

# Proletarian Era

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Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA  
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## Myth of BJP's Principled Politics

A parliamentary election which the Indian people did not want but was thrust upon them and whose financial burden they have to bear is over. In the rat race for power the BJP emerged as the winner and came to occupy the seat of governmental power, albeit on a somewhat shaky foundation. For quite some time before the elections the print and the electronic media, the manipulators of public opinion, tried to project the BJP as a viable alternative, alone capable of forming a stable government. The monopolists

were strongly behind the BJP. The media build up and the money power succeeded in creating a halo around the BJP. Our party, the SUCI, had earlier discussed exhaustively how the ruling capitalist class was trying to project the BJP as an alternative to both the Congress and the UF-LF combine and was all out to build up a positive image of the BJP. They aimed to create a public perception that the BJP is a party with a difference, a principled, cohesive and disciplined organization upholding probity in public life. And

Atal Behari Vajpayee was projected as a towering leader, a statesman par excellence, whose popularity and acceptability was said to cut across party lines. We showed that as people were getting more and more disgusted with the corruption and antics of the Congress and the UF-LF leaders, the capitalist class tried to place before the people the BJP because they know that the BJP would serve them as well as the Congress and the UF did in the past. But what is the reality?

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## Remembering Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh On the Occasion of 50th Anniversary of SUCI

*In the history of our party, the 50th Anniversary is a great occasion not only for the rank and file throughout the country, but also for the common people at large, who are eagerly awaiting this day because they need to know the correct line with the help of which they can conduct their struggle against the serious, burning problems plaguing their life. We are observing the anniversary against the background of a critical situation. Recently we witnessed a UF government at the Centre where the CPI was a direct participant and the CPI(M) an indirect one. The people who take what these parties represent to be communism, are learning from their own experience that they have become a part of the establishment to defend the exploitative system. It is known to all that after the last general election a government has been installed that is headed by the BJP, a menacingly rabid Hindu fundamentalist force, a highly reactionary and dark fascist force, under the garb of sweet words of political consensus and value based politics. The BJP is a party that*



*thrives, even more than the other bourgeois parties, and is fanning up communalism, casteism, parochialism and every kind of division, with the only object of safeguarding the present exploitative system; and who despite tall talk is already corrupt through and through. In this background we think it a fit occasion to recall some teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved, departed leader, teacher and guide and founder General Secretary of our Party, not only on some political but also on some cultural aspects, in brief.*

*..." When man is in dire distress or faces starvation to death, only two courses are open to him. If he has a certain standard of morality-ethics, he can step on the path of movement. If he lacks this, he can become a beggar, can degenerate into an unprincipled being, into depravity or into a criminal. like, say, a wagon-breaker — but he cannot become a part of the force of movement. So, it is not true that a man becomes militant just because he is deprived, faces starvation or is*

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To Observe 50th Anniversary of SUCI  
24TH APRIL

**CENTRAL RALLY**

Saheed Minar Maidan, Calcutta 4 p.m.

*Main Speaker :*

**Comrade Nihar Mukherjee**

*President :*

**Comrade Prithish Chanda**

Leaders of State Committees of  
Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar,  
Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka,  
Kerala, Maharashtra, MP, Orissa,  
Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu,  
Tripura, UP, West Bengal  
will also address.

# On Economic Crisis in South-East Asia

In the wake of the recent severe economic crisis that has hit the countries of South-East Asia, USA has appeared in Indonesia with a package of economic, political and military help. The disaffection among the people there that has been kept suppressed during the rule of autocratic, fascist Suharto reign of 30 years at a stretch, has now burst out in disregard of the government repression under pressure of economic crisis, unprecedented price rise, retrenchment and contraction of employment opportunity. Strong demands for Suharto's resignation have been voiced by student demonstrations and mass movements. The prompt US appearance as the saviour of Suharto has once more conclusively proved that the US imperialism is the greatest enemy of mass movements, of the peoples all over the globe. Under the protective umbrella provided by US help, Suharto has been "elected" as the President for the seventh time.

The US concern to protect Suharto is not difficult to understand. In 1965, Suharto, with the help of world imperialism, killed over one lakh communists and democratic-minded people in Indonesia and established black autocratic rule, in order to block the spread of communism there. President Suharto has been serving world imperialism since then. Reward for such service is due. Moreover, US prestige, its influence in South-East Asia had reached the lowest ebb after the beating the US had taken in the Vietnam war. In recent years, the US has been active in a bid to reinstate the same. Imperialist capital, particularly US imperialist capital, is finding its way into crisis-ridden Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines in the name of IMF loan to "save" the governments there. IMF loan is in reality a death trap. Through such loans coming in the garb of help, the imperialist powers actually swallow up the weaker countries economically, taking advantage of their economic crises. They set the conditionalities of loans with this objective in view, the burden of which has to be borne by the common people of the debtor countries.

The economic crisis in the South-East Asian countries has also shown that the way these countries were projected as the "Asian Tigers" and their supposed advancement held as models for development of the backward countries through "free" and open market, globalization and export-oriented industrialization for the past 20 years or so, — was nothing but planned, orchestrated false propaganda conducted by world imperialism and its servers. The protagonists of "free" market economy and globalization in our country too have been harping on the same tune citing these countries as bright examples of economic development in South-East Asia.

Besides, there is another group of people who are not opposed to free market and globalization in principle, but are opposed to unfettered free market and total abolition of government control. They feel that it is necessary to open the doors to foreign capital and establish free market economy as required to be helpful to the national interest, under government surveillance. The rightist BJP and the "leftist" CPI(M) adhere to this view, and some people of such opinion are to be found within the Congress and the smaller bourgeois parties also — despite the differences of expression between them. The economic crisis of

South Korea has also proved their concept of controlled free market economy and globalization to be unrealistic and wrong. The economic debacle of South Korea and other South-Eastern Asian countries has shown that the slogan of economic advancement through free market, foreign capital support and export-oriented industrialization, whether government-controlled or unfettered, is in reality nothing but a well-planned hoax.

What is the picture of this economic crisis from country to country? The US newsmagazine *Times* dated 26.1.98 has shown at a glance: the biggest commercial bank of Japan, Hokkaido Takushoku, has gone bankrupt under a debt burden of \$ 7510 crore; the giant Yamaichi Securities has closed down under a debt-burden of \$ 2520 crore. The Peregrine Investment Holding, the biggest in Hongkong, with 1750 employees over the world, has become bankrupt with a \$ 100 crore debt. Only in December 1997, 56 financial investment companies in Thailand had to be closed down by the government there, because they had gone bankrupt; 20,000 employees lost their jobs as a result. The Indonesian government has closed down 16 banks out of which 2 were owned by the family of President Suharto. The second largest automobile manufacturer of South Korea, the Kya industrial group, has become bankrupt with a debt of \$ 1000 crore and so has the Hanbo group engaged in steel making and building industry, its debt-burden being \$ 600 crore.

In general, the results of this economic crisis in these countries are: 1. Deficit in foreign trade (exception: Japan). 2. Industrial, banking and financial investment concerns going bankrupt. 3. Continual devaluation of the currency (exception: Japan). 4. Unprecedented price rise. 5. Widespread lay-off, retrenchment and contraction of employment.

