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Clarion Call of 24 April

We are going to observe the 55th foundation day of the party on the 24th April, 2003. In commemorating this great occasion, like in the previous years, the party will undertake this year also a widespread campaign to imbibe and spread the invaluable teachings of our most beloved leader, teacher and founder and the foremost Marxist thinker of the era Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

On this occasion, I want to call your attention to certain features of our party. They are essentially the common features of all Leninist parties. But at the same time, they were developed to a new height

NIHAR MUKHERJEE
General Secretary, SUCI

by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in course of his struggle to build up our party as an integral part of the international communist movement in the post-war period.

The all-embracing struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to imbue the leaders and cadres of the party with the Leninist spirit of internationalism, the spirit of complete solidarity with the international communist movement and of fully discharging our party's obligation to it, without ever following it blindly and mechanically,

was bound up with his struggle to pave the way for the emergence of the party in 1948. Lenin built and nurtured the Bolshevik Party in course of his struggle against social democratic influence not only in Russia but also within the Second International. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also, as the worthy disciple of Lenin, reared and developed our party in course of his struggle against the social-democratic CPI as well as for eradicating the serious shortcomings within the then world communist movement. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh profoundly studied and assimilated the historic lessons of communist movement from the urge of organizing the Indian revolution, and the SUCI, as the instrument of it. For this reason, the historic limitations and serious weaknesses of the communist movement of his time did not escape his notice. Learning from these positive and negative experiences, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh undertook to build up our party, following the Leninist model and applying it creatively. It was in the course of applying the Leninist party concepts consistently and concretely in the then concrete situation that he also elaborated and developed them further. Thus, as a worthy disciple of Lenin, he brought the understanding of the Leninist party concepts to a greater height in the context of the newer complexities of life and

SUCI Condemns Occupation of Iraq and Hails Iraqi People's Resistance

Strongly condemning the occupation of Baghdad and some other parts of Iraq that occurred on the 9th of April, 2003 by the US-UK imperialist invaders, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI) issued the following statement on 11 April, 2003 :

"It is a matter of deep shock and indignation that the US-UK imperialist invaders being armed with most sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, trampling down strongest ever world public opinion against invasion of Iraq and in blatant violation of all international laws, the UN charter and the expressed opinion of the Security Council of the UNO, on the 9th of April, breaking stiff resistance of the brave patriotic Iraqi people, succeeded to enter into Baghdad and for the time being, took occupation of it after perpetrating unspeakable brutalities upon the people of Iraq who, fighting it alone against many odds, continued for long twenty-one days their heroic resistance struggle against the invaders. On behalf of the Central Committee of our party, we salute the brave fighters and the heroic people of Iraq for waging in an undaunted manner this just patriotic war against these most ferocious fascist imperialist forces of our time. Our party strongly feels that this heroic battle will surely embolden the people of the whole world to rise up in revolt against the hegemonism and overlordism of the US imperialists and thereby add a glorious new chapter in the history of anti-imperialist struggle.

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A section of the massive anti-war rally in Dhaka, Bangladesh on 2nd April, 2003

Medical Bulletin Concerning Comrade Ashutosh Banerji

Comrade Ashutosh Banerji, Central Committee member of our party, was admitted in Calcutta Heart Clinic & Hospital in ICCU on 18.3.2003 suffering from complicated pneumonitis with jaundice. His treatment started by a team of doctors of Calcutta Heart Clinic & Hospital under the direct supervision of eminent medical specialists, namely, Prof. N. K. Mazumder, Prof. S. C. Dey, Dr. Sushrut Bandyopadhyay, Dr. Partha Bhattacharjee, Dr. Sanjoy Ghosh, Dr. Sunanda Adhikary and others.

Initially, Comrade Banerji, due to breathing distress, needed artificial respiratory support. Within a few days he showed definite improvement and his respiratory support was withdrawn. But on and from 29th March his breathing distress again appeared. Suddenly it took acute turn from 31st March night. On 1st April morning he was shifted to 'Suraksha' hospital in a very critical condition and was kept under ventilation support. As of this date, Comrade Banerji is still on ventilation support. His condition is highly critical.

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acute intensification of the class struggle in the post-war world.

It is in this context, by grasping the issues brought to the fore in the ideological domain of the world communist movement that our party, SUCI, grew up. What were these issues?

Firstly, although it is a fact that bourgeois humanism had been playing a progressive role and sometimes had even acted in the favour of proletarian revolution, as against feudal oppression and imperialist exploitation, e.g., in the Russian and the Chinese revolution, but in the post-Second World War world situation it had become historically exhausted giving birth to bourgeois individualism, ego-centrism and groupism. It was, therefore, vitally necessary to completely eradicate within the party for moulding the communist character and culture. When Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that "Communism begins where humanism ends" and that, "Only on the ashes of humanist moral values can communist moral values grow and prosper", he laid the philosophical basis for this very inner party struggle.

Secondly, he also showed that, "Up till now, only they were considered to be the real communists who were ready to surrender unconditionally and happily the individual interest to social interest, place the cause of revolution and party above all and subordinate individual interest to the cause of revolution and party.... But this cannot be considered as the adequate standard for the leading communists in the context of newer complexities of present day life." Comrade Shibdas Ghosh realized that in view of the intensified attack of bourgeois individualism on the working class party today, only those should be considered as good communists who have not only surrendered but completely identified their personal interests with the interest of revolution and the party. Those who could

Clarion Call of 24 April

not succeed in this struggle, but nevertheless surrendered their personal interest to that of the party, shall remain as ordinary communists.

