

On the Occasion of the Fiftyeighth Anniversary of November Revolution in Russia

On the occasion of the anniversary of the Great November Revolution in Russia (the 58th anniversary falls on 7th November this year) communists of every country should come forward to make an assessment of the international situation, find out the short-comings, defects and deviations that have created serious hindrance for a long time in the path of accelerating the course of world revolution despite the tremendous possibility that has been opened up particularly through the victorious and glorious conclusion of the Vietnamese liberation war recently. Mere ritualistic reiteration of the lessons of November Revolution, notwithstanding their great historical significance which still today serve as the beacon light before the communists of the world, will not suffice. Concrete analysis of the concrete present-day international situation in the light of correct understanding of the guiding principles of materialist dialectics free from any bias and with an attitude of cementing the unity in the communist camp through the process of thrashing out and resolving the differences by way of intense ideological struggle following the principle of 'Unity—Struggle—Unity' is all the more necessary. Our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, as a part and parcel of the international communist movement feels its humble responsibility to present its view-point on this occasion on such vital issues confronting the international communist movement today. We are proud that although we are still a very little force for providing Indian revolution its necessary organisational leadership to successful culmination, the leadership of the Central Committee of our party headed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our beloved leader and teacher, has been able to correctly analyse the present international situation and concretise the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the vast field covering all aspects of human life.

History will reveal that from the very inception of our party we have been able to conduct a lone but glorious battle based on correct base political line of the proletariat, concretise the general teachings of Marxism in the concrete condition of Indian situation and thereby contribute in the storehouse of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that in spite of some vital changes that have taken place after the Second World War in the international arena through the emergence of a socialist world system parallel to the imperialist-capitalist world system, intensification of national liberation struggles of the peoples in colonies and semi-colonies, dropping of a number of colonies in Asia and Africa out of the orbit of imperialist chain and establishment of bourgeois national states in those countries leading to substantial weakening of the strength of the imperialist-capitalist camp and serious accentuation of the crisis of the capitalist

world—the present era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution as enunciated by Lenin.

Before the Second World War the whole world, with the solitary exception of the USSR, was under either the direct rule or effective political and economic influence of the imperialist-capitalists. At that time the imperialist-capitalists were the sole determinants on the question of war and peace and the USSR as the only socialist country had not the sufficient strength to thwart the sinister designs of the imperialist powers for war.

But after the Second World War side by side with imperialist-capitalist war camp a powerful world socialist system comprising People's Democracies of Europe, Mongolia, North Korea, North Vietnam and China headed by USSR* has

*At that time the revisionist did not capture the leadership of CPSU or the state in Russia. Later on, under the leadership of Khrushchev the revisionists usurped the overall power of the party and the state.

come into being which has brought about some vital changes without of course changing the pre-war international situation fundamentally.

First, the American imperialism has become virtually the leader of the imperialist war camp as it had to suffer very little military and economic loss compared to that suffered by British imperialism during the Second World War. As a result, American imperialism has become the main enemy of world peace movement, anti-imperialist liberation struggle and, in fact, of all the progressive and revolutionary movements of the whole world.

Secondly, because of the emergence of a socialist camp, socialism has become a world system i.e. a system of states instead of being confined to a single country and a socialist world market parallel to the capitalist world market has come into existence. This is no doubt a change of tremendous significance.

Thirdly, another important feature of the post war situation is the intensification of the anti-imperialist national liberation movements of the peoples in colonies and semi-colonies and retreat of the imperialists in the face of mounting surge of these movements. In face of such a situation the

imperialists were compelled to change their policy and to hand over power to the national bourgeoisie of these countries.

Fourthly, the imperialist-capitalist market has become seriously contracted due to the emergence of socialist world system and socialist market side by side with the capitalist-imperialist market. Furthermore, the internal contradiction in the world capitalist market has become more and more sharp and acute with the coming out as newer competitors, practically daily, of the

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"The bourgeoisie needs lackeys whom a section of the working class could trust, and who would paint in fine colours, embellish the bourgeoisie with talk about the possibility of the reformist path, who would throw dust in the eyes of the people by this talk, who would divert the people from revolution by depicting the glowing colours the charms and the possibilities of the reformist path".

—V. I. Lenin

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Ordinance On Voluntary Disclosure Of Black Money—Rewarding Dishonesty

The 8th October ordinance on voluntary disclosure of black money and the kidglove treatment to the habitual tax dodgers has come in the wake of 20-point programme declared by the government amongst which one point was "Summary trials and deterrent punishment for economic offenders". Those who earn crores of money mostly by devious means and do not pay tax as per law of the land are usually taken to be 'economic offenders' and deserve deterrent punishment not only from legal point of view but from moral and ethical considerations in civilised world. Naturally, opinions are being sharply expressed questioning not only the moral base but also the soundness of this step even as a pragmatic device.

The 8th October ordinance brings bounties of concessions to those who possess plenty of ill-gotten money through devious means like smuggling, profiteering and other illegitimate devices. Precisely because of this illegitimacy of the sources of earnings which are still today, socially accepted as crimes, the holders of black money did not like to disclose their possessions. These social criminals have therefore been able to commit double crime with impunity. The government may think that here is a field where the arms of law unlike in other fields are particularly weak and so it has announced bonuses in the forms of concessions in tax rates and fool-proof guarantee of secrecy so that the social status and prestige of the wrong-doers are guarded. The government thinks these incentives would be sufficient to coax the habitual tax evaders to disgorge some of their ill-gotten money. Opinions on moral and ethical grounds and on the question of equity vary on all these points.

Before quoting some of the views which deserve serious considerations to judge the political will that has worked behind this step, we like to summarise the various concessions and their concrete implications.

