the essential features of the much-boasted Corporate State of the Fascists (neither capitalism, nor communism, the third method) which the German Social Democrat theoretician E. Conze was advocating for adoption to the left-wing bourgeois politician and the Social Democratic Parties outside Germany. He was defining Fascism, being the "organised attempt to introduce socialist planning with the consent of Big business" (quoted by R. P. Dutt in his book). No doubt, by 'socialist planning' this social-democrat was betraying his concept of 'Socialism which was nothing other than 'bourgeois socialism'. However, Conze was not alone in the matter of giving enthusiastic support to the Fascist experiments in Italy and Germany. Rather, they got immediate favourable response from the left-wing of the British Labour Party. G. D. H. Cole as an exponent of this circle, wrote a book "What Karl Marx Really Meant" and came to the conclusion that the 'revolt' of the petty bourgeoisie—which was according to him, the foundation of the Fascist movement, had rendered

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# Fascism, A Historically-Conditioned Form Of Counter-Revolution, An Anticipatory Move To Stave Off Revolution

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"Marx's analysis of the class struggle fought out between the workers and the capitalists" obsolete. Because, Cole, observed that the petit-bourgeois class, reacts to the decay of capitalism by "becoming determined to defend it... at all costs against the exponents of equality, by reconstructing it on a basis which will subordinate the conduct of large-scale industry and finance to their claims."

What does Cole mean by 'reconstructing' of capitalism? Cole said: "...a policy of high wages, designed to enable capitalism to escape from its inherent tendency to a failure to employ the resources of production to the full", involves "a completely centralised control of all the vital factors in the economic system" and urged the Fascists to tread this line and to "construct a new type of capitalism, upon a basis consistent with the further development of the powers of production." Mr. Cole prescribed: "...Great Britain may succeed in establishing a form of parliamentary socialism which will leave large elements of capitalism still in operation and he distinguished from the system dominated by the petit-bourgeoisie less in its mechanism than in the nature of the forces which are in control (Quoted by John Strachey in his book "The Nature of Capitalist crisis"—ch. XXII).

So, the specific prescriptions of Mr. Cole for salvaging capitalism from its inherent crises are a policy of high wages, "completely centralised control of all the vital factors in the economic system", "a parliamentary socialism" which will "leave large elements of capitalism"—meaning thereby, capitalist ownership of means of production, maximisation of profit as motive of production and the capitalist relation

of production in tact, while resorting to devices like planning, socialist postures and radical vocabularies like the Fascists. In short, it will be a Socialism in form but capitalist exploitation in kernel.

Pointing out this historical experiences of Fascism in Italy and Germany, Austria etc., and drawing the correct lessons very much important in our time, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and one of the foremost Marxist thinker of the era, has taught that it is social democracy which prepared the ground for the emergence of fascism everywhere. Fascism originated in 'Social Patriotism' preached by the Social Democratic Parties during and after the First World War in order to exploit the patriotic and socialist sentiments of the peoples in the interests of the imperialist war conducted by the capitalist states. The originators of fascist movement took up the cudgels left by the Social-Democratic Parties and incorporated social democratic programmes in their Party manifestoes.

So, Europe, once found in Mussolini and Hitler and their fascist movements a shrewd admixture of the style of movement and loose vocabularies of the Communist Parties with the tirade of the social democrats against the revolutionary proletarian movement.

**Social-Democracy, the last prop of decadent capitalism. It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social democratism.**

Social Democracy is the last prop of capitalism in the present era of decay of imperialism and of proletarian revolution and through it fascism is entrenching itself in different capitalist countries in diverse forms.

Social Democratic Parties, renouncing the

path of proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary kernel of communism have donned the cloak of 'National Socialism or Nationalised Socialism' and thereby consummated the burial of their past link with the main stream of the revolutionary proletarian movement.

From the political angularity and purpose, Hitler's 'National Socialism' had no fundamental difference with the 'Democratic Socialism', which is now the catch-word of all the social-democrats.

