

AFTERMATH OF THE NEW INDUSTRIAL POLICY : MOUNTING CRISIS IN PEOPLE'S LIFE

There was a piece of note, tearsoaked and badly written, beside the dead body found on the railway near Bandel Station : "I had a family to maintain, few children to rear. I did not want to retire so soon. But our management forced me. Our union did nothing other than writing a petition. With empty pocket and refused hands I could do nothing but to weep and see others weeping. I had better leave this cruel life". This hapless worker of a factory in the industrial belt of the Hooghly district left a silent message of protest on behalf of the thousands of his ilk against ruthless capitalist exploitation over the years, further intensified as a result of the new economic and industrial policies of the Central and State Governments.

Indian capitalism, as we already noted in our columns in earlier issues, had been taking to measures that would further tighten their grip on the neck of the working class, squeeze more profit out of their labour power and at the same time muzzle their voice of resentment or protest. On the one hand spiralling price-rise, continuing inflation, wage cut and theft etc. have made it more and more difficult for most of the people to eke out a human-like subsistence. Closure, lockout, lay-off, retrenchment and industrial sickness have become the order of the day. In the countryside agricultural labourers continue to be deprived of even the minimum fair wages. Poor and marginal peasants are denied fair price of their produces. On the other hand, black Acts are sought to be legislated to curtail trade union rights, rights to strike and other forms of protest and agitation against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The new industrial policy of the Central Congress Government led by Mr P.V. Narsimha Rao lent all these measures and attempts the official sanction. Of course, as is always the case, while giving the dog a bad name before killing it, they gave the cobra which was to be reared by them a good name. With every measure they took in implementation of the new policy in the industrial, economic and financial planes, the government spokesmen pompously assured the people of a brighter prospect of prosperity. A series of liberalisation followed: devaluation and partial convertibility of rupee, opening wider the door for import as well as for the foreign multinationals, further borrowing from the IMF and World Bank, partial and gradual privatisation of the public sector undertakings, deregulation of trade, monopoly and prices, greater freedom for the owners and management in respect of recruitment, retrenchment, wage determination and rationalisation, so on and so forth. The class bias of all such measures, apart from our fundamental analysis, became apparent to many people simply by looking at who

were at the receiving end of all these benefits of liberalism. Now, since benefits, in real economic terms, accrue from the existing system of social production, their concentration at one end necessarily entails deprivation of the others at other ends. As a result, the more the new policy is being implemented—in sphere after sphere—the more it is benefitting the monopoly groups and multinational corporations, the harder it is hitting the common people. All the erstwhile evils of capitalism, have become more and more intensified. Bitter experiences, reveal, the real nature of the new industrial and economic policies to the common people.

A NEW IMPETUS TO PRICERISE

Let us take the case of pricerise first.

Already, pricerise of all essential commodities and services had become a cons-

(Contd. on page 6)

Tin Bigha

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's open letter to P.M.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our party addressed a letter to the Prime Minister on June 15 last on the Tin Bigha question. The letter is reproduced below :

To
The Prime Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

We like to draw your urgent attention to the serious problems recently created over the Tin Bigha Corridor issue.

The problem arose, in our considered opinion, because the problems of the two enclaves, Dahagram and Angarpota, have been viewed in isolation, having no regard to total exchange of enclaves. It is pertinent to recall here that the Nehru Noon Pact of 1958 had stipulated for total exchange of the enclaves. Had it been implemented the tension brewing over the issue would not have built up at all.

It is regrettable that the Central Government, on the pretext of ensuring amity between the peoples of India and Bangladesh is going to lease out the Tin Bigha Corridor, caring least for the strong and contrary public opinion prevailing in the area. But the decision to lease out Tin

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Condemns common presidential candidature by CPI(M), CPI & Congress(I)

Stressing the need for the setting up of a candidate having honesty, integrity and a strong pro-people background in the ensuing presidential election Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the SUCI issued following statement to the Press on 12. 6. 92 :

"The Central Committee of the SUCI notes with grave concern that with the pronouncement of the CPI(M) and the CPI to combine with the ruling Congress(I) in setting up a common presidential candidate, the prospect of setting up a presidential candidate with tested honesty, integrity and strong pro-people background has become dim indeed. We cannot but express our deep anguish and resentment over this nonworking class outlook of the CPI(M) and CPI, which virtually reduces the Left democratic forces to mere tails, if not appendage of the ruling Congress(I), pointing out at the same time the fact of their desertion of the path of the extra parliamentary movement, strengthening of which requires fighting each and every election making them perfectly conducive to the cause of democratic mass movement.

The Central Committee of our party being deeply concerned over this development once again urges the leadership of the CPI(M) and the CPI and their allies to rethink about the dangerous consequences that will arise out of such an approach, more particularly at a time when fighting the neo-colonial attacks of the US imperialists and the anti-people economic, fiscal and industrial policies and measures of the Congress(I) Government has become the principal objective of all the Left democratic forces of the country."

Bigha in the terms and conditions laid down has created only apprehension and bitterness among the peoples of both the countries. Instead of guaranteeing peace and amity. If pursued, the problem is bound to aggravate to turn this internationally sensitive area into a breeding ground of newer and more complicated problems in

(Contd on page 8)

Colours of America

The riots of Los Angeles are reverberating far across the world to expose from within disguise and concealment of the American society of today its terribly disfigured other face. Political leaders, social workers, legal experts and psychologists now scramble to explain what precisely drove this wealthiest and most lustrous society into an appalling racial carnage. And those who reflect over how churns the life of the impoverished American people in the lower depths shake their heads at the sight of the grisly reality: a rootless mass of alienated people—socially deprived in every way, exploited in every field contemptuously treated and kept at bay as being 'prone to crimes'...confronting a brute establishment whose racist law-enforcing agency will use any amount of force with impunity to hunt down 'the herd' of the former.