First, the voluntary disclosure scheme announced, provides for more lenient treatment of tax evaders who take advantage of the scheme than even honest tax-payers. The tax to be paid on disclosure begins as low as

25 percent and reaches 46 percent at the level of Rs. one lakh, depending on the amount of black money disclosed. *The Economic and Political Weekly* (October 11) comments; ".....since no questions are to be asked about the source of the disclosed black income, it will be relatively simple for tax evaders to split up the total amount of black earnings which they choose to disclose among members of the family, etc. with a view to further reducing the rate of tax payable, something which for honest tax payers is far more difficult and for salary earners certainly impossible to do". The journal further comments that "the present scheme... extends even to those whose black earnings have been brought to light not through voluntary disclosure but through investigation and raids carried out by the income-tax department".

The veracity of these views has come from various sources. In a letter published in the *Economic Times* (October 23) a writer gives a precise calculation which is definitely encouraging to all moneyed people to take advantage of the present scheme to the serious loss of government exchequer. The calculation runs thus; "A person who earned an income of Rs. 1 lakh in any one year during the last five years, he would have paid tax at least at the rate of 60 p. c. if not higher, if he comes forward and makes four multiple disclosures of Rs. 25,000 each (which the

ordinance permits him to make), then he pays only 16 percent tax and builds up capital in the names of relatives and next of kin which is otherwise difficult to do. If he earned Rs. 1 lakh in 1970 and clandestinely invested it then it would have fetched him a return of at least another Rs. 1 lakh once again in black untaxed money. On the otherhand the honest tax payer in a parallel position would have had left in his hands an investible surplus of Rs. 30,000 in 1970 and if he continued to pay his taxes in full, then he could not hope to equal the tax evader's capital generation even in the next 20 years."

Remember in this connection, the "last date for final tax payment" as explained by Mr. S. R. Mehta (New Delhi, October 10) is set as March 31, 1977, "till which time, it can be made to earn interest and dividends according to their investment skill of the declarer" (Blitz, October, 18).

Secondly, about the extension of the disclosure scheme, the *Indian Express* gives the front-page report (October 9) that the flat owner against whom, in Bombay particularly, there had been going on the much publicised raids, "could avail themselves of this opportunity in making declarations about the real transactions and I.T. authorities might take a liberal views."

Thirdly, the *Times of India* (October 9) report says, "An interesting feature of the scheme is that income disclosed will not be added to the wealth of the declarer for determining the wealth tax liability. In other words, once a declarer pays the appropriate rate of tax, there is no way in which he can be further taxed on the disclosed income."

The second set of concessions relate to Union Finance Minister's declaration in his Madras interview (October 9) where he "assured the

public" that such disclosurers would not be treated as "antecedence of bad character". Not only this public assurance but even a provision in the ordinance says; "All particulars in every declaration will be treated as confidential and no court or other authority will be entitled to call upon any public servant or the declarer to produce the declaration or give evidence in connection with it".

To this, *Blitz* (October 18) comments: "The law of evidence is perhaps the healthiest part of our present corpus of laws, under the truly startling concession now made to the owner of black money, that law is amended. If a civil or criminal dispute has arisen or is likely to arise between the declarer and third parties and the declaration contains potential evidence, it is now fully protected from exposure or investigation".

The third set of concessions can be found in the very scheme of voluntary disclosure of black earnings which will be treated as a block, irrespective of the number of years taken for its accumulation. No year by year assessment, no assessment proceeding even. This brings into serious doubt the validity of the measure even if it be taken as an unethical expedient to augment money in the exchequer.

The Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee which is popularly known as Wanchoo Committee, after examining this scheme which was tried thrice by the government, came to the following conclusion: "The principal argument against the introduction of another disclosure scheme is that the results of the three earlier schemes have been disappointing. The total income disclosed in all the three schemes put together was mere Rs. 267 crores, to say the least is only a small fraction of even the most modest estimate of concealed income for the period of 15 years from 1951 to 1965. As against this, it was stated that the concealment

detected by the Department in the ordinary course during a period of 5 years from 1965 to 1969 was Rs. 161 crores and the taxes and penalties in respect of such concealed income worked out to Rs. 105 crores or about 65 percent of the income detected.....the taxes realised out of the disclosures were even more unimpressive. The 60-40 scheme produced only Rs. 30.80 crores. The other two schemes yielded tax of hardly 15 percent of the disclosed income. The total tax yield of all the three schemes put together was a mere Rs. 61.23 crores."

The committee further held, "in the.....block scheme, as many as 77 thousand odd out of the total of 1,64,226 disclosures were from persons not previously assessed to tax, would bear ample testimony to this misuse of the scheme. We were informed by the Central Board of Direct Taxes that there were several instances of the same set of persons taking advantage of all the three disclosure schemes which would believe the theory that such schemes help to rehabilitate the repentant tax-evader who is desirous of mending his ways".

The Committee finally, came out with this forthright comment: "Resorting such a measure during normal times, and that too frequently, would only shake the confidence of the honest tax payers in the capacity of the government to deal with the law breakers and would invite contempt for its enforcement machinery. We are convinced that any more disclosure schemes would not only fail to achieve the intended purpose of unearthing black money but would have deleterious effect on the level of compliance among the tax paying public and on the morale of the administration. We are therefore strongly opposed to the idea of the introduction of any general scheme of disclosure either now or in the future."

The government had before it, all these expert views on and concrete

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Inspite of Vital Changes in the Post War International Situation the Present Era is the Era of "Imperialism and Proletarian Revolution"

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aspirant bourgeoisie of the newly independent resurgent nationalist countries of Asia and Africa to the major capitalist countries in the already contracted world capitalist market. All these factors taken together have plunged the entire imperialist-capitalist market in a serious crisis so much so that it has lost the relative stability which it enjoyed even during the world-wide monetary crisis and recession of 1930 and even before the war. The crisis of the world capitalist market has already transcended the stage of a general crisis and has entered the period of intense crisis having practically no breathing space in between. In the face of such a severe crisis not only the advanced imperialist capitalist countries but also the under-developed newly independent capitalist countries are showing growing tendencies of artificial stimulation of their economy who are trying to build up, reconstruct and strengthen their economy in the capitalist way. Hard-pressed on all sides, rent with mounting crises, imperialism is turning more and more to militarized economy, which has become today its principal feature. Although there is difference in degree but both the advanced imperialist countries as well as the under-developed newly independent capitalist countries are showing growing tendencies towards militarization. So however strong these imperialist countries may seem apparently the fact is this that the entire capitalist imperialist economy being faced with serious and insurmountable crisis is on the verge of collapse and counting the last days of its inevitable doom.