In the background of the host of confusion in most of the communist parties over the correct appraisal of humanist vis-a-vis communist moral values, of communist culture and communist character it is not difficult to understand the significance of these teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Indeed, the real strength and distinct character of our party lies in struggle for moulding the culture and character of its members according to these concepts. The ideological centralism of our party based on Marxism-Leninism emerged through this struggle. On this basis, grew also the organizational centralism of the party as an integral product of the same collective struggle, the guarantee of success of which lay in following the collective way of existence. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh laid utmost stress on this struggle from the very formative period of the party itself. "Constant common activity, constant common discussion and constant common association," came to be established in this way as the norm in our party. But this collective mode of existence could not have been established in the party if it was not based on the two Leninist concepts further developed and enriched by Comrade Ghosh to a new height, which I have already mentioned.

Only after conducting this intense socialist ideological struggle for a fairly long time through different periods since 1945, giving the greatest attention and care to develop to a certain level the ideological consciousness of the comrades, did Comrade Shibdas Ghosh found our party in 1948.

Why did he take the long time and the great caution to give shape to our party, as unexampled in the

history of the communist movement? I have already explained that his entire method of party building shows how profoundly he studied the developments in both national and international spheres. As the builder of an internationalist proletarian party, he could not fail to notice the serious weaknesses in the international communist movement and take precautions not to repeat the same mistakes. It is not accidental therefore that immediately after the party was founded in 1948, he observed in the article *Self Criticism of the Communist Camp*, that: "While acknowledging with just pride and deference the very many achievements and successes of the world communist movement, we have not failed, even for a moment, to point out the serious shortcomings in it. ... These serious shortcomings and defects are largely due to the fact that the present leadership of the world communist movement is, to a very large extent, influenced by mechanical process of thinking."

The tireless efforts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to equip the party theoretically on all questions and to continuously raise the level of ideological consciousness of all its leaders and cadres find their true meaning in the context of this observation of 1948. This explains the great emphasis laid by him till his last day upon ceaselessly sharpening the communist consciousness.

This explains his brilliant realization that by saying that "There can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory", "Lenin ... actually meant a complete epistemological category ... by dialectically coordinating the understanding and experiences of different branches of knowledge including science and covering all aspects of life." It is for this reason that, in course of this struggle to raise the ideological level of

the party, he himself emerged as its thinker and made such profound contributions to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

Already, in the same article of 1948 itself he had showed the danger of minimizing the importance of ideological education of the party. "So far, the communists of different countries mostly stressed one-sided routine work of organization without showing any regard to coordinating it with questions of ideology."

Comrade Ghosh repeatedly dwelt upon this vital aspect of integrating practice with theory within the party life. He observed in *Why SUCI is the only genuine Communist Party in India*, for example, that, "Revolutionary politics is itself an all-embracing struggle which grows only by integrating political, economic, social and cultural movements. It is possible to conduct the proletarian revolutionary movement correctly only when we can achieve this integration. Otherwise, despite hundreds of militant struggles the emergence of the political power of the workers and the peasants and the growth of people's own revolutionary organizations, the instruments of struggle, cannot be built up."

Such is the imperative necessity of continuously coordinating the practical and theoretical struggles of the party that failure in it will retard not the development only of the revolutionaries but most significantly, of the entire revolutionary movement. It is a fundamental teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

So he said, in the same discussion, that, "While the struggle to develop democratic centralism is a real struggle to build a genuine communist party, so also the struggle to protect it as the apple of one's eye is the actual struggle to save the party from the danger of revisionism and sectarianism."

Giving a most precise

exposition of the essential ingredients that actually help emerge democratic centralism in the party life, he said that, "If we can dissect democratic centralism, as is done in anatomy, we shall have two parts — ideological centralism and organizational centralism. This ideological centralism grows out of the struggle to develop one process of thinking, uniformity of thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and dialectical materialism not only on the economic and political questions but on all questions covering all aspects of life."

It is relevant that this particular understanding, which is not only a concretization but also an elaboration and enrichment of the original Leninist concept, grew in Comrade Ghosh from his experience of building our party. More correctly, this enriched understanding was the result of a definite process of party building which he adopted from the very outset, learning from the aforementioned experience of the world communist movement, and hence his profound emphasis on developing the ideological centralism of the party "Covering all aspects of life."

This emphasis on ideology is further evident when he says that, "When a party through such an all out struggle has been able to develop this ideological centralism, then and then only can it be said that the principle of proletarian democracy is operative inside the party."

The overriding importance of the ideological struggle in Comrade Ghosh's conception of a genuine communist party is more clear in the next sentence:

"When organizational centralism is built up on the basis of this ideological centralism which makes the principle of proletarian democracy effective, it gives the real structural

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Precision bombing on freedom of the media !

They flouted all international norms and laws, disdained world opinion, bypassed UNO and violated all accepted conventions in invading Iraq. They posed themselves as liberators but took every care to ensure that their variety of liberation does not get exposed to the world. On the other hand, the world should know only their account of the story.

So they planned everything in advance. 2500 media persons including 500 embedded journalists were permitted to report their military assault from the front. The embedded newsmen were correspondents from US electronic media like CNN, BBC, Fox etc., travelling with invading army. Apart from normal briefing by US defence and military heads from Pentagon, a special news centre was constructed at Doha, Qatar, where the US-UK warlords fed the media on the condition that no question would be asked about the casualties suffered by the invading troops or future strategy of the aggressors. Also forbidden was any curiosity over the military assault. So there was perfect 'censorship' imposed by the so-called votaries of freedom of Press and speech. And so the

pital buildings revealed to the world the kind of deliverance the most ferocious fascist force of our time was doling out to innocent Iraqis.

Added to this were the concoctions unraveled. US media reported killing of Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister. But the 'killed' minister appeared on Iraqi TV next day. CNN reported the news of Saddam's extermination with such fanfare that Saddam was seen confabulating with his colleagues next hour. News of defection of Saddam's cabinet members was spread with total enthusiasm but within hours the Iraqi TV zeroed in on their smiling faces. British commanders announced taking one of the top Iraqi Generals into captivity. Next morning, the same Iraqi General appeared before Arab channels to express surprise at his being in the safe haven of coalition prison.