There are colours to the two sides. The former are overwhelming Black, the latter very largely White. But colours can only be skin deep—these colours, too, which history has imparted to the two in course of its twists and turns ever since black people were imported from Africa to the US coasts to slave in the farm lands of White owners. Beneath this colour composition of the American society are at work deeper and fundamental forces which shape history in all countries. The Los Angeles fire lighted up in a flicker the dark of the whole capitalist West to give all those an insight who try to comprehend now this terrible outburst of a long simmering discontent and the future of America that is heaven to many.

The immediate antecedent involved, again, police brutality on a Black motorist and acquittal later of the assailant White police officers by an overwhelmingly White jury, discounting a videotaped brutal vision of the policemen clubbing and kicking the unarmed, unresisting black man 56 times in 81 seconds even as he lay crouched on the ground. The acquittal threw in a lighted match stick and incendiaries accumulating over years exploded underfoot. Los Angeles, the second largest US city, smouldered in flames of riot for 72 hours and the fire licked San Francisco, Seattle, Atlanta and New York, leaving at least 70 dead, more than 3000 injured, 12000 arrested and properties worth billions of dollars destroyed. "Once again, soldiers with guns patrolled the streets of an American city." (*Newsweek*, 11 5 92) The waves of aftershock are now shaking the Western capitalist countries to induce shock, fear, fright and some introspection.

Some layers have to be peeled off to find the roots of this racial eruption. In the last 32 years 844 racial riots broke out in the US. Outside the racist regime of South Africa the US heads others on counts of race riots. The horrible con-

ditions in which Black Americans or African-Americans live explain well what engenders these riots. Unemployment, poverty, poor education, stinks of slums, gangs, peddlers of drugs, policemen on hunt—these are the constant companions of the Black Americans' surroundings. It is a world distant and separate from where the wealthy Americans, mostly white, are born, live and die. Little communication exists between the two. This economic destitution, persecution and social alienation are the ingredients which combine to beget crime everywhere in the world, no matter the colour of the skin.

The racist establishment of America looks upon black men in crime-plagued ghettos as 'crime prone', and this perception invests policemen with the right to use force at discretion to tame the Blacks. The consequent police atrocity, to most Black Americans is "an ever present threat to their bodies and lives". The feeling has been entrenched in them that the police force systematically brutalise and mistreat them. They are convinced that compared with Whites charged with crimes black people charged with crimes are treated much more harshly. The majority of White Americans, too, share this point of view.

The miscarriage of justice in the Rodney King case which brought in its trail the Los Angeles conflagration could only reinforce this belief. "It began with wailing police cars chasing a motorist through the night, cornering his car in a Los Angeles suburb and surrounding the driver as he stepped into the street. A sergeant fired a 50,000 volt Taser sten gun at the unarmed black man, then three officers took turns kicking him and smashing him in the head, neck, kidneys and legs with their truncheons. A hovering helicopter bathed the scene in a floodlight as 11 other policemen looked on Rodney King, 25, an unemployed construction worker, who had suffered 11 fractures in his skull, a crushed cheek bone, a broken ankle, internal injuries, a burn on his chest and some brain damage. The matter might have ended there had not a bystander captured two minutes of the March 3 incident with his video camera". (*Time* 25 3 91)

Over the past six years the US Federal Government received 15000 complaints of similar police brutality. Many of the ghetto riots of the Sixties were prompted by police action. Several street uprisings had been ignited by police atrocity. It is not the Black Americans only, the majority of Americans, Black as also White, feel that the police "may be going too far—much too far—in the midst of a brutal and brutalising war". (*Time* 1 4 91) Statistics tell a steep rise in police brutality cases. "In the Metro Miami area, 111 excessive-force complaints were filed last year, up from 67 in 1985. During the same years, the number of Washington's complaints jumped

from 2,084 to 2,475, (*Time* 1 4 91) to illustrate the kind of brutality police indulged in. *Time* (1 4 91) also reports: "Two years before the videotaped beating of Rodney King, television viewers were shocked by footage of a White patrolman in Long Beach, Calif. apparently ramming a black man's head through a plate glass window. The victim was Don Carlos Jackson, who has devoted himself to exposing police racism since he himself retired from the police force of Hawthorne, Calif. in 1989....Jackson argues that for many officers "the definition of a criminal suspect is almost synonymous with a black male face".

Another instance. "In New York city, which has highly restrictive guidelines for when the police may use their guns, the number of people shot by local cops soared in the past three years from 68 to 108." (*Time* 1 4 91) Again, in New York City, 5 officers choked a Hispanic man into death, suspecting him for a car theft. In New Jersey a police officer tried to choke a 14 year old black for the offence that the boy was playing with a remote controlled car on a sidewalk. His parents were arrested when they tried to intervene. In 1988, in New York city, policemen beat mercilessly several hundred people who were protesting against promulgation of curfew in their area.

To Black Americans, more despising than police brutality is police impunity for crimes of the sort. In the Jackson case the jury 'could not reach a decision as to whether this was an excessive use of force'. *Time* (11 5 92) also lists: During the 1970s 16 blacks died as a result of choke hold administered by Los Angeles police. Police chief Daryl Gates defended the use of the procedure at the time suggesting that blacks had anatomical weakness that made them especially vulnerable to that method of restraint.

In the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots, the US Attorney General has announced that all complaints of police brutality would be reviewed. But Americans realize best that police atrocity exists as a pattern in their society today. Los Angeles police chief Gates is one embodiment of a brutal, racist police force. This Gates, who had declared himself 'sickened' by the King beating later dismissed the police brutality as 'an aberration', going as far, after the riots, as to assert that he was 'very proud' of his tenure as the police chief of Los Angeles. As for the assailant officers, an eyewitness to King beating said that 'she heard King begging the policemen to stop and that they were all laughing, like they just had a party.' (*Time* 25 3 91) While they assaulted King the police officers talked of a 'big time use of force'. Not stopping here they showed up at the hospital where King was taken, to taunt the man they almost beaten to death.