Fifthly, the imperialists are no longer the sole determinants on the question of war and peace. The forces of socialism and peace have become far more stronger than the forces of imperialism and

war socially, politically, economically and even militarily. So in the present international situation if the socialist countries can stand unitedly following the correct and revolutionary significance of the policy of peaceful co-existence, help whole-heartedly and in all respects the national liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies and struggles for the establishment of socialism in the capitalist countries, keep these struggles free from imperialist intrigues and interference and, above all, correctly co-relate these national liberation movements in different countries and also the struggle for the establishment of socialism with the world peace movement then and then only it is possible to thrust peace upon the imperialist war mongers.

But this does never mean that there is no possibility of war or that Lenin's thesis about "Imperialism generates war and the inevitability of war in the era of imperialism" has lost its validity. Com. Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our beloved leader and teacher has said, "Any one who correctly understands the materialist dialectical principle that 'quantitative change leads to qualitative change' cannot fail to see that in the long process of development of a given phenomenon, unless the phenomenon itself, through the gradual acceleration of quantitative changes reaches to the nodal point and is qualitatively changed, yielding place to a new phenomenon qualitatively different from it, the principal characteristic feature of the given phenomenon does not disappear and the internal motive forces that basically determine its principal characteristic feature continue in force, in spite of whatever amount of quantitative and qualitative changes of other contending forces which are moving centring round the

basic contradiction within the given phenomenon—might have undergone. So, every Marxist-Leninist must know that every epoch is bound to witness, in the natural process of its development, various vital changes, the principal characteristic feature of the epoch remain in force till an altogether new epoch emerges on the ashes of the old one." (On war and Peace, Peaceful Co-existence and Peaceful Transition to Socialism—

Ganadabi. Dec. 1960)

It is true that imperialism has been extremely cornered and has become relatively very much weaker than before. But still then it is a fact that imperialism not only exists today but also it continues in force and it continues with all its inherent fundamental features and characteristics. In spite of the growing strength of the socialist countries, refusal on the part of newly independent resurgent nationalist countries of Asia and Africa to support imperialist war camp, however temporarily, and following by them the policy of non-alignment, loss of traditional reserves of the imperialists and on the top of it intensification of mutual contradiction among the imperialist countries and ever increasing intensity of class struggle in these countries—it is a reality that although imperialism is no longer an all-embracing system but yet it exists as a world system i.e. system of states. So it will be wrong to think that since imperialism has been cornered and become relatively very much weaker than before so it has lost all its power to strike or capacity to unleash wars. Rather it is observed that being faced with serious crisis all the developed as well as under-developed imperialist capitalist countries are frantically taking recourse to militarization of their economies and being engaged in armament race have broken all the previous records in the matter of stockpiling of

modern arms—sophisticated and even nuclear. Moreover, even if these countries are unable to unleash global war, they are pursuing, being wedded to militarized economy, the imperialist policy of local and partial wars. This is why Com. Shibdas Ghosh observed that "the possibility of preserving peace and the danger of outbreak of wars are both equally real. It will be an unpardonable mistake to lay unnecessary emphasis on the one and thereby under-estimate the other" (Ibid).

So, the vital changes that have taken place in the post war situation created most favourable condition for the success of revolutions in different countries one after another and for that matter for the victory of world revolution which reached, so to say, the threshold of final victory. So in such a situation if the revolutionaries of different countries were prepared and the socialist countries were ready to stand unitedly in order to thrust the policy of peaceful co-existence upon the imperialists and particularly upon the American imperialists, forestall effectively the imperialist war of aggression, nuclear blackmailing and the imperialist policy of intrigue and interference into the internal affairs of other countries—then the days of final defeat of imperialism-capitalism and emancipation of the exploited and oppressed people of the whole world were not far off. It could definitely come to a reality.

But in spite of such a favourable international situation for world revolution various confusions cropped up in the international communist movement since the revisionist Khrushchev clique captured the leadership of the CPSU during its 20th Congress and started following an out and out revisionist outlook and revisionist political line impairing not only the mutual fraternal relation

among the socialist countries but also damaging even the mutual relation in the state level which ultimately resulted in the weakening and splitting up of the world socialist camp. On the other hand the American imperialists taking advantage of the absolutely wrong politics of the Soviet revisionist leadership born out of their nuclear war-phobia dared to make conspiracies against the revolutionary movement in different countries by systematically carrying on its policy of nuclear blackmailing conducting local and partial wars, hatching up conspiracies and intrigues and interfering into the internal affairs of different countries without slightest of hesitation. While it was necessary to take bold steps to effectively check the imperialist policy of war of aggression and interfering into the internal affairs of other countries in the background of the relative gaining of strength by the socialist countries and peace forces over the imperialists—the present Soviet revisionist leadership in place of doing it, took recourse to capitulation to imperialism and helped objectively to offer a fresh lease of life to the imperialist war economy and the policy of local and partial war by the hesitant support and the very meagre military help it extended to the liberation struggles in different countries. This revisionist outlook of the Soviet revisionist leadership is responsible for Indo Chinese war of liberation being so much bloody and prolonged. The half-hearted and nominal help which the Soviet revisionist leadership offered to the national liberation movements were hardly be able to shield this heinous crime.

The present revisionist leadership of Soviet Russia has trampled down the Leninist teachings about revolution by discovering,

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Ordinance on Voluntary Disclosure of Black Money-Rewarding Dishonesty

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experiences about failures of the voluntary disclosure schemes. Still then, the government guided by a particular political will has taken the measure, the legitimacy of which is being questioned from a cross-section of the people and honest citizens. Here is a glaring instance where instead of honesty, dishonesty is getting the premium. No wonder, therefore, that bourgeois newspapers are giving reports about an enthusiastic response to this schemes from the rich community.

