

# Proletarian Era

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## Politics and Economics of Sharing of Ganga Waters

Bangladesh and India have once more signed a treaty on the sharing of Ganga waters, this time with much fanfare. Different circles, both in India and across the border, have expressed diverse opinion for and against this agreement that have gone to create much confusion among the people. It is known to all that this issue had been kept pending for long, and the vested interests on either side worked on it to generate distrust and animosity between the brotherly peoples of the two countries. Since the problem of distribution of the Ganga waters

affects the interest of the common people of both countries very much, it is imperative that the issue be discussed from the point of view of people's interest of both India and Bangladesh.

If the treaty is really translated into action as per commitment then it seems that Bangladesh is going to gain in terms of quantum of water, judged in the background of what it has been receiving during the lean seasons in the post-1988 period. Under the new agreement, it is supposed to get a guaranteed 35,000 cusecs of water in alternate three 10-day cycles, an

amount greater by 500 cusecs compared to what it received when the earlier agreement was valid during 1977-88.

The agreement has been reached so smoothly and so quickly as if the draft had already been ready before the summit and was waiting for some mere formalities. It was preceded by only a few visits by the officers and ministers and it was signed within months of Sheikh Hasina assuming power. But the fact remains that the Bangladesh authorities had been trying in vain to come to an

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## Observe Birth Centenary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in Most Solemn and Befitting Manner

— Nihar Mukherjee

On the occasion of the birth centenary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose (January 1907 to January 1998), who symbolised the spirit of the most uncompromising trend of the anti-imperialist freedom struggle of our country and who stood out as a valiant fighter as against the compromising right-wing leadership of Gandhiji, we should constantly keep in our mind a few points.

It is a tragedy of history that the best and noblest sons of mankind, who enjoyed respect and reverence, also faced the saddest ordeals of denigration, vilification and persecution at the hands of the rulers and their cohorts in all countries, in all times. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has been no exception.

It is known to our countrymen, especially to those of the older generations, how shabbily Netaji had been treated

at several crucial hours of our freedom movement at the hands of the then right-wing leadership of the Congress led by Gandhiji. It is wellknown, too, how the cause of our freedom movement was betrayed and sacrificed by those who were known as communists and were represented by the then leadership of the CPI.

Had the CPI been a genuine communist party with a correct understanding of the character of the leadership of our freedom movement, which was 'reformist oppositional' — and had taken to the path of uniting and consolidating all the Left forces of the country, the cause which Netaji espoused so fervently, with the object of strengthening the anti-imperialist movement by all means while exposing and isolating the compromising

leadership from the masses, there was the real possibility of not only attaining independence from the yoke of imperialist domination but also of passing over at the same time to the stage of socialism, averting the capitalist path of development of society. That objective could not, however, be achieved mainly because of the absence of a genuine communist leadership in our country.

We note with agony and anguish that whereas the need of the hour today is to draw proper and correct lessons from the life-struggle of Netaji, the parliamentary parties of all hues, from the Congress(I) to the CPI(M), are shamelessly engaging in usurping the glory and heritage of this noble son in their respective petty political interest and using his name as a ploy to befool the people.

None of these parties, today,

their leaderships in particular, feels any qualm of conscience to admit the blunder committed in the past and the damage done to the cause of the people. The tactic resorted to by all of them is to drown the life-struggle and teachings of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the din and bustle, and in the glare and fanfare with extravaganza of both official and unofficial celebrations and keep the people in the dark, the new generation in particular.

Here is a deep conspiracy. In the annals of the revolutionary movement there is record of conspiracy to undermine and belittle the real revolutionary force through recourse by the vested interest to studied silence. Another method, which in the present case, is to turn this great occasion of the birth centenary of Netaji Subhas into a kind of

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## Sharing of Ganga Water

# Interests of Ruling Classes of Both Countries Converge

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agreement for the last 8 years ! Is it magic or is it something else that made the agreement possible so quickly after being elusive for 8 years ? And here the question creeps up as to what interests prompted both the sides, more particularly the Indian Government, to hurriedly reach the agreement.