So, the agonising question now torments all those Americans who care for their

(Contd. on page 3)

'This wasn't a race riot, it was a class riot'

(Contd. from page 2)

society: "Is racism so pervasive among police that the fight against crime all too often becomes a war on Blacks? The racist bias of the police, administration and the criminal justice system makes itself louder nowhere else than in the acquittal verdict in the Rodney King case. Media reports emphasize that most Americans, Blacks and Whites together, hold guilty the four police officers charged with criminally mistreating Rodney King. Most Americans had thought, before the verdict was announced, that the charged officers would be handed down a guilty verdict. Because, the reason, in the first place, for the police having to give a hot chase to Rodney King on the night of 3 March 1991 was that King had violated traffic speed restriction rules. Even here the police claim that King's 1988 Hyundai car was travelling at an excessive speed of 185 km per hour had no mention in the audio transcript of their initial radio reports. More importantly, "the manufacturer later stated that the car could not exceed 160 km per hour". (*Time*, 25.3.91) By the American standard, King's violation of traffic speed restriction rules constituted a commonplace incident, requiring, under normal practice, that the motorist was given a ticket for speedy or reckless driving. That was not followed; much was done to him.

This 'excess' in treatment would have gone unnoticed and unheeded, had not the beating been recorded by a bystander. Later during prosecution of the police officers on charges of brutality and falsifying police reports, the trial was moved from Los Angeles to nearby Simi Valley. Anybody having knowledge of the American criminal justice system, especially in regard to police versus Blacks cases, would be convinced that the transfer move was a shrewd manoeuvre to guarantee that a jury excluding blacks would be chosen and "that such a group of jurors was desired specifically because it would be almost certain not to convict". (*Time* 11.5.92) Simi Valley, a suburb of Los Angeles, is almost exclusively White and has a large population of policemen and retired civil servants. The trial jury at Simi Valley for the King case included 10 white people, 1 Asian, 1 Hispanic and no Blacks! And one juror said that the "video was ludicrous", arguing that "Rodney King had dictated all the actions" of the policemen! That made one defense lawyer boast, after the not guilty verdict: "We got the jurors to look at the case not from the eye of the camera but from the eyes of the officers".

Most Black and many White Americans feel that the not-guilty verdict was prompted by racism. With the Blacks the verdict meant much, much more—a 'modern-day lynching'. Many felt: "The message is loud and clear. It reinforces the 1857 Dred Scott dictum that no black man has any rights that a white man is bound to

respect". Some even declare: "In America black life is meaningless and black rights do not exist". To this extent of desperation the black community has been driven by the total structure—the system.

The riots in Los Angeles were limited to the South Central area of the city, which is inhabited mostly by poor black Americans and drug dealers. So, it was the besieged Black community that suffered most, the rioters' composition transgressed the social boundary to include Poor Whites and Hispanics. Black owned stores were not spared either.

Men, women and children mingled to vent out wrath and fury at property owners who came to be synonymous with racial discriminators, exploiters, oppressors. For this, an urban sociologist commented: "This wasn't a race riot. It was a class riot" (*Newsweek*, 11.5.92) Truly, it was not wholly and strictly black against white. Tension was high against Korean businessmen and more than 100 Asian-owned shops were destroyed. Many shops which had 'black owned' sign posted on them were burnt down, too.

The police stood at a safe distance from the rioting scene. Daryl Gates claimed that his force was 'simply overwhelmed'. Not without reason many think that Gates deliberately held back police force because they wanted blacks to burn themselves out. White owners, who could afford, employed private security personnel to guard their houses and properties. Poor black people could neither afford it, nor did receive police help. There is a report that at a pre-verdict meeting police officers were told 'not to react too quickly to disturbances'. This, in fact, the police did well. In the background of all this and of the fact that there is a move afoot aimed at police reform, which Gates and many other racist policemen are bent upon defeating, it stands on reason to suspect that the police wanted the black people to destroy their own neighbourhood and invite condemnation from all corners to fall victim to disunity between blacks and whites.

The depth of mistrust and hatred in the black community, which believes that it would not have mattered 'what evidence was presented or not presented' at King's trial because 'the American criminal-justice system simply will not convict policemen of using excessive force,' can be fathomed from the fact that appeals from established leaders of the community for peace and non-violence go unheeded. "Worse, the riots demonstrated again existence of a group of mostly young, impoverished and angry ghetto blacks who no longer listen to the established African-American leadership—or to anybody." (*Time* 11.5.92)

In the US this is a Presidential election year. How did the highest political authority and his principal contender

react and response? As usual, it was an exercise in rhetoric and manipulation game with eye to the ballot box. President George Bush's first reaction after the verdict was: "The court system has worked. What is needed now is calm, respect for the law". Apprehensive of his electorate-response, which is divided into two nearly irreconcilable communities, he next issued statements sternly condemning the rioting. Next, sensing the reaction of blacks, he condemned the disturbances as also King's beating and ordered a federal investigation towards a federal prosecution of the police officers acquitted by the Simi Valley jury. But the President did not mention that even after the King beating he had publicly praised Daryl Gates. Bush's Democratic contender Bill Clinton, who is proud of his 'biracial coalition' at the hustings, at first expressed anger and outrage at the verdict. Then, equally apprehensive, as Bush is, of the reaction of white middle class 'swing voters', he 'changed tone and decried the violence.' So, while Los Angeles burned, the aspirants for the country's top political leadership busied themselves with making the best of the situation for petty electoral gains.

Playing politics with colour and crime, it is well-known, is a skill at which these leaders and their political parties are past masters. In 1988, after his inauguration as the US President, Bush talked of the need of 'a new harmony among the races' and 'compassion for the poor'. Today, with 2 million more Americans living in poverty and the US society sitting on a veritable volcano of racial division, he is simply seeking to exploit the revulsion of common Americans which the travesty of justice or the eruption of violence has sparked. Other contenders for the establishments prize position, too. Their feigned compassion and appeals for law and order describe only compliance with the rules of this game.

