

# Fascist Germany defeated but not fascism

The longest of nightmares of human history ended on May 8, 1945, when guns fell silent on the western war theatre and General Keitel of Nazi German Army signed unconditional surrender at Marshall Zhukhov's headquarters of the Red Army near Berlin. Virtually, it brought to end the most terrible war of history. It was the star-lit hour for humanity, heralding victory over the fascist military, but not until over ten million people were slaughtered and about a hundred million were uprooted from their homelands to work on Nazi labour projects. About six million Jewish people were exterminated, of which four million were killed in the death camp of Auschwitz alone in occupied Poland. Numbers cannot be counted of those left to suffer in the blood and ashes of the ravaged territories.

Even these figures and all facts of the war are unequal to describe the horror of fascism, and its danger. The greatest sacrifice, suffering, valour and iron determination of the peoples of so many countries brought to end the fascist military venture fifty years ago, but not fascism. That arch enemy of mankind survives, thriving in the political-economic-social system which gave rise to it at a specific historical condition. Fascism remains an outgrowth of capitalism-imperialism at its moribund stage.

Unless its character is understood in its essential and general form, fascism can be easily mistaken for its deceptive cloak, only to the peril of people in the end. Its signs of rise, stealthy or savage, may go unnoticed. Its general propensity, whether in a country that is capitalistically relatively advanced or backward, may not be within recognition of its people. But for that misjudgement, fascism will be only more unsparring in its perpetration.

In fact, for its savage recourse to power and brutal repression thereafter, fascism was equated with naked dictatorship. But how could the

fascists of Germany and Italy rally popular support on so vast a scale for all their deceptive slogans? How could they regiment the thinking, and even the sentiments, of large sections of these two nations? How was it that the bourgeoisie were all support for the fascists' rise to power? And why is it that the bourgeois rulers today of each capitalist country, irrespective of the degree of its capitalist development, is trampling upon democratic norms and values and arrogating to the state all powers to suppress the people's discontent? Hence fascism cannot be the coat of arms of an individual fascist dictator, nor can it be considered an especial development peculiar to a particular nation or a mere political aberration of the bourgeois democracy.

Strictly, although the fascist upsurge in the post-first world war European scene was being watched with deep concern in the international communist movement, there was lack of a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon in its total perspective. Even more, there was confusion in the communist circles regarding the character of fascism and its roots. Confusion and inadequacies in understanding persist still now. But fascism cannot be truly fought back, let alone be eliminated, without a proper scientific analysis and critical understanding of its nature and mode of work. It is historically valid to point out that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our departed leader, teacher, guide and great Marxist philosopher of this epoch, for the first time made an analysis of fascism in its total historical and socio-political-economic perspective.

The first world war had caused an unprecedented intensification of all capitalist contradictions and crisis of the capitalist economy. Contradictions between the bourgeois rulers of different European countries in reality

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## SUCI condemns US war design on Iran

*Severely condemning the unilateral decision of the US President Bill Clinton to snap trade, economic and all sorts of relations with Iran, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement to the Press on 3rd May, 1995.*

"Pressed severely by the unprecedented crisis of its economy dependent on militarization the US imperialists are seeking pleas one after another to generate war in order to bolster its dwindling economy. After Iraq they have now targeted Iran on the flimsy pretext of abetment of terrorism which in the past in case of Libya and other country proved a total lie.

"We unequivocally condemn this aggressive design and posture of US imperialism which has the track record of intervening in and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries flagrantly violating all international norms and public opinion. At the same time, we call upon the world public who cherish peace and progress to come forward to force the imperialist chieftain to refrain from this move endangering world peace."

## SUCI Foundation Day Observed In States

The 47th anniversary of SUCI was observed throughout the country with due solemnity and enthusiasm through various programmes culminating in mass meetings in different states on 24th April, the foundation day and on the later dates. Numerous meetings, group sittings were held in different states both in centralised and decentralised way analyzing the present situation, both national and international, along with the specific problems and burning issues in different states. The speakers explained the role the SUCI played since its birth and the onerous responsibility both in the national and international sphere history has devolved on us.

On the 24th of April, 1948, our beloved leader, teacher, guide and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era Comrade Shibdas Ghosh with a handful of young revolutionaries founded the SUCI following the Marxist-Leninist methodology of Party foundation. Indomitable were their conviction and courage to build up a genuine party of the proletariat on Indian soil. No amount of discouragement, dearth of resources and absence of well-known public figure could deter him from fighting the adversity and the commonly held idea that it was next to impossible to build up a correct Marxist-Leninist Party when there was a party by the name 'communist' enjoying the recognition and favour of the international communist movement and the

support and sympathy of a wide section of intellectuals of our country. So correct was his analysis of the characteristic features of a revolutionary party of the proletariat and so deep was his realization of dialectical methodology of formation of a genuine communist party that he remained unwavering and unflinching in his historic mission after coming to the definite conclusion that the party by the name 'communist' on Indian soil, was a petty-bourgeois one which was nothing but the agglomeration of some people having genuine aspiration for communism but without undergoing the Leninist methodology of party formation. That was why the CPI did not develop as a monolithic body, though apparently united but riven by groupism, clique and coterie. Neither democratic centralism nor collective leadership ever worked in this party. A type of mechanical unity and centralism worked inside this party from its very inception which are the characteristic features of a bourgeois or a petty bourgeois party.

How farsighted was the analysis of Comrade Ghosh has been proved today. The party once known as CPI was divided in 1964 with the breakaway group taking the nomenclature of CPI(M). Later, the CPI(M) also was divided, the breakaway group being known as the CPI(ML) which is now divided into so many splinter parties

and groups. The people who did not believe or had doubts about the points of arguments once raised by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh have, through their very experience of life, by the actions and moves of the CPI(M) and the CPI, especially by the approach, attitude and deeds in running the state governments, have been realizing how correct was the analysis of Comrade Ghosh in those days even when these parties did not degenerate like today. Now by their very actions they have nakedly exposed themselves. Not only do they discourage mass movements but also brutally suppress them with iron hand of administration and party storm-troopers. In the international arena, like in their internal party functioning, they all along pursued the mechanical process and hence followed the international communist leadership blindly. They never followed the process of the dialectical interaction inside the party as well as with the international communist leadership.

On the contrary, our party guided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh thought it our international obligation to free the international communist movement of its weaknesses in the interest of upholding the cause of the world proletariat and to do that every communist worth the name should pinpoint the weaknesses and criticise it in order to strengthen the leadership.

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## Land Reform in West Bengal

# CPI(M) govt's claim and the reality

The Left Front government in West Bengal is making wild claim about its grand success in implementing land reforms. In the 1994 autumn edition of the *Desh Hitaishi*, the Bengali organ of the CPI(M), it is claimed that the land reforms in West Bengal by the Left Front government is an unprecedented event, kindling a ray of hope in the rural West Bengal. In an article in the said edition it has been asserted that the Left Front government in West Bengal has shown 'the alternative path' by 'breaking the barriers of constitutional limitations, bureaucratic obstructions and legalistic hindrances' in smashing the 'concentration of huge land holdings in the hands of the big landowners' and 'in distributing the said land among the landless and poor villagers' thus 'augmenting agricultural production' and 'minimizing disparity in wealth in rural life.' It has further been asserted that 'starvation in villages is no longer visible' and 'the poor peasants need, no longer, sell away their land at throwaway prices owing to drought, flood or the like.'