If the issue was not complex really, why could not the agreement be arrived at earlier and had been kept pending for years together, causing so much hardship to the people of Bangladesh ? It may be mentioned that after the Farakka Barrage had been built, Bangladesh was pushed badly to depend solely on the Indian Government's attitude regarding the quantum of water to be released for Bangladesh. Therefore, it has been the Indian Government which has had the upper hand to decide whether to come to an agreement or not and to strictly adhere or not to the commitments made.

But the fact is that all along the Indian Government showed reluctance to renewing the earlier treaty which had expired in 1988 and to entering into a new one. As a result, Bangladesh and its people were so much hardpressed and so much starved of water during the past eight years that their plight is beyond description. Naturally, whatever additional cusecs of water will be made available to Bangladesh, as a consequence of the treaty, that will bring relief to them. Therefore, the treaty has been welcomed and greeted with high words of praise in a manner as though the agreement speaks of benevolence, if not greatness of the Indian leaders to redress the problem of scarcity of waters of Bangladesh. One point needs to be noted in this connection. River water being a resource of nature, any act preventing deliberately any country from getting even the minimum goes against all international canons and justice. In such cases the question of donor-receiver relationship cannot arise at all. But before going to take up the relevant aspects of this treaty we may take a look at the background of why and how the problem of scarcity of river waters has reached such dimensions in India even, leaving aside the issue with Bangladesh.

The present problem of scarcity of surface waters in India, Ganga waters included, has not come all of a sudden. It has its origin in the Indian Government's longterm failure to formulate, let alone implement, a national surface water policy commensurate with the growing needs of the country. Not only that. During the last 49 years since the transfer of power, the successive governments in New Delhi could not set up a central water management system. With whatever development of industry and agriculture was pursued for the growth of the capitalist economy, the demand for surface waters

mounted, which in turn led to indiscriminate use of river waters here and there in the absence of a national water policy. Therefore, in case of inter-state rivers also the problem of distribution of waters among the riparian states has been persisting since long. The ruling capitalist class and the parties in power never tried to develop a consensus among the states for equitable distribution of the waters of the national rivers. This allowed the jotedars and the owners of the big industries to exploit water at their will in the upstream states in particular. This unplanned, adhoc and sporadic use of water resources not only caused ecological imbalances but also created dissension and even animosity, engineered by the vested interests, among the people belonging to the states of upper and lower reaches. The dispute between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu regarding distribution of the Cauvery waters and that among Haryana and Punjab, etc., regarding the Beas waters are all but an inevitable consequence of this failure of the Central government. In fact, capitalism creates cleavage and disunity among the people by capitalising on this or that issue and so long capitalism will exist it will endeavour to perpetuate this.

The problem of distribution of water at Farakka cannot be understood correctly in isolation from the water problem in India. Geographically, Bangladesh is situated in the lowest catchment areas of the river systems, making it dependent for water on the countries of upper catchment areas.

Similarly, if the question of Ganga waters, in particular, is taken into consideration, it would have been necessary to adopt such a policy which could at least guarantee a minimal supply of water for the riparian states like UP, Bihar and West Bengal without discrimination. In the absence of a national and rational water policy, because of the advantageous positions of UP and Bihar, which are in the upper reaches and for many other factors, West Bengal has had to suffer. For this reason we find the problem of the Calcutta Port — silting up and drying of the river course started long ago. Since long the task of dredging the Calcutta Port has been neglected entirely. And, with silting allowed to go on unabated, the problem of navigability of the Calcutta Port has assumed serious dimensions. In such a situation the Farakka barrage was built in order to divert a large flow of water into the Bhagirathi-Hooghly course. Thus originated the problem of water of Bangladesh which has taken such a dimension at present. The Indian authorities built Farakka barrage unilaterally without considering the needs and rights of Bangladesh and trampling all international norms and laws. And the real problem surfaced since then. It has to be seriously taken into consideration that with the

failure to conserve rain water and the necessity of supply of water increasing in view of advancement of industry and agriculture, the crisis of supply of surface water in India, too, is not going to come to an end. Unless all possible measures are taken and an omnibus plan is drawn up immediately to augment water supply taking into consideration the necessity of Bangladesh simultaneously, the water problem is bound to surface again and again.