In the post-Second World War period, especially during the sixties and the seventies, the capitalist world had played up the "economic advancement" of Japan as a historic example. What they used to play down was: Japan's economic development was not self-reliant, it was mainly dependent on US help. At that time, in the interest of building up military bases in Japan breathing down the shoulders of socialist Soviet Union and China, the USA aided Japan profusely in the economic field. Not only was modern technology provided, but opportunities for import of Japanese goods into the US market were allowed. But the development in Japan got into the doldrums in the eighties and the recession started. The bourgeois economists used to say then that such temporary slump was nothing unusual, it was sure to pass off soon. Japan's problem is, there is not enough market to sell the produces of its huge, modern industrial capacity. Moreover, due to Japan's strong role in world trade, the Japanese yen is gaining in value relative to the other currencies. As a result, Japanese commodities are becoming costlier in export market. Higher price of Japanese export is worsening the recession, and no way out can be found. The *Time* magazine dated 16.2.98 has commented: "...The facts are stark enough. South-East Asia and South Korea need the oxygen of debt relief from Japanese banks. But they can't afford it: those same banks have a

combined portfolio of some \$600 billion in bad loans... Even more extraordinary is Tokyo's inability to get its own economy to grow after seven years of torpor. A series of so-called stimulus packages has fizzled out". We have already mentioned the bankruptcy of the Hokkaido Takushoku bank and the Yamaichi Securities. In April of last year, the Nissan Mutual Life Insurance went bankrupt; throwing out 3,500 employees; Sanyo Securities became bankrupt; the electronic giant Matsushita has retrenched 5,400 workers since 1993; a group of Japanese scholars and administrators has assessed that 10% of the country's 65 million work-force could be unemployed by the year 2000; already, the unemployment rate is around 3.5% — higher than at any time since World War II (Source: the *Time*, dated 16.2.98)

The economy of South Korea, trumpeted as the symbol of "amazing progress", is reeling; stricken with a staggering debt-burden, that country has had to beg for and secure a loan of \$ 6000 crore from the IMF, the IMF's biggest ever loan package. (*Time*, 15.12.97). About the characteristics of South Korean economy, an article in *Social Scientist*, a magazine reflecting CPI(M) views, observed in an article in its issue of November-December, 1996: "...export promotion and import substitution were not considered as two alternative and conflicting development strategies. South Korea emphasized exports. She also developed industries which not only substituted imports but also subsequently helped export generation. South Korea shows how both can be pursued and how one aids the other.

Economic nationalism appears to have been the guiding spirit behind many of the government's actions. South Korea's development model actually can be characterized as one of government intervention for national capitalist growth. It was believed that the Korean economy cannot be developed unless the Korean enterprises develop. Foreign enterprises were not allowed to grow at the cost of Korean enterprises. Uncontrolled foreign direct investment was considered to be detrimental to national development goals. Foreign capital and technology were used but were regulated to fit in with the national priorities."

As if, they want to say that let there be free market and entry of foreign capital in India; but if a balance is struck as in South Korea, then the national interest can be safeguarded and crisis averted. Is there a basic difference between this approach and the BJP's idea of controlled, Swadeshi globalization? But the present severe economic crisis in South Korea makes a mockery of such hollow analyses.

The motivated US backing behind South Korea's "amazing economic progress" is often slurred over. In reality, the USA provided capital and technology to South Korea and offered preferential treatment to that country for entry of its produces into the US market in the post-World War II period in order to develop it as a strong US-influenced area right at the doorsteps of socialist China and North Korea for pressurizing those countries all the time. The present developments show that the claim that South Korea has stood up to be powerful and prosperous

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# Imperialist Capital Squeezes the Country

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by following the path of capitalistic development through self-reliance in the present era of intense general crisis of world capitalism even though it had been a colony earlier — is a blatant lie.

The same article in the *Social Scientist* noted with appreciation how thorough land reform and redistribution of land facilitated capitalist development in South Korea and commented that "...Absence of land reforms has been a major hindrance to the development of poor countries..." It is well known that the CPI (M) and the CPI hold that radical land reform can lay the basis of widespread industrialization in India. By this, they try to hide the stark fact that the capitalist system here is itself the stumbling block on the path to unfettered industrialization. Even after such "radical" land reforms and subsequent industrial growth, we witness the present severe economic crisis in South Korea. What explanation of this have the CPI(M) and CPI circles to offer?

Extreme centralization of capital has come about in South Korea. 70 % of the total industrial output is produced by only 30 monopoly industrial groups. One of these, the Halla group, has announced a 50 % retrenchment of its shipbuilding workers. The biggest of the industrial groups, Samsung, clamped down a wage-freeze from 1996. Now they are out to have a reduction in the wages. Another big industrial group, the Daewoo, has already cut the wages of executives by 15 %. By March last year, the total foreign debt of South Korea had swelled to \$ 11,000 crore. (*Time*, 15.12.97) In December-January last year, there was a sharp fall in the value of won, the South Korean currency, the exchange-rate of won in relation to dollar jumping from 800 wons per dollar to 2090.

Why is this widespread crisis in South Korea? *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, a Bengali daily commented on 14th January last : "Korean goods did not enjoy good sale in international market. Due to easy availability of bank loan and because of high productivity, huge quantities of commodities were produced a big part of which remained unsold. If we look at the general growth of export market during the past few years, this recession is striking. It is not that the Korean goods fare very badly. In reality, they wanted to jack up the growth rate even further. But the worldwide recession did not allow it. So, export earning could not boost the Korean economy. As a result, the bank loans could not be repaid. The value of Korean currency has fallen". (translation ours)

In our country, it is said that the reasons for the economic distress are that Indian commodities are not of good quality and the workers' productivity in this country is low — that is why Indian goods do not find export markets. Not only the owner-capitalists and management experts but even the official "leftists" in our country say like this. If the securing of export market or inability to do so had depended on these, then the South Korean economy would not have collapsed like this. The real problem is the market-crisis. To ensure more profit, the owner-capitalists are cutting down production cost all the time and increasing both productivity and production through latest technology, but the market is not expanding in the same proportion, there is recession in the market. This market-crisis is the

crisis of capitalist economy. This crisis is not such that it can be dispelled through capitalist planning or increase of productivity or adjustments under capitalism. The characteristics of capitalist crisis which Marx showed 150 years back, are still valid. He showed that overproduction, anarchy in production and market-recession are intrinsic malaise of capitalism — only socialism can free the society from such evils. South Korea too, in its bid to achieve highest export, that is, to capture more markets, has given a fillip to anarchy in production. Even a myriad of controls exercised by the government has not been able to put a halt to this endemic anarchy of capitalist production. As a result, overproduction and recession have combinedly undermined the economy there.

Profiles of the economic crises of the South-East Asian countries like Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippines are more or less similar. Continual increase of foreign debt, deficit in export-import trade, crisis in the share market, continual devaluation of indigenous currency resulting in spiralling price rise, lay-offs, retrenchment and factory closures in industry — a total uncertainty in social life. The question is: How has the economic prosperity of these countries, lauded by IMF bosses and stalwart capitalist economic experts as historical examples for more than the past 10 years, collapsed all on a sudden like a house of cards? Was such propaganda then motivated so that the common people of these countries could be duped into swallowing the bait of free market economy? This was exactly so. The so-called economic progress of these countries was founded on quicksand.