It may not really sound strange that the US, as a nation, is in grip of 'sanctioned sadism' Bits of the picture of the present day US would explain it." There "homicide rate has jumped from 5 per 100 000 population to 9 per 100,000 in 1989". "Drug gangs are often armed with automatic weapons more lethal than the handguns the police carry." Fear of crime is constant companion of this nation whose leaders brag of its wealth. And what about the great 'freedom' the US stands for today? "Freedom from fear is a basic right for every American," this is how these leaders have to exhort the nation.

"32 million Americans that is, one in eight, live below the poverty line and 125 million of them are children. One out of two black children and one out of three Latino children are poor and the US infant mortality and child poverty rates are the highest among seven industrialised countries. Over three million Ameri-

(Contd. on page 7)

HIGH COURT JUDGEMENT

An Exposure of LF Rule in W. Bengal

The recent judgement delivered by Justice Dilip Kumar Bose of Calcutta High Court has created much commotion among the concerned public and a sense of apprehension in the state administration run by the CPI(M)-led Left Front Government. On the complaint of Mr. Pratul Kumar Sinha a case was instituted against the Government of West Bengal on the deaths, rapes and assaults of the inmates in the police and jail custody since the Left Front was installed in governmental power in West Bengal.

After hearing for a long period and after so many organisations and persons being made party to the complaint the judge gave his judgement on June 2 last that all the deaths, rapes and assaults in custody occurred between 1977 and 31st May, 1992 must be probed through judicial enquiry and the judge in his judgement hoped that the state administration would initiate the probe within the next six months. Justice Bose in his long judgement also opined that whatever departmental enquiries had been made into the incidents of death, rape and assault, most of them were done with casual attitude and in many cases these did not follow the legal procedures and most of the reports of magisterial enquiries were not submitted to the concerned authorities. The causes shown in these inquiries were that these deaths were not murders but incidents of suicide by the undertrials by hanging or jumping out of the running police vehicles. While saying, inter alia, that the judicial enquiries would reveal the truth Justice Bose has also directed that the state government would henceforth pay an interim compensation of rupees one lakh to the families of the dead under-trial prisoner or the victim of rape in police or jail custody, Rs. 50,000 for the severely wounded and Rs. 25,000 for the victim of minor injury.

The judge has also directed the state government that henceforth a Sessions Judge of City Civil Court and Sessions Court would regularly conduct surprise inspection to the police lock-ups and would listen to the complaints of the undertrials and enquire on-the-spot the conditions of the lock-ups. If the said judge is not satisfied with the conditions of the lock-ups or the neglect thereof on the part of the authority, he would immediately bring it to the notice of the Police Commissioner and, if necessary, report it to the Home Department. If that proves ineffective then he would inform the matter to the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court. In case of districts, Additional District Judge or Chief Judicial Magistrate would do the job.

Justice Bose has also directed the state government to build up lock-ups exclusively for female undertrials in good numbers

in good localities where only the female policepersons and officers would do their duty. The same is applicable to districts also. He has also directed the state administration to produce warrants before arrest and issue 'custody memos' to the families and relatives of the arrested. The 'custody memo' must furnish the details of time and place of arrest. The state government must empower the relatives and lawyers of the dead undertrials to get the postmortem report, the judge directed.

These are in brief the salient features of the judgement by Justice Dilip Kumar Bose of Calcutta High Court on 2nd June '92. This judgement, since it is obligatory, has made the CPI(M)-led state government very shaky and the subsequent moves by the concerned departments and the ministers prove that. If one goes into the behaviour of the state police, the law and order situation in the state and the statement of the concerned ministers to defend them one cannot but conclude that the state government wants to shield the misdeeds and crimes committed by the custodians of law and order themselves in the interest of the CPI(M)-police nexus built up during these 15 years since 1977. Hundreds of undertrials were murdered in the police lock-ups. Only between April 1987 and January 1992, 78 custody deaths occurred as per the statement given by Chief Minister Jyoti Basu on the floor of the state Assembly on 4th June 1992. As per the Amnesty International account only in 1990-91 period 37 persons were beaten to death in West Bengal alone.

These are some of the horrible pictures of West Bengal where the police have been allowed unbridled power to commit any crime under the direct protection of the CPI(M) and the state administration. In fact the more the CPI(M) led government is being alienated from the people the more it is being dependent on the police which is shielding every sort of crime committed by the CPI(M) and the state government and is helping the CPI(M) to win the elections through silent and violent rigging with the help of muscle power. Lock-up deaths, highhandedness, bribery, dacoity, murder, indiscriminate firing and lathicharge, chaining of injured undertrials with the hospital beds, barbaric assaults on political worker engaged in mass movements, rape and beating in the police lock-ups are some of the many crimes committed by the state police who during the 15 year -CPI(M)-rule have widened and strengthened the legacy they inherited from the British imperialists. The same thing was practised by the Congress Government in the state and the CPI(M) who once was very vociferous against the police during the Congress regime has now taken a

volte-face stand as they have been more and more attached to bureaucracy and establishment. The same thing with much greater degree of breaking the organisational bases of SUCI with hordes of anti-socials with the direct involvement of police all over the state, particularly in South 24 Parganas district, repression of anti-bus-tram fare hike movements in West Bengal in 1983 and 1990 by SUCI with fascistic ferocity are the gruesome events of recent past. The very recent incident of police behaviour in the Ballygunge bypoll on 8th June last bears testimony in which the chief minister, police chief and the CPI(M) bosses tried in vain to befool the people of the state by resorting to brazen lie and falsehood.

In the background of all these harrowing tales the recent judgement of Calcutta High Court is a very significant development. We hope, the judicial enquiries would reveal the truth and justice be delivered to the people of the state who instead of getting justice were treated like the subjects of a medieval chieftain. Let the truth be unearthed and the guilty be meted out exemplary punishment.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee condemns US Neo-colonial attacks

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the SUCI issued the following statement on 13.6.92:

"Along with the well meaning, right thinking, democratic minded, freedom and peace loving people of the world, the Central Committee of the SUCI strongly condemns the U.S. imperialists' attempts for establishing supremacy the world over—and in its course interfering in the internal affairs of different countries, mounting neo-colonial attacks and threat of war, nuclear war and Star-Wars on them. The Central Committee of the SUCI notes with deep indignation that close on the heels of its launching savage attacks on Iraq and Libya, the US imperialists have since long launched an economic blockade surrounding the socialist Cuba to crush it in a most inhuman manner.

