

# Resist Counter-revolution, Defend Socialism

# Proletarian Era

Organ of SOCIALIST UNION CENTRE OF INDIA  
(Fortnightly)

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On 5th August, 1990, on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the demise of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee addressed party workers, supporters and sympathisers at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought in Ghatsila, Bihar.

He pointed out at the very outset that for us this observance was not a ritual. It was an occasion to deepen our understanding of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts which emerged in course of concretising, elaborating and enriching Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of India and in the light of the spectacular developments of modern science and society in the post-Lenin period and analyse contemporary international and national situation in this light.

Comrade Mukherjee then proceeded to analyse the recent developments in the international communist movement, its underlying reasons and significance from this outlook.

He said, it was natural that the turn of events in the erstwhile socialist countries of East Europe gladdened the hearts of the imperialists and capitalists of the world just as it caused among the progressive and democratic-minded people of the world shock, sorrow and confusion. Yet it must be realised, Comrade Mukherjee said, that revolutionary movement advanced not in a straight line but through ups and downs and twists and turns although there could be no doubt that of all the reverses suffered by communist movement from its beginning, this was the most severe.

In this connection he specifically drew attention to the retrograde developments taking place in the land of the first socialist revolution of the world i.e., Soviet Russia. It was in this land that Lenin established and steered the first socialist state of the world against the worldwide imperialist

conspiracy and blockade of the Entente. After the demise of Lenin, his worthy disciple Stalin continued the struggle and consolidated socialism to such an extent that the U.S.S.R. stood as an industrial and military giant before the world, repulsed the German fascist might, freed Eastern Europe from the exploitative capitalist order, gave an impetus to the peace movement and by all this, created a most favourable condition for the tide of the anti-colonial liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America which subsequently changed the very face of the earth to the great discomfiture of the imperialist warmongers.

Those were the times when world imperialism was cornered and panic-stricken in the face of the great strides of the communist movement. How could all this have been possible? he asked.

Comrade Mukherjee showed that it could come about due to the role played by the great communist leader, Stalin. It was Stalin who fought against the Left and Right deviations of Trotsky and Bukharin respectively in the C.P.S.U. and thus placed before the communists of the world the correct interpretation of Leninism. The correct realisation of Leninism which was the most powerful weapon of the proletariat in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution could be attained due to Stalin. This gave the communist movement its invincible strength. It was the secret behind Stalin's success in defeating the military might of fascism, rebuilding the Soviet economy from the ruins of the war to a position where it emerged parallel

to the USA in industrial-military-technological capabilities, uniting and organising the forces of peace all over the world and building a powerful militant peace movement against imperialist warmongers and above all, helping the revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries and the liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies and in the process, helping the peoples' democratic states of China in the East and of Eastern Europe in the West.

Comrade Mukherjee continued: it was in this background that after the conclusion of the Second World War, socialism was established in the countries of Eastern Europe in a peculiar condition. The communist parties in these countries being greatly depleted by the fascists, could not ideologically and organisationally prepare the masses for transforming the anti-fascist struggle for establishing socialism. They could capture power because of the help of the Red Army. Stalin took great care to develop the communist parties of these countries ideologically and organisationally from the forum of the Cominform. Taken as a whole, this was a period of unprecedented growth and advancement of the communist movement the world over which put world imperialism in a tight corner. It seemed that the establishment of the world socialist order was in sight. The leader of this worldwide movement was none else than Stalin.

But then, after his demise, this onward march was halted, revisionists captured the leadership of the communist movement and finally brought about this great debacle which we witnessed today. What then went wrong with the international communist movement? asked Com. Mukherjee.

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## Comrade Mukherjee Condemns Iraq and USA

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI issued the following statement to the Press on 6th August last:

The Central Committee of the SUCI strongly condemns the invasion and occupation of a sovereign and independent state Kuwait by Iraq. While

demanding withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait forthwith the Central Committee at the same time cannot but express its grave concern and apprehension over the US action of despatching military to Saudi Arabia which will create a fresh war situation to the detriment of world peace.

## Comrade Mukherjee flays Benazir's dismissal

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement to the Press on 7.8.90:

We condemn the dismissal of the elected government of Prime

Minister Ms. Benazir Bhutto and dissolution of National Assembly and installation of a new Government in a most undemocratic way by the President of Pakistan in connivance with military clique.

## Anti-fare rise stir in WB

### Begins a new chapter

The state-wide people's commotion and expression of deep wrath and indignation against the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' government over transport fare hike reminds the stormy days of yesteryears in which wave after wave of Left movement lashed whole of the state from the Himalayan terrain to the Bay of Bengal.

In fact the incidents one after another in the recent period — total rigging in the WB civic bodies election through widespread use of muscle power and administration, and then open violence by the CPI(M) hoodlums under police protection in the Calcutta Municipal elections, Bantala massacre and gang-rape in Birati and several places involving, allegedly, the CPI-

(M) cadres, acute power and kerosene crisis and unprecedented price rise cumulatively contributed to the popular outburst which sparked off the moment the 'Left Front' government steeply hiked transport fares with a view to protecting the interest of private bus owners and covering its own misdeeds of corruption and heavy wastage

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## *Industrial Policy of N F Government*

# An Attempt to Save Crumbling Capitalist Economy

The National Front government announced the new industrial policy on 30th May last. This policy has been framed not only by following the footsteps of the previous Congress(I) government but it is a further extension of the same policy too. Though some persons are describing this policy as something different from that of 1948 and 1956 but in reality there is no fundamental difference between them.