Firstly, whatever bright picture of progress through export might have been held aloft, everybody ? admits now that there is world-wide recession. Many of the countries have never experienced such intense recession after the Second World War. Sales in world market have dropped down due to this recession. Moreover, China has appeared in this contracted market as a competitor. As everyone knows, the revisionist Chinese leadership has leaned on free market economy on the plea of achieving economic progress and has opened the doors to foreign capital. As a result, imperialist capital started entering into China in order to plunder profit by exploiting efficient and cheap labour power of China. It is in this way that imperialist capital, especially Japanese imperialist capital entered South-East Asia during the eighties to bring about "industrialization" with the purpose of exploiting the cheap labour and raw materials there. China too, has now effected similar "industrialization" and started looking for markets outside. In order to sell in the present recessionary world market, China has had to attempt an artificial boosting of its export through devaluation of its currency. If a country devalues its currency, that lowers prices of its produce in foreign markets. As a result, its competitiveness in the export market increases to some extent artificially. Artificially, because such reduction in prices is not natural or healthy for it causes widespread price rise within the country and its indebtedness and costs of import rise. For example, if our Rupee is devalued from Rs. 32 per dollar to Rs 40 per dollar, what results from this? If the price of sugar in India is Rs 16 per kg, the foreign purchaser who used to pay one dollar for 2 kg sugar, could now have 2.5 kg per dollar.

That is, price of Indian sugar would go down in the export market. On the other hand, if the foreign debts now total \$ 1000 crore, although it would remain unchanged in terms of dollar, the indebtedness would rise from Rs. 32,000 crore to Rs. 40,000 crore at one stroke in Indian currency. Import worth each dollar would then be costing Rs. 40 instead of the Rs 32 as at present. This would adversely affect prices of all imported commodities or commodities produced / manufactured in India incorporating foreign materials/components and this burden would have to be borne by the common people. But all countries are taking to this artificial method to sell more in the present recessionary market. This is one of the reasons why India has devalued its currency several times in recent years.

In 1994, China devalued its currency by 33 % at one go. In 1986 China's share in the total export by the Asian countries to the USA was 6 %. In 1996, this increased to 26 %. As a result, apart from the worldwide general recession, Chinese competition created additional pressure in the export market of the South-East Asian countries, affecting all of them. In July 1997, Thailand devalued its currency. This was followed by Indonesia which devalued its currency substantially. Devaluation went on in the South-East Asian countries.

The second reason of the crisis is debt-burden and deficit in import-export trade. The "industrialization" of South-East Asia has been through the help of foreign capital, especially Japanese capital and based on export trade. In the eighties, Japan, hit by recession, turned its eyes towards South-East Asia to cut down production costs in order to maximize profit. However much the protagonists of free market economy in our country might hail foreign capital as the saviour and however much might Jyoti Basu salute the Anglo-American capitalists and sing their praise, foreign capital does not enter a country for charity or social welfare. It comes to reap profit by exploiting the cheap labour and raw materials. It is for this very reason that Japanese capital entered SE Asia. Firstly, wages in these countries are a fraction of what they are in the advanced countries, but the workers are efficient. Secondly, the advantage of the low transportation cost in these countries. Thirdly, for the exemption of/ rebate on duties obtainable from the rulers of these countries. Fourthly, to take advantage of favourable conditions for exploitation created by the autocratic rulers of these countries through suppressing the working class movements under the boots of police-military. It is for these reasons that imperialistic multinational capital brings about an industrialization of sorts in these countries. Such industries based on foreign capital and latest technology have little employment potential.

As a result of industrialization of this kind, a small, relatively affluent middle class is created but income of the bulk of the people does not rise. Rather, due to price rise, their purchasing power dwindles. That is, such kind of industrialization does not expand the internal market appreciably. Again, in the bid to retain the export markets anyhow, fresh crises arises in two ways.

Firstly, in order to retain the export markets in the face of stiff competition, huge capital input is needed continually. So, to import foreign capital

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# Bourgeoisie can not today bring about Industrial Revolution

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and technology at ever increasing rate, these countries step more and more on to the path of free market economy. Gradually, steps like full convertibility of foreign money, that is, convertibility of import export (capital account convertibility), permission to remit profit on invested capital in foreign currency, permission to retrench workers at will, granting the right to close down factories and take out the capital (exit policy), permission for unrestricted foreign investment in the home share market — have to be resorted to. The more they open the doors like this, the more is the inflow of usurious foreign capital into the share market.

Lenin showed that in the stage of imperialism, crisis-ridden capitalism has given birth to huge surplus idle capital. Due to recession, this capital, instead of being invested in productive industries, is operating in usurious money-lending business, in share market and speculation to earn quick superprofit. Such capital, devoid of any social responsibility, rushes to any area where chance of profit can be sensed, and tries to fly away from wherever there is risk. Inflow of foreign capital increased four-fold between 1986 and 1989 in Thailand where the present crisis in South-East Asia began. After 1990, foreign mutual funds started entering into the Thai share market. Between 1993 and 1996, \$ 5,000 crore came in as loans and the trade-debt went on increasing.

Secondly, how much exports are rising and how much foreign exchange is being earned, are declared with fanfare during export-oriented industrialization. But silence is maintained about how much imported materials or components are being used up to manufacture the export commodities. A study shows that 78% of the materials/components used in production by 18 foreign multinational companies in Malaysia are imported. Therefore, whatever remains of the gross export earning after deducting interest on loans, share of profit for the owners of foreign capital, royalty for making use of imported technology and the expenses on imports — is the real income from export. The overall cost of imports is higher than the total income from exports in case of South-East Asian countries. The World Bank Report for 1997 shows that the trade deficit (current account deficit) is on the increase for Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. The same thing is now happening in India. Up to January of the current financial year, the export earnings totaled Rs. 101848 crore whereas the import expenses were Rs. 1,22,355 crore. During the past one year, the trade deficit increased by 35.13%. Therefore, the general trend is one of trade deficit in South-East Asia and this deficit is increasing continually.

How is such deficit made up? Simply, by taking loans. More foreign capital and loans are secured and the deficit is made up with the same. After fresh loans, the process of their repayment goes on. So, despite industrialization and increase in exports, the country's net income does not rise. Rather, trade deficit increases, debts keep on piling. The interest payable on the loans goes on increasing till a stage is reached when a big part of the total earnings goes away for debt-servicing. Then that country is said to have fallen into debt

trap from which it is nearly impossible to come out. This is a new tactic of neo-colonial exploitation by imperialism. The imperialist countries ensure inflow of their surplus capital in the name of loan and help and suck out a big chunk of the earnings of a country as interest. It is possible to thus boost an economy artificially despite huge indebtedness and ever increasing trade deficit and secure timely loan repayments only till such time as foreign capital and loans are freely available. But this cannot go on for long. At some stage, the gap between total debt servicing requirement and fresh loans available becomes a yawning one. Even if repayment of long term loans can be staved off somewhat, instalments of short term loan repayment tighten round the neck like a noose. In such a situation, the economic downslide takes a new turn and accelerates.