This enraged the invading coalition to the core and the target of their tank was focussed on these recalcitrant and erring newsmen staying at Palestine Hotel in Baghdad. The firing killed Taras Protsyuk, a Reuters cameraman and Jose Conso of Spain's Telecinco. Alongside, the Al-Jazeera's office in a civilian locality was precisely targeted and bombed to kill Tareq Ayyoub, a Jordanian reporter. Considerable damage was caused to the network set up in either place.

This gory parade was preceded by the incident of sacking of Peter Arnett,

NBC correspondent whose 'folly' was to give an interview to the Iraqi channel where he doubted the intention of US behind the unilateral war. "America does not want credible news organizations reporting from here because it presents them with enormous problems", said Arnett. It may be recalled that Harrison Salesbury, the famous New York Times correspondent, was accused of treachery, denounced and castigated by the then US administration when he bravely unmasked the war-crimes in Vietnam showing how occupying US troops were butchering innocent Vietnamese and using all kinds of chemical weapons

to annihilate the populace. "During war", said Salesbury, "any journalist who fails to dress up as a patriot, would meet with such fate as of mine." American journalist John MacArthur went further to add that US administration had lied so much during Vietnam War that no journalist having minimum self-respect, would ever trust any official version of the activities of American army.

And this obfuscation of truth

continues in commenting over the incident of attack on journalists at Palestine Hotel. While the US administration declared that the attack was in retaliation to a sniper fire from the hotel, eye witnesses refused to buy the argument. "I did not hear any shots in the direction of the tanks", said Herve de Puoq of French Channel-3. "It was not a case of instinctive firing", observed Caroline Sinz of the same channel, "I am very specific". Thomas Alcoverro of Spanish daily La Vanguardia was furious.

"When will the Americans stop this nonsense? ... Even assuming there was a sniper, is this a reason to shell a building housing journalists?" According to Mustafa Bakri, editor-in-chief of Egypt's Al-Osboa weekly, the firing was a "precursor to more ugly US crimes" and an attempt to scare foreign reporters into leaving Baghdad. One more incident of gagging the truth. US mariners arrested and tortured two non-embedded reporters — Luis Castro and Victor Silva with the RTP Portuguese TV, covering the war, though possessing proper 'unilateral journalist' accreditation issued by Coalition Forces Central Command. The reporters were beaten and kept without food and water for four days before being 'escorted' into Kuwait. Said Castro in an interview with Arab News 'I have covered ten wars ... I have been arrested three times in Africa, but have never been subjected to such treatment or been physically beaten before.' He further mentioned, 'Embedded journalists are always escorted by military minders. What they write is controlled and, through them military feeds its version of facts to the world. When independent journalists such as us come around, we pose a threat because they cannot control what we write.' (*The Statesman*, 4 April, 2003)

Gunter Grass, the celebrated litterateur observed, "USA is behaving more and more like a war criminal.... The Americans will win the war but true losers will be in USA because the country has lost a considerable part of its reputation."

And in USA, Al-Jazeera and other Arab channels have been blocked lest American people should see the extent of brutality unleashed on the civilian population and other notorious activities of the



Treating the POWs — the US way

'obedient' media went on printing 'tutored' coverage of the war which only highlighted advance of the occupying forces, tame surrenders of Iraqis and fall of Iraqi regime. At best these were reportings of minimal loss to the aggressors and that too due to 'friendly fire' and 'misdirected missile'.

Unfortunately for them, all could not be hidden. A number of Arab channels like Al Jazeera released footages of the brutality unleashed. Systematic bombing of civilian targets killing thousands of innocent citizens, the charred corpses, the bleeding and screaming of the wounded, close-ups of the shrivelled children, damaged hos-



Beastly savagery blazed wild

occupation army. Even the Indian news channels with one or two exceptions here and there, have borrowed footage or feeds from the regimented US media to keep the Indian masses away from reality and swallow the version tailored by US imperialists. Had the government gone ahead with foreign capital participation in the news media, perhaps the entire coverage on national media would have seen a replica of US manufacture.

This is how the US administration, the so-called votaries of the freedom of press, is on the one hand trying to muzzle the media through terror, threat and intimidation and simultaneously conspiring to obliterate the truth through indirect censorship, 'embedded' journalism, doctored news broadcast and repeat of distorted information. But the awakened conscience of the democratic people have not been allowing the fascist US rulers to take it for granted. "Give us the truth" has been the demand of thousands of peace-loving US citizens who took to the streets of New York and halted the traffic by lying in the middle. This demand should get reverberated at each and every corner of the world. Truth can never remain shrouded for long. Truth shall ultimately prevail.

Anti-War Citizens' Convention in Kolkata**AIAIF urges boycott of Anglo-US products like Pepsi-Coca Cola**

The West Bengal State Committee of the All India Anti Imperialist Forum held a massive convention on 8 April last at the University Institute Hall, Kolkata to organise a people's opinion in favour of boycotting US and British commodities in the background of Anglo-US imperialist attack on the people of Iraq.

The convention was presided over by Prof. Sunanda Sanyal, the President of the West Bengal State Committee of the AIAIF. Among the speakers were: Prof. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta and General Secretary of the AIAIF, Provas Ghosh, member of the Central Committee, SUCI, Prof. Sujay Bose, Santosh Rana, CPI(ML), Ashim Chatterjee, CRLI, Subrata Bose, COI(ML), Kalipada Ghosh, Bolshevik Party, Avijit Majumder, CPI(ML), Pradip Banerjee, CPI(ML) Unity Initiative, Justice Abani Mohan Sinha, Rudraprasad Sengupta, theatre personality, Swarup Dutta, film actor and social worker, Bibhas Roy, freedom fighter, Gitesh Sharma, journalist-writer, Imam Maulana Altaf Abbas Rizvy of Basrafi Maszid, Calcutta, journalist Sayed Ali and others. All the speakers were very critical of the US-British role in Iraq and appreciated the timely initiative of the AIAIF in launching a movement of "Boycott US-British goods".