In going through this article one may think that within this exploitative capitalist system the CPI(M)-led Left Front government has created a sort of paradise in rural West Bengal by implementing the land reforms. But what is the reality?

### Reclamation of benam land and its distribution

Let us now turn over to the official records to see whether the authenticity of such wild claim of the CPI(M) can be substantiated. The Left Front government of West Bengal constituted the 'Mukherjee-Banerjee Committee' in 1992 to enquire and report about the functioning of the Panchayati system and land reforms, and this committee submitted its report to the government in March, 1993. In this report it is observed that out of 12,49,177.76 acres of land reclaimed till 31st December 1991, nearly 10 lakh acres of benam land were recovered during the First and Second United Front governments, during their short tenure of 22 months. The Left Front government can never claim the credit for recovering this 10 lakh acres, as the Left Front government and the United Front governments are not the same. So the credit of reclaiming only 2 lakh acres of benam land goes to the Left Front government. Everyone knows that our Party, the SUCI, was a constituent of the United Front governments in 1967 and 1969-70. At that time our Party played a glorious role in reclaiming the benam lands, and distributing the same among the landless peasants. It is a fact of history that the movement for reclaiming benam land took an intensified form in those areas where our party has considerable influence. But in the CPI(M)-dominated areas this movement for reclaiming benam land was relatively far more weak and limited. This was due to secret understanding between the CPI(M) and the jotedars.

Thus, it is quite clear why it was possible to reclaim more than 10 lakh acres of benam land during the short span of the two United Front governments whereas during the 18 years of Left Front rule only 2 lakh acres could only be reclaimed. The Mukherjee-Banerjee Committee has, however, expressed doubts even about this figure of 2 lakh acres, as it found gross anomaly between the figures supplied by the government and that actually reclaimed benam land in the

districts. The figure supplied by the government was on the higher side, and nowhere any satisfactory explanation for this discrepancy was provided to the Committee. (P-23 of the Report of Mukherjee-Banerjee Committee).

But even if for argument's sake it is presumed that the Left Front government did reclaim 2 lakh acres of land, then how can this reclaiming of 2 lakh acres of land in long 18 years be eulogized as 'unprecedented', 'glorious', etc., when more than 10 lakh acres of land was reclaimed in the most uncertain tenure of only a few months of the U.F. governments?

### CPI(M)'s views regarding peasants' movement

Now the question is, why this failure of the LF government headed by the CPI(M)? In this regard one must not forget that in the question of recovering benam lands from the clutches of the jotedars (big landowners) the CPI(M) is always vacillating and guided by legalism. It is true that even an honest man can fall a prey to legalism due to lack of clarity in views. But the CPI(M)'s case is altogether different. The fact is that at that time also the CPI(M) tried its best to arrest the movement in the four bounds of legalism only to save their rural ally, the big landowning class. Hare Krishna Konar, the then Minister of Land and Land Reform of the U.F. Ministry and CPI(M) leader, declared, "Government will not tolerate any forcible occupation of land except recovering the vested lands in the hands of the government." (*The Kalantar*, 23.3.69) At the same time while addressing a meeting of the Kisan Sabha, the peasants' organisation of the CPI(M), Mr Jyoti Basu urged, "I would call upon the organisers to take care of those who, in the name of democratic movement, are illegally taking possession of land. Because this will create anarchy." (*The Statesman*, 10.4.79). This means, right from those days the CPI(M) instead of recovering benam lands through organised mass movement wanted to confine the recovery of such lands to the narrow bounds of legalism. The CPI(M) leaders did not take the lessons of history that in an exploitative bourgeois set-up many things acting against the interest of the people are legalised. So, those who want to advance mass movement in the interest of people must go ahead breaking open the limits of legalism. The CPI(M) leaders did not want to realize that 'where injustice is the order, disorder is the beginning of justice.' Thus, in order to lead mass movement in the country in the right track freeing it from the narrowness of legalism and formalism Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat and teacher and guide of our party said: "Whatever is legal is not always justified or legitimate in this society. So we must not forget that whatever is illegal in the eye of law is not necessarily inhuman or immoral. If a government is devoid of this attitude it will fail to chalk out a correct policy in handling the mass movements. Naturally it will not be possible to recover the benam lands of the jotedars who have deceived the governments and to distribute the same among the peasants.

"But it is impossible to do so with the help of law. Everybody knows that the jotedars are possessing huge quantity of benam lands. They have cheated the country, the people and the government. To detect these benam lands is very much legitimate, in the interest of the state too. So, the peasants are to recover those lands. It is

not at all difficult for organised, disciplined peasant movement to recover benam lands. But government must see that police shall not interfere into such tasks. Because it is most legitimate and democratic to do so. In doing so the peasants are helping the government to overcome a great difficulty — they are protecting the very interest of the country. After recovering those benam lands the U.F. government is to introduce necessary legislation in the Assembly for legalising the recovery of those lands. It is necessary to adopt this attitude in the question of recovering benam lands." (*Free translation from speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in a mass meeting on the 24th April, 1967*) It is due to the movement for recovery of benam land led by our party guided by the above teachings of Comrade Ghosh and for an unprecedented anti-Congress and anti-jotedar sentiment of the common people that the CPI(M) leadership could not, in spite of their best effort, fully arrest the movement for recovery of benam lands within legalism during those days of United Front rule. But there has been a sea change when in 1977 the CPI(M) again ascended to power. Whatever little the CPI(M) leadership then talked about movement that too they have forgotten this time. They now became frantically eager to earn confidence of the bourgeoisie. Let alone building up movement, they have been in the meantime, notoriously efficient in suppressing the workers' and peasants' movement by maiming and killing them with bullets and batons. Naturally the CPI(M) this time shunned the path of any anti-jotedar movement in the villages. The result is as expected.

But it will be wrong to assume that only this legalistic approach and dependence on bureaucracy are the sole reasons for this dismal failure. The mystery is much more deeprooted. The legal basis of the movement of the recovery of the benam land during the period of the U.F. governments was the Land Reform Act of 1956 where the ceiling of individual holding was 25 acres. But in 1971 the West Bengal Land Reform Act was substantially amended where individual ceiling was abolished and a familywise ceiling was introduced. As a result lakhs of acres of land was rendered vested by a single stroke, and it has become the duty of the government to reclaim these lands and distribute the same among the landless. After coming to power in 1972, the Congress(I) government, let alone taking these vested lands from the jotedars and distributing them among the landless, provided allout support to the jotedars in reoccupying the vested land distributed during the U.F. rule. But how did the Left Front government react after coming to power in 1977? This government is now showing the recovery of 2 lakh of acres of land. But what about the lakhs of acres of land rendered vested as a result of the amendment to the Land Reform Act in 1971? Who are now enjoying these vested lands? Surely not the landless peasants. Moreover, the Land Reforms Act had been further amended in 1981 and in 1986. Naturally it is expected that more land has been rendered vested with these amendments. But the reality is that not a small parcel of land has been recovered during these years of the Left Front rule. The Mukherjee-Banerjee Committee Report also corroborates it. Then who are actually in possession of these huge quantum of vested land, and under whose protection they are enjoying it?

(Contd. on page 8)

## Left Front govt's industrial policy

# Is there any difference with Cong.(I)'s

The more the similarity between the industrial policy of the Congress(I)-led Central government and of the CPI(M)-led Left Front government in West Bengal becomes discernible, the more becomes the futile and frantic attempt by the CPI(M) leadership to show a contrast. The call of Mr Jyoti Basu to his comrades in a mass meeting in Tripura a few months back impressing on them, "We will have to convince the people as to where lies the difference between the policy of the Centre and of ours" is part of this attempt to mislead the people. Surprisingly enough, Mr Basu nowhere in his speech did explain this 'difference'.