The present development where the Indian Government, which deprived Bangladesh so mercilessly of its legitimate share of waters, particularly since 1988, seems now suddenly to have come to its senses and also the claim that Bangladesh will get water in abundance and the Calcutta Port will not also suffer after the treaty, may appear baffling. Leaving aside the controversy over the quantum of waters the two countries will get, one thing is palpably clear : that this decision has been a political decision serving the interest of the Indian ruling class most and satisfying at the same time some compulsions of the Hasina-led Government of Bangladesh.

So far as the Bangladesh Government led by Sheikh Hasina is concerned, this treaty has strengthened its political position and refurbished its image because the treaty has come as a fulfilment of its pre-poll promise, whose time limit was January, 1997. Apart from the relief in terms of water the country is going to get, the specific timing of the agreement, coming as it does on the eve of the silver jubilee celebration of the independence of Bangladesh from Pakistani rulers in 1971, which is associated with the memory of late Sheikh Muzibur Rahaman, has added much to the emotional dimension.

So far as India is concerned, for the loosely knit 13-party combination of the UF Government, led by Deve Gowda, now ruling at the Centre, it is no mean an achievement, in its six months brief rule, to be able to sign an international agreement like the present one.

Deeper still, is the economic urge. It may be noted, even before this treaty India was having good trade in Bangladesh. But the urge for carrying out trade and commerce with Bangladesh on a larger scale has developed into a great necessity for India. However, the rulers of India are not unaware of the deep anti-India feelings prevailing among a large section of the people of Bangladesh, thanks to the overbearing attitude of the successive Governments in New Delhi. In the election campaigns in Bangladesh during these years, both the BNP and Awami League attempted to play on anti-India sentiments from time to time. It is not without reason and is not unknown to anybody. Although, during the freedom struggle of

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# People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization at Philippines

*[ The toiling and patriotic people of the Asia Pacific region organised People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalisation in Manila, Philippines from November 21 to 23 last. Comrade Ranjit Dhar represented the All India Anti-Imperialist Forum. The news of the Conference was covered in the previous issue of Proletarian Era. In this issue we are reproducing the paper presented by Comrade Dhar at the Conference.]*

Comrades and friends,

It is a privilege for me to speak at this gathering. The Filipino people have a glorious tradition of struggle against imperialism. We are aware how the present Government of Philippines is using repressive measures to stifle the popular protest against the APEC summit which portends a greater danger of imperialist menace in the region in the name of free trade and globalization. The people of India express their firm solidarity with the valiant fighters of Philippines against tyranny and oppression and greet them with red salute.

The collapse of socialism in erstwhile Soviet Union and the East European countries has emboldened the imperialists. Votaries of the capitalist system hail the recent events as signaling the end of the 'cold war era'; the world is said to become 'unipolar'; they try to make people believe in the 'theory' of permanent peace. It is being proclaimed that the creation of this 'peaceful' unipolar world is the gift of 'globalization' — in economy, trade and commerce, in communication-education, in culture-games-dance-music. The imperialist-capitalist mass media all over the world have taken up this issue and are assiduously projecting this theme. Apologists of the capitalist system assert that the present trend of globalization marks a new stage in history, opening the doors for the ultimate in human well being. They call it post imperialist era.

But what does this 'globalization' mean in practice? Has this improved the lot of the people? Has the level of exploitation gone down? Is the economy of the nations on the upswing? Has the danger of war receded in the background? The world situation is just the reverse. Under the slogan of globalization, liberalization and free market the imperialist countries are resorting to more and more ruthless economic, political, cultural and military onslaughts.