When a country reaches a stage where it cannot repay instalments of short term loans, its internal distressing condition, so long kept suppressed, becomes overt. In 1996, Thailand reached such a stage. So, its credibility in the matter of securing loans and capital suffered erosion. There are some recognized international bodies to assess this credibility. One of these, the Moodies Investment Service, lowered Thailand's credibility-rating from A2 category to A3 in 1997.

When a country gets emaciated through providing repayment of and debt-servicing for foreign capital, imports and foreign loans, that is through imperialist exploitation and loses credibility, another ruinous process sets in. The foreign organizations and agencies start taking out their moneys from its stock market, because who would stake money on a lame horse? As per rules of free market economy, such investment is to be paid back in foreign currency.

So, this creates sudden, additional pressure on the depleted foreign exchange reserve of the country in question. Due to such excessive demand of payment in foreign exchange, the value of the indigenous currency takes a nose-dive. In such condition, the means of keeping the exchange rate stable is to provide additional foreign exchange. The government of the country in question tries to tide over the crisis by releasing the foreign exchange reserve in government funds through its principal bank. The governments of Thailand and Indonesia have tried this more than once. By this, the economic landslide could be slowed down for some time, but could not be stopped. Rather, the government reserves got depleted.

When a country reaches such a pass, the speculators jump it to tear it apart like the vultures flock down upon an unclaimed dead body in a dumping ground. Taking advantage of the instability in the exchange rate of the currency of a country, they buy up dollars with the indigenous currency only to sell it later at higher rates. They corner and stockpile huge amounts of dollar by spending many crores. So, there are cries in distress for need of dollars in the market. Value of indigenous currency depreciates and so the price of dollars increases relative to it. Then they sell out the hoarded dollars. One such huge speculative agency is the George Soares group, praised day in and day out by the protagonists of

the new industrial policy based on free market economy in India. Since one of the bigwigs of this group happened to be a Bengalee, the Bengali newspapers projected him almost like an illustrious pioneer of the Bengali race of this era and the CPI(M), and Jyoti Basu personally too, tried utmost to curry the favour of this group for securing its help in the "industrialization" of West Bengal. The US journal *Workers' World* dated 16.10.97 reported that the finance baron George Soares has been working in East Europe in collusion with the US ruling circles and the CIA. It is this George Soares group that put in huge sums of money in stock market speculation in Malaysia taking advantage of instability in the money market there and turned the economic decline of that country into a disaster in order to reap superprofit. This charge has been leveled by none else than the Prime Minister of Malaysia.

In the ongoing process of economic disaster, the IMF is now ready to strike a blow. Already, South Korea (\$ 6000 crore), Indonesia (\$ 4000 crore) and Thailand (\$ 1700 crore) are at the doors of the IMF, begging bowls in hand, for huge loans. The World Bank and the IMF are imperialistic agencies, their job is to restructure the economies of debtor countries through the conditionalities of loan in such a way as facilitates fulfillment of the interest of imperialism. While granting loans, the conditionalities they prescribe as means of tiding over the crises are: a) The free market economy should be made more free, wide open to outside. b) Deficit in the government budget is to be reduced, and for this purpose, government subsidies to the social welfare measures including those for health and education are to be abolished. c) More privatisation is to be effected. d) Instead of an outlook of social welfare, a profit-oriented approach is to be adopted in all spheres including education and health. e) The social security schemes would have to be abolished. Needless to say, such conditionalities would make people's life more miserable and widespread price-rise and retrenchment would go on.

The question may naturally arise that this being so, why did the leaders of these countries take to this path? Would not have economic advance been possible on the basis of national capital pursuing the ideal of patriotism instead of welcoming foreign capital? In fact, Thailand and Indonesia started development in this fashion during the fifties and sixties, but they got afflicted with recession before long. The reason for this is inherent in the inexorable laws of development of capitalism. By analyzing the character of capitalism, Karl Marx showed that capital always tends to accumulate — capital keeps on growing by incorporating a part of the profit in it. Later on Lenin showed that, in this way, small national capital becomes big capital and then grows into monopoly capital. The more centralized capital becomes, the higher the productivity it attains. With the growth in production, a stage is reached when the national market does not suffice for it anymore, it has to sell its surplus products in foreign markets. In the face of stiff competition in the international market, it needs new technology, raw materials from abroad. So, foreign exchange is needed. Nowadays,

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# Remembering Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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struck by blows of miserable existence. An effective movement would crystallize among the student-youths, the workers-peasants of the country just because of dire distress and crisis — I do not believe in such a theory, nor does our party. This is not in accordance with Marxism-Leninism. No Marxist-Leninist can subscribe to such a theory of spontaneous movement. So, I want to stress that if all the problems are analyzed with a view to building up movements, then the question of moral degradation, of the low cultural standard becomes very important because it is these that are eating into the vitals of our morals and damaging the vital essence of political principles and ideology — trying to destroy these from behind.” ...

“...Those who build up revolutionary movement and struggle, start the battle against injustice have to put in more effort, suffer more grievous losses, sacrifice more... Their attitude should be that they must protest against injustice, they would rather die than give up the struggle. The groundwork of struggle against injustice, of revolutionary movement has been laid on the basis of such mentality in every country. It is in this way that the revolutionaries laid the foundation for revolution brick by brick. Only after that could the revolution come.” (free translation)

“...We know that Marxism-Leninism is the only revolutionary theory, the most scientific and the loftiest ideology of this age, which alone can free man from this crippled capitalist society and give birth to a classless new society free from all sorts of exploitation of man by man. And we all know that a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary theory always give birth to a higher cultural and ethical standard. It is impossible to organize revolution in any country unless the people of the country attain the minimum necessary cultural and ethical standard ... The essence, the living soul, the kernel of any great and revolutionary ideology of every age is ingrained in its higher cultural and ethical standard. The communists of today must assimilate the living soul or kernel of the proletarian culture — a much higher cultural-ethical standard and sense of values than even the highest of the humanist culture, ethics and sense of values the bourgeois revolution of that age could attain...”

“...the culture and ethical conduct of the leaders and workers, in tune with their revolutionary ideology and principle, act as the most powerful vehicle — besides campaign and propaganda — to carry the proletarian politics, revolutionary ideology and culture to the masses. Because, especially it is by the life examples of the leaders and cadres that people first get attracted to revolutionary ideologies and revolutionary struggles, and only afterwards do they begin to realize gradually the theories of revolution... This is so important because of the high esteem in which the people of our country once held communism and also because the communist moral values have become greatly tarnished today — thanks to the moral standard, lack of scruples and day-to-day conduct and the individual life style of the leaders and cadres of these so-called communist parties. The problem is that since they go by the name ‘communist’, the people take them to be genuine communists and their conduct to be the true communist conduct.

Since, however, they are not really communists, rather they masquerade in the cloak of communism, so it is precisely their wrong politics and utterly non-Marxist approach in individual life and conduct that have in fact caused this present state of widespread confusion in the mass mind about communism and the communist moral values...” “And if the masses remain slaves to the low standard of bourgeois and feudal culture, they may fall victim to reaction at any moment when faced with utter failure of democratic mass movements and countrywide frustration, and may even turn into a counterrevolutionary reserve force in the hands of reaction, as we witnessed in Indonesia.”