Since the days of first Five Year Plan after independence our party has been pointing out that the motive behind the plans and policies in the name of welfare state or the development of the country has been the development and consolidation of capitalism in India. But since capitalism throughout the world is extremely crisis-ridden and has not only completely exhausted its progressive role but on the contrary has become reactionary and decadent too, so any attempt towards development and strengthening of capitalism is bound to be associated with a shadow of crisis. This crisis is so acute and intense that whatever measure the capitalist government may adopt to come out of this crisis it is bound to land it in a greater crisis and the burden of it is shifted on to the shoulder of the people. As a result the people are pauperised and misery, unemployment and all other sufferings have been increasing at a rapid pace. This is the outcome of all the plannings of the previous Congress governments and this new industrial policy of the NF government too will be no exception.

This new industrial policy, is claimed to be a liberal one, but in fact, this policy is liberal only to the monopolists and the multinationals. It is being claimed that all the malaise of the Indian economy viz. the industrial crisis within the country, adverse balance of payment position, depletion of foreign exchange reserve etc. will be removed by this new policy and the industrialisation of the country

will be rapid. The big industrialists, the so-called economists, the monopoly-controlled Press, the ministers and the top leaders are claiming that lesser control or rather decontrolled market economy is the key to industrialisation. Many of them are even trying to pose the decontrolled market economy as if it is a new idea. They should know that the decontrolled market economy is the oldest model of capitalism and there is nothing new in it.

However, this new industrial policy cannot be grasped without considering the Budget and the export-import policy of the NF government. In this policy the role of small and rural sectors has been repeatedly stressed and from this it might seem that this policy is in favour of expanding the scope of employment by rapidly developing small and rural industries. But in reality this is not the case. If examined in the context of the Budget and the export-import policy of the NF government it will reveal that this will serve the interests of the monopoly capitalists by making the small-scale industries to remain at their mercy. To understand this it is necessary to examine certain aspects of the Budget and the export-import policy of the NF government.

### BUDGET

It is known that the National Front in its election manifesto advocated for the spread of the cottage and small-scale industries in order to solve the unemployment problem. But in

this period of monopoly capitalism, the interest of capitalism is bound to be the interest of the monopolists and the Finance Minister of the NF government, Mr. Madhu Dandavate, proved this in his Budget speech when he said that he would not discriminate between the small and big industries in the matter of tax relief. It is not difficult to understand what this statement means — it virtually means favour to the monopolists. Mr. Dandavate reduced the Corporate Tax from 50 per cent to 40 per cent. Again among these corporate sectors investing on new industries, 30 per cent of the income as rebate to tax for them for first ten years is introduced. This rebate was 25 per cent for 8 years during the Rajiv Gandhi Government. During the Rajiv regime emphasis was on export-oriented industries and liberal fiscal benefits were extended to them from the public exchequer. In continuation of this policy the Union Finance Minister declared in his Budget speech that no tax would be levied on the import of capital goods by the export-oriented industries. Moreover, the tax that would be imposed by the foreign countries on goods imported from India would be reimbursed by the government of India. Thus in the budget estimate a sum of Rs. 2,095 crores had been kept apart as subsidy on that account. Again a sum of Rs. 200 crores had been allotted for reimbursing the bank interest of the export-oriented industries and a sum of Rs. 21 crores had been earmarked as assistance to the council that had been formed for the promotion of export. In total, a sum of Rs. 2,316 crores had been earmarked in the budget as subsidy for promotion of export. The cruel joke is that the new government at the

Centre doled out such a huge amount to the monopolists in the name of welfare of the people who were again subjected to a fresh taxation of Rs. 1,790 crores in the Budget along with a staggering deficit estimated to reach Rs. 7,206 crores at the end of the financial year.

### IMPORT-EXPORT POLICY

Soon after the Budget the import-export policy for 1990-93 i.e. for next three years was announced. In this policy also the total support to the big monopolists in the name of export orientation has been glaringly revealed and the scope of importing foreign technology and machineries had been further liberalised. It may be mentioned here that the Associated Chamber of Commerce (ASSOCHAM), the representative body of the Indian monopolists and particularly of the finance capital, submitted a number of proposals to the government prior to the declaration of the import-export policy. The proposal was that the government should identify the big export-oriented industries as 'Tiara' industries and gave them opportunity to import all raw materials, computers and other components free of any excise duty and they would be at liberty to sell those things within the country after two years of use; these units would be able to establish or close down industries and re-trench workers at their will. Moreover, they would have liberty to invest upto 20 per cent of their annual export earnings in the foreign country. In a word, the essence of the proposal was that these industrialists must be provided with unfettered opportunity to reap maximum profit within the country as well as outside. This desire of the Indian monopoly houses was to a large extent reflected in the import-export policy of the NF Government which for the first time declared that those export-oriented industries having an annual income of Rs. 75 crore or more

would be classified as 'Star' companies and they would get special privileges in the foreign trade. It is worth mentioning that at present there are only three such companies having such income and the Tata Exports is one of them. It is needless to say that when it is more profitable to go in for production for exports by importing foreign technology and machineries, the number of 'Star' companies would increase in near future. Again in the same export-import policy it was stated that an export-oriented company would be recognised if it had an annual income of Rs. 20 crore. So it is natural that a small concern cannot dream of an annual income of Rs. 20 crore from export. And as a result, the monopolists would grab the lion's share of the government subsidy in export business. As a matter of fact, the government policy has been framed with that aim in view.