Reacting to this measure, particularly during emergency when the government has unlimited power at its disposal, *Blitz* (October 18) comments thus: "The state which claims to take the country towards socialism, has been a handmaid to the evolution of this monster. Private investment in India in 1950-51 was Rs. 780 crores which went up to Rs. 6,343 crores in 1969-70; the profits jumping from Rs. 90 crores to Rs. 511 crores.

"Its foster-mother has mainly been commercial banks. Bank credits as of June 1975 totalled Rs. 6,333.5 crores of which the private sector covered Rs. 5,276.7 crores which amounts to 84.3 percent of the sum. Trade alone received Rs. 2,088.3 crores.

"The capitalism which they have built through public money is there for all to see. Bits and pieces floating in the gravy of Black money.... A Congress MP has estimated the rolling black money in 1975 at Rs. 20,000 crores which is double that of our national budget."

The journal further comments: "Contrast this

generosity to the criminal rich with the bonfire it has made of the bonus which the working people have been enjoying for the past one decade.....

"The September 25 ordinance has virtually scrapped the payment of Bonus Act, thereby extinguishing an existing right to a minimum of 8.33 percent of pay as bonus per year. Only four percent is authorised for 1974-75, nothing from the next year onwards unless the company has an 'Allocable surplus over a period of three years.' Who is to certify the determination of surplus?"

The same law of capitalism works with the same motive force of production and production relation in the state sector in a bourgeois society. The concept of 'ex gratia' to the workers and employees for their legitimate share in profit as a means to cover the widening gap between subsistence level of wage and a fair wage bears testimony to this fact.

The age old experience of the working people which gets verified by concrete events and facts in history is that in a bourgeois society like the property relations, ethics, morals, values, all are mediated through class angularities and class approach.

The working people are fighting, therefore, for the establishment of a true socialist order, free from exploitation of man—for an economic order freed from chaos and anarchy. Not only this, above all, they are fighting to get rid of a sick bourgeois social order for a society ethically and morally healthy where the true concept of equity will reign.

Stand Unitedly for Safe-Guarding the Working Class Interest

—UTUC (Lenin Sarani)'s Appeal

Calcutta, November 5 : Shri Fatick Ghosh, General Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani) has issued the following statement to the Press :

"We on behalf of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) took the initiative to convene all the left and democratic central trade unions viz, CITU, UTUC (Bowbazar), TUCC, HMS and HMP at a meeting on 3rd November 1975 for a common line of defence of the workers' interest in view of the mass-scale lay-off, lock-out, closure, early

retirement, retrenchment, reduction in the quantum of bonus and other anti-labour activities. We earnestly expected that as the situation demands, the central trade unions would respond to our sincere efforts. But, other than HMP none of the central trade unions responded to our invitation.

"In view of this, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) is taking the initiative to call a convention of the workers and employees to devise ways and means to safeguard the working class interests, on 17th November, 1975 at the Calcutta University Institute Hall at 5-30 p.m.

"We still hope that all other left democratic central trade unions would reconsider their stand and come in active co-operation."

Steel glut—an Illusion

Mr. Chandrajeet Yadav the union steel Minister, said at a Press Conference, held at Bokaro on October 20 that the country's current steel production was only eight million tonnes a year and it was therefore wrong to talk of a 'steel glut'; there could not be any steel glut and the present greater availability was because of a number of reasons one of which was that nearly 450 bogus firms had been detected which had been lifting steel quotas and creating an artificial scarcity of steel.

So, according to Mr. Yadav, the Union Steel Minister, there could not be any glut in steel as the production is only eight million tonnes a year at present and the present

situation in steel industry reflects our 'greater availability' of the metal due to the actions against hoarders. But can Mr. Yadav explain or deny the previous glut in steel in mid-sixties when the production of steel was lesser than eight million tonnes a year? Action against hoarders surely helps the actual users in getting the steel materials but how the growing accumulation of stock at the steel mills is to be explained away? This sure sign of glut in steel industry can not be covered up by any rhetoric. Mr. Yadav should remember that the glut in steel or in any other material does not depend on the amount or quantity

of materials produced. Had it been so, the glut in steel in mid-sixties can not be explained. The reason lies elsewhere. The present glut in steel is a sure symptom of capitalist over production. Because of the want of internal market due to the low purchasing power of the people and also because of the restricted scope of export in the face of stiff competition from the powerful imperialist capitalist countries, India's economy which is essentially a capitalist economy is suffering from recession. So, unless the social and economic structure of the country is basically changed no amount of palliatives can restore the health of the economy.

EVICITION OF UNAUTHORISED SHOPS

(By a Staff Reporter)

Delhi, September 10 :

[lately received]

The poor people of Delhi municipal area woke up to see a big 'Operation Demolition' of their shanty shops, 'rehris' and 'jhuggis'. They were removed in order to make the capital clean together with one and half-lakh families who are inevitably mingled with them.

The bread earners of these families living in about fifteen thousand hovels had been eking out their existence from their petty shops and by hawking goods in the various localities of the capital for a pretty long period. Suddenly, the DDA (Delhi Development Authority) and DMC (Delhi Municipal Corporation) launched the operation.

The demolition of about

17,000 unauthorised shanty shops and eviction of 10,000 squatters from road sides was done smoothly.

To take a single instance, in Karol Bagh, some 450 shops in the Gaffar Market, 550 shops on Ajmal Khan Road and 250 shops in the lanes branching off from Ajmal Khan Road were cleared. There was no previous notice or warning.

ALL OUT STATE TRADING IN FOODGRAINS INCLUDING RETAIL TRADING CAN GIVE SOME RELIEF TO THE PEOPLE

Break the Unholy Alliance of Jotedars, Rice-Millers and Corrupt Officials to stop super profits

It is claimed by all the Central and State ministers that there will be a record production of foodgrains in India this year. But it has been seen in the past that common people could not get any relief in spite of greater food production as the big jotedars and the black marketeers corner the foodgrains and manipulate prices to earn maximum profit. Unless this powerful chain of the jotedars and the black marketeers who are in league with a section of administration is broken, this record production will not bring any relief in the life of the common man. This chain can be broken if all out state trading in foodgrains including both whole sale and retail trade is introduced, all private trading both wholesale and retail is to be banned and net work of distribution system is to be set up. Only banning of wholesale trade will not do as the wholesalers will overnight become retailers through their innumerable agents. The government has got the opportunity bulding up a buffer stock this year to implement this scheme in the entire country. But it is seen that no such policy has been adopted and the common people are thus left at the mercy of the dishonest business men and big jotedars....