The CPI(M) Central Committee (CC), in its central organ, *People's Democracy*, dated 8th January, 1995 last, published a lengthy statement on the industrial policy of Left Front government of West Bengal. The statement accused the criticism of the policy as 'deliberate falsification' of the industrial policy of Left Front government and tried to refute the accusation of 'double standards' and called upon its ranks to allay 'widespread misgivings and confusion among the party workers' and educate the left-minded people to get an 'understanding of the role played by the L.F. government in West Bengal as per our party programme.' Through this statement the CPI(M) sought to establish that instead of adopting 'double standards', it was following a consistent principled policy, meaning thereby, their total opposition to the liberalised industrial policy of the Centre and hence the industrial policy measures of L.F. government in West Bengal bear a basic difference with that of the industrial policy of the Central Congress(I) government.

But the CPI(M) Central Committee statement failed to substantiate this claim. For, the role of the L.F. government as claimed in the statement is far from truth and so they miserably failed to draw any basic difference between the policies pursued by the Centre and the L.F. government in West Bengal.

About the Central Congress(I) government's liberalised economic and industrial policy the statement said: "There is a relentless pressure to integrate the Indian economy fully with the global world imperialist system. Such an integration on the terms set out by imperialism and due to the internal compulsions of the big bourgeoisie has led to the new liberalised policies", whose characteristic features are as follows :

- (1) the deregulation of the economy and the delicensing of industries by the Centre;
- (2) the curtailing of the public/state sector, its outright dismantling in certain areas and privatisation
- (3) the opening up of India's economy to foreign capital with special facilities for them;
- (4) the opening of the financial sector to foreign capital;
- (5) the reduction in state intervention in the development of industries and the economy including the sphere of infrastructure and social expenditure.

If these and the CPI(M)'s Central Committee statement in general are taken into account in

conjunction with the ground realities of Left Front government their 'double standards' as well as the real difference between the Centre and the Left Front manifest in sharp focus. Let us now take up these features for scrutiny one by one.

### (1) **The deregulation of the economy and the delicensing of industries by the Centre :**

Deregulation of industries and delicensing, in reality, boils down to unfettered right of the monopolists including the MNCs to expand their trade regime. According to the CPI(M) CC statement, under the pressure set up by imperialists, Fund-Bank combine and domestic big bourgeoisie the Central government resorted to deregulation and delicensing. But in the same statement while discussing the industrial policy of the L.F. government, it said: 'today with deregulation and delicensing it is upto the Left Front government to initiate steps to attract capital investment in West Bengal.' In a similar vein, the CPI(M) politbureau leader, Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, more often than not goes on telling that with the abolition of 'license raj' has gone the Centre's old policy of discrimination and step-motherly attitude to West Bengal, paving the way for extensive capital investment and spate of industrialization. Seizing this golden opportunity so unfolded, the L.F. government is out to initiate massive industrialization in West Bengal. Does not this policy of the Central Congress(I) government adopted at the behest and dictate of imperialism and domestic monopolists characterised by the CPI(M) leaders as anti-people and yet qualified, in the same breath, as a positive development towards wider industrialization in West Bengal, unmistakably point to the adoption of 'double standards', which the CPI(M) leadership is frantically trying to refute ?

Despite all the trickery, the CPI(M) leadership is not sure if it could take its honest ranks into confidence and that is why, they have adopted, in all probability, a resolution in their just concluded West Bengal State Conference, to continue 'to fight against the imperialism' in order to deceitfully confuse them. It is anybody's guess if after accepting the conditionality of the 'Fund-Bank' and according red-carpet ovation to the access of the MNC capital, how can there be any moral ground to go on waging fight against imperialism ! Does it require any high standard of Left consciousness to understand that the so-called 'fight against imperialism' would be reduced to empty verbosity?

Furthermore, the CC statement went on to assert: "The state has been sliding back from its prime position at the time of independence and the share of West Bengal in the national industrial production has come down from 22.9 per cent in 1951 to just 8.1 percent in 1984-85." And so, "there can be no dispute on the need for industrial development of West Bengal. The successful implementation of land reforms and significant advance in agricultural productivity have laid the basis and necessity for the expansion of industry."

It is altogether a different issue as to how far correct is their claim of 'successful implementation of land reforms.' Granted the

CPI(M) claim, the crux of the issue still remains. For, if the land reform in a single state be the basis of industrialization in that state, how could then industrialisation in West Bengal take place during 1951 onwards and reach its apex when neither the CPI(M) was in governmental power nor, for that matter, land reforms were carried out in West Bengal ? Thanks to economic and industrial liberalisation policy of the Centre, the more the entry of foreign finance capital is there in a state, the more the state is being projected as the 'industrially developed' state. Maharashtra tops the list followed by Gujarat with even Orissa taking its berth in third place. Does it follow therefrom, in any way, that 'successful implementation of land reforms' took place in Maharashtra, Gujarat or even in Orissa ? Does even the CPI(M) leadership really believe it to be so ? Then why does this question at all come in order to justify the flow of domestic as well as MNC capital for investment in industries in West Bengal ? Is not this sort of propaganda aimed at deceiving the people at large ?

This apart, the CC statement repeatedly stressed that, 'West Bengal is an integral part of India; the L.F. government, therefore, cannot but follow the policies adopted by the Centre. Not a single state can implement an alternative industrial policy.' Chief Minister Jyoti Basu used to say that 'West Bengal was not a separate state or an independent republic.' Yet when they themselves dwell on the theory that 'successful land reforms in West Bengal is the key to industrial development of the state', for all practical purposes, it implies West Bengal had an independent market divorced from the Indian national capitalist market and which ultimately envisages West Bengal as an independent state or republic. And as if depending on its independent market, industrialization in West Bengal took place in the past and would grow from strength to strength in future too. What a grand piece of exercise in illusion and falsified stunt to deceitfully hoax the rank-and-file members and the public at large, taking advantage of their inadequate standard of political consciousness!

### (2) **The curtailing of the public/state sector, its outright dismantling in certain areas and privatization :**

Characterised in the statement as the second feature of the Centre's liberalization policy adopted at the behest of imperialism, Fund-Bank combine and the Indian big bourgeoisie, it condemned the Centre's policy for abolition of public sector in some areas and privatization, more so the manner in which the core sector is being opened up to foreign capital, bringing in its wake collapse of self-reliant Indian economy.

