

# Union Budget A Basketful of Concessions To The Monopolists

The third budget of the Union Government led by the Ruling Congress has come with a total load of Rs 292.6 crores as fresh taxation, out of which Rs 274 crores would be in the form of indirect taxes. Yet, a gap of another Rs 200 crores has been left open to be subsequently filled up by fresh taxes and for deficit financing

So, not only this total burden of Rs 500 crores but many more times this impost will be passed on to the shoulders of common people by way of renewed price hike by the monopolists, as in the past. And the people are already groaning under the crushing burden of economic exploitation by successive crop failures, draught, ever spiralling prices, rampant unemployment and joblessness. Against this background, true to its pro-monopolist character, the Government have provided in the budget basketful of concessions to the monopolists and business community. Rightly therefore, has, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of our Party, dubbed the budget as a "bold step" of the Indira Government to consolidate "monopolists' socialism" in our country. He has called upon the people to resist this rapacious budget by developing mighty organised movement.

**Ashok Roy**

Sri Chavan has prefaced his budget by making such tall claims: "This Government is firmly committed to accelerated economic growth in a frame-work of greater social justice and self-reliance. The budget proposals are aimed at achieving these basic objectives."

What is the relevance of these bold words (!), repeated by the leaders of the Ruling Congress umpteen times, with the realities of life? Before judging these so-called claims, let us pause for a while to get the health report of the economy at least to the extent

admitted by the very Ministry of Sri Chavan, in its annual Economic Survey.

The survey presents a gloomy note and all through it the gloom persists.

In brief: the growth of the economy in the year 1972-73 has been just marginal, a very very meagre 1.5 p.c. Food production has registered a further decline of 1.7 p.c.—the decline in output for two successive years. It only hopes that if food production can be raised to the level of 1970-71 in the current year there would be a "significant improvement" because, "behaviour of agricultural production clearly shows that contrary to earlier expectation, the agricultural problem is far from having been solved". This is nothing but officially telling the people in so-many words that the much-trumpeted green revolution has turned grey! Then again, "the continuing instability of agricultural output not only affects the overall availability of certain basic necessities of life but also accentuates inter-regional disparities in income and consumption". And this set-back in food front and rising prices, which have been, according to this survey, more than double the rate over the past year in the wholesale index, would definitely work as a damper on industrial goods, particularly textiles and consumer durables in the home market. In plain words, because of further decline in already very low purchasing power of the landless labourers, sharecroppers, poor and middle peasants, who constitute

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## School of Politics at Joynagar Com. Ghosh's Alluring Discussion Enthused Peasant Workers of SUCI

Under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, a 3-day School of Politics for the peasant workers and organisers of the Party was held at Alipur under Joynagar P.S. District 24-Parganas amidst great enthusiasm from 10th to 12th March last. Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the General Secretary of the SUCI had conducted the school.

Altogether 2,853 peasant workers and 541 organisers from different districts of West Bengal attended the School. In a large pandal gorgeously decorated with red flags, hammer-sickle-star and posters, the School took place amidst enthusiasm. Several well-decorated gates and columns were erected on different roads approaching the School camp.

The School started with International Song and paying homage to the martyrs. Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the teacher and conductor of the School elaborately dealt, in a very lucid and alluring way understandable even to a common peasant worker, on a variety of subjects ranging from basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism to current national and international situation and the economic, political, cultural and administrative facades of fascism.

Analysing the national situation, Com. Ghosh showed how, on the one hand, by confusing the masses with its radical slogans and, on the other hand, by curtailing the freedom of the Press and strangulating democracy and last but not least, by preach-

ing the spiritualist thinking and raising the slogan of national tradition, the Ruling Congress is trying hard to lead the country towards fascism. In this connection, he explained how the question of emancipating our peasantry was inseparably linked up with the question of uninterrupted process of rapid industrialisation in our country possible to accomplish only through the overthrow of the present exploiting capitalist system through socialist revolution.

Com. Ghosh also discussed about the failures of the so-called communist parties of our country, their erroneous assessment about the character of the Indira Congress, and how these parties maligned the noble banner of Marxism-Leninism owing to their non-Marxist character and political behaviour. Com. Ghosh stressed upon the imperative necessity of building up the SUCI, the only genuine Marxist party in our country. He explained to the leaders and workers of the Party that in order to successfully carry on the revolutionary tasks that

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## On Separatists' Perverse Demand For Reorganisation of States

Taking cue from the recent agitations in Andhra Pradesh and demand for bifurcation of the State, some members in the Rajya Sabha have urged the Central Government to set up a Second States Reorganisation Commission and accede to the demand of the separatists for bifurcating the State of Andhra Pradesh.

While Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi denied the possibility of setting up a Second States Reorganisation Commission and termed those advocating for reorganisation of the States as "irresponsible", she, however, announced in the Rajya Sabha regarding the solution of Andhra Pradesh problem that "nothing had been conceded but nothing had been ruled out". On 26th February last, she held talks with the separatist Andhra Congress MPs at New Delhi and persuaded them not to insist on their resolve to sit in the Lok Sabha as a separate block. Following this talk the separatist Congress MPs withdrew their letter addressed to the Speaker requesting him to make separate seating arrangements for them. "The separatists derive cause for satisfaction for the assurance given today by the Prime Minister that in evolving any solution, she would bear in mind the plan of the separatist leaders that

**Bi-lab Sen**

bifurcation is the only solution possible for the current upsurge in Andhra". (*Statesman* dated 27th Feb.) The Union Home Minister, Mr. Uma Shankar Dikshit also had stated on 1st March in the Rajya Sabha that "it would be good if there was an integrated State but not bad if it had to be divided after normalcy was restored". Asked by Mr. Mahavir Tyagi (C-0) whether or not Mrs. Gandhi had agreed to consider the separation of Andhra and Telengana region, Mr. Dikshit had said "she has not said, but only that the Government has an open mind. Everything can be considered-integration as well

as separation". (*Statesman*, dated 2nd March) Mrs. Gandhi was also reported to have been said while winding up the debate on President's Address in the Lok Sabha that "all aspects of the problem and all opinions brought before me will be given due consideration."

Thus barring those who betray their unabashed loyalty to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's gimmicks and 'progressive' outbursts, it is clear to everyone that Mrs. Gandhi is clearly departing from her forthright statement earlier that any solution of Andhra crisis must be found within the integrated State. Her meaningless overtures to the separatist elements within her party that she would not tolerate any move for bifurcating the present State of Andhra Pradesh has become vivid to everybody. Real interest of the people and political principles have been flung aside in order to piece together the broken Congress party of Andhra Pradesh and let alone dealing firmly with the separatist elements, they have been given enough handle by no less a person than Mrs. Gandhi herself which in its turn has initiated a process of rethinking within the Congress circle to accommodate the reactionary separatist demands of Congressmen and other anti-people political forces in Andhra Pradesh.

Such manipulations of Congress pandering to the desire of the separatist forces are fraught with dangerous consequences. Even despite the scuttling of proposal for formation of a Second State Reorganisation Commission by the Prime Minister, the opportunist behaviour of the Central Congress leaders have virtually strengthened the hands of those who are

reopening the issue of State reorganisation out of an ill-motivated design to create split within the working people and fan up narrow chauvinistic outlook to obscure the root cause of our present-day crisis to the people. It is because of these wider implications which are inherent in the present mischievous move of the Congress that it is necessary to go to some depth on the issue of reorganisation of states and define the correct scientific angularity regarding the issue as opposed to the reactionary bourgeois class point of view which is perverse and distorts the basic objective of real integration of our people.

When the issue of reorganisation of States first cropped up and some heinous attempts were there on the part of the then ruling Congress to discard the scientific approach to the problem and thrust on the people some arbitrary decision designed to fulfil some ulterior motive as in the case of Bengal-Bihar merger (although the Congress had to give up its sordid plan on the face of bitter resentment of the people of West Bengal and Bihar against this plan) our Party had detailed its views as to the correct approach to this problem. To sum up those views, these are as follows:

(i) In the matter of delimitation of boundaries of different States, the governing factors should be the language, economic and cultural integrity (meaning thereby same cultural peculiarities and one psychological make-up) of the people living within a geographical boundary. It is not enough to fulfil just one of these conditions. The correct way should be to fulfil all the three conditions and must receive the express sanction of the people. This cardinal principle is in conformity with the historical law of development of all modern nations.

(ii) While organising movement for the realisation of the demand for reorganisation of States, extreme caution should be exercised by the democratic-minded people about the vile machinations of the nationality-bourgeoisie, who in order to derive greater economic benefits and administrative privileges do not feel shy about fomenting parochial outlook thereby jeopardising the unity of the working people of various nationalities. The struggle to achieve this end must be completely free from the virus of narrow provincialism and the toiling people must be persuaded not to play second fiddle to the interest of nationality-bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces.

(iii) The solidarity of the working people of different nationalities is of paramount importance. For, this issue cannot be judged apart from the fundamental revolutionary necessity for the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting capitalist class in our country and establishment of socialism which alone can resolve all the crushing problems of our people. But to maintain and strengthen the unity of the toiling millions so dreaded by the exploiting capitalist rulers and their henchmen is one of the basic tasks which is necessary to accomplish in order to accelerate the process of revolution in our country.

(iv) The rights of the minority community within a particular nationality as regards job opportunity and freedom to learn through their own mother tongue at all levels should be fully protected.

Needless to say, that the Congress, the most able representative of the ruling capitalist class did not judge the issue of reorganisation of States in the light as mentioned above. It is knave to expect that the Congress would scrupulously adhere to the democratic principles and refrain from stirring up

# The Ruling Congress Helping the Separatists With Mischievous Intentions

communal, regional and linguistic passions and earnestly strive to build up the democratic unity of the people. The period of Congress rule since independence is replete with glaring instances of the party's active indulgence in such fratricidal activities, causing death of thousands of innocent life, in order to frustrate the legitimate democratic movements of the toiling people and disrupt their unity. Even the new Congress under Sm. Gandhi's leadership is closely following the old pattern of activities with mischievous intentions. The recent incidents in Assam and Andhra Pradesh clearly reveal the connivance of and actual steering by the Congress party behind these movements precisely to aggravate further the present disunities among the people speaking different language or of different bearings and embitter their mutual relations. Assam Supply Minister Mr. Mohitosh Purakayastha's open Challenge the other day that the Assam Congress leaders and some of his Cabinet colleagues had involved themselves in hunting down the Bengalees in Assam palpably shows that preaching of communalism and active indulgence in communal practice is quite agreeable to Congress politics. Mr. V. Subba Reddy, the separatist Andhra Congress leader and ex-Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh avowed quite recently that the Andhra Congress unit by throwing its weight behind the current separatist agitations in the State had saved the party from being completely isolated from the masses. These two instances sufficiently prove that the ruling party like the other reactionary political parties feel least concerned about the democratic unity of the people of different nationalities, language, religion or caste and feels no compunction while driving a deeper wedge between the peoples.