### INDUSTRIAL POLICY

After that the NF Government announced the new industrial policy on May 30 last. It was claimed in this policy that the government had been contemplating some changes in it with a view to developing the small-scale and agro-based industries. The ostensible purpose is to increase the scope of employment, to develop industries in the rural areas and to strengthen the small-scale industries for export. The changes as proposed are in the main :

1. All new units with an investment of upto Rs. 25 crore in fixed assets in non-backward areas and Rs. 75 crore in centrally notified backward areas would not need licences or registration;
2. Such investments will also be exempt from the 'convertibility clause' which enables a state-owned financial institution to convert a portion of the term loan extended into equity shares;

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3. An entrepreneur can conclude a foreign collaboration without official clearance if royalty payment does not exceed 5 per cent of domestic sales and 8 per cent in case of export sales and no lump sum payment for technology transfer is involved. Even when lump sum payment is proposed, the government will give its decision on the collaboration in a month;
4. Foreign concerns can invest upto 40 per cent in the equity of an Indian company without official approval. This means that by abolishing the system of prior government approval for any foreign investment, the Indian market is made open to the foreign investors;
5. Units in free trade zones as well as 100 per cent export-oriented units are being delicensed upto an investment limit of Rs. 75 crore;
6. Improved raw materials will be easily available;
7. All these liberal policies will be applicable not only to the small-scale sectors but also to those sectors which are under MRTP and FERA regulation; but according to the present regulations those sectors are required to obtain prior permission from the government.

The last mentioned clause reveals that this new industrial policy ostensibly framed for the development of the small-scale and cottage industries in the urban and rural areas will in reality benefit the monopolists of the country. Besides, by increasing the ceiling of fixed assets in small-scale sector and by making these units more dependent on technology and export, this new industrial policy has reduced the scope of employment in these units and provided opportunity to the monopolists to reap additional profit by exploiting the cheap labour through these small-scale sectors.

In Indian capitalist economy, when the development of the monopoly has been rapidly taking place, the idea of independent existence of the small-scale sector, let alone its development, is a utopia. Today the small-scale sector can survive only as an ancillary to big industries which exploit the cheap labour of the country by engaging them in these ancillary industries. All these are the symptoms of crisis in Indian capitalist economy. Along with the crisis of market, the problem of surplus monopoly capital has added new dimensions to the crisis in Indian economy and that is why we find that since the Eighties an attempt has been there to penetrate in the foreign market, by importing foreign knowhow in the name of liberalisation. The new industrial policy of the NF government has been framed in continuation of this policy of penetration in the foreign market. But as the present crisis is of greater magnitude so stress on technology and export even for small-scale sectors has been given and this will make these sectors more dependent on the big industries and the degree of exploitation of the cheap labour power engaged in the small-scale sectors will still be severer. The scope of employment in the small-scale sectors will also be squeezed.

In this industrial policy the attitude of the government to the agro-based industries has been reflected. This policy is claimed to have given special stress on agro-based industries. Here stress has also been laid on combining the ownership of the agricultural products and that of the industrial products derived from using these agricultural-products as raw material. It has been claimed that such combined ownership ensures success of the agro-based industries. The sugar industry has been cited as an example and the existing co-operatives in the sugar industry are shown as models. But those acquainted with the history of the co-opera-

tives in Maharashtra and some other states are aware that almost all the benefits of the co-operative system are grabbed by the rich peasants and jotedars or in a word the rural bourgeoisie. The poor and the marginal farmers can practically derive no benefit from these co-operatives. The feature of the sugar industry is that the owners of the sugarcane fields are also the owners of the sugar mills. This feature is cited as model by the NF Government in case of all agro-based industries and this policy will definitely protect the interest of the big capitalists nakedly and expedite the pace and extent of monopolisation in agriculture and the interest of the people of the country has nothing to do with it. Again this industrial policy proves to the hilt our evaluation of the Indian agricultural economy as a totally capitalist economy.

## Industrial Policy

The main thrust of the industrial policy of the NF government is that the policy giving preference to certain industries on the basis of necessity has been generally abandoned and any industry investing upto Rs. 25 crore in non-backward areas and Rs. 75 crore in backward areas can be established without the necessity of any licence or registration.

Secondly, the scope of import of technology and machineries is further liberalised. It means that the attempt for devising modern technology indigenously is virtually abandoned thereby liberalising the import of machineries which will have a far-reaching consequence on indigenous industries.

Thirdly, the Indian market is made more accessible to the foreign capital meaning thereby the additional opportunity to the imperialist capital for further exploitation of the country. And through all these measures the interest of

the Indian aspirant monopolists is protected.

Before judging the impact of this new industrial policy on the people of the country, it is important to see whether there is anything new in this policy. Some are claiming this policy as new and some other are finding in it a shift from the industrial policy of 1956 and a deviation from the socialistic objectives after observing the peculiar silence on the part of policy-framers in regard to state sector. We think that both these observations are totally wrong. The industrial policy of 1956 was framed at a certain stage of the development of crisis-ridden Indian capitalist economy when the importance on the public sector and government control in the capitalist market through planning was stressed. Again the importance on the private sector, slackening of the state control and relatively opening further the door to foreign capital have been stressed in the background of yet another stage of development of Indian capitalism, plunged headlong into a greater crisis. The governmental policy has been reflecting the changed need of the Indian capitalist class since the beginning of this decade. After the 1984 election the Congress(I) government under Rajiv Gandhi was strongly advocating this liberal policy in the name of bringing the country to the Twenty-first Century. But subsequently apprehending loss of support, Rajiv Gandhi chanted the usual socialistic jargons while following the same liberal policy towards the private sectors. In the name of modernisation, liberal import of technology was resorted to and the workers were retrenched owing to computerisation and automation. The conversion of certain public sector undertakings into private sector was initiated at that time.

Incidentally we like to mention here that we the Marxists are not at all opposed to modern technology. But the moot question is, for whose in-

terest the technology is updated? If in this stage of crisis-ridden capitalism computerisation and automation are introduced, this will definitely bring about retrenchment to a vast section of workers and the acute unemployment problem will further intensify. The main objective of this updating of technology in capitalism is the maximisation of profit of the monopolists at the cost of millions of poverty-stricken people who are rendered unemployed. This is why at the present stage of Indian economy we are opposed to unhindered introduction of computers and automation.