But faced with the question of privatization and access of foreign capital to the core sector in West Bengal, the method of argument and the CPI(M)'s role on the issue underwent a sea change. Noticeably, on this specific issue, making a striking departure from mentioning 'Left Front', it used the term 'state government' to say that, "The state government while not agreeing in principle to the opening up of the core sector to foreign multinationals ... cannot fight and force (Contd. on page 6)

## 50 years after victory over fascism

(Contd. from page 1)

turned more acute after the war. Alongside, the Great November Revolution and establishment of the Soviet Union inspired the working class in different countries, and high waves of the workers' movements became a threat to the bourgeoisie, their state and economy. The bourgeoisie of these countries, especially of those countries which were defeated in the war, in their bid to safeguard their economy and class rule, sought to play upon the frustration and discontent of large sections of the middle class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and even a section of the workers' sense of national humiliation of the entire people, appealing to their most urgent needs and demands. This demagoguery the fascists resorted to as a 'deceptive cloak for their real intention of protecting the crisis-ridden capitalist system from the wrath of the suffering masses. Hitler had adopted a 25-point programme of national socialism, promising jobs to the jobless, confiscation of land for community purposes, death penalty for usurers and profiteers, and other amelioration for the people. Mussolini, too, promised a demagogic 'revolutionary' programmes. This art of deception is peculiar to fascism. Comrade Ghosh pointed to this : "Fascism always and everywhere adopts a dual policy of suppression and persuasion. ... It adopts deceptive social democratic plans and programmes, grants minor economic concessions to people, tries to control anarchy in capitalist economy and the resulting insecurity in life like unemployment, etc. ... And when the unconscious masses, being deceived, take these so-called radical measures and lend the fascists enthusiastic support in the carrying out of their plans and programmes, the fascists concentrate all their powers to exterminate communism spiritually and the communists physically, pushing mankind and human civilization to ruins and darkness thereby."

Fascism in Germany and Italy worked in a way as could create a confusion in some people that its accession to power was a revolutionary upsurge against the bourgeoisie on behalf of the 'whole nation' and for the 'salvation' of the nation. As developments later revealed, it was the bourgeoisie who, in the face of the danger of proletarian revolution, put the fascists in power through understanding and as an anticipatory move. To this Comrade Ghosh pointed : "Fascism is a historically conditioned form of counter-revolution, in which capitalism seeks to stave off proletarian revolution in an anticipatory move." Analysing further, Comrade Ghosh showed that in this era of imperialism, both in advanced and in the backward capitalist countries, big or small, "the same process of concentration of private monopoly capital, development of state capital, fusion of the two into state monopoly capitalism, making the state thereby subservient to monopoly capital, was at work." It lays, on the one hand, "the rock-bottom economic foundation of fascism" and concentrates, on the other hand, absolute political power in the state.

It is wrong to assert that the establishment of fascism means inevitable dissolution of the parliamentary form of democracy. Fascism can indeed take diverse forms depending upon the socio-political-economic conditions in which it operates. Comrade Ghosh observed: "As to form .. fascism precludes stereotyped pattern ...

somewhere it has assumed individual dictatorship, somewhere an autocratic rule of the military junta and yet in some other countries it has been able to usurp power in a democratic garb, keeping parliament alive but limiting its power by economic and political centralism." This seemingly democratic form is the most deceptive cloak which fascism may wear. In the post-second world war situation fascism even seeks to keep up its democratic garb in the two-party parliamentary system. That way it has been able, and still is able, to deceive so many intellectuals, even in the left circles. They fail to realize that fascism is much more dangerous than any kind of naked dictatorship, in so far as, raising pseudo-radical slogans, it seeks to achieve national unity in favour of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletariat.

But this danger is not limited to political and economic spheres only. Availing itself of the void in the sphere of culture, morals and values, with both religious and humanist sense of values become spent at this stage, fascism seeks after inculcating irrational, obscurantist and mystic ideas in the mind of people. It exploits technical development of science for the sake of production while it seeks to arrest freedom of mind by the fetters of blind faiths and prejudices. In the words of Comrade Ghosh: "Fascism is a peculiar fusion of spiritualism and science." It is a queer admixture of unscientific bent and the technological aspect of science. It does need and does work for regimentation of thinking and culture among people in favour of its deceptive steps and suppressive measures. That way it strives to exercise its control over people, including the working class.

Thus fascism is the total facet of savage development of capitalism-imperialism at this stage to safeguard the rule of monopoly capital against popular discontent and growing support for proletarian revolution. Today it is a general feature of capitalism, for which fascist traits and trends are manifest in every capitalist country — big or small, relatively advanced or backward. The danger is very much real in this country, too, which grew rampant under the Congress(I) government headed by Indira Gandhi with all portents of drive towards all-out fascism. Yet the self-styled communist parties, the CPI(M) and the CPI, hailed bank nationalisation and such other moves as a forward measure of the Congress(I). Objectively they strengthened the hands of the Congress(I) to lay the foundation of all-out fascism in this country. History testifies that it was social democracy which was instrumental in paving the road to fascism in Germany and Italy, while it betrayed the interest of the working class.

In the present phase of crisis in the capitalist world, in today's changed international situation, the rulers of all capitalist countries have combined on the plank of the GATT and the WTO in an effort to check anarchy in capitalist trade and economy. This is unity of the capitalist rulers against the proletariat of all countries, against people in general. But the crisis is so acute that even this fruit for which the rulers worked hard over decades has seeds of discord, and rumblings of disunity are already in the air. That has given rise to veritable danger of another round of imperialist warfare. For mankind the portents of a war among capitalist-imperialist-fascist powers are too large to be overlooked.

Fifty years now from the day of victory over fascism, today's generation has moved far from it. That saga of indestructible human spirit is now history. And history is witness, mankind owes no more to anything for its deliverance from fascism than to the Soviet people and the Red Army under the supreme command of great Stalin.

It was the greatest of times at the darkest of hours. Patriots in all occupied lands, with the communists in the foreranks, joined into resistance groups to fight the fascist invaders. Men and women, young and aged, workers and intellectuals, clergymen and school teachers all combined to fight the fascist killers. The noblest of minds of the time came out to lend their voice to protest, even take part in resistance, no lesser men than Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland and Jean Paul Sartre. In this land, too, Rabindranath, Saratchandra and other stalwarts signed for anti-fascist front.

We must not then forget what history bids us to do at the present hour. First, a worldwide militant peace movement has now to be built, drawing into its fold all sections of peace and freedom loving and democratic people, with all genuine communists working together as its core. Second, the unity in the international communist movement is to be built to meet the global danger of imperialism-fascism and its war machination. Third, success of these two fronts depends largely upon the extent to which we will succeed in developing as true communists. We should keep in mind what was pointed out back in 1948 by our great leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, at the first national convention of the party that fascism had been defeated militarily but fascism was alive. We must not invite peril by turning a blind eye to it. People have to be made conscious of it, rallied, united and drawn into the struggle against mankind's most despicable enemy.

## May Day observed jointly in Calcutta

**Calcutta, 1.5.95** : After many years in a joint effort the historic May Day was observed in Calcutta under the joint auspices of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), CITU, AITUC, UTUC (Bowbazar), TUCC and some bank, government and semi-government and mercantile employees' unions and federations. On this occasion, a mammoth workers' and employees' meeting was held at the Saheed Minar Maidan, here. Comrade R.K. Tiwari (AITUC) took the chair in the meeting and Comrade Chittabrata Majumdar (CITU) placed the resolution mainly criticising the GATT, the open door policy and new-economic and industrial policy as great menace before the working class of the country and people in general. Chief Minister Jyoti Basu (CITU), Sunil Sengupta (UTUC), Saral Dev (TUCC), Kamalapati Ray (AITUC) and others spoke in support of the resolution. On behalf of the UTUC (LS) Comrade Pritish Chanda, President, All India Committee of UTUC (LS) addressed the meeting.

It should be mentioned that after a long period this year the Left central trade unions jointly observed the May Day in West Bengal at the state level. Earlier it was agreed that none of the

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## 24th April observed befittingly

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How correct was the farsightedness of Comrade Ghosh in this field too has been proved today by the ultimate restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and east European socialist states through ascendancy of revisionism since the time of Khrushchev. All the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh since the very inception of our party will prove to the hilt how correct the Marxist analysis and approach he had. On each and every problem facing international communist movement Comrade Ghosh brilliantly analyzed it in a correct Marxist way starting from the cause of the problem to its solution.