It is natural that the ruling Congress, serving the interest of the monopoly capitalists will be mortally afraid of the growing militant mass movements of the toiling people against the vested class. It is a fact of history that the reactionary forces all over the world hatch up conspiracies one after another in order to misdirect the people, create cleavage among them and thwart at every step the advance of the real cause of the people. The Congress here is exactly following the same course. But it should be well remembered by every democratic-minded person that unless these conspiracies of the ruling Party are thoroughly exposed and the unity of the working people of different States is preserved like the apple of an eye, the genuine interest of the people, the cause of democratic struggle on various legitimate issues and the revolutionary mass movements are to suffer most. Not any sort of mass movement but the content of mass movement is most vital. Whether a movement is supportable by the left democratic forces or not solely depends on its actual bearing on the process of revolutionary struggle in the country. From that point of view the current agitations in Andhra Pradesh and the rising demand for reorganisation of states inspired by the various communal and reactionary forces cannot be welcome to anyone seriously concerned about the welfare of the oppressed people. In the existing state of affairs in many provinces, particularly where the minorities have some genuine grievances, though, of course, caused mainly due to capitalist exploitation acceptance of separatist demands as voiced by Andhra Pradesh Congress leaders will set off a chain reaction in the other states,

create hostility and widen further the present disunity among the people, without however, touching even the fringe of the problems we are suffering from now. Furthermore, so far as the economic content is concerned any progressive or revolutionary party will opt for greater centralisation, as the task for socialist reconstruction after the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class will become easier if greater centralisation in the economic field is achieved in the meantime. So from that point of view also the separatist tendencies, demands and movements as wilfully engineered by the Congress and other reactionary communal parties should be thoroughly combated.

Judging the present demand of reorganisation of states, as voiced by Jan Sangh, Swatantra, SP and even a section of Congress-men it is relevant to ask what basic principles as stated earlier are involved for justifying this demand? Is there any rational basis for rethinking, specially when the language and other ingredients for formation of a State are same, in terms of bifurcation of States like Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra or U. P.? Let us take the case of Andhra Pradesh. The issues involved here are (i) the question of acute problem of unemployment, an outcrop of capitalist economy, which has triggered the current restlessness in Andhra Pradesh,—but can this problem of unemployment be resolved by dividing the present integrated State into three regions, namely Andhra, Telengana and Rayalaseema? Is not this problem a national phenomenon? Can there be any real way to uproot this scourge of unemployment from our social life if the exploiting capitalist system is not done away with? So what relevance has it got with the

current reactionary move for bifurcation of the State? (ii) The issue of Mulki Rules—the undue privileges ensured to the Telengana people and discrimination against a section of Andhra people can be settled amicably and can hardly be the ground for justifying separation of the State (iii) the internal feuds, squabbles and jockeying for power within Andhra Pradesh unit of Congress—is it not highly irrational and irresponsible a move that in order to settle the score within the Congress and patch up the quarrels of some career-seeking Congress leaders, the present integrated state has to be divided throwing aside the real interest of the people and involving them in fratricidal activities thereby doing the greatest harm to the democratic aspirations of all the toiling people of our country in general and of Andhra Pradesh in particular?

Needless to say, that the separatist leaders, whether they belong to the Congress or to the obscurantist political forces like the Jan Sangh, are not guided by any democratic principle or solicitude for the real welfare of the people when they echo the demand for a fresh reorganisation of States. When asked, about the possible consequence the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh is likely to entail with it in the other States the separatist Congress leader Mr. Subba Reddy had replied that despite these eventualities the demand for separation had to be accepted by the Congress, otherwise the party would face liquidation in the state. So this is the reason behind Mrs. Gandhi's taking initiative to come to a settlement with the separatist leaders rather than strongly dealing with them and preventing the rising of ugly head of parochialism, narrow provincialism etc. The separatist demands in Maharashtra, U.P. and other parts of the country similarly

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# “Indira Socialism” Marches On by Taxing Heavily the Common People

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77 p.c. of the total population in our country, due to successive crop failures, home market for industrial goods, particularly goods for direct consumption, will face further shrinkage.

The position of foreign trade, though somewhat improved, would be uncertain in view of important developments like Britain's joining the E.E.C. and crises in international monetary system.

So, the 7 p.c. increase in industrial production after protracted recessions will have remote chance of being steady.

Besides, even after the increase, “there is considerable unutilised capacity in the industrial system”. And the prospect of a serious power shortage hangs like a dark cloud over the growth of industrial production.”