In this background let us examine the food policy of the West Bengal Government for the next year. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this is not a comprehensive food policy but only the policy of procurment and limited supply in rationing and modified rationing area. A comprehensive food policy means the policy on food production and distribution. But in the announced policy of the West Bengal Government no such perspective is there.

On the 22nd October the West Bengal Government pronounced its food policy for the year 1975-76. The procurement target of the next year has been

fixed at three lakh tonnes. This target for the current year was only 5.1 lakh tonnes, but only 2.2 lakh tonnes were actually procured. In defence of the lower procurement target, Sri Sattar the Agriculture Minister has said that as the production this year is very good the prices will not rule high and so the target has been lowered.

Before analysing the present food policy, we want to emphasise that food is the essential and primary thing in the life of the people and no responsible government can shirk the responsibility of feeding the people. But inspite of the fact that India attained independence 28 years ago, not only the food problem has not been solved but it is becoming more and more acute as the day passes by and... health of the entire nation is being affected due to the acute food problem. Under the circumstances it is desirable that the food policy should be very carefully formulated.

But there is nothing new in the food policy adopted for the next year excepting lowering of the procurement target and permission to the rice mill owners to sell the levy free rice in the open market at any price. With these two exceptions this new food policy is exactly the same as that of the current year. In the next year also the individual producers will be levied according to the area of land they possess and the system of district cordoning will remain. As in the last year wholesale trading in food-grains has been banned. The individual producers and the rice mill owners can sell the levy free rice at any price in the open market. This is, in a nutshell the food policy of the next year.

All the central and state ministers are expressing satisfaction over the record production this year. The state cabinet is expecting that there will be abundant supply of rice

in the open market and so there will not be any scarcity condition. But the bitter and painful experiences of the past show that, the common man does not get any benefit due to any increase in production. If there is no proper distribution system the dishonest businessmen, the jotedars and the black marketeers will create artificial scarcity by hoarding food grains to reap maximum profits. It is feared that by lowering the procurement target and also allowing the rice mill owners and the big producers to sell rice at any price, the government has in reality given a free hand to them in this affair. The government and the common men know what price the people had to pay in the past for relying on the good will of the businessmen, whose sole aim is to suck the blood of the people and earn maximum profit by exploiting the people. Will the tragic and painful history be repeated next year? Under the pretext this apprehension can be minimised as there is no earthly reason to believe that they give up their profit motive and become honest overnight... It is known to all that most of the people associated with agriculture live below poverty line and they, as in previous years, will bring their produce in the market immediately after harvesting for acute distress. Then these poor peasants will be most affected at what will be going on in the name of strict cordoning. The government proposes to purchase from open market only 10,000 tonnes. The local jotedars and the rice mill owners will therefore have free hand in the bulk portion of this distress sale at a nominal price in the beginning of the year particularly when the government will not be a competitor and at the end of the year these poor people will be forced to purchase rice at much higher price from them. Again despite previous

experiences, this year also the government relies almost entirely on the rice millers for procurement. The rice mill owners never submit a correct report to the government regarding their purchases and in this year also there is no reason why they will not do the same. In this way they will frustrate even the very modest target of procurement set by government—the policy which does not envisage feeding the entire people of the state but instead relies completely on the market to behave, which really means that people will depend on the mercy of the profiteers. Besides, it will be easily noticed in the food policy of the next year that relatively more pressure will be put on the middle peasants than on big jotedars in the matter of imposition of levy. Every year the big jotedars dodge the levy in various ways. The government has admitted that levy from them could not be realised inspite of many attempts.

It is apparent from the announced food policy that this position will not alter in any way. So there are many difficulties in fulfilling even the lowered procurement target of 3 lakh tonnes.

The cordoning system may be really strict in the case of poor peasants but because of corruption in every stage, this cordoning is not effective in case of big business men and so they carry on black marketing in food-grain through out the entire state. In the next year also this will happen and so the limited procurement programme of the government may be frustrated....

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The state government has banned the wholesale trade in foodgrain this year. But the black marketing in food-grains can not be eliminated by

banning the wholesale trading only, as the wholesalers will overnight become innumerable retailers through their appointed agents as in the past years and in this way they will carry on the wholesale trade in disguise. So there is no other alternative than to ban all private trading—both wholesale and retail and introduce all out state-trading in food-grains. It is only through this measure that the people can be saved from the lust of the black-marketeters and hoarders. If the government is really eager to take the responsibility of feeding the people by breaking the evil chain of the jotedars and black marketeers then there is no other way than to introduce all out state trading in food grain—both wholesale and retail.

Press Clippings

The Lok Sabha was told on August 6, 1973 that nearly a million children died from malnutrition every year. A survey by the National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad, revealed that 65 percent of Indian children in the lower income groups suffered from moderate, and 18 percent from severe malnutrition. According to the surveys by the Indian Council of Medical Research and the State Nutrition Division, 50 percent of the children in the 1-6 age groups suffer from protein deficiency and malnutrition in Haryana, one of the most prosperous states. Subsequent nutritional improvement can not do much to remedy the physical and mental retardation caused to children below six years by under-nourishment, particularly protein deficiency.