“...Communalism still remains with its deadly influence over our people, manifesting itself in the ugliest forms of communal frenzy and communal violence at the slightest provocation, as before... In the course of the political movement against imperialism, the Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically but for failure on the part of the leadership of our national liberation movement to accomplish, in the main, the tasks of social and cultural revolutions for democratization of the society against feudalism, feudal disunity and religious bondage, the Indian people remained socially and culturally divided into different communities disunited by religion, caste, language race etc. “...Even after coming to power the nationalist leadership did not rectify the wrong approach of theirs in this respect. The present rulers of our country, in place of carrying out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions, are only aiding more enthusiastically, in the name of secularism, the anti-secular forces and tendencies by encouraging all sorts of religious customs, conventions and prejudices, which have increased several times compared to the pre-independence days. It is no wonder that in the circumstances the slogan of Hindu revivalism is finding a strong foothold now.”...” Secular means worldly, pertaining to this world. Therefore, all secular concepts start from non-recognition of any supernatural entity. But in India, the term secular state has been reduced to mean equal patronage to all religions. This, no doubt, goes to the credit of statesmen, ‘theorists’ and political leaders of the country. But we are either erring from ignorance or have deliberately lost sight of the fact that the concept of secular state developed with the object of freeing the state, the social and economic life, the political and cultural movement from the influence of the church and religion. This is the very foundation of the secular democratic concept of life and secular humanism. It is not difficult to understand the role of the Congress leaders and the bourgeois intellectuals, but what is amazing is the concept of secularism betrayed in the idea, behaviour, everyday conduct and increasing patronage to religious ceremonies of many so-called Marxist and communist leaders. To what all these leaders together have reduced the meaning of secular state, cannot but naturally give rise to a question in the mind of all right thinking men: If Pakistan is called an Islamic state, a theocratic state, because it patronizes the Islamic religion, can India which patronizes and encourages all religions be called anything but a multi-theocratic state?...” “A really secular state considers religion the private affair of its citizens and... guarantees full freedom to the believers to

profess any faith as well as to the non-believers...”

“...So the programme for the democratic movement should not exhaust itself in economic and political demands alone as in the past. It should include the tasks of social and cultural revolution in our country which remain unaccomplished even today. ...”

“...In order to create a situation when a protracted revolutionary struggle can be transformed into the struggle for seizure of State power, the revolutionaries have to wage a sustained and painstaking struggle, every day at that by coordinating three tasks — the struggle to build up the party organisation on the one hand and, on the other, the struggle to build up the organizations of democratic mass movements, and, thirdly, propagating the revolutionary ideology...”

“We should realize, the revolutionary struggle has so many stages of development. It has different phases of growth. When the thought of revolution strikes the human mind, or in other words, when, centering round the class contradiction and conflict in society, the burn of revolution is felt in order to fulfill the yearning for emancipation from exploitation and oppression, this revolutionary thought stirs up the human mind. And under its impact man is inspired to build up the revolutionary party and lead revolution through to success...”

“Step up political initiative, bring your political initiative to the fore. ...come forward with the dare to lead the masses in movement exercising your own brain. Try to organize it. Take the initiative to coordinate the movement with the party’s theory, principles, the strategy and tactics of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and accordingly conduct the movement... Move ahead, masses are behind you. Mix with them, any section of the people in office, establishments, localities. Build up organisation of any kind, attract the people by your sober behaviour, charm and qualities. Keep yourself engaged with patience in such organisation and lead them...”

“By political power of the people is meant building up politically and organizationally alert struggling committees of the masses in general and of the youth in particular in villages and towns. Those who will lead and conduct such committees must be able to perform any kind of work on the basis of base political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution by exercising their own brains, initiative and creativity. They establish leadership over the oppressed masses not by using threat and coercion, not with the help of police and administration nor by rowdiness but by virtue of their worth, human qualities, personality, superior and matured thinking, integrity of character, power of thinking and organizing ability — those who, individually and collectively, can confront any situation with calm resoluteness against odds and get the essential work done. This is the need of the hour.”

## Sources :

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# BJP's Hidden Agenda real danger to the country

(Contd. from page 1)

How true are the claims of honesty, dedication and discipline which the BJP leaders are so fond of repeating in their public utterances? Long before their halo started to dim with their post-poll wheelings and dealings, the shining armour of the BJP discipline was tarnished by the happenings in Gujarat. In a state considered to be the BJP stronghold, Shakar Singh Vaghella defected from the party bringing a long list of allegations against the leadership. There were ugly scenes of physical violence in public meetings. Many were the manoeuvres and counter-manoevres and how much money changed hands during these episodes is anybody's guess.

And what happened in UP? A party which is never tired of preaching value based politics, engineered large scale defection to remain in power and rewarded the defectors, many of them charged with criminal cases, by inducting them in an unprecedented jumbo sized ministry with 95 incumbents. Recently, in an astounding verdict, couched in legal sophistry, the UP speaker, Kesri Nath Tripathi, recognised the 13 defectors from the BSP, even though they were liable to disqualification because their number was less than one-third of the total BSP strength. So much for the BJP's claim for probity in public life and cleansing the political system. And the 'liberal, upright' politician Vajpayee defended the most unprincipled act thus: "For 40 years we have played according to the rules. But if you have to fight those who play foul what are you supposed to do?"

Do the records of the state governments where the BJP is in power support the claim that it is the only party which can provide efficient, clean, corruption free administration? We have already shown in our previous writings how in all BJP ruled states internal squabbles plague the party organization, mostly over division of spoils. Corruption has become the byword and law and order situation has become alarming. The BJP ruled Rajasthan has the dubious distinction of having the maximum number of incidence of crimes against women, often by the close relatives of party functionaries and ministers.

Let us track the turn of events immediately preceding the BJP's coming to power. The BJP learnt its lesson in 1996 when Vajpayee failed to prove his majority in the Parliament, because the party could mobilise few allies in its support. This time, when the polls were announced the BJP, in its desperation to come to power, came out of what Advani had earlier described as its "majestic isolation" and turned to striking alliances of convenience with parties and groups, who by no stretch of imagination can be called their "natural allies", the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu, the Trinamool Congress in West Bengal, the Lokshakti in Karnataka, the Biju Janata Dal in Orissa, the Samata Party in Bihar, the Akali Dal in Punjab, the Haryana Vikas Party etc. It was simply a marriage of convenience for winning more seats, never mind about principles. Jayalalitha admitted so much when she said that the tie was only for seat sharing and had nothing to do with ideology. So the party which made fighting corruption as one of its main election planks, had no qualms to ally with the "Queen of Corruption", charge sheeted in cases involving hundred of crores of rupees. In all these alliance there was no common manifesto or policy statements or programmes. When the UF came to

power, the BJP derided the coalition as coming together of power hungry parties having diverse outlooks. Is the BJP alliance any different? Prime Minister designate Vajpayee justified, "while others are making unprincipled deeds to keep us out, we can't sit back and watch", and sermonised that politics is a game of compromise.