On the Government's fiscal policies, the survey had to admit that deficit financing this year might be larger than Rs 252 crores estimated in the budget. The deficit financing is expected to be excessive despite the all-time record borrowing of Rs 478 crores by the Government last year. In 1970-71, the deficit financing touched the record height of Rs 738 crores. One of the major causes for excessive rate of inflation has been the unusual rate of deficit financing. Money circulation went up by 12.9 p.c. in a single year, last year. The survey notes that overall rise in prices was only 7.8 p.c., but price of sugar and allied products rose by 33.4 p.c., pulses by 22.1 p.c. and foodgrains by 13.3 p.c. Let us remember that these figures relate to wholesale government figure and they have no relevance to retail price increases which are more than double the rates as we have seen in our real life. But anyway, this is, in short, the health bulletin of the

economy as is given out by Sri Chavan's own Ministry!

In his budget, Sri Chavan also could not get over the facts completely. He had not only to admit the “continued heavy dependence of Indian agriculture on the rains”, but to tell the country that as a precautionary measure, the Government had to arrange for import of 2 million tonnes of foodgrains at a cost of about Rs. 160 crores.

Then again, “foreign exchange is still a major constraint on our development.” But “the behaviour of agricultural production, both of foodgrains and of commercial crops, will be a major determinant of the state of our balance of payments.” And some of the “principal factors like lesser utilisation of external assistance and large payments for imports of foodgrains and industrial inputs like iron and steel, oil and fertilisers, are likely to exert greater pressure on our foreign reserves.”

So “if self-reliance is to become a living reality, there must be a massive increase in our exports coupled with adequate expansion in domestic production of such vital important substitutes as iron and steel and fertilisers and an increased effort in exploring indigenous sources of supply of oil.”

But what about export prospect? “Our exports are helped by certain factors whose continuation cannot be taken for granted. The exports of engineering goods, on which we had placed high hopes, have lost some of their earlier momentum.”

Now about budget proposals. The overall budgetary gap is of the order of Rs. 550 crores. The initial deficit for '73-'74 is Rs. 335 crores. To bridge this gap proposed new taxes are to the tune of Rs 292.6 crores. Out

of this, Rs. 250 crores will go to the Union Government's coffer. The remaining gap, in simple arithmetic should be Rs. 85 crores. But here is a trick and a nasty one. In the budget, the Finance Minister hinted at a bigger gap because he had left out the provision for fulfilling the financial commitment of the Government to meet the pay increase of the Central Government employees out of the expected award of Pay Commission constituted in the year 1970.

The financial commitment is not only in the know of the Government but in fact is long overdue. Still then, why it was left out? Simply, to mislead the people to believe that it is for meeting the increase in the Government employee's salary that the Government had no other option than to resort to further dose of taxation or deficit financing. This is, however, far from the truth.

The Government had no difficulty in giving subsidy to rural bourgeoisie by way of increased prices for wheat and rice, against the recommendation of the Agricultural Price Commission, set-up by the same Government and thus pushing the cost of procurement and distribution of food grains to budgetary provision of Rs 130 crores. This is nothing but paying prize for the political support, the rural bourgeoisie extended to their own party, the ruling Congress. Not only this. The Government have provided in the budget, a net amount of Rs 10 crores for interim relief to the ex-rulers!

Besides, while Rs 261 crores has been provided for economic help to Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, and a sum of Rs 100 crores set apart for meeting natural calamity, Sri Chavan has left out the Governments' financial commitment to the

employees which is already at hand!

The Government solemnly declared to abolish taxes and levies on account of Bangladesh refugees' relief. The Government have declared that from 1st April, this year, the levies will go. But here again a novel trick. A total amount of Rs 70 crores was being collected by the Union Government either directly or through State Governments. The Union Government will stop collecting these levies, but already three State Governments, e. g. Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal have declared in their budgets the continuance of these levies.

Now about the new imposts. The additional yield from direct taxes will come through increased excise to the tune of Rs. 118 crores and fresh customs duties will fetch Rs. 156 crores. These excise and customs duties will be levied among others, on raw-cotton, synthetic fibres, stainless steel iron and steel, motor spirit, and spare parts, domestic electric appliances etc. Taking into account the new proposals, the proportion of indirect taxes to total tax revenue rose from 55 p.c. in 1950-51 to 80 p.c. in 1973-74.

Sri Chavan has assured us, as usual, that the imposts will have no significant bearing on the general price index as it can at best be confined within 0.4 p.c. rise in the index.

But already there has been a spurt in general price-level and business circles estimate that an increase of 6 p.c. price increase will be “quite possible.” The *Economic Times*, Research Bureau, has, in an analysis, shown that “the proposed additional levies will definitely push up cost of raw materials as well as manufactured products and and this will further accentuate inflationary pressures.” In a study on the financial

# All-Time High Defence Outlay A Means To Stimulate Crisis-ridden Capitalist Economy

position of 290 large companies run by the monopoly bourgeoisie, published in the *R.B.I. Bulletin*, July 1972 issue, it was stated; "...the manufacturing firms have been in a position to pass on the rising costs to the final consumers.... This is evident from the data in table (given in the study) wherein it is apparent that a preponderant part of the increase during the period in value of output... would have been contributed by increases in the prices of manufacture; the rate of increase in physical output was relatively moderate."