"We are confident that at this grim hour of the Cuban people, all sections of the Indian people, who are having a long and glorious anti-imperialist tradition, will come forward to express solidarity with the people of Cuba and generously contribute money, rice, wheat, medicine, baby food, readymade garments, etc., which are so very vital for their survival as an independent nation."

US DESIGN

(Following salient aspects from the Pentagon's February 18 draft of the Defence Planning guidance 1994-99 unmask the US global strategic design.)

DEFENCE STRATEGY OBJECTIVES

Our first objective is to prevent the re-emergence of a new rival, either on the territory of the former Soviet Union or elsewhere, on the order of that posed formerly by the Soviet Union. This is a dominant consideration underlying the new regional defence strategy and requires that we endeavour to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power. These regions include Western Europe, East Asia, the territory of the former Soviet Union and Southwest Asia.

There are three additional aspects to this objective. First, the US must show the leadership necessary to establish and protect a new order that holds the promise of convincing potential competitors that they need not aspire to a greater role or pursue a more aggressive posture to protect their legitimate interests. Second, in the non-defence areas, we must account sufficiently for the interests of the advanced industrial nations to discourage them from challenging our leadership or seeking to overturn the established political and economic order. Finally, we must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role. An effective reconstitution capability is important here, since it implies that a potential rival could not hope to quickly or easily gain a predominant military position in the world...

There are other potential nations or coalitions that could, in the further future, develop strategic aims and a defence posture of region-wide or global domination. Our strategy now must refocus on precluding the emergence of any potential future global competitor. But because we no longer face either a global threat or a hostile, non-democratic power dominating a region critical to our interests, we have the opportunity to meet threats at lower levels and lower costs—as long as we are prepared to reconstitute additional forces should the need to counter a global threat re-emerge....

...The former Soviet state achieved global reach and power by consolidating control over the resources in the territory of the former USSR. The best means of assuring that no hostile power is able to consolidate control over the resources within the former Soviet Union is to support its successor states (especially Russia and Ukraine) in their efforts to become peaceful democracies with market-based economies. A democratic partnership with Russia and the other republics would be the best possible outcome for the United States. At the same time, we must also hedge against the possibility that democracy will fail, with the potential that an authoritarian regime bent on regenerating aggressive military power could emerge in Russia, or that similar regimes in other successor republics could lead to spreading conflict within the former USSR or Eastern Europe.

....it is of fundamental importance to preserve NATO as the primary instrument of Western defence and security, as well as the channel for US influence and participation in European security affairs. While the United States supports the goal of European integration, we must seek to prevent the emergence of European-only security arrangements which would undermine NATO, particularly the alliance's integrated command structure.

...The most promising avenues for anchoring the East-central Europeans into the West and for stabilising their democratic institutions are their participation in Western political and economic organisations, East-central European membership in the (European Community) at the earliest opportunity, and expanded NATO liaison....

The US could also consider extending to the East-central European states security commitments analogous to those we have extended to Persian Gulf states.

....Defence of Korea will likely remain one of the most demanding major regional contingencies....Asia is home to the world's greatest concentration of traditional Communist states, with fundamental values, governance, and policies decidedly at variance with our own and those of our friends and allies.

To buttress the vital political and economic relationships we have along the Pacific rim, we must maintain our status as a military power of the first magnitude in the area. This will enable the US to continue to contribute to regional security and stability by acting

as a balancing force and prevent emergence of a vacuum or a regional hegemony.

In the Middle East and Southwest Asia, our overall objective is to remain the predominant outside power in the region and preserve US and Western access to the region's oil. We also seek to deter further aggression in the region, foster regional stability, protect US nationals and property, and safeguard our access to international air and seaways. As demonstrated by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, it remains fundamentally important to prevent a hegemony or alignment of powers from dominating the region. This pertains especially to the Arabian peninsula. Therefore, we must continue to play a strong role through enhanced deterrence and improved cooperative security....

We will seek to prevent the further development of a nuclear arms race in the Indian subcontinent. In this regard, we should work to have both countries, Indian and Pakistan, adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to place their nuclear energy facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. We should discourage Indian hegemonic aspirations over the other states in South Asia and on the Indian Ocean. With regard to Pakistan, a constructive US-Pakistan military relationship will be an important element in our strategy to promote stable security conditions in Southwest Asia and Central Asia. We should therefore endeavour to rebuild our military relationship given acceptable resolution of our nuclear concerns.

...Cuba's growing domestic crisis holds out the prospect for positive change, but over the near term, Cuba's tenuous internal situation is likely to generate new challenges to US policy. Consequently, our programmes must provide capabilities to meet a variety of Cuban contingencies which could include an attempted repetition of the Mariel boatlift, a military provocation against the US or an American ally, or political instability and internal conflict in Cuba.

The Pentagon draft, excerpts of which are reprinted above from the *Frontline* April 10, created such a worldwide furore that the authority had to redraft it. On May 22, Friday the new draft was signed by Dick Cheney, defence secretary, which reflected virtually the same imperialist design, but with a sugar coating. Some parts of the previous report had to be deleted, including on India, which are still 'viable ideas' to the US.