Today the Soviet Union is no more. The imperialists headed by the USA, taking advantage of absence of mighty bastion of socialist peace camp and raising the slogan of a 'unipolar world', are ruling supreme over the world with a very aggressive posture. The inhuman aggression on Iraq, Panama and Haiti, using the UN General Assembly as a mere rubber stamp, sanctions and threat of war against socialist Cuba and socialist North Korea, attacks on Libya and Grenada are some of their recent imperialist gangsterism. They are not only instigating war everywhere for the sake of their dwindling economy but also militarily intervening directly and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries in the name of aid and assistance. Even they are dictating as to how should the economy and the government of the countries would run — all in their own interest, in the absence of a powerful deterrent as the Soviet Union as also a mighty militant peace movement throughout the world.

In order to stall the menace and to develop worldwide a mighty anti-imperialist resistance movement and in its wake give rise to a militant peace movement an Anti-Imperialist Convention has been called to be held in Calcutta in November 1995 with the eminent intellectuals, jurists, scientists, literateurs, professors, educationists in the Preparatory Committee. Justice VR Krishna Iyer and noted scientist and former Vice-chancellor of Calcutta University Dr Sushil Kumar Mukherjee will head the committee as President and General Secretary respectively.

In the national sphere our party has been engaged in various struggles in different forms singlehandedly or wherever and whenever possible uniting other forces against all sorts of anti-people policies and steps of the Central government run by the Congress(I), the most trusted agent of the ruling Indian capitalist class, as also against the policies of different state governments run by the parties serving vested interests. Alongside all this the SUCI took pains to unite all the Left democratic and secular forces to stall the menace of religious fundamentalism, separatism, parochialism and casteism which have been rapidly rearing their ugly heads with the direct and indirect support of the parties of the ruling class which want the people remain ever divided over the question of caste, religion, ethnicity and regionalism and provincialism. Side by side, the policy of Central Congress(I) government's capitulation to the humiliating terms and conditions for getting loans from the IMF and the World Bank, the two imperialist financial bodies dominated by the imperialist chieftain, the USA, and taking advantage of it the imperialists are interfering in the internal affairs

of our country and the new economic policy and industrial policy of the Narasimha Rao government — all in the interest of the Indian monopolists who want to share as junior partners in the world market controlled by the imperialist countries — must be defeated with a force of powerful mass movement.

To develop a countrywide powerful united Left democratic movement against all the menace mentioned earlier as also against unemployment, retrenchment, closure, price-rise, tax burden, etc., we repeatedly appealed to all Left, democratic, secular parties to come forward to build up a broadbased front with a common minimum programme of action and code of conduct. They did not respond as they remained silent to our invitation to the proposed anti-imperialist convention mentioned earlier. It is for the very lukewarm attitude of aversion to struggle of the CPI(M) that we have not been successful in this endeavor of ours. It is not difficult to understand why these parties have taken this position. Shunning the path of struggle the CPI(M) has become the part and parcel of this moribund capitalism befitting to their true social-democratic character of protecting this system. Their true face has been exposed more wherever they are in power, particularly in West Bengal. They are not only discouraging and demoralizing the various struggles of the different strata of the exploited, but also suppressing and repressing the movement, if at all any movement develops. The CPI(M) government in West Bengal is following the new economic and industrial policy in practice while rending the sky with the slogans against the policies of the Central government with whom they are maintaining the very cordial relation. And it is being readily reciprocated by the Congress(I) too because both of them are the passengers of the same boat. The CPI(M) takes the postures of movement only to gain in parliamentary politics taking advantage of the people's wrath and inadequate level of political consciousness.

Our party has been fighting tooth and nail against the non-Left anti-people and opportunist policy of the CPI(M) and been exposing its real character from time to time. And for the sake of revolution, that is the struggle for emancipation from all sorts of exploitation, oppression, deprivation and destitution it has become incumbent on the genuine party of the proletariat to develop countrywide the class and mass struggles conducive to the revolutionary uprising. In the international arena, we are to play our true role in fulfilling our international obligation for the growth and development of international communist movement tearing apart the cobweb of confusion and slander of the revisionists against revolutionary Marxism and the onslaughts of the capitalist-imperialist and other reactionaries on Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism.

The glee of the revisionists, capitalist roaders, the capitalist-imperialists and all reactionaries cannot but be short-lived and the setback suffer by socialism and the world communist movement cannot but be temporary. Nobody can revert the wheels of history. Communism is the inevitable destination of human civilization which will be achieved by the exploited the world over with renewed zeal and vigour taking lessons from the

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## May Day in Calcutta

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speakers in the May Day meeting would dwell on any issue of difference. But it is a matter of regret that starting from the President of the meeting to Jyoti Basu of CITU, many a speaker of AITUC, TUCC and CITU flouted the agreed norm and preferred to concentrate on eulogizing and justifying the Left Front government's industrial and labour policy which according to us is out and out anti-working class and pro-monopoly and pro-MNC. But Comrade Prithish Chanda strictly adhered to the agreed norm.

Emotionally recalling the history of May Day from the day of its inception in Chicago to the declaration of the day as an international solidarity day of the working class by Engels, Comrade Prithish Chanda said: the history of May Day is the history of class struggle in the advancement of humanity. History has shown that following the path of class struggle the working class, the proletariat, has built up its own instrument of struggle, the highest form of its class organization -- the revolutionary party of the proletariat. And thus ultimately it could establish its own state the Soviet Union and so many others also in different countries of the globe. That very Soviet power, its Red Army under the leadership of great Stalin defeated Nazism and saved humanity. Thus the victory over fascism is a victory of superior forces of socialism. Thereafter too, socialism advance. Now a debacle has come. But, it is not the failure of socialism, it is the outcome of the total deviation from the principles of scientific socialism, that is, Marxism-Leninism, defying the laws of socialist economy, practising out and out revisionism, and objectively denying the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the name of solving the ailments within socialism created by the above distortions in a capitalist way, the counter-revolutionaries restored capitalism in the erstwhile Soviet Union. Today the working class all over the world including the erstwhile Soviet Union and the east European socialist states are paying its price and capitalism-imperialism taking advantage of it is again very much on the offensive. World imperialism headed by the USA is overlording the world and trying to create a 'unipolar' world, to bring the people of the whole world under their boot.

But socialism and the forces of socialism are still alive. It is a science that socialism will march ahead, at best its onward journey can only be halted for the time being. But the history of capitalism-imperialism is a history of ever increasing crisis in all spheres of life. All the imperialist-capitalist countries including even the USA is deeply enmeshed in severe crisis — recession, unemployment, stagnation, retrenchment, etc. But however much be their intensity of crisis, capitalism-imperialism will not fall on its own, it is to be overthrown by the proletariat with the blow of revolution. The working class must get themselves organised, prepared and equipped with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism.

Coming back to the national situation, Comrade Chanda depicted the present miserable economic condition in India aggravated by the 'new economic' policy and pointed out that with the open door policy of the government imperialist forces are now entering into the Indian market in a big way to fulfil their neo-colonial

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CPI(M)'s ludicrous logic :**IMF terms baneful for India but boon to West Bengal**

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the Centre to keep these core sectors within the purview of the state/public sector."