Globalization is supposed to mean a sustained growth on a global scale in economic activities comprising large-scale export and investment of finance capital, installation of huge production units and marketing of commodities cutting across all national borders. The modern high-tech satellite network of communication has become an integral part of international trade and commerce bringing in its wake large scale mobility of finance capital as never before. No doubt, such global activities are going on on a very large-scale now, but the trend is not all that new. A tendency of cosmopolitanism is inherent in capitalism and it became apparent ever since the concentration of capital started. We know that the fundamental contradiction in the capitalist economic system gives rise to periodic market crisis and forces the capitalists to seek fresh markets beyond the national frontiers. This is what gave birth to imperialism. Lenin through his incisive analysis showed that capitalism in its mature stage leads to "development and

acceleration of all kinds of intercourse between nations, breakdown of national barriers, creation of the unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science etc." The present phase of globalization that is being made much of as a new stage in history has come about in continuation of and through the development of the process of formation of giant monopoly capital, finance capital and export of capital that started long ago with the birth of imperialism. This is a manifestation of the struggle for survival of world capitalism in its third phase of intense crisis when even the relative stability which the capitalist market enjoyed prior to the Second World War has been lost. Tremendous technological advances has led to overproduction and resultant retrenchment, lay-off and industrial recession.

Although the debacle in Soviet Russia and East Europe has restored to the capitalist world a large chunk of the market which it had previously lost, this has failed to bring much relief, shattering all hopes of recovery. The growth rate of industrial production is falling in advanced capitalist countries like USA, Japan, Germany. Economic recession has become the order of the day. The imperialists have been persistently trying to tackle the basic problem of the absence of market for investment of accumulated surplus capital and of utilization of enhanced productive capacity by taking recourse to militarization of economy, export of finance capital to the developing countries and side by side with them, by raising trade barriers and other protective measures.

But all these exercises have proved to be futile and counterproductive or at best to be temporary palliatives and today in their desperate bid to avert the mounting crisis the imperialist countries are attempting to strike a deal for adopting some concrete measures to regulate trade and to redivide the market between themselves. This is what goes by the name of globalization to be ensured by GATT and its offspring WTO. These trade arrangements have a two-fold purpose; firstly to avoid frictions and irritations among capitalist countries in trade and commerce and introduce a 'managed' trade system all over the world, and secondly, to foster agreement and understanding among the imperialist powers on the division and redivision of the world market and to force the developing countries to open up their markets to the multinational and transnational corporations. In other words this is a crisis management bid on the one hand, and on the other is an attempt to appropriate the vast natural and human resources, including the scientific and technical manpower of the developing countries for superprofit of the MNCs and the TNCs.

But these regulatory measures are unable to touch, let alone solve the basic problems of excess productive capacity and of constantly accumulating surplus finance capital in the advanced capitalist countries. To cope with

problem of narrowing base and volume of production due to the absence of scope of investment and of utilization of surplus finance capital and excess productive capacity, the advanced capitalist countries took recourse to high-tech, capital-intensive, high-value production to reap fabulous profits. The cumulative results are increasing retrenchment, unprecedented recession, growing inflation, budgetary deficits and curtailment of social welfare schemes. The crisis is found to intensify with time.

On the other side, though the imperialists are talking of a global market and demolishing the barriers of free trade and commerce, they are themselves organizing sectarian regional markets like NAFTA, European Economic Union, ASEAN, APEC etc. While they pledge to adhere to GATT, each is sidelining the accord and using its own penal provisions to enforce its terms of trade on others. Rivalry between the capitalist-imperialist countries is on the increase, as manifested by trade wars and cut-throat competition to preserve and extend their respective markets and spheres of influence. Clashes between the big imperialist powers on trade issues have punctuated all stages of GATT negotiations. Whenever the national interests of the imperialist countries came in conflict with globalized arrangements, trade wars came out in the open, as has happened between USA and Japan, USA and Germany, USA and EU etc. It is to be borne in mind that monopoly capital, finance capital operate internationally, but they operate on the basis of national bourgeois interest of the country of its origin, with the respective subservient governments backing them up with state power. The wranglings of the GATT negotiations were not between rival monopoly combines but between powerful states serving their respective finance capital. It follows that the danger of imperialist war still remains inherent in the system. Those who assert that globalization will bring about permanent peace on the earth are blind to reality. Can we deny that the trade wars of today for a redivision of markets and extension of spheres of influence may under certain conditions erupt into hot war? As long as imperialism exists the danger of war remains real — Lenin's teaching is as valid today in the period of globalization as it was at the turn of the century.