Bonanza to capitalists & further curtailment of privileges of toiling people

(Contd from page 1)

tant feature of Indian capitalist economy for a long time past. However, with the introduction of the new policy and the first budget of Dr. Manmohan Singh as its faithful application, the prices of all commodities and services went up in rapid strides. A comparison of the prices of the food articles in the two years, December 1989 and December 1991 shows an average increase of 43 per cent; food grains nearly 39 per cent; rice about 37 per cent; wheat more than 42 per cent; pulses over 60 per cent; potatoes nearly 157 per cent etc. If the effect of the second budget of this Government is taken into account, it can be readily discerned how the price level has been pushed up. The two railway budgets, placed by this Government within 7 months (August 1991 and February 1992) have also greatly increased the burden on the people through the steep increase in fare and freight charges. Passenger fares at the shorter distances (after 10 kms) have been virtually doubled. Moreover, it is ultimately the retail purchasers who have to bear this additional transport cost of the items carried over railways. The Agricultural Price Commission has also recently noted the yawning gap between industrial and agrarian prices and proposed for further enhancement of the prices of the farm produces. The prices of Petrol and Diesel as well as Coal have been hiked beyond the capacity of the larger number of ordinary consumers, which also have their cascading effect throughout the economy.

Following the footsteps set by the Centre, all the State Governments and UT administrations have started to play their contributory role. Bus fares have already been raised in many States. In Delhi alone, ordinary city bus fares have been doubled (from Rs 0.50, 1.00, 1.50 to Rs 1.00, 2.00, 3.00 respectively) by the DTC of the Central Government to set the pace. Similarly electricity charges have gone up almost everywhere. In this way all the essential commodities and services have become increasingly dearer.

INFLATION BOOSTED UP

Everybody knows, inflation is a tremendous causal stimulus to price rise and is also expressed in the form of continuing price rise. The Central Government, while adopting the new policy, assured the people about arresting inflation to the limit of 6 per cent of our GDP. But the prevailing trend is to push it up above 12 or 13 per cent. Now inflation is a process that eats up the income of the consumers by the erosion of money value in the market. The common people are caught up in a scissor-attack: price hike in the market and income deflation in the pocket.

This inflation results from an interplay of some known factors, for examples, devaluation of the currency in the home and foreign market, recurrent deficit financing in the budgets, recurring negative balance of payment and consequent debt-burden, conducive price-fiscal and financial policies of the Government, and the interest rates in the money market. And if we look at the new policy of the Central Government, we find it to accelerate all these inflationary processes together. We have seen, how the PV Government started functioning with devaluation of rupee in the international market and then introducing partial convertibility of the rupee in the home market, that is, partly floating its value in the market. Rupee representing a relatively weaker economy than dollar, pound, mark, yen, etc. this 'floating' led to further devaluation of rupee in the home market below the already officially declared level. Imported items and inputs became immediately costlier and added to the cost of domestic production. The Rao Government could not contain the recurrent budget deficit, which rose staggeringly. This deficit is usually met by the Government by issuing new paper money thereby adding to inflation, this year being no exception. Deficit in the international trade, the import-export balance is also ever on the increase. The policy of more liberal welcome to foreign capital, commodities and technology will go on increasing the trade deficit and pressurising rupee towards further depreciation. To meet this growing pressure of negative balance of payment, the Government has already bound itself with a heavy amount of external and internal debt which stand at Rs. 1,60,000 crore and Rs. 2,60,000 crore respectively. This leads to draining away of a large part of the country's resources in the form of debt servicing (payment of the principal and the interest by instalments)—which is another inflation-generating process.

Coming to the price policy of the Government, we know, it depends on administrative fiat, in addition to budget declarations. Central revenues collected from administered price-hike grew from Rs 757 crore in 1990 to Rs 3250 crore in 1991. If we add the burden of taxation and railway charges to this, the pressure on rupee-value and the real income of the ordinary people becomes directly understandable. The fiscal policy of the Government is to collect a much larger amount of revenues from indirect taxation than from direct taxation. For example while in 1980-81 the amounts of direct and indirect taxes stood at Rs 2817 crore and Rs 17027 crore respectively, in 1991-92 the figures grew to Rs 13091 crore and Rs. 89805 crore respectively. Mr. Singh, despite tall-talks of 'change' has simply continued the same policies. Naturally,

both these administered price-rises and the indirect taxes enter into the retail prices and raise the price index more and more. The Central Government is however curtailing some of the negligible privilege the small earning groups of people used to enjoy through various small savings and tax relief schemes. It declared bonuses for disclosure of large evasion of income taxes and abolished many of tax-saving facilities earlier offered by the Government to the LIG and MIG people.

Lastly, the Government decided to increase the bank rate of interests for the depositors in various new schemes subjected to the market risks. Every bank has created, to serve the purposes a mutual fund where most of the deposits are being transferred and which is stipulated only for borrowings by the industrial houses. Similarly various finance institutions of the Central Government like the LIC, UTI etc. are also entering the share market, disinvesting part of their capital to private big investors and purchasing shares of the private sector whenever there is a decline in the share market. All these measures together have opened a vast area of the money market to speculation and resulted in boosting up inflation. It was this hot speculative activities in the money market that led to the recent scandal involving more than 3800 crore of rupees in dubious deals of share market.

Thus the entire policy of the Rao Government is to launch a severe attack on people's life to secure increasingly multiplying benefits for the monopoly houses.

However the monopolists are not so easily pleased with the Government. They are demanding more. They are exerting pressure upon the Government to gain a freer hand in retrenching work force at their sweet will. The Central Government also, in the name of raising productivity per labourer and making PSUs more profitable are bent on locating surplus manpower and retrenching them. It is also out to close down the sick units. But they are afraid to call the game by its actual name. Hence the deceptive term—exit policy.

And this is a serious deception. When the Rao Government introduced the new policy it said, this would release a new tide in industrialisation and development. And in their election manifesto they promised creation of one crore of jobs every year. Naturally one would expect an 'entry policy'—that is a policy for massive recruitment and absorption. The very fact that all of them—the government-industry-big press clique—go on harping the same monotonous tune of an 'exit policy', the need to systematically drive out a large part of the existing work force proves which direction the new industrial policy seeks to take the country to.