By calling it 'state government', the statement gave us to understand that what other state governments could not do, the Left Front government too, cannot be expected to do either. Yet, in the introduction prefacing the very same statement, the role of the Left Front government came to be attributed as 'unique' in the context of all-India polity. Projecting the role of the Left Front government, it said the Left Front government, 'by its existence and policies is an expression of this class struggle...', being 'in the vanguard of left-democratic movement' and 'the real alternative to the rule of Congress government' and so on with such other liberal epithets. Likewise, it characterised the role of the Left Front as capable '...to play a big role in mobilising the people against the Centre's policies'. The question that arises is why then did the Left Front refrain from calling the people to rise in protest against the Centre's disastrous policies when it actually boasts of its 'unique' position being in the 'vanguard of left-democratic movement' as 'an alternative to the Congress government' misrule, capable enough 'in mobilising the people against the Centre's anti-people policies'?

Besides, to tell that no government 'can fight and force the Centre to keep the core sector within the purview of the state sector' is to dilute the main thrust of the issue. For, the question of forcing the Centre to keep the core sector within the 'purview of the state sector' through formulation of an industrial policy by a state government does not arise at all; the industrial policy of a state is confined to its jurisdiction alone. So the moot question boils down to what would be the Left Front government's industrial policy towards the public enterprises and the core sector run by it vis-a-vis the privatization policy adopted by the Centre especially after its total opposition to the privatization spree of the Centre's policy? Would the Left Front government too, being the policy of privatization by the Centre invite multinational corporations (MNCs) to the core sector? Raising the issue of electricity in the statement, the CPI(M) said, "Whereas the other state governments are inviting private capital to the energy sector, the Left Front government alone cannot oppose it." So, the cat is out of the bag. Then where lies the difference of principle between the Left Front government of West Bengal and the Congress(I) government in Maharashtra, Janata Dal government in Karnataka and the BJP government in Rajasthan? To show this seeming difference, the CPI(M) statement took pains to claim that despite inviting the MNCs to the energy sector in West Bengal, it would never enter into a black agreement like the one done by the Maharashtra Congress(I) government! In the agreement between the US company 'ENRON' and the Maharashtra government, 16% assured return in the energy sector has been guaranteed. As a consequence, the CPI(M) statement added, the energy cost would steeply increase resulting in massive increase in electricity charge upon the general public. So, the Left Front government in West Bengal, says the statement, would not accept any such conditionalities in any

eventuality. But the role of the Left Front government in West Bengal in this regard is just contrary to what it claims. In this field too, there is no basic difference between the policy of CPI(M)-led Left Front government and of the Congress(I) government. Rather, the CPI(M)'s policy is more dangerous.

To make the electricity business in West Bengal more lucrative enabling the domestic monopoly as well as the foreign finance capital to reap extra profit, the measures already adopted by the West Bengal Left Front government have far outweighed those of the Maharashtra Congress (I) government. As a result of increase in energy cost by instalments in West Bengal, "... the total average energy cost would be to the tune of Rs.3/-per kw, making West Bengal the unique state where industries are required to pay double the amount on energy charges as paid averagely in this country." (*The Statesman*, 27.2.95). The people of this state are very much feeling the pinch of these massive impost of electricity charges on domestic consumers. The big business houses will make good this enhanced charges by passing the buck on to their buyers whereas the small entrepreneurs and even the medium scale industrial units would suffer most. Many an enterprise will go out of existence, swelling in its wake, the rank of already existing vast army of unemployed by throwing thousands of workers out of employment. About the varying rate of electricity charges evolved by the Left Front government as per shifts run in an industrial unit, the less said the better, for small-scale units never run shift system.

As an outcome of massive increase in electricity charges in West Bengal the energy business in this sector, naturally, has become very lucrative and boomingly profitable. As a matter of fact, the Left Front government has undertaken this measure only to lure the domestic monopoly capital and their counterparts abroad. The mouthpiece of all-India monopoly houses, *The Statesman*, dated 27.2.95 had to admit: "... with this amount of revenue to be earned by power companies, all international agencies will be vying with each other for investment in the power sector in the state." The CPI(M) leadership is very much after this as it could create a spate of publicity glare of wider industrialization in West Bengal, capitalising on which it would then be easier for them to reap electoral dividends.

However, the pertinent question lies in the fact, whereas the Maharashtra Congress(I) government entered into an agreement with the foreign power company guaranteeing a high rate of profit, the Left Front government in West Bengal, without going through such an exercise has already prepared the ground for lucrative increased return by hiking the electricity charges by leaps and bounds. So the 'seemingly difference' boils down to exercise in 'tactics' only.

Wonder of wonders, on the issue of investment of foreign capital in West Bengal, it is being stressed that LF government would invite foreign capital which would serve the interest of both the sides. In a capitalist society like ours, the interest of the capitalists — be it domestic or foreign — is to earn maximum profit. Naturally induction of capital means it is wedded to extract maximum profit by any means. On the other, if

by the interest of the other side is meant the interest of the toiling people, then there can arise no question of defence and protection of people's interest by investment of capital either by domestic or foreign entrepreneurs. And by liberalization of industrial and economic sectors, the ground reality has thus been set for free access of investment of imperialist and domestic monopoly capital in any field of its choice, accompanied by flight of capital at its sweet will.

Take the case of Goenka's pleading for more investment in the power generation in West Bengal. Is it any reflection of Goenka's love for the people of West Bengal? Nothing of the sort. By shooting up electricity charges from time to time, higher rate of return by way of additional profit has already been assured. The foreign power companies before coming over to India, have thus been placed in a comfortable position of guaranteed profit at the rate of 16%. The huge amount of profit would surely be extracted at the cost of untold sufferings of public at large! So, where lies the people's defence or safeguarding of their interest?

Projection of rosy picture by spinning wishful thinking does not end there. They are dishing out that whatever might be the motive of investment of imperialist capital, newer industries would, in return, develop resulting in mitigation of acute unemployment problem in the state. Does this assertion of the LF government have any actual conformity with the ground reality? Suffice it to say, the Central Congress(I) government also projects in a similar vein illusory fables which the CPI(M) leadership itself has attributed as a piece of deliberate falsehood. Why did then the CPI(M)-led LF government make claims contrary to what they are preaching against the Centre? But that does not detract the CC statement to stress: "The number of unemployed is on the increase in West Bengal to counter which, more and more industries are needed and for which the LF government has adopted a new industrial policy in defence of the unemployed" in West Bengal. Together with it, curiously enough, the need for flow of foreign technology is also being stressed by them in the same breath.

First, one should not harbour any illusion about the investible finance capital which does not rush in to build up mills and factories and thereby earn maximum profit. And it will not open a new horizon of job potentialities. On the contrary, it is veering round the stock and securities markets as an outlet for extracting more and more quick profit without going through any risk of marketing their merchandises. The same trend holds good for their Indian counterparts too. The reason is not far to seek: the higher rate of return is their sole criterion.

Second, the plethora of agreements for establishing new industries — whatever might be its sphere of operation going by the catchword 'modernisation' and 'free competition' — are based on high-tech computerisation. The inevitable consequence is employment of insignificant number of people in these industries followed by yet further cut in the existing work force in the old industries just to inflate the vast army of unemployed in the country. As for example, in an agreement just concluded for setting up a newsprint plant at a cost of Rs.350

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## CPI(M)'s frantic bid to earn confidence of monopolists & MNCs

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crore, only 650 heads would be taken in employment, which means, for every investment of Rs. 54 lakhs, job for a single person would be created. Such is the price of much-trumpeted glory of import of foreign capital with modern technology. So, to talk of creating newer avenues for employment by establishing capital intensive high-tech industries is to indulge in deliberate falsehood.