Now it is evident in the policy of the NF government that the public sector lacks any importance. In the Budget speech the Finance Minister had stated that the public sector played a very important role in the development of trade and industry. He also showed that the net profit of the public sector had increased to Rs. 1,103 crores from Rs. 694 crores last year proving thereby that the public sector was not unprofitable. But despite that no additional provision has been made in the Budget for investment in the public sector and this sector has been assigned any role neither in import-export policy. Rather, the state financial organisations were deprived of the rights and opportunities they were enjoying previously. From all these some section is accusing of deviation from the 'socialistic objective'. The same objection was raised during the previous Rajiv Gandhi regime and in the past many people confused the public sector with 'socialism'. We have been consistently pointing out that nationalisation in a capitalist state is not socialism. In the phase of third general crisis of world capitalism, the Indian capitalist state had come forward to build up the basic and heavy industrial infrastructure under the public sector after

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## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Speech

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Comrade Mukherjee showed that the growth of certain tendencies within the communist movement acted as hindrance to this worldwide forward march, which were pointed out by a great Marxist thinker of our time and a worthy disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—the founder General Secretary of our party. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh whom we were remembering today. While hailing the expulsion of Tito from the Cominform in 1948 as a correct step, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had nevertheless pointed out at that time that the emergence of these problems indicated the alarming feature of the growth of mechanical thought process instead of the dialectical process of thinking inside the communist movement coupled with the low level of consciousness of the communists. He even went as far as to warn that unless these non-communist trends were rooted out from the communist movement, the world might one day witness the spectacle of one socialist country going to war against another. We knew how this warning had come true, he said. The existence of these weaknesses made the communist movement vulnerable to the attacks of bourgeois liberalism in the ideological sphere even when it had advanced much organisationally. Comrade Stalin had foreseen this danger and also initiated an all-out struggle to elevate the level of consciousness of the party workers at the fag end of his life. But death deprived him of the opportunity to continue it further, Comrade Mukherjee pointed out.

It was at this point, Com. Mukherjee said, that the modern revisionists led by Khrushchev usurped the leadership of the CPSU. By undermining the authority of Stalin, Khrushchev actually confused and distorted

the principled Leninist stand of the former on questions of the party, state and economy. That was why Comrade Ghosh had shown at that very time, said Comrade Mukherjee, that blackening out Stalin would objectively uncrown Lenin himself. This distortion of the Leninist understanding spawned many confusions and many aberrations in the international communist movement, Euro-Communism being an example of these within Russia. This started a process of decline which, after being perpetuated by the successive leaderships of the CPSU, had produced the deformities and degeneration of its socialist political, economic and social structure which we were witnessing today, he said.

Comrade Mukherjee added that the emergence of Gorbachev with his doctrine of Perestroika and Glasnost was a culmination of this very revisionist practice started by Khrushchev. We had critically analysed all his policies regarding the socialist state, the communist party and the socialist economy of the Soviet Union which showed that instead of mitigating the present problems in the Soviet society these i.e. Glasnost and Perestroika would only aggravate them further and lead to complete liquidation of socialism and in its stead restore capitalism. And now it was what had exactly happened.

Counter-revolution in East Europe was a political necessity for Gorbachev for bringing about counter-revolution i.e., — full-fledged Perestroika in his words — in Soviet Russia. The countries of East Europe being economically and militarily dependent upon Soviet help did yield in different forms or even were forced to yield to Gorbachev's pressure — and that was how counter-revolution swept over Eastern Europe and capitalism was restored there, he said.

Explaining this entire

course of the communist movement from the days of Stalin to where it stood today, Comrade Mukherjee said that while it was incumbent upon us to recognise the import of this grim situation, there was at the same time no reason to lose our heart at it as communists. On the other hand, he said, the correct appraisal of the law of social development indicated that communism was the historic destiny of mankind.

East Europe opened the eyes of not only the communists but also of the progressive minded people everywhere as to the real character of the revisionists who had become the open collaborators of imperialism today. After considering this, said he, perhaps it could be said that though developments in East Europe was a rude shock yet it worked as an eye-opener. It would help the genuine communists everywhere to recognise the danger of bourgeois liberalism which was the other name of revisionism and correctly conduct their ideological struggle for continuously attaining higher levels of ideological-political consciousness.

He said the communists were sure to win their battle for they stood on the solid foundation of Dialectical Materialism, which was a scientific philosophy, and which functioned by correlating the particular truths discovered by the particular branches of science and which, thus, always indicated the correct way to realise truth. Historical materialism, which based itself on this science, had shown that communism was not a utopia. It was the destiny of mankind. In this regard, said Comrade Mukherjee, the present confusion created by the capitalists and the revisionists about the question of democracy and dictatorship in socialism needed to be clarified. Historical materialism showed that the proletarian revolution was funda-

mentally different from the earlier revolutions. Proletarian revolution put an end to exploitation itself whereas all earlier revolutions only changed the forms of exploitation. But to safeguard this system the working class needed the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was necessary, firstly to foil the attempts at comeback of the overthrown exploiting classes; secondly, for educating and involving millions of ordinary masses in the organisation of the new society and thirdly, for rousing the entire country in successive cultural revolutions in order to initiate the people of the country in communist outlook and culture without which the influence of centuries-old reactionary ideas, prejudices, customs and habits could not be uprooted. Com. Mukherjee reminded that this was why Lenin had once observed that those who did not extend the recognition of class-struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat were not yet Marxists.