This exit policy has two aspects. First of all, it seeks to revise the labour laws,

(Contd. on Page 7)

Release powerful protracted united movement—Defeat heinous design of the ruling capitalist class

(Contd. from page 6)

our trade union laws in such a way as to strengthen the hands of the management in respect of retrenchment and debilitate the working people's bargaining power. Secondly it wants to declare a part of the existing manpower surplus and offer them scope of voluntary retirement with some financial compensation. For this with the help of the World Bank the Government proposes to create a 'National Renewal Fund' with which to pay the compensation for voluntary retirement or to help transfer a surplus group of workers from one sector to another through re-training.

Why this exit policy? It has already been estimated by number of economists that the new industrial policy would lead to rendering surplus nearly 1 crore of the employed every year from now till 1994. The calculations apart, the fact hardly needs any intricate analyses. Import of advanced technology, rapid rationalisation and switch-over to capital-intensive high-tech industries would obviously throw out bulk of the work force now engaged in the traditional labour intensive industries. Looking at only the prospect of rising profit to the utter neglect of the interests of the working class and the people both the individual industrialists and the Central Government want to replace man by machine and reduce cost of production by reducing the wage bill. In the present conditions, in spite of continuous attacks of capitalist class the workers and their fighting unions have some legal rights, at least on paper, to bargain and fight back. That must go. Hence the cry for the exit policy. Hence the strenuous effort of the Central Labour Ministry to persuade the trade unions into agreeing to the terms of the Government regarding this policy: acceptance by the trade unions, of the decision of re-trenchment, and assurance by the Government to look after the reabsorption of the displaced workers.

But when?

This policy is being adopted at a time when the official figures for unemployment in the country, as registered in the employment exchanges stood at about 3.8 crore and the actual figures including the unregistered rural and semi-unemployed and the retrenched work-force come almost to 14 crore, that is about 16 per cent of the population. With such a gigantic size of unemployment, the policy of any Government responsible to the people should have been to develop the country's economy in such a way that industrial development is accompanied by greater absorption of manpower, gradual rise in the purchasing capacity of the people; thereby an overall improvement in the conditions of their life.

Thus, the working class, the common people are not opposed to advanced technology or technical development of production—as is always made the focus of the ruling class propaganda. What the working class demands is a particular way of using advanced technology so that the existing problems in the life of the people like unemployment, low income level etc. do not get further aggravated, the unemployed find jobs, the poor masses get relief amidst sufferings,

But the Central Congress Government, as the most faithful agent of the ruling capitalist class, views the question of development on technology in a different light, they approach it only from the standpoint of raising profit rate. And the Indian capitalist class, particularly the big monopoly houses, are now trying to enter into a global understanding with their foreign class-brothers, by ensuring an expanding capital goods and technology market in India for the MNC's and expecting a growing share in the global finished goods market for themselves through such partnership. This way of industrial development and importation of modern inputs cannot but strive to reduce the wage bill by driving out workforce in increasing number.

The question, in this situation, is how the exploited people, the working class will react to these antipeople policies of the Rao Government. If they adopt the attitude of 'wait and see', and do not raise their voice right now it will be easier

for the Government to carry through its job. Moreover, they have to keep in mind, most of the opposition parties and the central trade unions controlled by them are trying openly or covertly to enter into an understanding with the Government. For example the BJP and BMS have openly lent their support to the new policies and measures. The other part of opposition, the Left-Janata combine while criticising the Government on many of the above points are actually moving in the parliamentary houses in a way that the budget and other policy decisions of the Government inflicting utmost sufferings to the people get smoothly passed. Then again, while the CPI, CPI(M) and CITU, AITUC leaders are protesting against all these policies and measures in Delhi, the Left Front Government of West Bengal led by the CPI(M) Polit Bureau member Mr. Jyoti Basu is carrying out the same policies and measures as far as their limited power and unlimited desire allow them. Naturally those who find some 'good aspects' in the new industrial and economic policies of the Central Government—as the CPI(M) leaders are doing in WB—cannot build up a serious movement against the policies as a whole. In such a situation the working people will have to get themselves organised and launch movement against every attempt at implementation of the new economic and industrial policies—price rise of any commodity and service, new taxation, re-trenchment and so on. They will have to strengthen the hands of revolutionary forces which are consistently fighting back all the attacks of the capitalist class directly or through the governmental policies.

Americans must resist rulers' design to divide them on racial line

(Contd. from page 3)

icans are homeless of whom one-third suffer severe mental problems; 37 million people are denied basic health care due to lack of medical insurance; an inadequate public education has produced 20 to 30 million functionally illiterate adults,"

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The facts are staggering.

There is a popular prejudice, constantly fed through the media by the establishment, that the blacks in ghettos are poor because they are lazy and incapable of holding a job. But the greatest increase in poverty in the last few decades has been among the working people. Since 1979, 26 million Americans earn incomes below the government poverty line. Two-thirds of these poor people are white Americans. Nearly 5 million people lost their jobs through plant closure or layoffs between 1981-86. This growing number of the poor is not concentrated only in the ghettos.

One outcome of the economic and social degeneration is that there has been a relentless exodus of well-off Americans, by

far the whites, from the cities to the suburbs to create cities within cities and split the country into segregated zones. Poor people, mostly blacks, live in the inner cities—a no-go area for the whites—and wealthy and middle class people, mostly whites, live in the new suburbs which enjoy new political power. Thus America is two worlds within itself.

Michael Harrington wrote in his *The Other America*: 'Negroes and other minorities are not simply the victims of a series of inequitable statutes. The American economy, the American society, the American unconscious are all racist. If all the laws were framed to provide equal opportunity, a majority of the Negroes would not be able to take full advantage of the change. There would still be a vast, silent, and automatic system directed against men and women of colour.'

To belong to a racial minority is to be poor, but poor in a special way. The fear, the lack of selfconfidence, the hunting, these have been described. But they, in

(Contd on page 8)

US RIOT

(Contd. from page 7)

turn, are the expressions of the most institutionalised poverty in the United States, the most vicious of the vicious circles. In a sense, the Negro is classically the 'other' American, degraded and frustrated at every turn and not just because of laws.... To be equal, the Negro requires something much more profound than a way 'into' the society; he needs a transformation of some of the basic institutions of the society.