Side by side, the LF government is dishing out the trash that with an eye to raise the purchasing power of the people, it would accept investment of foreign finance capital. As is known to all, whoever be the owner of capital, investment of capital is determined by its owner. And industrial policy, for that matter, has been framed in tune with the demand and aspirations of the monopoly capitalists. Naturally therefore, nowhere in India, capital — be it of big indigenous business houses or of foreign MNCs — is invested with a motive to raise the purchasing power of the people at large. It cannot be otherwise in a capitalist system like ours.

Still then, it cannot be said definitely that the Left Front government did not enter into any agreement with any foreign power company without acceding to any directly imposed precondition. For establishing a power plant in Haldia, West Bengal, of late, the L.F. government entered into an agreement with the US Credit Agency 'George Soares' but surprisingly, both the contracting parties refused to divulge the conditionalities of the agreement. What prompted them to resort to such a veil of secrecy?

A number of instances of going for privatization and dismantling of state sector by the L.F. government have come up now. Noticeably, most of these state-run units turned private were profitable ones or prone to be turned viable with a little efforts from the government. There is hardly any instance of sick or closed down unit where private owners took over to run their business in West Bengal. That means, the same central policy of privatization is faithfully implemented in toto here in West Bengal without any relent. One or two instances will suffice to illustrate the issue.

Fifteen operational units under West Bengal Electronic Development Corporation have been transformed first into a joint-sector venture following which the most profitable among it, Webel Telematics, was sold to German MNC, 'Siemens'. The lone government jute mill, 'Bharat Jute Process', is a government concern in name only, but in effect, it is run by one proprietor, B.C. Jain. The workers there are forced to take reduced wages — far below the statutory minimum — based on outworn 'Katauti system' (a system in which the labourer is forced to receive less amount than the amount mentioned in pay-slip).

So, the claim made by the Left Front for protection of workers' rights too is not based on fact. Quite a number of *bheries* (stretch of water for pisciculture) under the West Bengal Fish Corporation are awaiting outright handover to the Todis followed suit by 'Mindwip Shrimp Project' to a Japanese MNC. Two gas turbines in Kasba, in the outskirts of Calcutta, were also handed over to the Goenkas at throwaway prices. By now, everyone is aware how the LF government, in a desperate bid, is attempting to fully privatise the government-run Great Eastern Hotel, Calcutta, by handing it over to a French company, 'Acre Asia Pacific.'

So, by dismantling quite a number of state sector units and privatization thereto, can anyone make out any difference in approach and outlook between the policies pursued by the Central Congress(I) government and those of the L.F. government on the issue of privatization?

### (3) The opening up of India's economy to foreign capital with special facilities for them :

Mention has already been made about the special facility offered to a foreign power company and this 'special facility' is not confined to guarantee of increased profit alone. The CPI(M) is not averse to acceding to any such heinous conditionality imposed by any foreign company as has been made clear from the statement in point of discussion. It stated in no uncertain terms that, "the state governments today are not able to get the Centre to finance the purchase of BHEL equipment for fresh power projects even though Left Front government wants it." The sumum bonum of what was said, harping on the theme of 'Centre's omnipotence', reduces itself to the inability of the L.F. government to force any domestic and/or foreign company to purchase the indigenously available required machineries from the public sector BHEL, necessary for establishment of a fresh power plant in West Bengal. In other words, the LF government would allow 'special facility' to foreign company for importing equipment and technology from abroad notwithstanding the availability of the same in abundance indigenously!

In the context of Haldia Petrochem industry, 'George Soares', the self-same US company in Haldia Power Plant has been taken into confidence with yet another 'special facility' as not to wage labour movement by the CPI(M) in league with its labour wing, CITU. Then again, to facilitate the sale of the state owned Great Eastern Hotel, a 'special facility' of reducing the asset value of the hotel from Rs.200 crore to a mere Rs.27 crore has been offered to the French company, 'Acre Asia Pacific'. It means outright handover of a staggering profit of Rs.173 crore to a foreign company at the expense of costly public exchequer. Whatever conditionalities had been dictated by this foreign company for retrenchment of whatsoever number of employees of this hotel, the LF government too, accepted it on dotted lines. There are cases of some more behind-the-scene stories of 'special facilities', which perhaps, will be coming out in daylight sometime later. Even after all these, the CC of the CPI(M) is on record saying that it won't accept any pressure or conditionalities whatsoever. What else than travesty of truth it is!

### (4) On the issue of making open the financial sector to the foreign capital :

The Central government is making wider open the financial sector consisting of capital and security markets, the banking service, etc., to the foreign capital one after another. The insurance business is to follow suit sooner than later. The state governments do not have any authority to prevent it. So, there arises no question of examining whether any such field of financial sector in West Bengal is being opened to them or not. But recently, the Chairman of the West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation, CPI(M) leader Mr Somenath Chatterji, MP, opined for having commercial banking service for West Bengal in order to accelerate the pace of development. Over and above the Co-operative

Banking Service at its command, to give vent to this demand for quicker development of West Bengal means to call for opening up of private banking services of home and abroad exclusively for West Bengal. It is altogether a different issue if it is feasible at all or not. But surely there is no doubt about it that going by this statement, the CPI(M), directly or indirectly, has endorsed the privatization policy of the banking business on the lines of Centre's so-called New Economic Policy and that of the GATT, 1994.

### (5) The reduction in state intervention in the development of industries and the economy including the sphere of infrastructure and social expenditure :

It needs no emphasizing the hot haste with which the Central Congress(I) government is exhorting its logic for going whole hog to slash government expenditure and investment in almost all spheres, especially in the social security services meant for weaker sections of the people, abdicating its entire responsibility to the society, chanting the plea of 'free market economy'. Even the sphere of education has not been spared and it is increasingly being opened up to the monopolists of home and abroad. Over and above, the Centre is planning to privatise education, higher education in particular, for fabulous profit earning of the capitalists.

The same outlook and the role is being reflected by LF government in West Bengal. The sorry state prevailing in the fields of road transport, hospitals, government primary schools, etc., proves unmistakably how the LF government is toeing the line of the Centre to systematically slash down government allocations to the infrastructure and social sectors alike.

Following the footsteps of Congress(I) government at the Centre the manner in which the LF government is inviting the domestic and foreign finance capital with red carpet ovation to invest in West Bengal in almost all the economic and industrial sectors with policy of assurance of all-out aid and assistance, speaks volumes about the non-intervention of L.F. government in these sectors, although nowhere it is spelt out in so many words.

In the meeting of the Subject Committee attached to the West Bengal Assembly held in January last it was clearly spelt out that the Minor Irrigation Department under the Left Front government had been reduced to signboard of the World Bank or its implementing agency. (Source : *The Statesman*, 24.1.95) In other words, implementation of the World Bank projects with its aid and assistance has become the sole task of this department. In the field of transport too, various conditionalities are at work. If a vital department under the L.F. government becomes transformed into an 'agency' of the World Bank, it is easily discernible what will be the role of this government in the economic sphere once the 'new industrial policy' just announced by the Left Front government, becomes operational.

Thus, in the Central Committee statement of the CPI(M), their policy of 'double standards' has been fully unmasked. Their all-out effort to distinguish their industrial policy and the role played by the L.F. government led by it to implement it with those of the Central Congress(I) government and other bourgeois governments in the states has landed them in futile exercise. And to educate their rank-and-file members through this deception, the grand design of perfidy and treachery instead, has come in bold relief.