The social democratic parties, from their more intimate connection with people's revolutionary thoughts, ideas and movements knew better than the ordinary bourgeois democrats the inherent weaknesses of bourgeois democracies. They are quite aware that mere brow-beating and use of coercive instruments will sure to fail to stem the tide of growing revolutionary consciousness and ferment of people's revolutionary struggles which will sweep clear the bourgeois state machine tottering at its last leg of defence. So, putting on the mark of 'Socialism' or sometimes Communism, these social democratic parties come forward to rescue the bourgeoisie and their state machine by urging them to reconstruct the bourgeois democracies with deceptive slogans and so forth. Peaceful attainment of socialism through bourgeois Parliament and keeping intact the bourgeois state machine, 'Aggressive nationalism', social peace and 'Democratic Socialism' become thus the clap-traps of the social-democratic radical bourgeois politicians to dupe the masses.

So, it is hundred times correct to-day what Stalin said:

"It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social-Democratism."

But, the inexorable law of development puts the capitalist productive system into the contradiction between productive forces and productive relation which expresses itself in the contradiction between growing productive power consequent on accumulation and falling profitability of capital and this cannot be solved within the capitalist system itself. And taking either of the horns will mean leaving the other horn to come inexorably from the other end.

We have already shown that the Fascists in Italy and Germany adopted the drastic cut in wage rates as the means to get out of the crisis that unfolded later into the Great Depression. Momentarily they succeeded in giving a boost to investment, but the results were disastrous.

The American journal, the 'New Republic' wrote: "The crisis in Italy lasted eight years as against four in other countries". The Italian Parliamentary Committee stated in April 1932: "It is necessary to face the hard reality—that for Italy too the crisis has become more serious, more wide-spread and more cruel."

(Quoted in Osborne's book).

And the 'great protagonist' of fascism, Mussolini was musing: "The situation has grown considerably worse through the world, including Italy...the state cannot perform miracles. Not even Mr. Hoover, the most powerful man in the richest country in the world has succeeded in putting his house in order".

(Quoted in R. P. D's book).

After thus consoling, Mussolini was spelling out something very important, something very significant whose inner meaning and significance was lost on the working class leadership of different countries in the world.

Said the Dictator: "We

come to the last question—can the corporate principle be applied in other countries? There is no doubt about it. As there is a general crisis of capitalism, solution by the corporate state seems to be necessary in other countries".

(R. P. D's book—Italics ours).

What Mussolini was telling by this? He was telling the historic reality that in the era of general crisis which was to develop into the third phase of general crisis or overall crisis of world capitalism, after the second world war, whoever would try to defend capitalism would have inevitably to resort to fascism, knowingly or unknowingly. The development of history leaves no other middle course in between Fascism or moribund capitalism on its last leg of defence—and scientific socialism or communism. Mussolini was merely uttering this reality in an inverted manner.

**Fascism, a historically-conditioned form of counter-revolution, an anticipatory move to stave off revolution.**

But this historical reality could not elude the grasp of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of this era.

Long back in 1948-49, he was cautioning the working class movement about this historic reality by his penetrating and illuminating analyses of the different facets of fascism, its economic, social, cultural, political features or devices, its ideological-cultural roots within social life that are to be fought resolutely. Let us recall some of his valuable teachings here. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed:

Fascism is a historically conditioned form of counter-revolution in which Capitalism seeks to stave off revolution by an anticipatory move. In a definite conjun-

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## It Is Not Conservatism But Social Democracy That Has The Political Danger Of Fascism In It