The Negro is poor because he is black; that is obvious enough. But, perhaps more importantly, the Negro is black because he is poor. The laws against colour can be removed, but that will leave the poverty that is the historic and institutionalised consequence of colour. As long as this is the case, being born a Negro will continue to be the most profound disability that the United States imposes upon a citizen."

The American working poor are victim of all discriminations to which a capitalist society subjects its working people. Black Americans are victims of one more and grinding discrimination—colour, the consequence of racism. Hardly they have any way open to them to live a normal and healthy life. Poverty, injustice, social humiliation and alienation make them often fall prey to drug addiction and criminality. Many black individuals, who have built their career into wealthy white men's preserve, tend to disown their social roots. They exploit poor black people as good as the white owners. In this sense there is some truth in the saying that "Blacks can be more brutal towards blacks than whites are. Their whole personality changes when they become member of the police force." Common white Americans have been induced into the belief that blacks in ghettos are criminals. To this the reaction of the black Americans is that "Blacks are guilty until proven innocent." This racial chasm is widening and the two worlds in America are drifting apart until they will collide in one of the fiercest explosions of history.

That is the inner side of America today —rotten, stinking and horrifying. From Watts to Los Angeles, these riots have elements of class battle mingled with racial eruptions, although crouched in the blind, aimless rage and fury of the unconscious downtrodden. There is drawn the dividing line, not in colour of skin. The forces of history are seeking definite social forms to burst forth. Well meaning, peace loving and democratic American people of all colours ought to probe into this social turbulence to find means to resolve the problem. And other people elsewhere, the intelligentsia of the poorer nations in particular, should have the eyes to see the inner side of America today to talk of deliverance in the 'freedom and democracy' of the US.

All India Save Education Committee meets Union Minister

On 15th May '92 All India Save Education Committee (AISEC) delegation comprising Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, Prof. Karan Singh Rathe, Prof. Narendra Sharma and others led by its president Justice V R Krishna Iyer met Mr Arjun Singh, the Union Human Resources Development minister and submitted a memorandum demanding immediate withdrawal of the National Policy on Education '86 and also handed over the alternative policy document of the AISEC. The minister assured the delegation of listening to them in details by the end of June, '92, after having a detailed study of the documents.

Criticising various anti-people aspects of the policy the memorandum says that in spite of being totally rejected by the educationists, teachers, students and common people at large the NPE 86 far from being scrapped was further strengthened by the recommendations of the Ramamurthy Committee and Reddy Committee. The AISEC in the memorandum observed with deep pain and anguish that the populist programme of the policy like 'Operation Blackboard', which even if sincerely implemented, could not present a better picture in the field of primary education, has long been put out of operation due to the lack of financial resources. But the Navodaya Vidyalaya project which is a costly affair and could benefit very fewer was on full steam. Similar was the fate of different schemes of non-formal, open and distance

learning systems (including the network of the Indira Gandhi National Open University) where millions of rupees were virtually squandered away, while ordinary schools, colleges and universities were literally starving of financial aids resulting in loss of standard of education.

The Committee, in the memorandum, also launched protest against the absence of any well planned free school system and the poor standard of teaching English in the ordinary schools taking advantage of which children's nurseries, kindergarten English medium schools were mushrooming thereby fleecing the common people a lot of money.

The memorandum urged the minister to immediately withdraw NPE '86 and repair the damages already done by it.

On the next day, 16th of May, meeting of AISEC was held at Gandhi Peace Foundation Hall, New Delhi where a series of programme was taken. The programmes are (a) All India People's Protest March to Delhi in December '92 under the auspices of AISEC preceded by national dharna at Boat Club in September '92; (b) State level deputations on the day AISEC meets HRD minister in June; (c) Organising resistance movement by the AISEC whenever, wherever and in whichever form NPE would be implemented, in addition to holding seminars, symposia, group discussions, signature campaigns, etc. throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Third State Conference of W. Bengal MSS

The Third State Conference of Mahila Sanskritik Sangha, West Bengal was held at Hijalpur Sabuj Sangha Maidan, Habra, North 24 Parganas on 30th May and 31st May last with much enthusiasm. In all 1440 delegates covering all the districts of the state participated in the conference. The open session on 30th May was held in the evening with Comrade Prativa Mukherjee, the state MSS president, in the chair. Comrade Pravas Ghosh, member, Central Committee, SUCI and Secretary, WB State Committee of the party, was the main speaker. Apart from Comrade Asit Bhattacharya, member, Central Committee of the party, also present on the dais on the day, were Comrade K Lalitha from Andhra, Jayalaxmi from Karnataka, Saila from Kerala, Chandralekha from Assam and Binapani Das from Orissa.

Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Convenor, All India Committee of MSS hoisted the MSS flag. Comrade Indrani Halder, at the beginning welcomed the delegates and the people.

Earlier, wreaths were placed on Martyrs Column by Comrade Prativa Mukherjee, Comrade Gayatri Dasgupta, State Secretary, Comrade Kalyani Banerjee, president, North

24 Parganas district. The meeting unanimously adopted resolutions on anti-people language and education policy of the state government, rising prices and taxes, recent hike of hospital charges, bride killing, etc. and on the international field against the growing US imperialist menace all over the world.

The Delegate Session on 31st May was held at Saheed Sadan, Asoknagar.

Letter to the PM

(Contd from page 1)

the future. Worse still, the fundamentalist and reactionary forces of both the countries are exploiting the issue to disrupt people's unity and foment communal sentiments. We therefore, strongly feel that the Government of India should reverse its decision without delay.

We would request you, in view of the circumstances, to convene a meeting of all parties, not the parties in parliament only, to undertake a fresh discussion on this highly sensitive issue.

Thanking you,
Yours sincerely,
Sd/- NIHAR MUKHERJEE
General Secretary
Socialist Unity Centre of India

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