In the data presented, it can be seen that while between 1965-66 and 1970-71 there was an overall increase of 71.1 p.c. in value of output, the actual industrial production rose by 18 p.c. but the index numbers of wholesale prices for manufactures rose by 31.2 p.c.

So, the claim for social justice by Sri Chavan is nothing but a cruel irony on the common man. It will be looked upon as a filthy joke if we see the list of new concessions given to the monopolists, in this year's budget.

The list consists: (a) initial depreciation of 20 p.c. of cost of machinery and plant installed in selected industries, (b) tax deduction equal to 20 p.c. of profits to all industrial undertakings set up in backward areas after 31st March, this year, (c) raising the ceiling of investment to Rs 1 crore for an enhanced rate of subsidy of 15 p.c. for such industries in backward areas (d) weighted deduction equal to  $1\frac{1}{3}$  of amount paid to sponsored research and development work in approved laboratories and (e) raising the weighted deduction for export market development to 150 p.c. from 133 p.c.

The extent of concessions in money terms can well be understood if we take a single item—initial depreciation—which will replace development rebate now being enjoyed by the industrialists. According to an estimate made by *Economic Times*, again, the average annual gain of the private sector would be Rs. 490 lakhs and total gain will reach Rs. 5,823 lakhs, a net 9.2 p.c. increase over the development rebate which is going out!

But are the monopolists and industrialists in very sick condition, to require such administration of financial concessions? Quite the opposite. We have shown in our previous issues, from different government agencies' reports that never before was the profit position so better. However, let us recapitulate the *R.B.I. Studies* of 290 companies, in brief.

In 1970-71, the companies earned 52.9 p.c. profits, higher than what they earned in 1968-69. Taxes on the companies were 2 p.c. lower. And with this lower tax burden, the retained profits after allowing for 2 p.c. increase in dividend rate, rose by 115.5 p.c. over the amount in 1968-69. Does there remain any doubt as to the real content of "social justice" of Messrs. Chavan and Co.? It is nothing but serving the aggregate class interest of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Let us now examine in brief the budgetary allocations.

After so many loud announcements about creation of new job opportunities for millions of unemployed, the Government have made a meagre increase of Rs. 40 crores to make the total outlay of Rs. 100 crores for creation of only 5 lakhs of jobs for educated unemployed. In the State of West Bengal alone,

the number of unemployed persons having registered their names in Employment Exchanges went up by 5.5 lakhs, last year, according to the States' Annual Economic Survey.

Sri Chavan has shed bears for want of fund in meeting this gravest of the problems. But what he did not mention is that an amount of Rs 800 crores remains to be collected from the rich people according to the Government's own account. Again, if the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee were strictly followed up then about Rs 5,000 to Rs 7,000 crores of black money could be unearthed from the secret vaults of the monopolists and tycoons. That the Government is not prepared to displease its masters, is proved by its dodging of the problem again and again.

In the budget, there has been a phenomenal increase in defence expenditure which stands now to Rs 1729 crores a more than 22.5 p.c. of the total budgetary outlay. One may reasonably question as to why in absence of war or war-like situation, the war-time expenditure on defence has not merely been retained but still further augmented?

The reason, has been provided by our Party, drawing on the brilliant analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the leader and teacher of our Party and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this age.

In absence of home market due to abnormally low purchasing power of 77 p.c. of the population, as well as unsteady foreign market the Government run by the Congress in the aggregate interest of the monopolist class, resorts to artificial stimulation of the otherwise sagging economy, by providing the industries with an increased demand for military hardware. This

pervert method of stemming the rot of the economy is now being universally practised in all the bourgeois countries after the Second World War. Our bourgeois rulers are also depending heavily more and more on military consumption to keep the wheel of industries moving. This is the kind of "accelerated economic growth," the Finance Minister boasts of!

Now, a few words about 'self-reliance'. The Finance Minister in his budget speech, could not hold out any hope for increase in foreign markets of our products nor could he say that the Government had taken positive steps to stop import of foodgrains, steel, fertiliser or oil. The country remains and will remain dependent on this score to foreign monopolists. Indeed, in the last 20 years of planning, the dependence on foreign help has increased from Rs. 32 crores in 1950-51 to Rs 7661 crores in 1970-71. This year alone, we will be paying Rs. 262 crores as instalment of foreign loan net after renewal of loans by fresh loans! The Government have shown its utter dependence on U.S. aid by unseemingly swallowing the rebuff of officials over a speech delivered by the P.M. in One Asia Conference. The recent agreement with Toya, a Japanese monopolist firm has caused indignation even in business circles over unusually high concessions given to the firm. So, it amply proved that the Government of the monopoly capitalists hardly cares for the country's economic well being. Whatever suits the interest of the monopolists becomes the Government's policy.

This year's budget is a wanton attack on the common people's economic life at the behest of the monopolists. Unless the people shake off their indifference and come forward to build up their resistance

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## A Fury Fizzled Out to A Farce

There arose a hue and cry in the second week of February last and sense of astonishment gripped the political circle of India over the postponement of departure of Mr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the U.S. Ambassador-designate to India and it again boiled within a day or two.