And what does globalization portend for the developing countries? For them globalization means unrestricted entry of foreign capital and dumping of foreign goods, rapacious plunder of their natural and human resources, infiltration of rotten imperialist culture, and imperialist domination in all spheres of political and social life. Except for the lackeys of imperialism none can deny that for the third world countries the GATT, including the provisions of TRIPS, TRIMS and GATS, is an unequal treaty. On the plea of economic liberalization and free market economy with a level playing ground the imperialists are using GATT to demolish protective barriers of the national market to allow MNCs to freely exploit and plunder, while through subtle means protect their own markets

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# Resolve Ideological Differences Through Ideological Struggle to Forge Anti-Imperialist Front

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from each other. GATT forces the relatively backward countries into an unequal competition with the advanced countries and the formers are compelled to allow an unfettered flow of imperialist finance capital which brings under its total domination all areas of economic activity — agriculture, manufacturing, trading, services, communication and scientific research and technology. For the imperialists free market means freedom for unrestricted loot and plunder of nations.

Globalization means that the present glaring disparity between the rich imperialist-capitalist countries and the relatively backward countries would widen and the third world countries would be more and more pushed to bankruptcy, starvation and destitution. By granting huge loans through the World Bank, IMF, Asian Bank etc., the imperialists are roping in the economy of the underdeveloped countries into their fold and are binding them in a vicious debt trap. The trade agreements allow the imperialists easy access to the cheap raw materials and labour force of the poorer nations. The latter are compelled to produce exportable cash crops (in lieu of food grains) in exchange of the loans or assistance granted to them and the produce are purchased at cheaper rates. Taking advantage of the food crisis thus created due to low production of food grains, USA and other imperialist countries sell to the poor countries their surplus food grain at a high price. Further, the surplus capital that the imperialists invest in the developing countries are not put to productive use, to build up industrial infrastructure ; it is being more and more diverted to non-productive, speculative and manipulative avenues of investment, including portfolio investment at the stock exchanges and trading, in international monetary exchanges.

In the name of environmental protection the imperialist countries are pressurizing developing nations to adopt environment-friendly technologies on which they have a monopoly and sell these technologies at a high price. At the same time they are dumping in the underdeveloped countries lethal pesticides, toxic waste products and residues and are setting up plants producing dangerous prohibited chemicals.

Globalization exposes the public sector and the total service sector of the weaker countries to imperialist exploitation. It lays bare education, health, housing and such services in these countries to the virulent attack of imperialism with the simple dictum of the consumerist capitalist commercial world : 'You pay and get the best ; if you don't, then don't claim the minimum either'. An upper middle class is propped up and pampered to serve the interest of the MNCs and to act as a buffer between the combine of imperialist agencies and their ruling bourgeois class on the one hand and the pauperized masses on the other. Naturally, the small upper crust in these countries, the capitalists and their lackeys, welcome this consumerist culture while the vast majority groan under worsening unemployment, runaway inflation, skyrocketing prices of all essential commodities, declining health services and educational opportunities.

Along with the entry of foreign finance

capital in economy comes the infiltration of imperialist culture stinking with sex, violence, drug addiction, consumerism and absolute self-centredness without any semblance of social obligation and commitment. Power of capital dominates the entire sphere of social life, patterns the cultural ideal and dazzles the public mind with the blitz of high-tech while divesting people of their ability to analyze and investigate. Scientific temper is being destroyed to foment obscurantism. The powers are out to foster a blind fanatic and jingoistic psyche among the people. Ethnic and communal feelings are fanned up to destroy the unity of the people. Imperialist control over print and electronic media are established to use them as vehicles of transmission of the degraded imperialist culture. All these are providing fertile ground for the emergence of fascism in addition to the economic and political factors nurturing it.

In my country, India, monopoly capital and finance capital have already made their headway and the Indian capitalist class is a junior partner of the imperialist camp. It has opened its economy to exploitation by foreign finance capital, the giant multinational, but at the same time it has joined hand with the imperialists, lured by the possibility of getting access to high technology and of entering into the global market and reaping harvest from it. In spite of being dominated by the major imperialist powers there is a deal of collaboration and collusion between them. And the people are subjected to dual exploitation by domestic and foreign capital.