We publish here a brief account of the speech delivered by Comrade Provas Ghosh in the convention. He said: It seems that the US imperialists attacked Iraq on March 20 last but in reality the attack has been continuing for the last 12 years. Economic sanction has crippled the country by cutting off supply of food and medicine to the common people. Out of a total population of 23.6 million, 1.5 million people have already lost their lives due to the sanctions, of which 0.8 million are babies and children. All these the US imperialists have done for the cause of "freedom and democracy". This time also the latest warheads are used to kill or maim thousands of innocent people.

The US-British imperialists have imposed the war with stupendous ferocity to stave off the severe economic crisis they face now due to the laws of market economy. Thus the Bush-Blair nexus is not the only offender for this unjust war. Capitalism, the market economy and the bourgeois parliamentary democracy should be held equally responsible for this crime against humanity. The market, which they

need to revitalise the crisis-ridden capitalist market economy, is simply lacking and is seized with severe depression. During last February-March, 4,67,000 workers lost their jobs in the United States and such mass scale retrenchment has now become the order of the day. The US itself is the largest debtor with the highest trade deficit in the world. So they need market and thus this war. Lenin said : Imperialism means war, aggression and loot of other countries. This was evident during the two world wars and now this war on Iraq. Stalin taught us that during this period of crisis they stress on war industries to sustain their economy. War helps them in stock-clearance of armaments and warheads — fresh requisitions are placed and the arms-industries get a boom. The US badly needs this. So the war is not for oil alone, though the US wants to secure its control over oil market in order to have domination over the countries depending on oil. The US has another agenda — the reconstruction of Iraq. The schools, colleges, hospitals, bridges and other infrastructures the army destroys by pounding tons of bombs. Those would be reconstructed, the US industries would get work-orders and money would be extracted from Iraqi oil industries. There would be a boom in the US economy in lieu of reconstruction in Iraq. Already a war has begun among the US industries for getting work-orders. A fresh contradiction has developed between the US on one side and the Britain and the other European countries on the other for the booty out of the Iraqi reconstruction.

Stalin observed that European imperialists would not let them be dominated by the US for long. Already the Franco-German imperialists have shown their opposition against the US-British design. This contradiction among the imperialists hangs around the shares of market. We can note here the role of the parliament, which the bourgeois media worldwide glorify for bourgeois democracy. In the

'citadels of democracy', the Great Britain and the United States, the Congress, Senate, House of Commons — all okayed the war-proposal. Thus the parliaments of these two countries are not the true representatives of their people because the people are not in favour of war. They are the mouthpieces of war-industries, monopoly capitalists and imperialists, not of the people any way. Nowhere in the world the parliamentary democracy represents the peoples' interest.

Today we see the people are up in arms against war round the globe

together with dictionary for coinage of suitable words so that the US is not antagonized but the peoples' anti-imperialist sentiment is also broadly satisfied. The left parties like the CPI(M) could have raised the demand to the Indian government to sever its diplomatic, trade and other relations with the US and Britain. They failed to do this. For, they themselves, it appears, are not in favour of this. We requested the CC and the WB State Committee of the CPI(M) to launch a joint movement appealing to the people to boycott the US-British commodities. They informed the press that their politbureau would sit together on 15 April, the day when probably the need for launching such movement would be exhausted. Thus the CPI(M), like the ruling bourgeois parties, play



Eminent speakers are seen on the dais of Citizens' Convention at Kolkata on 8 April, 2003 organized by All India Anti-Imperialist Forum

— such response was not observed even during Vietnam war. It is truly historic. However, the protest is spontaneous, sporadic and unorganised. A genuine revolutionary leadership was needed to properly guide all these movements. If it were so, the dimension of the movement would have been changed. If the Soviet Union and the socialist camp were present, if China were guided by the revolutionary ideology of the great Mao Ze-dong, these protest movements would have moved towards logical culmination.

Intellectuals, here and abroad, who exulted at the fall of Soviet and the East European Socialist countries, and welcomed the US as the 'saviour of democracy' and 'messiah of free world', now observe its role.

We observe the role of the Indian ruling parties, which refuse to adopt any bold stand against the war. In the parliament, the ruling NDA and the Opposition sit

'responsible' role of wooing the national and foreign capitals... So they duck their responsibility by holding merely some anti-war marches or conventions.

Today, armed with the most modern weapons, the USA may occupy Iraq, but they cannot conquer the minds of the Iraqi people. Fight for freedom of the Iraqi people would continue for long — probably there would be another Vietnam. The US-British imperialists would create more and more Iraqs and it is imperative on us to organise powerful and protracted struggle. So long capitalism-imperialism would last, war and devastations would recur — we have to prepare ourselves for that. ...the call for boycott of the US-British commodities is a token of protest. All the people would voice their protest by responding to the call. I appeal to you to make a success of the movement and prepare yourselves for a more intensive one.

Invasion of Iraq and After

The contradiction between the USA and the European countries including even Britain about who would have the principal role in the administration and reconstruction of war ravaged Iraq has already come to the fore. Bush has already said clearly that it would not be UNO but the USA that would have the dominant role in rebuilding Iraq after occupation. On the other hand, not only the governments of France, Germany and Russia but even Britain, the co-invader, are strongly arguing in favour of UN supervision as well as the UN shouldering the major responsibility in this regard.