## 24th April

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past mistakes and abiding by the note of cautions sounded by giant communist leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Shibdas Ghosh.

To bear this onerous responsibility we have to be worthy of the situation. That is why our beloved General Secretary, as per the decision of the Plenum, has given the call to all comrades starting from the topmost leaders down to the ordinary workers to release a struggle inside the party to rectify themselves in order to achieve elevated standard. Karl Marx called upon the workers to change the world. And it cannot be achieved unless and until the workers do not change themselves, free themselves completely from the evil influence of the degenerated capitalist society. So the imperative of the hour is to unleash that struggle for rectification and elevation based on first self-criticism and then criticism at all the levels of the whole party. This is the most urgent call of 24th April the leaders reiterated in the mass meetings.

We are mentioning below the statewide meetings the news of which we so far received : On 24th April Meetings were held in Orissa at PMG Square, Bhubaneswar where Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, Central Committee, was the main speaker and Comrade Sheikh Qasim, member, Orissa State Committee of the party, was the president ; in West Bengal at Saheed Minar Maidan, Calcutta where Comrade Provas Ghosh, member, Central Committee, was the main speaker with Comrade Yakub Pailan, member, West Bengal State Secretariat, in the chair ; in Assam at Guwahati District Library Auditorium where Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member, Central Committee, was the main speaker and Comrade Kalyan Chowdhury, Secretary, Assam State Committee the president; in Kerala at Cochin where Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Central Committee, was the main speaker. On 25th in Tripura at Kaman Chowmohani, Agartala, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya speaker and Comrade Amalendu Bhowmick president. On 26th : In Karnataka at Rajajinagar Ramamandira Grounds, Bangalore, speaker Comrade Krishna Chakraborty and president Comrade K. Radhakrishna, Secretary, Karnataka State Committee. On 29th April : In Tamilnadu at Madurai, speaker Comrade Krishna Chakraborty. On 1st May : In Andhra Pradesh at Hyderabad, speaker Comrade Krishna Chakraborty.

## Hoax of land reforms in WB

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But how is the CPI(M)-led Left Front distributing the recovered vested land ? It is already stated that nearly 12 and a half lakh acres of vested land have been reclaimed during the UF and Left Front rule. But now the Left Front government cannot account for nearly eighty thousand acres of vested land. It is obvious that these quantum of land has been grabbed by the jotedars. Two and a half lakh acres of land still remain undistributed. The Mukherjee-Banerjee Committee commented that it would take thirty years to distribute the remaining portion if the rate at which the Left Front government is distributing remains unchanged. What a sincerity of purpose ! So, however much the CPI(M) cry hoarse of recovering of benam lands from the clutches of the jotedars and distributing those among landless

## May Day

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aspirations. And the infamous GATT and its patent laws are being implemented in the country; but we must not forget that the imperialists, their World Bank and the IMF, are not coming here through imperialist invasion against the will of the ruling class of India. But they are coming in connivance with the capitalist class, the ruling class of the country; rather the Indian national bourgeoisie is inviting the imperialists with their exploitative devices in their own interest to grab a slice of the market in a third country going hand in glove with the traditional imperialist countries to exploit the relatively weaker countries in the world. So, our fight will not be against the imperialists alone, but it must also be against the ruling capitalist class of India.

Side by side, Comrade Chanda warned the working class of the country against the casteist and communal forces, more so the proponents of Hinduism, who are gaining strength menacingly to create cleavage in the unity of the toiling masses in the interest of ruling capitalist class and the imperialists. He also asserted while building up and conducting day to day movements the workers should never confine those to the bounds of their economic demands — those should always be directed with the aim of giving birth to revolutionary movement of the proletariat for overthrowing the bourgeois from power and establishment of socialism, protection of socialism and its advancement. For this purpose, they have to cement broadbased unity among themselves, not simply at the top or national level but in provincial, district and plant levels — that is, from the grassroots level throughout the country. And at the same time they must remain ever alert in correctly identifying the friend and the foe, because everything will be lost if they failed to recognise the real enemy.

Lastly, Comrade Chanda urged the working class again to lead their struggle along the path of class struggle for achieving socialism and never to forget the all-important lesson of history that without establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat the establishment, advancement and protection of socialism is not possible. In the present situation this is the teachings and call of May Day.

peasants it is amply clear that they are not at all willing to do so. Because, it will make the jotedars or big landowner class, the CPI(M)'s rural allies, hostile particularly when their bond of friendship is getting stronger day by day.

### A new trend in rural West Bengal

In the rural West Bengal the jotedars-money lenders are growing more and more powerful. They also are trying to build up large profitable farms by investing more and more capital in agriculture. Side by side, are the foreign multinational companies. The main obstacles before the food processing, multinational companies' bid to establish large farms is the existing Land Reforms Act, particularly the upper ceiling of the land holding provided in the Act. So, the Left Front government now by openly advocating for, frantically collaborating with and appeasing the foreign multinationals and Indian monopoly houses, has itself come forward to

remove these obstacles. And to convince the central government in this regard they sent the Chief Secretary of the state, Mr. Narayan Krishnamurty to Delhi. It goes without saying that in that eventuality of doing away any ceiling there will be no vested land in the rural West Bengal. The jotedars will then get legalised all the vested lands which they are holding forcibly with the help of police and administration.

Another aspect is also very much vital in this regard. In recent years prices of pre-requisites for cultivation like manure, seeds, insecticides, and cost of water for irrigation and their scarcity too have gone to an alarming proportion. The peasants are not getting remunerative price of their produce too. As a result, particularly the middle, small and marginal peasants are being forced to distress sale of their produce to the jotedars, money lenders and profiteers. The government is not practically coming to their aid with viable support price. In this process and being unable to stand in competition with the big land holding farms they are leasing out or selling out their lands to the jotedars or the big farmers. Even the multinational companies have started to purchase enormous quantum of agricultural lands in rural districts. This the admission of the government officials and peasant leaders of the CPI(M) even. (Vide *The Statesman* dated 25.2.95)

### Ranks of agricultural workers swelling

Thus the middle, marginal and poor peasants are rapidly swelling the ranks of landless agricultural workers in the process of losing their lands. The number of agricultural workers in 1981 in West Bengal was 38,91,531 and this figure is now 50,55,478 (Census Report '91, Govt. of India). So how the landless peasants have been benefited in the Left Front rule ? The agricultural workers of the state cannot get work for more than 4 to 5 months on an average in a year and they cannot expect to get even a minimum wage just sufficient for bare living. The government has declared the minimum wage, but this too is not implemented ; and so the jotedars take full advantage of the situation in denying the minimum wage to the agricultural workers.

So, it is seen from the above discussion that the CPI(M)-led Left Front government is not at

all sincere in reclaiming the benam land and in distributing the same among the landless, and its track record in this respect is inglorious. It is also a fact that the middle, poor and marginal farmers are losing lands continuously and they are joining the rank of the agricultural workers. The government has not been able to provide any work to them, and even the minimum wage is not being implemented. In such a situation one can easily imagine the condition of rural West Bengal. The wild claim of success of the land reforms is a typical social democratic deception by which the CPI(M) is trying to present its agricultural policy, framed to protect the interest of the jotedars and the foreign capital, as the policy in the interest of the peasants. The real purpose of this propaganda offensive about its so-called success in land reforms is to mislead those who are not conversant with the rural life of West Bengal. But the CPI(M) should remember that it can confuse some people for some time but not all the people for all time.

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