Comrade Mukherjee further said that those who realised the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat would understand that it was at the same time the process to democratise the entire society — by removing the last vestiges of exploitation and division between owner and worker, town and country, mental and manual, and skilled and unskilled labour. Comrade Mukherjee observed that in the course of thus removing all divisions between men, dictatorship of the proletariat would create condition for its own disappearance in the communist society where the proletariat itself as a class ceased to exist. Dictatorship of the proletariat differed from all other forms of class rule in this respect also, profoundly. That was why, Comrade Mukherjee said, it was held that there was no democracy more democratic than the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this context Com. Mukherjee showed that the bourgeois sense of liberty and democracy could never rise beyond

the limit of narrow nationalist outlook. But communism, basing on proletarian internationalism, freed the entire mankind from all sorts of exploitation, oppression, humiliation etc. and in the march of civilisation, provided, for the first time in human history, the highest form of liberty, equality and democracy for the entire mankind.

Much was said these days to malign Stalin and thus malign in an indirect way the dictatorship of the proletariat of Russia in his time. It was said that there was no democracy in his time. But, asked Comrade Mukherjee, despite the purges of the 30's, did not the entire Soviet people rise wholeheartedly and unitedly to resist the Nazi invaders as nowhere else in the world? Did not they again plunge in the reconstruction of the country after the war was over and change the face of Russia within a few years' time? Could an entire nation rise in this way if it was deprived of democracy, or, it rather proved that they enjoyed democracy so much as nowhere else in the world? He said that the Soviet people could perform such miracles, because they were imbued with the spirit of internationalism and communist moral values which were instilled in them by the CPSU under Stalin's leadership. If today this spirit was lost and enthusiasm and dedication of those days were wanting then not Stalin but the revisionists must answer for it.

In order to salvage the communist movement from the influence of modern revisionism, Comrade Mukherjee emphasized, communist movement today must rise to a new height ideologically, theoretically and organisationally. Long ago Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that the old standard of communist character had become inadequate today. Therefore, the world-wide struggle of the communists, against

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## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Speech

(Contd. from page 4) modern revisionism and bourgeois ideology of all shades could attain complete success today without having before it the aim of attaining the highest standard of communist character and culture. One attained this standard by acquiring the ability to completely identify one's interest with the interest of the revolution, class, and the party, happily and voluntarily. If communists in the socialist country failed to initiate this struggle and realise the need for attaining this new standard then even after attainment of socialism, the nobility of communist ideal was bound to suffer in the background of the antagonistic contradiction in the socialist society between individual interest and social interest and then the problem of 'socialist individualism' could not be resolved, showed Comrade Ghosh.

Therefore, the struggle to attain this new standard of communist character was of crucial importance today. It was by attaining success in this struggle that the new type of 'man' would emerge in the socialist society, Comrade Mukherjee said, and this highest standard of communist character of today, according to Comrade Ghosh, would be the average standard (of all men) in the communist society of the future where, as Marx said, all would be come 'renaissance man'.

While thus discussing about the nobility of the communist ideology, Comrade Mukherjee by forcefully discounting the argument that history had proved that revolution could be possible only in the backward countries, showed that revolutions in those countries did not occur owing to their backwardness. What backwardness and poverty produced spontaneously was not revolutionaries but beggars, thieves and anti-socials. To become a revolutionary one needed to grasp revolutionary ideology

and acquire revolutionary culture. Only when this subjective condition was fulfilled there, revolutionary party of the proletariat was given birth to and the masses organised under the leadership — could the revolution triumph — whether in backward or advanced countries.

Comrade Mukherjee also said that although Marx visualised the possibility of revolution being successful in countries where industry was more developed, where proletariat constituted the majority but later on Lenin showed that in the period of imperialism the possibility of breaking out revolution was more in countries where the chain of imperialism was the weakest i.e. in less developed countries in a capitalist sense than other more developed countries. Obviously, this change was due to changed international situation after the advent of imperialism which facts of history corroborated.

The reason why revolution could not yet take place in the capitalist countries lay elsewhere, he said. He showed that capitalism would not collapse automatically; the revolution must win which meant the revolutionaries in every country must be able to shatter before the eyes of the people the supremacy of the bourgeoisie in the ideological, philosophical, moral, cultural, aesthetic and every other sphere of life and establish their own supremacy in all fields. This demanded of the communists a ceaseless and uncompromising struggle covering all aspects of life, organisation and epistemology thereby continuously enriching the treasurehouse Marxism. But it was precisely in this respect that communist movement lacked—due to its low level of ideological consciousness. So instead of making revolution victorious all over the world, it was having to contend against the attacks of the revisionists today. But it must be remembered that it was not

possible to defeat modern revisionism without reviving this all-out struggle for continuously developing Marxism-Leninism either. And when the understanding of Marxism was brought to this adequate level and its supremacy in all questions of life established beyond doubt before the masses, and the revolutionary party was built up, revolution would break out in one country after another irrespective of their stage of development.

The task before the communists of all countries today was to build up such parties of Lenin-

ist type which could combat the revisionist menace, Com. Mukherjee said. He added that recent history taught us that in order to carry forward the noble banner of communism and proletarian internationalism we the communists must resolutely wage war against the main danger of revisionism in general and counter-revolutionary doctrine of Perestroika and Glasnost in particular.

At the same time, he said, communists all over the world must build up a united struggle against the main danger of imperialism generally and US imperialism particularly and strive to build up a powerful militant peace movement by involving

all forces of peace and progress to thwart the possibility of war and facilitate the course of revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries and liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies.

Comrade Mukherjee concluded saying that the true significance of observing 5th August lay in our taking due note of these internationalist obligations and preparing ourselves both individually and collectively, ideologically and organisationally, theoretically as well as by acquiring newer practical abilities, in order to hasten the cause of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in India and in its wake fulfil our international obligations.