It goes without saying that what lurks behind this tug of war is the competitive urge for making super profit. If the reconstruction takes place under the aegis of US, the entire profit will be pocketed by the US contractors. The others would either stand totally deprived or would have to remain content with some crumbs. But if UNO takes over, the others would expect their shares to be higher. That is why, even the British administration, though a partner in the invasion, is so keen to entrust the job to the UNO.

After a lot of persuasion and debate as to who would reap the maximum benefit from rebuilding of Iraq, Bush in the last Hillsborough meeting came down to agreeing to the UNO's taking an "important" role. But no one knows what that "important" role would mean. Bush says UNO would discharge an "important" role in 'supply of food and medicines and distribution of relief'. It means the US dominance in other areas and the US administration taking

control of reconstruction that would entail an expenditure of billions of dollars. It is also being aired that those who opposed the Iraq invasion would not receive any contracts.

US giant corporates already have fingers in the pie

In fact, Bush administration has no other alternative. Every step of theirs would need an okay from the US corporates. Not only US, the ruling parties of all imperialist countries, reeling under severe economic crisis, are now engaged in trying to snatch a share of the booty to serve the interest of the respective corporate houses and that has given rise to serious conflicts among them. This has nothing to do with the interest of the common people. All these parties have been saddled in power under the patronage of these corporate houses. Their survival also depends on this corporate sponsorship. But before this wrangle could be sorted out, five major US corporates have already been awarded contracts of reconstruction worth 60

billion dollars. These five companies together have contributed around \$30 bn to the funds of US parties in the last three years, with the lion's share going to Bush's republican Party. (Source : *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 4-4-03)

Inner Contradiction of Imperialist Camp

Imperialist powers like

Imperialist Design

Our party, in the Plenum held in 1995, had, based on the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, shown that following the disappearance of the socialist camp after dismantling of the USSR, the world situation had tilted towards war and the power of resistance to imperialist war machination had

through installation of a puppet government.

Even if it is attempted to temporarily resolve the endemic conflict among the imperialist powers, through a victory of a barbarous force in an unjust war, the conflict does remain. The basic contradiction giving rise to such conflict gets further intensified with the accentuation of the crisis. The truce and patchwork after a particular war cannot



Anti-war rally at Ernakulam organized jointly by All India Anti-Imperialist Forum and Janakiya Pratirodha Samity. Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer seen inaugurating the programme

France, Germany and Russia are opposing the invasion purely from their respective imperialist interests. After occupation of Iraq by the US-UK brigands, the European governments are also trying to secure berths for their own corporates in this multi-billion dollar contract spree. The main aim of France, Germany and Russia is to grab a portion of the plunder through a politics of dialogue and bargaining. So whatever might have been the extent of their opposition to the invasion at the initial stage, with the first phase of war being over, they are switching to different tunes. 'It was essential to change the regime in Iraq', has said the German foreign minister. 'In order to bring stability to the Middle East, it is required to collaborate with USA through UNO', has been the comment of the French prime minister. 'Russia will be harmed if US loses Iraq war' the Russian prime minister has observed. With all these utterances they are in fact endorsing the barbarism of Bush administration.

weakened. In fact, there has been no gap in the escalated tension, hostility and skirmishes round the globe after the 1991 Gulf War. In order to get rid of the acute economic crisis, the imperialist powers are trying to encroach upon each other's spheres of influence. Marx had explained long ago that capital, in the interest of extracting maximum profit, does not only establish bases in other countries but also makes repeated attempts to deprive the capital of other countries of exploitation of the source of raw materials. The very urge of US imperialism to capture the oil resources of Middle East countries including Iraq to dominate the world oil market depriving the other imperialist powers like France, Germany and Russia reconfirms the correctness of Marx's analysis.

The Iraq episode has clearly revealed that USA, by raising the bogey of weapons of mass destruction allegedly stockpiled by Saddam, was in reality aiming at a change of regime in Baghdad and establishing its control

prevent recurrence of war.

Imperialism generates war

The First World War followed from the contradiction among the imperialist countries for extending their respective colonial territories. After defeat of Ottoman Turkey regime at the hands of British-US-French imperialist combine, Iraq came in the clutches of British imperialism. Britain had eyes on Iraq's oil riches. But despite being partners of the victorious allies in the Second World War, French and British domination over the world eroded considerably. In the competition, they could not cope up with the superior US mass production technology. So, US imperialism shot to the leadership of the imperialist pirates. At the US initiative, the imperialist countries of the world, in order to sustain their suzerainty over Middle East, forcibly evicted the Palestine Arabs and established Israel which they converted into a land of permanent unrest and provided lethal arms to the

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Naked Threat of US Fascists

There is no next list, they say — list of the countries to be hit next — but next in the list is already hinted at. Bush warns Damascus (Syria) to "co-operate", or else... US lackey UK also has "concerns about Syria". Meanwhile, Bush administration has issued a "blanket statement" to countries around the world that it would not tolerate terrorism and pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. And so all should capitulate to US fascist autocracy. Otherwise it would continue to "liberate" the 'recalcitrants' the Iraqi way. **Bush is on record to have already declared in no uncertain a term, "We will export death and violence to the four corners of the Earth, in defence of our great Nation"** (George W. Bush quoted by Bob Woodroff in his book, "Bush at war"). He, like despots of all ages, has not learnt from history which says it is the people, the invincible power of the people that have always pronounced the last word, not the threat and bluster of imperialist war mongers.

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shape to the principle of democratic centralism inside the party. And that is why Lenin said that democratic centralism could not be established only through the process of fusion of proletarian democracy and centralism.”