The BJP did the same thing what it accused the UF of doing, abandoning its own manifesto and hastily working out a national agenda acceptable to all its allies. Many promises which helped it to garner votes, like building the Ram temple, adopting a uniform civil code, scrapping the provisions of Article 370 in the Constitution, were dropped. Is it not a fraud on the electorate? Not that it has changed its colour. While "liberal" and "moderate" Vajpayee avers that such controversial issues are not in the government's agenda, "hardliners" Advani and Murli Manohar remind the people that the BJP has not given them up. The party is adept at such dual politicking. So even while Vajpayee assures that these issues are in the back burner, the people are apprehensive that there is a "hidden agenda", and at an opportune moment it will come to the fore. The circular issued in the HRD ministry instructing that the governmental policy formulation should take into account the BJP manifesto is a pointer in this direction. The nation remembers with agony what happened to the Babri Masjid in spite of Kalyan Sing's assurances.

And what is the arithmetic of BJP's coming to power? Vajpayee had submitted a list of 252 members of the BJP and its allies to the President to stake his claim for forming the government. But at first he managed to secure the formal support of only 240 MPs. The deficit was entirely on account of 27 MPs belonging to Jayalalitha's AIADMK and other associated parties. It was conveyed that her support was conditional to meeting her demands for specific ministerial berths. The BJP and its leaders, Vajpayee and Advani, made a great show of refusal to be cowed down by pressure. But hectic parleys with her were going on behind the screen and Vajpayee's emissary Jaswant Singh was dispatched to Chennai to persuade Jayalalitha to settle her differences with the BJP. In the end it was made to appear that she retracted and Vajpayee earned encomiums for his tough principled stand. Support for the BJP went to 264 MPs and Vajpayee triumphantly donned the mettle of the Prime Minister. But later when the portfolios were announced it turned out that the lady had her pound of flesh alright. Just as she wanted, the AIADMK and its nominees acquired control over sensitive ministries such as law and company affairs, petroleum and surface transport, not to mention revenue and banking. They were all Jayalalitha's trusted lieutenants, and even being charge sheeted for corruption did not prevent their becoming ministers. The law minister declared, barely a few hours after the announcement of his portfolio that he would look into the cases foisted on his leader Jayalalitha. In a stunning move the AIADMK Minister of State for Finance is given independent charge of the revenue, banking and insurance wings of the ministry and is put in near total control of the Finance Ministry. The Cabinet Minister, Yashwant Sinha would have no administrative control over important department like Revenue Administration, Enforcement Directorate, Directorate of Revenue Intelligence

etc. These moves are of great consequence in view of the numerous cases of economic offense against Jayalalitha and her confidant Sashikala. One of the first things that the new Minister of State did was to transfer all files relating to cases against Jayalalitha to Delhi. As an *India Today* report said, the structure of the new government makes Jayalalitha the most powerful politician after the Prime Minister.

In its bid to come to power the BJP threw all principles to the wind and roped in all and sundry with the lure of power and pelf. It ditched Lakshmi Parvati in order to come closer to Chandra Babu Naidu. In Haryana, it had no difficulty in accepting the support offered by two mutually sworn enemies, Banshilal and Chautala.

With all these manoeuvres the BJP could cobble together 264 MPs, still short of a majority. But in the confidence vote the number in support went up to 275. Behind it lies the story of another dirty game. It had sewn up a deal with the TDP over the election of a Chandra Babu Naidu acolyte as speaker, while outwardly maintaining a facade of trying to find a consensus candidate. It did not matter that corruption charges have been levelled against the TDP nominee. The BJP knows that in future it would need the support of the TDP to neutralize the defection of some of its allies. It wants to convert its wafer thin majority to a comfortable margin. Hence the talk of a national front of TDP-NC-AGP. This combine can be used to wean away the vulnerable sections of the SP, the RJD, the Congress etc., who can be used to build up a BJP support base. We would not be surprised if an UP style operation

repeated at the centre by the BJP. Many regional parties would like to come closer to the BJP for getting various benefits from the central government. Chandra Babu Naidu has said in so many words that it is in the interest of his party to support Vajpayee at the Centre. Chandra Babu tried to rationalize his support to the BJP by saying that he cannot commit political suicide by supporting the Congress. But earlier it did not prevent him to be in the central ministry with the Congress support. But now there is more to gain by supporting the BJP. The stage is set for the TDP to join the government at an opportune moment in future. Similarly there is a move to form a combination of MPs from West Bengal and the North-Eastern states under the leadership of Mamata Banerjee.

Defying all standards of parliamentary ethics the BJP nominated two Anglo-Indian members to the Lok Sabha even before it was sure that it would win the trust vote. Whether the members actually voted or not is not the question, but parliamentary decorum demands that such nominations be made only after the government crosses the hurdle of the trust vote.

The BJP is trying to justify all its questionable manoeuvres by saying that these are all done so that governmental stability is ensured and the people do not have to face the burden of another election. But as our party had repeatedly said, in whose interest is these stability? We have seen a long spell of stable Congress government at the Centre and more than 20 years stable government of the CPI(M)-led Left Front at West Bengal. Did such stability help the people's cause? Did their miseries and sufferings become any less? It is the bourgeois class who raise the slogan of stability

(Contd. on page 7)

# Behind Swadeshi smokescreen BJP following same policy of globalisation

(Contd. from page 6)

to protect and perpetuate the capitalist system, to allow the ruling class to pursue their anti-people policy without any hindrance. Repeated elections, hung parliaments, corruption in high places were gradually making the Indian people more and more disillusioned about parliamentary system. To check this trend and to prevent the people from turning away from parliamentary system to revolutionary struggles, the bourgeoisie are putting up this slogan for stable government. Engineering opportunistic alliances in the name of stability is farthest from people's interests.

The BJP sanctimoniously talks of fighting corruption and providing a clean administration. We have already seen the BJP providing patronage to criminals in UP, its alliances with corruption tainted Jayalalitha, inducting charge sheeted Muthia, in the central ministry (who had to resign later because of court cases), turning blind eyes to the charges of corruption against the person supported by them as the Lok Sabha speaker. It had no hesitation in accepting the support of Chautala the architect of criminal poll violence at Meham. In Himachal Pradesh it has come to power through a cynical manoeuvre of organizing the defection of an MLA whom they denied a ticket earlier and who had a cabinet berth in the short lived Congress ministry. To keep the flock together, 23 of its 33 supporters in a House of 64 members were offered ministerial positions. The maximum beneficiary was corrupt Sukh Ram who got the public works, multi-purpose projects and power portfolios, so that he can loot the people to his heart's content. All his MLAs have also become ministers. It is the same Sukh Ram against whom the BJP was so vociferous in the past and stalled the proceedings of the last Lok Sabha for 13 days on this issue. With such a record can we expect that the BJP will lead a spirited fight against corruption in high places or turn the tide of evergrowing criminalisation of politics and cleanse the political system? Our party has repeatedly pointed out that it is the capitalist system, which has reached a moribund state, that is the root of all corruption. Whichever party tries to serve the system and comes to power is drawn into the nexus of corruption and criminalisation. We have seen it in the Congress, the UF and the LF governments and are now witnessing it in the BJP governments at states and at the centre. The only guarantee against this trend is revolutionary politics and organised democratic mass movements of conscious people on a higher cultural-ethical base.