## Anti-dowry Convention in Karnataka

Karnataka State Committee of Mahila Samskruthika Sanghatane (M.S.S.) had organised a State level Anti-dowry Convention on 28th of July 1990, as a part of all India movement of A.I.M.S.S. against dowry, obscenity and atrocities on women at Ravindra Kala Kshetra.

In preparation of the central convention, campaign programme was launched in Bangalore, Tumkur, Gulbarga, Raichur, Mysore and other districts. Everywhere it evoked wide enthusiasm among the people, especially women.

In a most solemn manner the convention began with the welcoming of the dignitaries and others and election of the President Dr. Sudha

Kamath, President, MSS Karnataka State by Com. Jayalakshmi, Convenor of the Anti-dowry convention and Treasurer, MSS Karnataka State.

Dr. Anupama Niranjana, renowned Kannada Writer, in her inaugural speech recognised 3 phases in the struggle against dowry i.e., change in the attitude of society towards women, extensive spread of education among women

and economic independence and an united struggle against dowry.

Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, the Chief Guest, severely criticised the existing laws and said that a revolutionary struggle was the only way to root out the evil system of dowry. He called upon all womens' organisations and unions to take up this movement under the leadership of MSS.

Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Joint Convenor, AIMSS, the main speaker, explained that the dowry system which was a practice in the old

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Sitting from Left to Right on the dais : Dr. Anupama Niranjana, Justice Chinnappa Reddy, Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer and Com. Chhaya Mukherjee.

## INDUSTRIAL POLICY

(Contd. from page 3) attaining independence and later on took certain important steps like nationalisation of banks etc. The main objective of all these steps was to develop and consolidate the Indian capitalist economy even amidst crisis. The nationalisation in a capitalist state gives birth to state monopoly capital and helps the growth of finance capital and financial oligarchy in the interest of the capitalist class. This is the role of the nationalised sectors and this has no semblance with socialism.

Now we have to understand the motive behind the talk of privatisation of the public sector on the bogey of the decontrolled market economy. Whatever might be the adverse criticism of the public sector, the representatives of the Indian monopoly capital and the finance capital do not at all want complete abolition of the public sector. According to the ASSOCHAM, the government should invest for development of infrastructure and abandon the field of production. This Chamber is repeating the earlier proposal of conversion of some public sectors into private sectors and wanting the right of participation upto 30 per cent of the capital outlay. From this it is clear that the monopolists are still not interested in basic and heavy industries (infrastructure industries). Again they are not interested in building new industries by using the facilities of the basic and heavy industries as there is no market. So they are demanding the right of participation in the public sector which has been built up through public exchequer and which are quite profitable. They want to invest their surplus capital there so that they can easily get heavy return. But curiously many a people in our country is visualising rapid development of the country in the proposal of this privatisation. If the solution of the unemploy-

ment problem is the most important question before us, then it is better to note that no new employment opportunity has been created by the public sector in the last decade. Again, the representatives of the monopolists are demanding that in order to make the new industrial policy effective the employers must have the right to retrench workers and the labour laws are to be suitably amended to that effect. So the interest of the peasants, workers and the common people of India have nothing to do with this privatisation and decontrolled market economy.

So it is seen that the stress on the public sector in the Five Year Plans by the government of India was solely in the interest of the Indian capitalist class for building up the capitalist economy even during the third phase of general crisis of world capitalism. As a result there has been a tremendous growth of private as well as state monopoly capital and the state has been made subservient to the interest of the monopoly capital. And as a result of the tremendous growth of monopoly capital and finance capital there arises the necessity of this new industrial policy. Indian finance capital has become a partner, albeit junior one, of international trust and cartel and this proves the growing tendency of assuming imperialist character of the Indian bourgeois class. The aspirant character of the Indian bourgeoisie is reflected in the collaborations entered into by the Indian monopolists with the access of foreign monopolists in the Indian market. But this tremendous growth of the monopoly capital has not effected any overall development of the economy. On the contrary, it has aggravated the crisis. The more there has been monopolisation the more there is poverty and destitution of the people. More than 50 per cent of the people of our country live below the pover-

ty line even after 42 years of independence. The unprecedented inflation, fall in real wages and ever rising unemployment have wrought havoc in the life of common people more than half of whom still live below poverty line. The villages are full of the unemployed and the half employed and all government subsidies and help in the name of agricultural development have been grabbed by the jotedars, i.e. the rural bourgeois class.

On the other hand, unemployment in the urban areas has increased more than twofold in the last decade, as per official record. It has already been mentioned that practically no new employment opportunity has been created in the private sector and there was a ban on employment in the central government offices during the Rajiv regime.

As a result of all these internal market has shrunk further. In this acute crisis of market there is idle installed capacity in the industries, closures in some industries and new investment is not forthcoming. The artificial stimulation through militarisation has been resorted to even from the beginning of the First Five Year Plan and military expenditure has been continually rising for this purpose. Here the purchasing power of the common people is not depended upon; the government itself places orders and purchases for military purpose and in this way the crisis-ridden capitalist economy is somehow propped up.

Another recent attempt to save the crisis-ridden Indian capitalism is the creation of artificial market by making a sizable section of the middle class as well as a section of even lower middle class the victim of consumerism. These people are lured through advertisements in TV, radio and other media to live beyond their means and this section purchases luxury goods through hire purchase scheme or even by curtailing expenditure on essential food articles. It is estimated

that 50 per cent of the luxury goods that were sold during last four or five years was on loan scheme. According to the estimate of a bank the amount involved in such loan scheme was more than rupees two thousand crore in 1989. It is needless to mention that this artificial boom in luxury goods is not at all connected with the real economic development of the country. But all these palliatives cannot help capitalism avert the crisis and the rate of accumulation of capital has been posing a serious problem because of the continually shrinking market owing to the erosion of purchasing power of the people. The scope of further investment of capital has been diminishing thus resulting in the capital becoming idle and bureaucratic. In such a situation the monopolists are frantically trying to penetrate in the foreign market. But the foreign market is not easily accessible as the other powerful capitalist imperialist countries also faced with the severe crisis of surplus finance capital because of the general intense crisis of world capitalism are locked in serious competition with one another. Moreover, the quality of production as well as the unit cost of production of these advanced capitalist-imperialist countries cannot be compared with those of India because of backward technology here. Hence the cry of updating of technology and the state has come forward to liberalise the import in the interest of the monopolists so that they can modernise the industries with imported technology for making the products competitive in the international market. Now this liberalisation of import has resulted in depletion of foreign exchange reserve. Again to meet the gap between the import and export, the government resorted to export promotion by doling out subsidies and various forms of incentives amounting to crores of rupees. As a result along with the sharp depletion of foreign exchange Indian economy has faced serious strain.