To ensure absolute imperialist hegemony of the world, the USA and other imperialist powers have reduced the United Nations to virtually a rubber stamping authority. The USA in particular, the bulwark of world imperialism, has been blatantly resorting to overlordism, banditry, intrigues and military intervention in the name of protecting freedom and democracy, political subversions in the name of peace keeping and relief missions, control of economy of recipient countries through loans and assistance, fomenting religious, racial and ethnic riots, manipulating elections to install governments of their own choice, enforcing unilateral economic sanctions and blockades, meting out threats to wipe out non-compliant countries and engineering military coups. The savage attack on Iraq, threat of invading Libya, intrigue in Somalia, invasion of Haiti with UN sanctions, continuing embargo and hatching of conspiracies against Cuba, bullying of North Korea, bloody ethnic war in Bosnia, armed intervention in Rwanda — the list grows longer everyday. At the same time the conflicts between the imperialist powers for dominating the global market are also intensifying. To ensure unchallengeable supremacy in military power, especially in nuclear armaments, these imperialist powers are pressurizing the other nations to sign the NPT and CTBT. Each one of them is, however, striving to ensure that it has meanwhile acquired sufficient nuclear striking capability, which would enhance its military might and bargaining power at the negotiations. Defying international protests France recently conducted a series of nuclear tests. The USA is trying to strengthen the NATO despite the dismantling of the Soviet camp, the objective being to maintain its presence

in Europe and to contain growing challenge from the European imperialist powers. Globalization fails abjectly to remove the rivalry between the imperialist powers and this is what engenders wars.

To think that there is no more a danger of world war since globalization heralds an era of peace by creating a scope for nations to compete freely, and since the cold war situation has disappeared with the collapse of the socialist camp, is to commit a gross error. The root cause of war still continues to be contradiction within the imperialist world system. Though finance capital has become multinational in character, it is promoted, protected and helped to advance in its imperialist venture by the state and the army of the respective imperialist country or countries. Herein lies the potentiality of outbreak of war.

Thus in spite of all talks of globalization and unipolar world, the world remains polarized obviously. On one side are the capitalists-imperialists and on the other side the oppressed people, the proletariat. The present era remains the same era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In this background the question of building up worldwide militant anti-imperialist movement becomes of paramount importance. Such a movement is needed to loosen the stranglehold of the imperialist powers over the affairs of the world, so that the working class parties free from imperialist interference and attacks can work for revolutionary uprising in their respective countries. Anti-imperialist struggle is not a substitute for anti-capitalist struggle nor are the two mutually exclusive. Anti-imperialist movement is a real and urgent necessity at present because domestic capitalism cannot effectively be fought against without conducting an anti-imperialist movement at the same time. Though today imperialism appears to be more virulent, more aggressive than ever before, positive signs are also appearing on the horizon ; popular opinion against imperialist aggression, war machination, subversion and interference are appearing in all countries. The situation calls for the unity of all revolutionary and progressive forces who pledge to fight against imperialism and build up a militant peace movement conducive to the struggle for emancipation of the toiling people all over the world. In this struggle against imperialism the peculiarities and particularities of each country will have to be taken into consideration, instead of adopting a mechanical and dogmatic approach. In each country friends and foes have to be identified and the strategy of struggle is to be formulated through concrete analysis of the concrete situation. United we shall fight against the imperialist menace and while conducting this fight we shall strive to resolve our ideological differences through struggle on the ideological plane. We have to exchange our views and learn from each other's experiences. Only then can we forge a mighty organization equal to the task ahead.

Comrades, time is ripe, for giving shape to an international organization to coordinate and guide the anti-imperialist struggles everywhere. From here let us take a step forward in the struggle ahead. Let this Conference now being held at Manila make that humble beginning.

# Learn from Netaji the MAN

## Grasp the essence of Manhood

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jamboree in which Netaji, the MAN and his real life-struggle get lost, harming the cause of people and history.