The cause behind such political tussle was a remark made by Mrs. Indira Gandhi over Vietnam war and the Peace Agreement at the One Asia Assembly held in Delhi on 6-2-73. It is necessary to have a factual assessment of this short political whirlpool and the quick rapprochement. To quote her remark, "Would this sort of war or savage bombing which has taken place in Vietnam have been tolerated for so long had the people been Europeans?..... I cannot help feeling that the very manner of ending the Vietnam war may create new tensions. The cease-fire should not call us into comfort that there will be peace all the way."

### A. B. Das

"Except in a few known and glaring instances, Western nations have withdrawn as colonial powers but their political and military presence continues on our continent. This has been done in the name of filling a vacuum or to wage crusade against communism or other doctrines.....The interests of trade and of the manufacturers of armaments do not distinguish between ideologies and have no compunction about making an about turn should it suit them to do so. A declaration of love for democracy does not seem to be incompatible with open admiration for dictatorship. While this attitude remains can there be clear thinking or positive action for real peace?" (The Statesman 9.2.73). The U.S. administration sharply reacted to this statement angrily hitting back at the Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi. "The remarks of the Prime Minister are difficult to comprehend and are unwelcome," declared the State Department spokes-

man Charles Bray. "It contradicts recent indications from New Delhi suggesting a desire to improve relations between our two countries". White Hall ordered Mr. Moynihan not to start for India and claimed clarification of her speech from the Indian Ambassador in U.S., Mr. L.K. Jha. In her clarification Mrs. Gandhi denied outright the charges and replied that she did not mean to criticize any country but had only made an objective assesment of the situation and its implication. She also stated that the racist colour given to her remarks by American news media was unwarranted. The U. S. A warmly accepted this clarification or denial, as we may say and Mr. Moynihan got permission to proceed for India. Now, may we ask her, did she not actually criticize the U. S. policy or rather piracy over Vietnam? Otherwise, had she been reciting an abstract poem aiming at none? Why did she bypass the 'savage bombing' used by her and the note of caution to maintain peace in Vietnam as it might be broken, referring to the failure of Versailles Treaty after World War I and outbreak of World War II? Is it not more logical that in this perspective violation of Geneva Agreement in 1954 by the U.S.A and its puppet Government in Saigon is much more relevantly related? Did she not actually hit the U. S. A. for who other else savagely bombarded the people of Vietnam?

In fact, she actually tried to stir up the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Asian nations, made a heroic gesture, posed to champion the cause of these nations to get hold of their leadership with a latent desire to make headway

## Glorious Victory of DSO

The West Bengal DSO achieved a significant victory when it won the post of General Secretary in the Students Union election at KN College (Morning) Berhampore. The Students Action Committee, comprising the DSO, the SFI and the PSU won absolute majority both in the morning and in the day departments.

In the Morning Section, the Action Committee secured 34 out of 54 seats while the Chhatra Parishad, could bag only 18 seats. Dinabandhu Roy of DSO was elected the G. S. in direct election.

In the Day Section the Action Committee secured 30 out of 33 seats. SFI and DSO candidates won the posts of GS and AGS respectively.

The thumping victory of the DSO and other Left students organisations is a clear indication of the growing popular resentment against fascist gangsterism of the Chhatra Parishad.

into the political arena of South-East Asia in order to fill the recent political vacuum created by this Paris peace agreement (which she had already done economically to a noticeable extent exporting finance capital to many of these countries as well as to the Far-East and African nations). But when pointed out by the attacked one, the 'Sun for Asian Liberation' promptly vanished through the western imperialist horizon! So, what was the need for making such a heroic mockery? Could she not question the U. S. pirates, "who has given you the 'noble responsibility' of waging a crusade against communism on the Asian soil and poke your nose into others' job?" and stick to her comment?

Even capitalist countries like Canada and Sweden vehemently attacked the U. S. A. for its such acts of barbarism in Vietnam but our 'great' Prime Minister made such

## Reorganisation of States

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reveal some narrow political interest of the ruling party and other reactionary political forces aiming at diverting the attention of the toiling people from their real enemy, the Indian capitalism.

We urge upon all the left and democratic forces in our country to carry forward a relentless struggle against the sinister design of the ruling Congress party and other reactionary parties and forces, keep ablaze the fighting unity of the working people of different communities, protect the right of the minorities, wherever they are, on the basis of unbreakable unity of the oppressed people, and maintain unflagging vigilance about the various conspiracies of the ruling capitalist class so as not to weaken the growing democratic mass struggle or revolutionary preparation in our country.

a great 'socialistic' and 'freedom finding' gesture that she had to stumble down the next day at the feet of 87.6 million-dollar of U. S. aid (for building up her highly professed 'socialism' and 'self sufficiency'?) committed just before the outbreak of Indo-Pak war! This hateful act has even been criticized by the Swedish economist Prof. Gunnar Myrdal in Delhi. No doubt a bold truth although apparently came out of her tongue, but when lashed at, she succumbed to the pressure and could not prove herself out-spoken. By such act of appeasement she not only ridiculed herself but also blackened the utter indignance of the people of India against the U. S. imperialism. And now where stands the warm ovation given to her 'progressive' and 'anti-imperialist role' by the two 'Communist' parties of India? Completely vaporised or suitably modified?