Both foreign and internal loans have been increasing by leaps and bounds. The external loan for the year 1989-90 was Rs. 166077 crore and it will reach figure of Rs. 182887 crore in the year 1990-91. The expectation that the gap between import and export would be reduced by increased export has been belied and India is now virtually in a debt trap.

When Indian economy is faced with such a serious crisis, the capitalist-imperialist countries began to exert pressure on India for making the Indian market accessible to them but for which the Indian monopolists would not get any chance for entry in the international market. The threat by the US imperialists to invoke Super 301 clause is one of the examples of such pressure by which it has been made amply clear that unless Indian market is made accessible to the US imperialists, the Indian monopolists would not be allowed to enter the US market. The IMF and the World Bank are also recommending to the government of India for removing the protectionist barrier in the internal market of India. The interest of the aspirant bourgeois class of India has now merged with this demand as they are now eager to enter the market of East Europe and so they are now becoming more close with the imperialist camp. In order to fulfil this aspiration of the Indian capitalist class, the rigidity of the protectionist policy has been removed. The problem of acute crisis of the internal market and the aspiration of the Indian monopolists — both these aspects are reflected in the industrial policy of both Rajiv government as well as of the NF Government.

The political parties like the Congress(I), a section of the Janata Dal, the CPI(M) the BJP and others are opposing this industrial policy. Now it is necessary to analyse the nature of their criticism. We have already shown that this

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## INDUSTRIAL POLICY

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industrial policy is nothing but a continuation of the policy pursued by the previous Rajiv Government. So the Congress(I) has no leg to stand upon in criticising this new industrial policy. The Congress(I) is criticising this policy only to befool the people in order to get some political dividend in parliamentary politics. Besides, Rajiv Gandhi has already corrected his statement and claimed credit for the original formulation of this policy.

Some persons within the Janata Dal have criticised this industrial policy. This Janata Dal is composed of different parties and groups and each of them represents one section or the other within the capitalist class. Their criticism reflects the contradiction between the various groups within the capitalist class. More over, there are conflicts and group rivalry for power within them. Whatever might be their motive behind in criticising this new industrial policy, if any of them is enthroned at the seat of power is bound to look after the interest of the monopoly finance capital.

This is applicable to the CPI(M) as well. The CPI(M) has opposed this new industrial policy because of its declared political stand and with a view to hoodwinking the rank and file members and other left-minded people of the country. Otherwise, how is it that when it is opposing this industrial policy, the CPI(M) led Government in West Bengal is not only welcoming the big Corporate sectors and multinationals for setting up industries but even promising them liberal concessions. The employers are so much pleased with the CPI(M) that they have given so many certificates which no other ruling party was so far able to garner. Now it is seen that the CPI(M) is playing the role of a mediator in resolving

the disputes between the different parties and groups representing the capitalist class. The CPI(M) has been maintaining good relations both with V. P. Singh and Rajiv Gandhi and is attempting to emerge as the common friend to the various sections of the capitalist class while waiving the red flag thus creating confusion in the mind of the common people. In this way the CPI(M) has come forward to give a lease of life to this crisis-ridden capitalism.

Now let us examine the opposition of the BJP. This party has been getting the support of the trading communities for long. Today it is also getting support of the monopolists besides the trading community and the small capitalists, because of its role in national politics. This party has been trying to garner more support of the monopolists with a view to fulfilling the aspiration of being installed in the Central Government in future. But as long as this party cannot reach that position, it has to depend on that section of the capitalist class, which is at present supporting it. It is because of this political position that the BJP has to voice opposition to the new industrial policy which will be detrimental to those capitalists other than the monopolists.

So it is seen that this new industrial policy of the NF government has no bearing on the interest of the common people of the country and the opposition of all these political parties against this policy is not from the point of the people's interest.

The people of our country must realise that the ruling class of our country does not hesitate to throw the people before the hounds like the foreign multinationals in the interest of the Indian monopoly bourgeoisie. As long as this exploitative capitalist system exists, the people will be subjected to ruthless ex-

(Contd. from page 1)  
ploitation and oppression and they will have to pay dearly for fulfilling the aspiration of the Indian monopolists. All the burdens of the crisis of the capitalist economy must be shifted on to the shoulders of the common people of our country, who are day by day reduced to destitutes as a result of the pro-monopolist economic policies pursued by the successive governments at the Centre. But despite all these steps to rescue the crisis-ridden capitalist economy of our country, it is impossible for the Indian ruling class to overcome this crisis through all these plannings which are bound to be associated with a shadow of cri-

spirit of the people whose point of endurance reached the last limit and who true to their glorious tradition of Left movement stood solidly behind the 11-party alliance painstakingly built up through joint effort, the only hope of Left and mass movement in the state.