(Contd. from Page 7)

cture of circumstances when the normal form of its economic organisation, political institution and administrative apparatus fails to cope with the mounting capitalist crisis, when it becomes next to impossible to maintain any amount of stability of market and earn maximum profit, when the masses of the people, hard-hit by insecurity in life due to crisis, feel the necessity of a change of the existing condition, the bourgeoisie, in order to maintain the most effective operation of the basic law of maximum profit of capitalist economy under the circumstances, throws aside all veils of class dictatorship, which parliamentary democracy puts on. These historical conditions impart to fascism some common characteristics, which are its disintegrating features. *They are mainly economic centralisation, maximum concentration of political power in the state, rigid finance in administration—all leading to more and more identification of the interests of the monopolists with that of the state and cultural regimentation.....* And the same process of concentration of private capital, development of state capital, fusion of the two into state monopoly capitalism and reduction to the maximum of mutual competition between individual capitalists through planning etc. as is found in the advanced capitalist countries is at work in the backward countries also, though for different purposes. *The powerful capitalist countries have taken to militarised economy and centralization of capital to get out of their crisis in over production, excess capital and market whereas the backward capitalist countries are after concentration of capital and planning in order to achieve rapid industrial development,*

*catch up with the powerful capitalist countries and emerge as their strong competitors in the foreign market. But all the same both the advanced and the backward capitalist countries, are, thereby, laying the economic base of fascism.*

[Comrade Shibdas Ghosh—'Call of the Hour' Socialist Unity, Vol. 1 No. 1 (New Series) July, 1975—emphasis in the original].

Comrade Ghosh also warned the working class against a popular misconception circulated from Social Democratic circles that the danger of fascism comes from the conservative section of the bourgeoisie, by showing from historical experiences that "fascism requires for its growth and development, mass-backing. It is impossible to have the support of the people, unless their imagination can be captured and sentiment won over.....To capture the imagination of the people and enlist their voluntary support is needed a relatively radical programme, containing socialist promises to the people and patriotic platitudes, which Social Democracy furnishes. In fact, it is not conservatism but Social democracy, that has the political danger of fascism in it...fascism bases itself on nationalism, class harmony and so-called need for union of all classes as also on hostility to all non-nationalistic socialism and especially to communism. Social-Democracy on these points, hardly differs from fascism. Before the rising of fascism, social-democracy had propagated these very idea and thereby prepared the grounds for fascism. In conclusion, fascism grew and developed within the womb of Social-Democratism. If it was true in the pre-war days, it is thousand times more true now. Because, Social-Democracy is the last prop of capitalism in the present

## From The Manifesto Of The Communist Party

—K. Marx and F. Engels

.....The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their condition of appropriation. The proletarians can not become masters of the productive forces of the society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for and insurances of individual property.....

In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present era of decay of imperialism and proletarian revolution. And...fascism has become the order in all the capitalist countries now. The two, now have fused together. Fascism is entrenching itself through Social-Democratic plans and programme..... (ibid).

[To be concluded]

bourgeois condition of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying and all the other 'brave words' of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of productions and of the bourgeoisie

itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of these nine-tenths. You reproach us therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition of whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so, that is just what we intend.

## Background and Causes of Recent Flood At Patna

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to watch the eastern embankment at some points.

There was no repair work made on this side since 1971 flood.

The terms of reference as set before the 3-man committee of enquiry which was instituted on 2nd September '75 cannot but strengthen the notion that some error, fault or even negligence might have been involved in this case. The terms of reference are as follows:—

1) Causes of flood (Patna).

2) To fix responsibilities (for the failure to protect the state capital).

3) To prepare a blueprint within ten days for making the city of Patna immune from flood.

The Indian Nation, Patna, on 6th September, '75 commented while reporting the terms of reference of the enquiry thus:—

".....how Sone and Ganga water rose so furiously as they never did before, from August 21 to 24, when near-drought condition prevailed in South Bihar—and tumbled

across the Patna Canal embankment?"

The same English Daily posed the question:—

"If dangers to the city was foreseen, were steps taken to avert it?"

"When a similar situation was created by the Sone floods on August 4, 1971 and thousands of people gathered near Sheikhpura to stop the flow of water towards the west of Patna Canal, officials explained to them that "in case Patna was swamped under 14 ft. high water there would be no Government to save the people of Khagaul, Danapur—and other parts of the state. The people of Bihar could survive only when Patna survived. This argument worked well". (Indian Nation, August 8, 71).

Did this argument lose its validity on August 24, 1975? But why? This is haunting not only the people of Patna and Bihar but also the rest of the country as well.