## Orisa Peasants Urged to Forge Unity

Jajpur, March 12—The Open Session of the Orisa State Conference of the Orisa Krishak-O-Khet Majuria Sangha was held at the maidan beside the Jajpur Road station on the 8th of March last, under the presidentship of Comrade Tapas Dutta, a renowned leader of the State. Peasants and agricultural labourers, several thousands strong, came to the open session in processions from various parts of the State.

After the opening song by the local unit of Mahila Samity, Com. Balaram Sahu, Secretary of the Orisa State Committee of the K K. M. S. presented his report which included a call for developing massive movement of the peasants and agricultural labourers on various pressing demands. A renowned leader Sri Nabakrushna Choudhury, former Chief Minister of Orisa was the Chief Guest. In his address he drew the attention of the people to the gross betrayal of different pledges given to the people during independence struggle by the Congress leaders. With concrete instances he showed how under Congress rule the sufferings of the poor people had increased manifold and morality gone down steeply. He urged upon the necessity of developing cultural revolution for the development of the masses.

SUC leader, Com. Subodh Banerjee main speaker in the open session elaborately dealt with the various problems of the peasants and agricultural labourers of Orisa. The concentration of land in the hands of a few rich peasants, radical reforms of the land tenure system, lack of drainage and irrigation facilities resulting in chronic annual feature of drought and flood, inability of the ruling bourgeoisie to mechanize and modernise agriculture and the essential necessity of carrying out anti-capitalist socialist revolution as means to complete the agrarian revolution and open the door of uninterrupted industrialisation of the country were highlighted

in his speech. He showed with figures how unemployment could not be solved in capitalist countries. He exposed the hollowness of rosy promises of the Congress (R) and the governments run by it and concluded his speech by pointing out that the ruling Congress was laying the economic foundation stone of fascism in our country. The necessity of carrying on cultural movements under the able guidance and banner of the Socialist Unity Centre of

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### Small-Scale Industries Workers Union in Jamshedpur

Workers engaged in small-scale industries in Jamshedpur area have recently formed a union—the "Small-scale Industries Workers Union" with Comrade Pritish Chanda as its President and Comrade Amriteswar Chakrabarty, the General Secretary.

At a meeting of the general members of the Union held at Jamshedpur on January 21 last, a Charter of Demands was formulated. Security of service, revision of pay-scales as per recommendation of Engineering Wage Board, Provident Fund, gratuity, bonus, medical facilities etc., constituted the main demands.

The Charter of Demands has been submitted to several employees.

Workers engaged in different small-scale units are coming forward in large numbers to swell the ranks of the Union.

## Historic Rally in Goalpara

More than ten thousand people held an historic rally in Goalpara, Assam on February 20. The rally was organised jointly by the Goalpara District Committee of the SUCI, the district committee of the Krishak & Khet Majdoor Federation, Landless Citizens' Committee of Goalpara and the Rickshaw Pullers' Union, affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani).

The rally demanded immediate survey and distribution of land; issuing deeds to landless peasants of Government vested lands; relief for and rehabilitation of Brahmaputra erosion victims; putting an end to police atrocities on rickshaw pullers and provision for rickshaw stands and erosion control measures in Kharmuja and Fakirganj etc.

Copies of memorandum were submitted on behalf of the rally to the Circle Officer of Balijana circle, the SDO Goalpara, and the Executive

Officer of the Brahmaputra Flood Control Commission—all of whom assured the demonstrators to do their best to meet the demands.

Among those who led the rally were, Comrades Dewan Jainal Abedin, Secretary, Goalpara Dist. Committee of the SUCI, Nazmul Haq, Secretary KKMf, Goalpara Dist. Committee, Manwar Hussain, Shahabuddin Ahmad, Abdul Hakim Sarkar, Mihir Chowdhury and Kalyan Choudhury, a prominent member of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI.

## School of Politics in U.P. And Haryana

Organised under the auspices of SUCI schools of politics were held on and from 11th February to 14th February last at Gaziabad in Uttar Pradesh and on 16th February last at Mokhra in Rohtak district in Haryana.

A large number of party cadres, supporters and sympathisers attended the schools in both the places. Com. Sankar Singh, a member of the Central Committee of the SUCI who led the discussions in both the schools dealt at length on various important topics concerning the communist movement in our

country. He urged upon the participants to mobilise all their efforts to build up the SUCI, the real communist party in our country. The discussions had created much enthusiasm among those who attended the schools.

### School of Politics in Dhanbad From Feb. 26 to 29

Under the auspices of the Dhanbad District Committee of the SUCI, a School of Politics was held at Dhanbad from February 26 to 28. Com. Shankar Singh, Secretary, Bihar State Committee of the Party conducted the School.

### Cast your Vote in favour of SUC Candidate Com. Nazmul Haq in the Assam Legislative Assembly Goalpara (West) by-election.

The Assam State Committee of SUCI, in an appeal urged the people of Goalpara (West) Constituency to cast their votes in favour of SUC Candidate Comrade Nazmul Haq, the only left contestant in the ensuing by-election. Comrade Nazmul

Haq, a member of the Assam State Committee of SUCI and a prominent peasant organiser, is a personality who has established himself as tried and tested through active participation in democratic and left movements for a prolonged period.