Vajpayee goes eloquent when he calls for national consensus and appeals for eschewing confrontationist approach. But what did we see in the speaker's election? There was a move to elect P. A. Sangma as the consensus candidate. The BJP was agreeable to it. But even as it gave the impression to Sangma that he was the unanimous choice, a deal was brokered with the TDP to back its nominee in exchange of support in the confidence vote. All sense of decorum and ethics can be sacrificed in the mad race to power. And what is this consensus that Vajpayee is always harping on? There already exists a consensus among the Congress, the UF-LF and the BJP to protect the interests of the capitalist class. So this

present effort is only to keep the conflicts and contradictions between them within manageable limits so that the system is not endangered.

Vajpayee was at pains to assure everybody that his government will take a principled stand on issues and not succumb to internal or external pressure. But in fact from the very beginning he has been yielding to the demands of his allies and different pressure groups in the party. We have seen how Jayalalitha bargained and get what she wanted. Vajpayee wanted to have his confidant Jaswant Singh as the Finance Minister. This was even communicated to the President's office. But he was not acceptable to some corporate houses and the RSS lobby. So Vajpayee had to eat crow and appoint Yaswant Sinha instead. There is a general perception that the Vajpayee government would be under the remote control of RSS, and the recent events strengthen this apprehension. For the first time since independence the Prime Minister will be assisted by a political adviser. This post will be adorned by Pramod Mahajan, the RSS stalwart. It is ensured that the RSS would have a control over the policies and working of the Vajpayee government.

In the pre-election days the BJP's economic agenda made much of the 'swadeshi' doctrine as against the policies of globalization and liberalization followed by the Congress and the UF. We had exhaustively discussed then how the BJP's economic policy was no different from those of the Congress and the UF and how under the slogan of "Swadeshi" the BJP was protecting the interests of the Indian monopoly capital and strengthening its tie-up with world capitalism. The post-poll events have fully vindicated our analysis. The national agenda has already committed that the government will "encourage direct foreign investment in core areas". And perhaps to ensure that the BJP remains in line, for the first time the US President personally rang up the new Prime Minister to congratulate him. Vajpayee announced that his government was committed to "speedy internal liberalization of the economy from bureaucratic and government control." He explained that for his government swadeshi entails the economy making the best out of globalization. "Swadeshi" is not like a boat which should be protected from strong currents rocking the world market." The new Finance Minister wasted no time in allaying the fears of multinationals and foreign investors that the BJP's economic policies had any protectionist overtones. We should have no illusion that the BJP policy would be any different from the anti-people measures of the Congress and the UF though it may come in a cloak of patriotism and nationalism.

What lessons do we take from the election and its aftermath? The people of India groaning under poverty, exploitation, unemployment are disillusioned about the Congress rule and the government of UF-LF combine. The capitalist class took advantage of the people's disgust for corrupt politicians, hung parliaments and repeated elections. The media went to town building up the BJP's image as a disciplined, principled, honest organisation, one capable of providing a stable government. The people had little choice between the Congress, the UF-LF and the BJP, aided by the media blitz the BJP was returned with greater

strength, though not with absolute majority. After much manoeuvring the BJP came to power, but the people cannot expect anything from it. The BJP would follow the same anti-people policies as the earlier governments. Already there are indications that it would be the victim of internal squabbles, groupism and cliques, just as the Congress and the UF governments were. It would be plagued by the same instability; corruption will enjoy the same patronage from high places. If the BJP appears to be less corrupt than the others it is because it had neither the opportunity nor the time as yet. The people will have to understand that the capitalist system in our country has become moribund and is becoming increasingly crisis-ridden. It is blocking the all round development and progress of the society. The crisis and instability in the economic base is reflected in the political, social and cultural fields. All bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are falling prey to the vices of corruption, power hunger and egotism. We must understand that though the BJP, the Congress, the UF-LF combine claim to have differences on many issues, on the basic question of serving, safeguarding and giving fresh lease of life to moribund capitalism, their position is one and the same. The aim of all of them is to satisfy their own greed for power and lucre on the one hand and to make the state subservient to the interest of the monopolists on the other.

The BJP is a menacing force not only because of its unflinching loyalty to the ruling class but also because of its highly reactionary ideology, its emphasis on blind discipline and mechanical centralism. Being rabidly communal in its quest for power and for achieving its narrow and sectarian goal in parliamentary politics, it plays on the people's religious feelings and fans up the divisive forces of communalism and religious fanaticism. Vajpayee assures that the minority community has nothing to fear from his government. He swore in the Parliament that the BJP government would not abdicate the secular character of the Constitution. But on the same day at the inauguration of the Hinduja built temple in Delhi he announced that he is all in favour of the globalization of the message of the Gita. Is this a statesman-like utterance from a person sitting in the chair of the Prime Minister? What message would it convey to the minorities?

The only way people can protect their rights and achieve emancipation is to come out of the maze of parliamentary alternative of the BJP—Congress—UF-LF. The only alternative left before the people is to follow the path of mass movements and organize powerful democratic mass movements throughout the country on a higher cultural-ethical base and build up their own instruments of struggle. This alone can ensure the victory of people's power. The CPI (M) and other so-called Left parties talk of fighting the Congress politics and the communal forces, but they have forsaken the mass movements and their sole aim is to come to power in the parliamentary politics. So they could neither advance the people's cause nor keep the reactionary and communal forces at bay. We appeal to the people to come forward and build up mighty mass movements throughout the country and advance stage by stage in the anti-capitalist revolutionary struggle for the establishment of socialism.

# Movement against scarcity of drinking water and load-shedding victorious

The District Committee of SUCI organised movement in Bellary demanding drinking water supply and adequate power supply to the citizens.

On 17th March, hundreds of people from different parts of the city participated in a protest rally, demanding water and power supply, under the scorching sun.

Addressing the rally the district secretary of the party Comrade K. Somashekar pointed out that the people of Bellary were being deprived of water even for a stretch of 4-5 days. He severely criticised the indifference of the authorities to the plight of the people. He also protested against the frequent power-cuts, the worst sufferer of which is the examiners and the aged people. It was also pointed out that the Karnataka Electricity Board which raised the electricity charges twice had completely failed in its obligation to supply uninterrupted power supply to the people.

He appealed to the general public to unite and build powerful movement against this anti-people and inept government.

Later under the leadership of the district secretary a delegation met the District Collector and submitted a memorandum. The Collector agreed to implement the following demands :

1. Supply of water once in 2 days instead of 3-4 days in some of the colonies.
2. To arrange for drilling borewells and fix public taps wherever required.
3. Assuring the schedule of water supply in advance.
4. To adequate measures to repair pipelines.
5. To stop load shedding.
6. Return of the water distribution responsibility to the previous authorities i.e., KUWSBD.

After one week, the District Collector called a meeting to which SUCI leaders among others were invited and took various measures to solve the problem.