Undoubtedly, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh very well knew that in the course of the struggle to give birth to and develop further the collective knowledge of the party, ideological centralism and organizational centralism grow complementarily and reciprocally, growing out of the same struggle. Nevertheless, experience of the communist movement has shown not infrequently that unless a ceaseless struggle kept alive inside the party by not only the leaders but also the ordinary communists, to more and more intensify inner-party ideological struggle not on economic and political questions alone but on all questions covering all aspects of life, then the party becomes ideologically weak and mechanically centralized.

In the prevailing situation, in which the complexities of life are growing fast, class struggle is being more and more sharpened and intensified and revisionism, bourgeois humanism and individualism are sweeping, this possibility is more real. This is why, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh laid the overriding emphasis upon continuously consolidating the ideological centralism and the proletarian democracy of the party.

So he said : “The necessary condition for the operation of the proletarian democratic principle in a party can be guaranteed only when the level of consciousness of the party cadres has attained a minimum standard which enables all of them, or at least most of them, to express their thoughts in an articulate form, i.e., they are able to play an effective role through dialogue and discussions in the inner party polemics and ideological struggles. ...

Clarion Call of 24 April

Only after the attainment of such a standard, can the rank-and-file members play an effective role in the inner party polemics and ideological struggle and does the relationship between the leaders and the rank-and-file really assume a dialectical character.”

With what profound care and meticulous attention Comrade Shibdas Ghosh prepared the minds of the comrades ! A few words of his on conduction of study circles make it clear. “By inter-dialogues, by exchange of arguments, through the very style of putting questions and by bringing forward and highlighting the hidden questions we shall have to raise the level of discussion above stereotyped, bookish or academic discussions in order to raise the level of political consciousness of workers. Stereotyped or academic discussions were discarded by this party from the very inception. ... Formal pattern of discussion will not do. No critical and complex question can be thoroughly clarified treating in details through deliberations in the form of a speech. Let the comrades cross-argue. It is difficult to handle such discussion. The arguments of one comrade might overlap with those of the others. To conduct these there must be somebody present from the leadership. .. A man requires to be taught the faculty of speech. Those who never start can never learn. He who is not afraid of committing mistakes and starts with an honest desire picks up language, learns how to present his view points, learns how to pose critical questions, how to analyze things and cross-argue and one day attains the capacity of conducting polemical discussions in the correct way and guide it along the right track amidst a host of pointless discussion.

... That is why, the discussions and polemics of the workers are to be controlled, but not discouraged. ... By continuing to argue, the speech form will

develop, ideas will develop. ... If a compact idea is present at the outset, a mechanical bent of mind develops and even though one does not want to follow the authority blindly, one accepts an idea not through discussions and struggle but by being somewhat carried away by the force of argument presented. As a result one’s ability of critical judgement suffers and when he has to apply something independently or to appraise a new situation, invariably he commits mistakes and fails to judge correctly.”

A little careful observation is enough to make it clear that it was not only a discussion on how to run the study classes. It was also a lesson, especially meant for the party leaders, on how to treat the rank and file comrades with wisdom, tolerance and patience. It was a lesson on safeguarding the inner party proletarian democracy by means of raising the level of ideological consciousness of the entire party.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh considered the adequate level of ideological consciousness of the comrades exceptionally important. He himself said that, “In fact, the revolutionary consciousness, the constant upgrading of the ideological standard of the ordinary members of the party and the active discharge of the conscious communist role are, in the ultimate analysis, the real guarantee in the party against ideological error and deviations. To develop the ideological consciousness of party members as a whole it is incumbent on the leadership to instill in the rank and file the mind to judge every issue on the anvil of Marxism-Leninism, to impart the training to shun every form of fanaticism, including party fanaticism and to inculcate the spirit to rise against the leadership of the party, in case the leadership refuses to correct its mistakes though pointed out.”

All these understanding

of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has been tested in the last 55 years’ struggles which saw our party grow from a small group to its present stature, working in 20 states of India. The party has become now known for its distinct political role to revolutionary forces abroad as well. The situation today requires greater spread of the ideas of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, more and more intensification inner party ideological struggle, consolidation of democratic centralism of the party and the freest and widest functions of inner party democracy. Only in such an atmosphere can all the abilities and qualities of all comrades flourish and develop and they can grow as worthy disciples of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Only their conscious role in ensuring the full play of this lively inner party atmosphere of ideological struggle and their criticism of all sorts of departure from this struggle can ensure that.

This should be our resolve on the 55th Party Foundation Day.

AIDSO Joins Education Convention in Bangladesh

Socialist Students’ Front, students’ wing of Socialist Party of Bangladesh organized a National Education Convention in historic Paltan Maidan in Dhaka on and from 2nd April, 2003. All India Democratic Students’ Organization (AIDSO) was invited to attend this convention. A five member delegation led by Comrade Debasish Roy, General Secretary, AIDSO attended this historic meet. More than 5000 student delegates from 200 colleges and universities spread over 56 districts of Bangladesh attended the convention in which representatives from various Left students’ organizations presented their views.

In his speech at the first session, Comrade Debasish Roy elaborately dealt the menace of commercialization, privatization and

communalization of education in India. He said that the root cause of the problems and their nature traced by Indian students are very much akin to those of Bangladesh. Making a reference to the all-pervasive invasion of Iraq by US-UK warmongers, he condemned the atrocities unleashed by the invading armies on the Iraqi people. A mammoth anti-war rally followed the first session, under the banner of Socialist Party of Bangladesh. The rally paraded through the main thoroughfares of Dhaka.