[The Statesman, dated 20.10.75]

The War Manoeuvre tactics and the Peace Manoeuvre tactics are nothing but varied expressions of the same Imperialist tactics of intrigue and interference into the Internal affairs of other countries

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of late, a "novel" and childish theory of "non-capitalistic and peaceful" way of transition to socialism in different capitalist countries by participating in the national democratic governments along with the national bourgeoisie. Their fanciful and so-called theory of National Democratic Revolution has practically reduced Leninist theory of revolution to a theory of coup d'etat which is anything but revolution. Moreover, when the national bourgeoisie to-day is gradually leaning more on fascism losing absolutely its faith on parliamentary democracy—the pseudo-communists have become instrumental in the matter of hoodwinking the people by the bourgeoisie, destroying parliamentary democracy and bringing about fascism in different countries by giving national bourgeoisie a progressive and radical cloak and in their bid to prove the futility of parliamentary democracy. Thus it is clear that modern revisionism is not only actively helping in the fostering of fascism, but it is moving hand-in-glove with fascism. What they forget is that so long as it does not become possible to bring about a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, to try to preserve and protect the parliamentary set up is an indispensable part of the revolutionary movement. If under any circumstances, the communists help to destroy the foundation of parliamentary democracy along with the national bourgeoisie it will simply mean strengthening the fascistic tendencies of the bourgeoisie in different countries. By such acts sheer betrayal to the cause of revolutionary movement can at best be done.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our beloved leader, teacher and the General Secretary of our party has taught us a historical lesson in this connection. He has

observed that after the exposure of real face of social democratic forces in Europe, social democracy was working as a definite trend in the communist movement for a long time. Modern revisionism, he said, is nothing but an outward manifestation of that social democratic trend in the communist movement. Comrade Ghosh has further pointed out that after its virtual death as a force to reckon with in the political movement, Trotskyism is also working as another trend or bent of mind in the communist movement. Comrade Ghosh also observed that the theory of formation of national democratic governments along with the national bourgeoisie of different capitalist countries as a means to "non-capitalist and peaceful" transition to socialism is nothing but a peculiar fusion of these two trends of social democracy and Trotskyism in communist movement. So, as the theory of the Soviet revisionist leadership to "transform parliament as an instrument of people's will" is a downright expression of the trend of unadulterated social democracy, so also the theory of implanting revolution by destroying the old parliamentary, democratic set up by combining with the military, bureaucracy, and the national bourgeoisie in different capitalist countries is a manifestation of the conspiratorial bent of mind of Trotskyism. So between imperialism and anti-imperialist liberation movements and between capitalism and anti-capitalist revolutionary struggles—all varieties of revisionism and particularly Soviet revisionism stands as a force of compromise. Naturally, an essential prerequi-

site for the victory of liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles to-day is to give complete defeat to all varieties of revisionism and particularly Soviet revisionism.

We must bear in mind another important point in this connection. It is not correct to assume that the socialist state structure and the socialist economic system which came into being in Russia through revolution lost their fundamental features the very moment the leadership of the CPSU was captured by the revisionists. It is a sheer oversimplification that, with the capture of state power and the leadership of the party by the revisionists, bourgeois dictatorship and social imperialism is established in the socialist state structure automatically. So long as the socialist relations of production and the socialist motive force of production are not replaced by capitalist relations of production and capitalist motive force of production and also the political and administrative organs and institutions of the proletariat are not abolished yielding place to the political and administrative organs and institutions of the bourgeoisie following a counter-revolution, either violent or peaceful, the state will remain a socialist state, i.e. the state of the working class although because of its revisionist leadership it will lose its effectivity in the matter of wholeheartedly patronising the revolutionary struggles in the international arena as before and will show a gradual tendency towards capitalist restoration internally. But it is equally true that if the Russian people cannot throw out this revisionist leadership from power and if the revisionists can remain in power for a long spell of time without any effective opposition then there will be possibility of complete restoration of capitalism

and in that case only the present socialist state will be transformed into a state of social imperialism.

But before coming to such conclusion it must be examined whether the fundamental characteristics of socialist economy and that of the political and administrative organs and institutions of the proletariat are, in the main, maintained. Therefore, so long as the fundamental features of socialist economy and that of the political and administrative organs and institutions of the proletariat are maintained, in the main, we will have to accept that state as the socialist state, its revisionist leadership notwithstanding.

Since the passing of the leadership of the party and the state into the hands of the revisionists, the foreign policy of USSR is being decided mainly by the mentality of big power chauvinism, as a result of which USSR has adopted a policy of expanding its sphere of influence in collusion with America. In the mutual competition for establishing respective spheres of influence both America and Russia sometimes come in conflict, as some other times they come in compromise. Their area of agreement is limited and temporary; their sphere of conflict is gradually expanding. In spite of all this there can be no denying the fact that those countries who are engaged today in national liberation movements and in the struggle to defend their national independence against the war of aggression instigated by the imperialists expect and receive help, however meagre, from Soviet Union which they do not get and cannot dream of getting from the imperialists. This proves that all the features of socialist social structure have not been destroyed completely. The class conscious workers of the present day revolutionary

movement shall have to understand this complex contradiction. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has repeatedly emphasised this point.

The Chinese Communist Party, on the other hand is following, in the main, a correct revolutionary line on the questions of war and peace, peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition to socialism etc. by rendering unstinted and all possible support to the anti-imperialist liberation movements and anti-capitalist revolutionary struggles in different countries and conducting an uncompromising, firm and relentless struggles against imperialism in general and American imperialism in particular. Through the successful culmination of the Chinese cultural revolution and by following a correct revolutionary line, China has attained to-day a very important position in international politics. Despite our differences and disagreements with the Chinese Communist Party on a number of questions, as some other parties may have, the important role played by China as the bulwark of world revolution cannot be denied.

The complete defeat of American imperialism and its satellites in Indo-China is a very significant and important incident in contemporary world politics. The bold anti-imperialist policy as pursued by China and the ignominious defeat of American imperialism at the hands of the peoples of three very small countries, viz. South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have exploded the myth of American military might and shattered the terror which it created throughout the whole world for carrying on quite unhesitatingly its imperialist exploitation and design. This has not only highly encouraged the liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles but also has created opportunities

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THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

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3. The Soviet power as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the suppression of the bourgeoisie, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, and the substitution of proletarian democracy for bourgeois democracy. That is clear. But by means of what organization can this colossal task be carried out? The old forms of organization of the proletariat, which grew up on the basis of bourgeois parliamentarism, are inadequate for this task—of that there can hardly be any doubt. What, then, are the new forms of organization of the proletariat that are capable of serving as the grave-diggers of the bourgeois state machine, that are capable not only of smashing this machine, not only of substituting proletarian democracy for bourgeois democracy, but also of substituting proletarian democracy, also of becoming the foundation of the proletarian state power.