The cunning CPI(M) apprehending widespread public stir in case the fares of all types of transport are hiked at a time took to the path of trickery by raising the fares one by one of taxi, tram, ferry launch and finally the bus. But all their attempts proved futile with the public response to the call of the 11 Left party com-

biné to refuse enhanced fares in trams and buses. Students and youth even risked their lives braving brutal assault and repression by the police and CPI(M) storm-troopers everywhere — be it in Calcutta or in distant corner of the State with huge mass involvement in the roadblocks — at College Street, Esplanade, Hazra crossing in Calcutta, and Habra in North 24-Parganas, Krishnagar in Nadia, Jelpaiguri, Siliguri and Coochbehar in North Bengal, Bankura, Birbhum, Murshidabad, Durgapur in Burdwan and in the whole of South 24-Parganas and Midnapore districts, to name a few. The people also found in

the disputes between the different parties and groups representing the capitalist class. The CPI(M) has been maintaining good relations both with V. P. Singh and Rajiv Gandhi and is attempting to emerge as the common friend to the various sections of the capitalist class while waiving the red flag thus creating confusion in the mind of the common people. In this way the CPI(M) has come forward to give a lease of life to this crisis-ridden capitalism.

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Policeman dragging one of the volunteers after brutally beating him during road blockade in Calcutta.

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sis. The people of our country will have to realise that unless they organise themselves and launch movements in order to resist the onslaughts of the capitalist class they will be subjected to more and more exploitation as the capitalist crisis aggravates. The existing capitalist system is the root cause of all the evils and so all the movements must be conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Again amidst the large number of political parties of all hues, the people will have to identify the genuine working class party which alone can lead all the movements to its logical culmination.

the SUCI and the 11-party alliance their hopes and aspirations for which the SUCI has been trying hard to uphold the banner of Left movement thrown away by the so-called Left parties in power.

This anti-fare rise movement marked a turning point of Left movement in the state where the CPI(M) since it came to power in 1977 had not only crippled the mass movements but on the other hand crushed ruthlessly any sort of movement too. This public response and enthusiasm is specially significant in the face of terror, intimidation and brutal repression by the

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## WB State Committee Observes 5th August

Beneath the acrimony of bandying in the politics of the ruling parties today the counter current goes unnoticed oftener. Streams of people rallied across the country on 5th of August to reaffirm their pledge to fulfil the behest of the Great Leader of the Proletariat. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day passed unsung in the media; in the hearts of thousands in every corner of the land the undying memory of the great leader is the beacon light for winning emancipation.

In Calcutta a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the W.B. State Committee of the party at Netaji Indoor Stadium near the Akashvahi Bhawan. The venue had to be shifted from the traditional Sabeed Minar maidan because of extremely poor condition of the ground due to rains. Processions of people in thousands from the districts converged at this meeting place, turning it into a massive human edifice. In the centre was rostrum in austere rise and draped in all red and a white running band. The portrait of the great leader was in the middle of the back. The stadium proved too small for such a vast audience thousands of whom had to satisfy themselves by listening from outside.

On the dais were seated Com. Anil Sen, member, Central Committee, Com. Provas Ghosh, member, Central Committee, and Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, and members of the State Secretariat, Com. Manik Mukherjee, Com. Fatick Ghosh, Com. Pratiba Mukherjee, Com. Yakub Pailan and Com. Sunil Mukherjee. Com. Anil Sen presided and Com. Provas Ghosh delivered the main speech.

Garlands and wreaths were placed on the portrait of the departed great leader on behalf of different party units and mass fronts. The DYO music squad sang the Great Leader of the Proletariat and then, to the beat of drums and sound of bugles, members of Komsomol, MSS, DYO, Medical Unit, UTUC(LS) and ALDSO presented a guard of honour to the memory of the great leader. The contingents, wear-

## WB Movement

(Contd from page 5)  
CPI(M) cadres and the police and it will ultimately expose the real face of the so-called Leftists, and on the other hand Congress(I) game to reap rich dividend in the parliamentary politics in view of the anti-'Left Front' sentiments of the people.

Before the actual resistance we had started extensive and intensive propaganda campaign in favour of the movement through innumerable meetings of various types, group sittings, dharnas, demonstrations, formation of passenger committees, enrolment of volunteers and other instruments of struggle throughout the state which culminated in the anti-fare hike movement the moment

fare hike was announced. Our volunteers called upon the commuters to boycott extra fare and the response was unique.

Under the circumstances we call upon the people of the state to come forward and join in thousands and foil the anti-people conspiracy of the CPI(M) which is now totally alienated from the people and force it to reverse its anti-people policies only through organised and protracted struggle, not through sporadic movement. For no sporadic movement can compel so organised a force like the government to yield to public pressure. Once it is done, the close door of mass movement would be opened and the people's voice against injustice would get a proper avenue.

## Karnataka Movement

(Contd. from page 5)  
feudal order persisted even today due to absence of social and cultural revolution in our country. She called upon all sections, particularly women, to strengthen this movement against this barbaric system. She announced a national level programme to be held in November at Delhi against dowry system, obscenity and atrocities on women.

Justice O. Chinnappa Reddy in his message to the convention said that women's movement is a liberation movement and it could never be isolated from the movements to liberate the other oppressed and exploited.

Smt. Hasanath Mansoor, Principal of Abaaskhan College for Women, released a souvenir and addressed the meeting.

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—Manager

ing colours of their respective fronts and holding red flags and placards proclaiming respective mottos, marched past the portrait of the great leader, paying tribute in red salute. The leaders on the dais and the entire audience around had risen up.

Com. Pratiba Mukherjee moved a resolution on the present situation which was unanimously adopted at the meeting. After Com. Anil Sen made a brief speech, Com. Provas Ghosh spoke at length on the national and international situation. Thereafter, the INTERNATIONALE was sung and the meeting came to end.



A portion of the vast gathering in Netaji Indoor Stadium, Calcutta, on 5th August.

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