The second session began with shouting of the slogans against anti-people education policy and imperialist war. Eminent intellectuals and professionals of Bangladesh as well as leaders of all Left political parties spoke on the issues. The ten-hour-and-a-

half long session came to an end with a thought provoking speech by Comrade Khalekujjaman, Convenor, SPB. He showed that root cause of various problems of education like shortening of academic session, scarcity of good teachers, abnormal fee-hike, etc., lies in the exploitative socio-economic structure of Bangladesh. He narrated his experience during the recent visit to Baghdad as a delegate to the ‘International Anti-war Convention’ and praised the role of patriotic Iraqi people who were preparing themselves against impending imperialist attack. The session concluded with formal announcement of the Central Committee of SSF. On behalf of All India DSO, Comrade Debasish Roy and the members of the delegation presented

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Inter-imperialist contradiction sharpens even after occupation of Iraq

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Zionist rulers. Thus they set Israel against Arab nationalism in Middle East. Though this served some of the imperialist interests, as a reaction, war generated heightened anti-imperialist feelings in the people of West Asia. This gave rise to Arab nationalism. Now the imperialists and the fundamentalists are out to prove that this anti-imperialist hatred is actually a rancour of Islamic world against the West so that the anti-imperialist mentality of the people could get diffused in sterile thoughts of fundamentalism. That the fundamentalist thinking is barren, unable to bring about a revolutionary change of the society, was reaffirmed at the end of the so-called Islamic revolution of Iran.

Dismantling of socialist camp — a severe blow

When the Egypt government, inspired by the wave of anti-imperialist Arab nationalist movement, nationalized Suez Canal in 1956, 12 years before expiry of the forcible possession in the garb of government lease, the British-French imperialists with the indirect support of US imperialism, threatened Egypt with attack.

Though by that time, the revisionists had come to power in the USSR after Stalin's demise, there was still significant influence of Stalin's thoughts in the Soviet foreign policy. The British-French imperialists

first mooted a proposal of international control over Suez through the UNO. But that was vetoed by the Soviet Union. Unsuccessful, the British-French combine instigated Israel to attack Egypt on the 30th October, 1956 and they themselves joined the fray next day bombing Cairo, Alexandria and Port Said. On 5th November the Soviet Union declared in no uncertain terms that it would militarily intervene to crush the invaders and preserve peace in the middle east. And this was not merely a statement on paper. Soviet leadership simultaneously ordered their naval fleet to move towards the area of conflict. Immediately, the British-French along with US imperialists retracted. US imperialism subsequently received a severe blow in Vietnam. The crushing defeat of sophisticated US army armed with napalm bombs and chemical weapons at the hands of Vietnam communists razed to the ground the myth about America's military might.

Unipolar world — unrestrained imperialist onslaught

The US imperialism heaved a sigh of relief when in the subsequent period, taking full advantage of the weakness and compromises of the revisionist Soviet leadership, the US imperialists and the counter-revolutionary Gorbachev clique succeeded in dismantling the Soviet Union and other socialist

states of East Europe in 1991. Despite many a weakness and revisionist distortion, whatever little role the socialist bloc had in maintaining balance of international power and resisting war, also ended following eclipse of the socialist camp. This provoked the US imperialist government to once again make desperate attempts to generate war to stem the acute economic crisis. The two major industries on which the US still exercises global control are oil and arms. The main sources of power in the post-Second World War period is oil. US oil majors like Exxon, Mobile, Chevron, Texas and their British counterparts Shell, British Petroleum etc., control the major portion of international oil trade.

Control over oil imperative

The French and German imperialists know that international economy could to a great extent be controlled by manipulation of oil prices. France and Germany do not have any source of oil in their countries. French government managed to cast its influence over the Iranian oil taking the advantage of anti-American stand of Iran.

France has also made considerable investment in oil exploration in Iran on the basis of certain bilateral agreements with Iranian government. Germany too has investments in oil business of Middle East including Iraq. Russia is still grappling with its problem of industrial production and hence the chief source of its revenue today is the sale of oil produced indigenously. In such a situation, if US government succeeds in capturing the oil fields of Iraq, second largest in the world, then it would command the international oil market and manipulate oil prices to its advantage much to the detriment of the interest of French and German imperialists.

This fear of losing grip over oil trade has pushed Germany, France and Russia to an "anti-war" stance on Iraq. All these imperialist powers were partners in US attack on Iraq in 1991. Russia too maintained silence in the UNO. The war planning of US for oil started long back. On 2nd October 1989, the National

administration would be in great trouble. Already, the countries of European Union like France and Germany have started mutual trading in Euro in place of dollar posing a challenge to US. With Iraq transacting its international oil trade in Deutsch Mark, the US is threatened further.



Protest against invasion of Iraq by US-UK in Chennai on 25 March, 2003 organized jointly by Central Trade Unions

Security Directive 26 of US government said, "Access to Persian gulf oil and the security of key friendly states in the area are vital to US national security. The United States is committed to defend its vital interests in the region, if necessary and appropriate through the use of military force." Within two years, on the plea of providing security to Kuwait, the US led the invasion of Iraq and afterwards imposed economic sanctions on Iraq and established military base in Kuwait for "ensuring security". But within a few years a move of Iraqi regime caused considerable concern to US government. In continuity with the German collaboration in oil, Iraq in 1995, switched over to Deutsch Mark in all its transactions in oil trade.

Since dollar happens to be the main currency in international oil trade, the US government derives many advantages for both its national economy as well as international trade. For example, a major chunk of the sale proceeds of Iranian oil is kept as dollar deposits in US Banks. If Iran withdraws these deposits, the US economy would face disaster. If dollar ceases to be the principal currency in

Alongside, the US economy has plunged into a deep crisis and unemployment soared to a new height giving rise to anti-globalization, anti-unemployment movements inside the country. All this compelled US government to invade Iraq risking isolation at international level.