This new form of organization of the proletariat is the Soviets. Wherein lies the strength of the Soviets as compared with the old forms of organization?

In that the Soviets are the most all-embracing mass organizations of the proletariat, for they and they alone embrace all workers without exception.

In that the Soviets are the *only* mass organizations which embrace all the oppressed and exploited, workers and peasants, soldiers and sailors, and in which the vanguard of the masses, the proletariat, can, for this reason, most easily and most completely exercise its political leadership of the mass struggle.

In that the Soviets are the *most powerful organs* of the revolutionary struggles of the masses, of the political actions of the masses, of the insurrection of the masses—organs capable of breaking the omnipotence of finance

capital and of its political appendages.

In that the Soviets are the *immediate* organizations of the masses themselves, i. e., they are the *most democratic* and therefore the most authoritative organizations of the masses, which facilitated to the utmost their participation in the work of building up the new state and in its administration, and which bring into full play the revolutionary energy, initiative and creative abilities of the masses in the struggle for the destruction of the old order, in the struggle for the new, proletarian order.

The Soviet power is the amalgamation and formation of the local Soviets into one common state organization, into the state organization of the proletariat as the vanguard of the oppressed and exploited masses and as the ruling class—their amalgamation into the republic of Soviets.

J. V. STALIN

The essence of the Soviet power is contained in the fact that these organizations of a most pronounced mass character, these most revolutionary organization of precisely those classes that were oppressed by the capitalists and landlords are now the *"permanent and sole* basis of the whole power of the state, of the whole state apparatus"; that "precisely those masses which even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, while being equal in law, have in fact been prevented by thousands of tricks and devices from taking part in political life and from enjoying democratic rights and liberties, are now drawn unfailingly into *constant* and, moreover, *decisive* participation in the democratic administration of the state." (Lenin, *Selected works*, Vol. VII, P. 231.)

This is why the Soviet power is a *new form* of state organization, different in principle from

• My italics.—J. S.

the old bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary form, a *new type* of state, adapted not to the task of exploiting and oppressing the labouring masses, but to the task of completely emancipating them from all oppression and exploitation, to the tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin rightly says that with the appearance of the Soviet power "the era of bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism has come to an end, and a new chapter in world history—the era of proletarian dictatorship has commenced."

What are the characteristic features of the Soviet power?

The Soviet power has a most pronounced mass character and is the most democratic state organization of all possible state organizations while classes continue to exist; for, being the arena of the bond and collaboration between the workers and the exploited peasants in their struggle against the exploiters, and basing itself in its work on this bond and on this collaboration, it represents, by virtue of this, the power of the majority of the population over the minority, it is the state of the majority, the expression of its dictatorship.

The Soviet power is the most internationalist of all state organizations in class society, for, since it destroys every kind of national oppression and rests on the collaboration of the labouring masses of the various nationalities, it facilitates, by virtue of this, the amalgamation of these masses into a single state union.

The Soviet power, by its very structure, facilitates the task of leading the oppressed and exploited masses for the vanguard of these masses—for the proletariat, as the most consolidated and most class-conscious core of the Soviets.

"The experience of all revolutions and of all movements of the oppressed classes, the experience

of the world Socialist movement teaches" says Lenin, "that the proletariat alone is able to unite and lead the scattered and backward strata of the toiling and exploited population". (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 232.) The structure of the Soviet power facilitates the practical application of the the lessons drawn from this experience.

The Soviet power, by combining the legislative functions in a single state organization and replacing territorial electoral constituencies by industrial units, factories and mills, thereby directly links the workers and the labouring masses in general with the apparatus of state administration, teaches them how to administer the country.

The Soviet power alone is capable of releasing the army from its subordination to bourgeois command and of converting it from the instrument of oppression of the people which it is under the bourgeois order into an instrument for the liberation of the people from the yoke of the bourgeoisie, both native and foreign.

"The Soviet organization of the state alone is capable of immediately and effectively smashing and finally destroying the old, i. e., the bourgeois, bureaucratic and judicial apparatus." (Ibid.)

The Soviet form of state alone by drawing the mass organizations of the toilers and exploited into constant and unrestricted participation in state administration is capable of preparing the ground for the withering away of the state, which is one of the basic elements of the future stateless Communist society.

The republic of Soviets is thus the political form, so long sought and finally discovered, of within the framework which the economic emancipation of the proletariat, the complete victory of Socialism, is to be accomplished.

The Paris Commune was the embryo of this form; the Soviet power is its development and

Middlemen could not be completely eliminated

Mr. Ram did not think that the middlemen could be completely eliminated but they could be reduced to a minimum as they served as a leverage between the producer and the consumer.

Inaugurating a seminar on production of consumer interest, organised by the Consumers' Association at Calcutta on September 30th, he however, emphasised that social consciousness should be imbibed in the minds of middlemen with a view to eliminating excess profit motive. At the same time consumers' resistance should grow to subdue profiteering.

People believe that only a well-knit public distribution system with assurance of a regular supply of all essential goods can relatively free the grain market from the speculative spree of the traders and profiteers and thus assuring a minimum standard of living to the common people.

Jagjivanram says—

20-Point Programme Change Society

Mr. Jagjivan Ram said in Delhi on September 28th that the 20-point programme was bound to lead to structural changes in our economic and social life.

Mr. Ram claimed that the gradual recovery of the Indian economy, together with the discipline generated by emergency, now made it possible to carry out the "economic mandate" more effectively.

culmination.

That is why Lenin says:

"The republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies is not only the form of a higher type of democratic institution..... but is the *only form* capable of securing the most painless transition to Socialism." (Lenin *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 447.)