## DSO Scores Significant Victory in a Premier Calcutta College

When the student unions held for decades by the so-called big Left Student Organisations crumbled like houses of cards before the fascist onslaught of the Chhatra Parishad—the storm troopers brigade of Indira Congress, girl students of Democratic Students Organisation achieved yet another glorious victory and this time in Jogamaya Devi College, one of the premier colleges in Calcutta.

In the students union election held on March 3 and 4, the DSO candidates won 31 out of 44 seats declared so far. This has given the DSO an absolute majority in a house of 51. The Chhatra Parishad, which employed every possible means at its hand to oust DSO from the office of the Union, had to remain contented with only 13 seats.

During the days preceding the election the Parishad storm troopers raged a reign of terror. Notorious goondas and local rough toughs, led by the State Parishad leaders, repeatedly raided the girls college, tore down posters, hurled insults and abusive words on the girl students and professors who dared protest against this vandalism and went even so low as to assault the girl students and even some professors and the Principal, and also tried to snatch the nomination papers of DSO candidates. The college campus was virtually turned into a battlefield with a regiment of armed goondas on the one side and on the other side, the unarmed, but courageous, girl students determined to give a crushing defeat to this growing force of fascism.

Victory sided with righteousness and the general students of the college, who led by the DSO, not only successfully resisted this fascist onslaught on them but also came out with flying colours by their sweeping victory over the Chhatra Parishad.

Com. Chhaya Mukherjee, Secretary WBDSO and Com. Bhaskar Gupta, Secretary Calcutta District DSO, while congratulating the girl students of Jogamaya Devi

College for their heroic victory said, "The students of Jogamaya Devi College have set up a unique example of resistance against the all-out fascist attack of the Chhatra Parishad. Only a month back the students of another women's College, Muralidhar Girls College put up similar heroic resistance against Chhatra Parishad gangsterism and achieved a similar glorious victory. We have no doubt that the heroic example of courage and determination set up by the girl students of Jogamaya Devi College and Muralidhar Girls College will act as a great inspiration to all the progressive and democratic students in the country in their struggle against the fascist onslaught of the Chhatra Parishad gangsters."

### School of Politics at Joynagar

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history has unquestionably devolved on us it is essential that, to be worthy of it, our leaders and workers should devote themselves wholeheartedly to practice in their life the higher standard of communist ethics, morality and ideology and build up mighty workers and peasants' struggles and united democratic mass movements.

During this School of Politics seven separate study circles also took place.

A call was also given from this School camp to all the district committees to render all out efforts to make the ensuing "anti-unemployment stay-in programme" under the joint auspices of 26 mass organisations to be held in Calcutta on March 28, a grand success.

## SUC Leaders Held in Muzaffarpur

Comrade Shiv Shankar, Secretary, Muzaffarpur district Committee of the SUCI and Comrade Samsul Huda, Secretary Kanti Thana Committee of the Kishan & Khet Mazdoor Sangh were arrested by Muzaffarpur police on March 2nd on a false charge of dacoity. Some days ago police conducted a search raid on the house of Comrade Shiv Shankar and Comrade Baleswar Rasulpuri, a member of the District Committee of the Party.

Only recently Com. Shiv Shankar was arrested and detained by police for several months on false charges of being engaged in Naxalite activities.

It may be mentioned here that, police repression on and harrasment of SUC organisers and workers in Muzaffarpur and other districts of Bihar have recently been intensified following the state-wide movement of the peasants and agricultural labourers launched by the SUC and

the KKMS. Acting hand-in-glove with jotedars and reactionary forces, the police are harassing SUC workers in other areas too by implicating them in false cases of dacoity and murder.

Even the leaders are not being spared of such harassment. Recently an attempt was made to arrest a prominent member of the Party State Committee, Comrade N. R. Singh by involving him in a false case of murder.

## Jajpur K K M S Conference

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India, the only real Communist Party in our country was strongly emphasised. Other speakers included Comrade B. Jena, a well-known labour leader in the State. Three resolutions were adopted—

(i) Condemning the imposition of President's rule in Orisa.

(ii) Condemning the recent provincial riot and urging communal amity among different sections of the people speaking different languages.

(iii) On Vietnam.

At the end of the open session a film depicting Vietnam liberation struggle, presented by the Vietnamese people was shown and it moved the audience deeply.

The delegate session was held on 9th and 10th March last at Sankhachila village. About four hundred delegates from Balasore, Cuttack, Keonjhor, Mayurbhanj, Puri, Sambalpur and Sundergarh districts attended the delegate session. The session adopted a main resolution containing about forty demands of the peasants and agricultural

labourers of the State and formed a strong State Committee for extending the activities and setting up organisational network of K K M S throughout Orisa.

### Peace March by Rourkela Workers

More than 2000 workers of different factories, under the banner of SUCI, Sundergarh District Committee, paraded different streets of Steel Township and Civil Township of Rourkela on 25.2.73.

The demonstration was led by Com. B. Jena, Secretary, Sundergarh Dist. Committee, SUCI. The demonstration raised various slogans urging the people to maintain communal amity and demanding stern steps against anti-social and communal elements.

### Union Budget

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under the leadership of a genuine working class party, miseries cannot end out of their own but will perpetuate spelling doom to lives and livings of common people. Time has come to be awake and surge forward.