Post-aggression sharpening of Imperialist contradiction

In the post-invasion scenario, though it appears that the conflict between US imperialism and imperialist France-Germany-Russia is getting minimized with the European countries compromising with the USA for having a share in the booty, it is not so in reality. The countries which were defeated in the First World War that took place over grabbing of international market and colonies, were no doubt, forced to make humiliating compromises. But they did not continue like that for long. After reorganizing and strengthening their military machines, they again jumped into war. Within 50 years of creation of UNO after the Second World War, establishment of dollar-

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Comrade K. Radhakrishna, Secretary, Karnataka State Committee, SUCI addressing at anti-war rally at Mysore Bank Circle, Bangalore

Invasion of Iraq and After

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empire as against earlier dominance of pound-sterling in the international trade and tying up Germany and Japan to USA through economic and military treaties, the situation has changed to a considerable extent. Immediately after Second World War, Stalin had warned that Germany and Japan would not remain under the jackboot of American imperialism for long. This observation of him from a profound understanding of Marxist theory of dialectics, has come true. The contradiction among US imperialism, Japanese imperialism and European imperialism led by Germany has now intensified tremendously. There is a contradiction between Britain and France-Germany over the question of dominance in European Union as well. Also, there exists a contradiction between France and Germany. Though Britain has been an ally of US in Iraq invasion, the British foreign minister met his German counterpart the other day to explore the possibility of a military collaboration. It goes without saying that post-Iraq invasion, all these imperialist forces are meeting to divide the pie among themselves, or to create pressures and counter-pressures, are in fact having daggers hidden up in their sleeves. In the course of confabulations and discussions among the imperialist forces in the background of collusion and contention, scope for compromise had ended at one stage with the outbreak of the present war. So the hostility would not end with the fall of Saddam. The US administration has already announced a list of 50 countries inimical to its interest and is threatening everyone to draw lesson from the Iraq episode. There is no sign of let up in the recession in US economy even after the occupation of Iraq. The share market index is plummeting. The budget

deficit is mounting high. So to stave off the crisis, the US war machination would continue.

People's power — sole deterrent to war machination

In such an international milieu, the people of every country would have to come forward in denouncement of war and compel the respective governments to adopt a bold anti-war stand. The people of India would also have to force the Indian government under pressure of movement to sever all diplomatic, economic and military ties with US administration. It is indeed painful that since the so-called big Left parties are pursuing a pro-capitalist vote-catching politics, the immense possibility of building up of a massive united anti-war movement all over the country and particularly in West Bengal could not materialize besides organizing a few demonstrations and meetings here and there. On behalf of our party, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary wrote to all Left and democratic parties at national level calling for a united movement against the barbarous attack of US-UK alliance on Iraq. But the response was lukewarm, particularly the Left parties like CPI(M) and CPI did not respond favourably. We once again want to reiterate that war cannot be resisted through compromise with imperialist capital. The way the vast peace-loving people of the world including the US citizens have come out to voice protest against US

invasion of Iraq has no parallel in history. Everywhere, people have burst into anger and hatred against US design. Most of the governments of Arab countries who supported the 1991 Gulf War of US, have this time opposed the attack on Iraq. One of the principal reasons behind this opposition is of course their own interest in oil trade on which they do not want the US to have stranglehold. Over and above, there is a tremendous pressure of anti-war sentiment of people worldwide including Arab people. Irrespective of caste, religion, origin, everyone has openly accused Bush-Blair as war criminals. Under the smokescreen of globalization and sugar-coated vocabulary of democracy, the naked greed of territorial occupation of other countries and barbarism of imperialist power has been laid bare. From this perspective, the bloodshed of the heroic Iraqi people has not gone in vain. In every country, anti-imperialist fora need to be created to give an organized shape to the movements against imperialist war machinations and these need to be properly coordinated to build up worldwide organized struggle. This was the call given from the dais of Anti-Imperialist Convention held in Calcutta in 1995 at the call of the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI) where many foreign delegates were present. No doubt, the march of millions against war is a formidable power. But what is imperative is to have a correct political

SUCI Hails

Iraqi People's Resistance

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The Central Committee of our party is convinced that sporadic occupation of some land here and there by the imperialists using brutal force and lethal weapons in no way means that the fire of freedom, patriotism and the spirit of resistance of the Iraqi people has extinguished for ever or that the imperialists have succeeded in subduing the freedom-loving people of Iraq. On the contrary, our party strongly believes that the heroic resistance movement of the people of Iraq in defence of their motherland and their sovereignty against the fascist Anglo-US invaders will soon transform itself into a most powerful freedom movement and in no time will succeed in driving out the imperialist invaders from their soil.

We fervently call upon the anti-imperialist freedom-loving people of our country and of the whole world to firmly stand by the freedom fighters of Iraq in this hour of grim crisis in their lives, to regard their freedom struggle to be their own struggle and in this way to give birth to a powerful anti-imperialist movement which will virtually constitute a second front against the invaders.

Once again we call upon the people of the country to further intensify the movement to boycott Anglo-American goods so as bring forth stronger pressure upon imperialists to quit Iraq at once."

Education Convention in Bangladesh

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mementos, books and other gifts to the newly elected office-bearers of SSF.

From 3-9 April, SSF organized reception meetings and students' gatherings in Jahangir nagar University, Agricultural University of Mymensingh, University of Chitagaon and

leadership to guide this anti-imperialist, anti-war upsurge in the right direction. Otherwise, the inevitability of war cannot be eliminated once for all through overthrow of capitalism-imperialism.

Pheni, which were addressed by Comrade Debasish Roy. Comrades M. N. Sriram, Vice-president, Zubair Rabbani, Treasurer, Sajhar Khan, Secretariat member, Sangeeta Mishra, Council member of AIDS0 felicitation programme was held at Dhaka University on 9th April where the members of SSF and AIDS0 delegates had an emotional exchange of fraternal feelings and renewed their pledge to organize militant revolutionary students' movements on the edifice of higher ethical and cultural base in both the countries.



AIAP demonstration on 12-4-2003 before Kolkata Doordarshan Bhawan demanding ban on advertisement of Anglo-US Products

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