Of the two-revisionism and dogmatism—revisionism constitutes today the main danger in the International Communist Movement

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for the small, weak and satellite states of Asia and Africa to come out of the orbit of American influence. Moreover, the American policy of instigating local and partial war and their conspiracy to crush the revolutionary struggles in different countries by aggressing the people in their homelands have suffered a great jolt and thus the ground for and the area of the politics of nuclear blackmailing have been substantially squeezed. So, first of all, the bold and consistent stand of China in the matter of building up of strong anti-imperialist and particularly strong anti-American imperialist struggles in different countries, secondly, the retreat of the American imperialists like running dogs at the hands of the Vietnamese liberation soldiers, and the glorious success of liberation war of the fighting peoples of Vietnam, thirdly, the growing public opinion against Vietnamese war inside America, fourthly, the serious economic crisis that has engulfed the American economy and the consequent loss of prestige of American dollar in the international market—all these factors combined together have created such a situation that the American imperialists have been compelled to give up its old policy of containment of China, make a retreat from the old position and give China its due recognition and honourable position in the UNO. And because of these factors, American imperialism has been compelled to give up, although temporarily, its old policy of war manoeuvre and adopt the policy of peace manoeuvre. But it must be borne in

mind that both the war manoeuvre tactics and the peace manoeuvre tactics are nothing but varied expressions of the same imperialist tactics of interfering into, infiltrating and influencing the internal affairs of other countries. Therefore, it cannot be denied that as a result of infinitely important role played by China and through the successful and victorious conclusion of liberation movement in Indo-china, American imperialism, has been so much cornered and weak that a very favourable situation has again been created for world revolution so much so that to-day revolution is in the offensive. But in order to take full advantage of such a favourable situation and to push the revolutionary movements very rapidly to their successful conclusions, it is imperative to keep the revolutionary struggles and the national liberation movements free from the pernicious effect of the direct or indirect influence of the Soviet revisionist theory of bringing about National Democratic Revolution jointly with the national bourgeoisie.

In spite of so many vital changes that have taken place in world politics in favour of revolution it must be borne in mind that imperialism still today continues in force as a world system and no basic and fundamental change has taken place in the pre-war world system. Thus, the present era is the era of 'imperialism and proletarian revolution.'

Lenin himself enunciated the four principal contradictions of the present era which are well-known to all communists. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has for the first time pointed out that in

order to have a correct appraisal of these four contradictions, one must carefully take into cognisance and realise the significance of the emergence of the newly independent resurgent nationalist countries in the post war period. Neither the imperialist camp nor the socialist camp can afford to ignore or overlook the importance of these countries. Although it is a fact that these countries are essentially members of the imperialist-capitalist camp, but being dictated by the necessity to reconstruct and strengthen the capitalist economies, these countries are following today a so-called policy of non-alignment and swinging like pendulum between these two camps.

They have contradictions with both the camps; as it will be wrong to conclude that the contradictions between imperialism and resurgent nationalism are always conducive to revolutionary struggles, it will be equally wrong to think that these newly independent resurgent nationalist countries are satellites of imperialism as they become sometimes very much close to each other. The so-called Communist Parties in our country like CPI, CPI(M) and CPI(M-L) have been found to always confuse these questions.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has repeatedly stressed that if there is any objection to characterise this contradiction of the resurgent nationalist countries with imperialist camp on the one hand and socialist camp on the other as the fifth principal contradiction then also the immensely important role that is being played by these countries in the present day international politics must not be underestimated or overlooked.

It has been already said that the newly independent resurgent nationalist countries in the interest of developing their own capitalist economy have an important role to play in the specific international

situation that obtains at present. The independent peace policy as pursued by these countries although differs fundamentally from the consistent peace policy followed by the socialist countries, but still then it can be utilised, of course temporarily, in favour of the national liberation movements and world peace depending upon whatever common grounds are there between the two at this particular juncture. But while doing it, care should be taken that no illusion is created in mass mind about the peace policy of the ruling bourgeoisie which will simply disarm the revolutionary movements ideologically. If the people cannot be made conscious about the real character of the bourgeoisie of the resurgent nationalist countries and if the revolutionary struggles in these countries cannot be strengthened then the bourgeoisie of the newly independent resurgent nationalist countries of Asia and Africa, who are posing to-day some sort of contradictions being dictated by their necessity to reconstruct capitalist economy to the policy of war of aggression followed by the imperialists, will act as the most dependable agents of world imperialism-capitalism in the matter of suppression of the growth and development of socialist revolutionary struggles. It is a serious warning which Com. Shibdas Ghosh gave as far back as 1960.

Lastly, both revisionism and dogmatism are two main dangers in the international communist movement. Of the two, revisionism constitutes the main danger today. In this connection, it is also to be borne in mind that although Trotskyism is practically a dead force politically the trend of Trotskyism and the Trotskite bent of mind is still working through sectarianism, clique, coterie and conspiratorial activity in the communist movement.

It is our fervent appeal to the communists of this

Procurement Target of Rice lowered

Union Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation, Mr. Jagjivan Ram at a crowded press conference after the cabinet meeting at Delhi on September 29th said that the procurement target in the case of rice had been fixed at Rs. 4'635 million tonnes instead of 5'3 million tonnes as recommend by APC.

But the government expects a bumper crop this year. Mr. Jagjivan Ram reiterated at Calcutta on 30th September that the crop position in the country was very good. Mr. Subramaniam said at Delhi on September 30th that a bumper kharif harvest was expected this year.

"Then way the lowering of the target? An increase of the target would have been more logical. Will not the black-marketeers, hoarders, profiteers have a field day by this decision?" —is what the people have started to ponder.

country and abroad to go through these analyses of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our beloved leader and teacher very seriously, initiate a serious discussion involving not only the class but also the masses with a view to removing the present confusions that have led to the weakening and even splitting up of the socialist camp. Only by this, we can show our deepest respect as communists to the first socialist revolution, i.e. November Revolution in Russia, restore unity in the communist camp and make serious strides towards the complete victory of world revolution.

Long Live Revolution!
Long Live November Revolution in Russia!!