## South-East Asian Economic Crisis

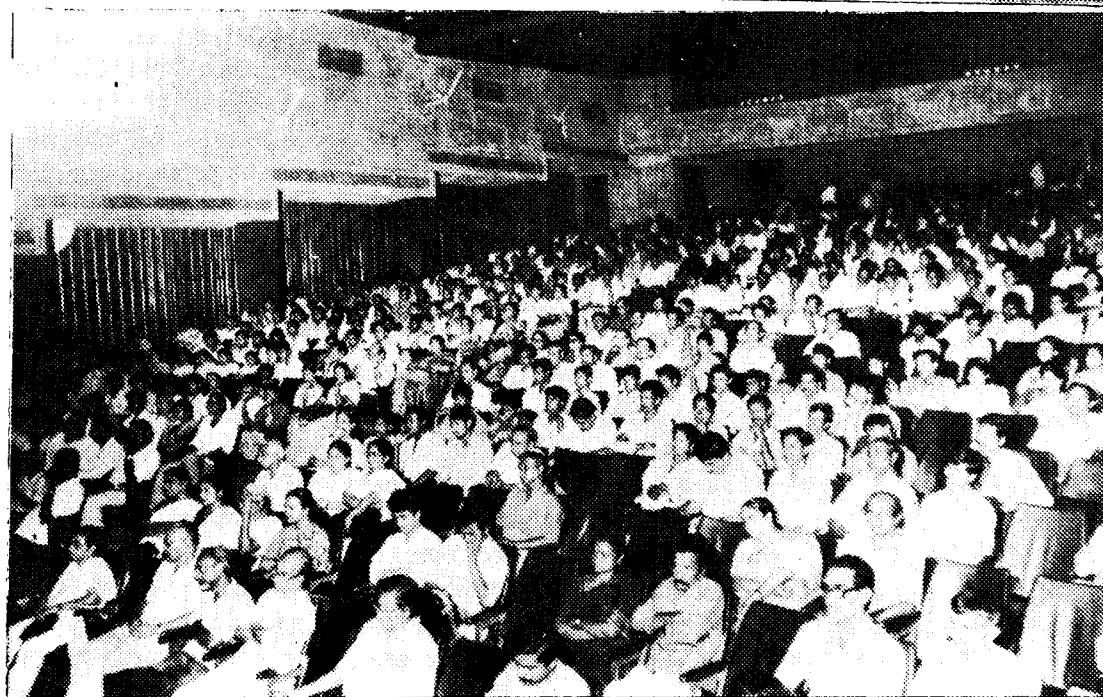
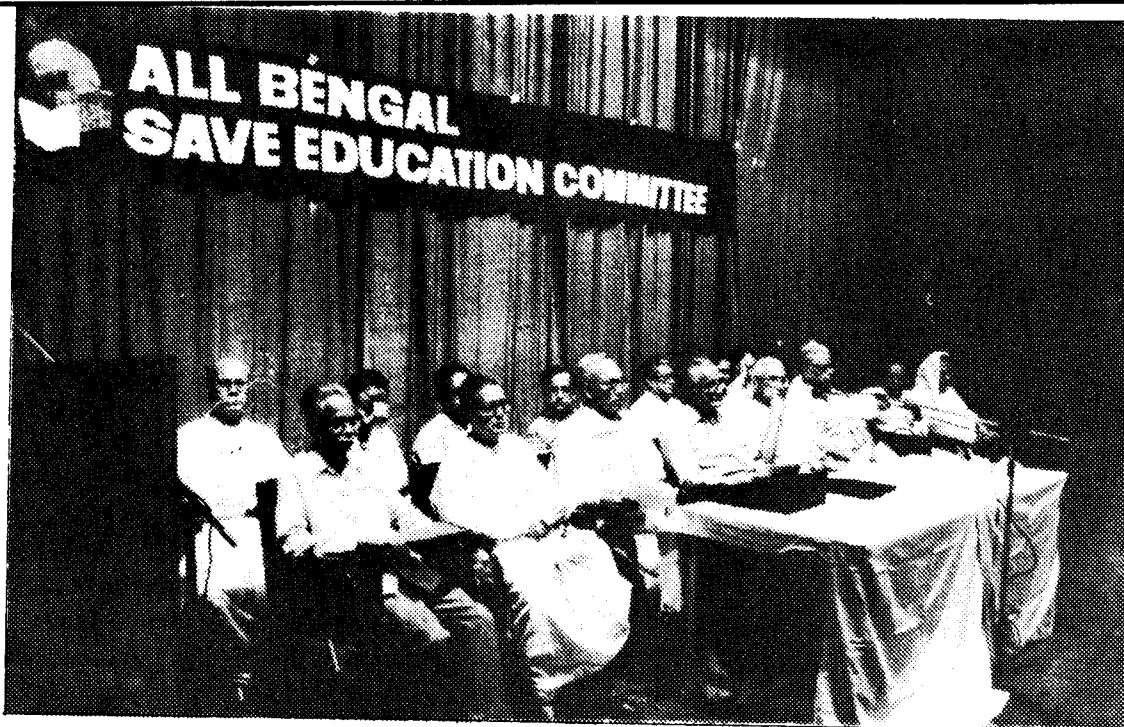
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advanced technology cannot always be purchased with money. The owners of imperialist multinational capital who possess advanced technology, impose conditionalities like introduction of open market economy, adoption of globalization, free entry for foreign capital etc. in exchange for providing new technology. Owners of big capital who have grown up within the national boundaries join hands with imperialist multinational capital to reap more profit. This is what has been happening in the countries of South-East Asia to a greater or less degree. So the people of these countries who were being subjected to the direct exploitation of only national monopoly capital so long, are now victims to onslaughts of national monopoly capital and imperialist multinational capital simultaneously. As a general rule, national capitalists have today become partners to imperialistic capital. The militant role of national capital against imperialism is no longer there. Today, it is not possible to conduct struggle against imperialistic capital without fighting against national capital at the same time, and vice versa. Such a struggle can be conducted only by the working class and the toiling masses.

The people of the SE Asian countries too are taking to the path of struggle against onslaughts of foreign multinational capital on the one hand and the rulers of the country entrenched in power on the other. Mass disaffection is finding outlet in huge protest demonstrations against Suharto, the autocratic ruler of Indonesia. The students and youth in South Korea, Malaysia, Philippines are bursting into demonstrations that assume militant form at times. The stark reality is confronting the people with the inexorable truth of class struggle propounded by Marx 150 years ago. Cruel experience of life has shown that capitalistic advancement means profit for a few and evergrowing distress and misery for the vast majority of the people. It is such a system that its benefits and prosperity accrue to only the handful of ruling capitalists and their servers whereas its evil effects plague the innumerable toiling masses. In the inexorable social law of class struggle, people are coming out on the streets in country after country, ignoring the red eyes of the despotic rulers. Crisis is giving rise to the beginning of mass struggle.

### Rejoinder

In the *Proletarian Era* dated April 1, 1998 the news of West Bengal state conference of the AIMSS was published. But it is regretted that some omission has been detected later on. In the fourth West Bengal state conference of the AIMSS Comrade H. G. Jayalakshmi, the secretary of the Karnataka State AIMSS and Comrade Binapani Das, the President of the Orissa State AIMSS were present as invited representatives. Comrade Jayalakshmi and Comrade Binapani Das described how the AIMSS had been carrying out movements in their respective states against oppression and injustice against women. Besides them, Comrade Archana Sharma, member, Assam State Committee of AIMSS also addressed the gathering.



A Language Convention was held at the University Institute Hall, Calcutta on 10th April, 1998.

(Top) Seated on the dais are eminent scientists, educationists, sportsmen and others.

(Bottom) A section of the gathering.

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