In this situation it is incumbent to make a correct appraisal of the life-struggle and teachings of Netaji, more so because we are passing through a critical juncture of our history when an abominable cultural degeneration, total unconcern for social problems, and a terrible craze and competition for self-centred careerism among the students and youths are being hailed as the order of the day ; when pursuit of political activities is generally looked down upon not only as a profession of scoundrels, but as a synonym for the worst form of personal aggrandizement, resulting in a spectre of corruption, nepotism and ambition for pelf and power and all that ; when the virus of communalism, casteism, parochialism, regionalism, etc., has poisoned the atmosphere to cause suffocation and, above all, appalling poverty, unheard-of unemployment, insecurity in life of the agricultural workers, galloping price-rise, recession, retrenchment, lock-out, lay-off, etc., are going on with unabated fury.

But Netaji gave every drop of his blood not for *azadi* alone, but also to establish a society free from all sorts of exploitation, oppression and humiliation of the people. He appealed to the students not to fall prey to the wrong notion that the motto of students is to become book-worms. Students' motto, he said, should be, above all, to grasp correctly the real essence of manhood. Subhas Chandra Bose himself set a glaring example through his own life-struggle to remain steadfast to what he preached for the students, even if he had to defy and displease his parents for that, rejecting the lure of being an ICS officer and, above all, by plunging headlong into the revolutionary movement then going on for attainment of

independence of our country.

Fifty years after independence, when facts of life have proved beyond doubt that we are far behind achieving the goal of emancipation from exploitation, oppression and humiliation, should not the students and youths ask themselves what should be the mission of their life ? Is it to anyhow build a comfort-seeking career which Netaji hated so much from the core of his heart, or is it to find out the correct path in which emancipation of the people can be won ? Without learning from the life-struggle of Netaji and assimilating correctly the teachings he left behind can any one pay a real tribute to this great man ?

Although not an atheist himself, his was a spotlessly secular character. The secular composition of the INA founded by him where the armed freedom fighters united so strongly cutting across the barriers of religion, region, caste, race, etc., and used to take their meals in common kitchens, will go down in history as a great landmark of attainment of secularism. Today, our countrymen, the political leaders included, need very much to emulate the spirit of secularism as was practised by Netaji and to translate the same into action. Netaji called communalism a cancer of the society. This cancer of communalism has spread all over the country in such a way as can only underline the pathetic failure of the so-called secular parties and forces, and it shows beyond doubt how far we are away from achieving the secular objective which Netaji Subhas so brilliantly exemplified in practice.

Now, when the rightist parties of our country, the Congress(I) heading the procession, have engaged in eulogizing Netaji in chosen epithets, the hollowness and bankruptcy of this exercise show up everywhere. But more urgent is to fathom the failure of the so-called communists, for

which our people are paying so dearly, even now.

There are so many aspects to discuss to make a comprehensive evaluation of the thinking and outlook of Netaji. But we feel it our bounden duty, as the continuators of the struggle conducted by him, to pay our deepest respect to the exemplary role Netaji played in our freedom movement. In the considered opinion of our party, Netaji not only represented the most uncompromising trend of petty-bourgeois revolutionism in our freedom movement, he was a great admirer of Marxism, although not a communist. To put it in the words of Netaji : "... I have always understood and am quite satisfied that communism, as it has been expressed in the writings of Marx and Lenin and the official statement of policy of the Communist International gives full support to the struggle for national independence and recognizes this as an integral part of its world outlook." He also said : "it was generally felt that all progressive, radical and anti-imperialist elements in the Congress who might not be ready to join the socialist or communist party should be organized on the basis of a common minimum programme. I feel, further, that only by that means would the onslaught of the Right be resisted and the soil prepared for the growth of a Marxist party."

Our party has always held that Netaji was a symbolic and militant expression of petty-bourgeois revolutionism which was the most progressive trend in that period of our freedom movement. To strengthen this trend and forces of anti-imperialist movement and to isolate the compromising rightist leadership from the masses was the correct course to the communists worth the name.

This enjoins us to remember what Comrade Stalin had said in his celebrated speech at a meeting of the students of the University of the Toilers of the

East in 1925. Stalin said : "... in certain of these countries, India for instance, capitalism is growing very rapidly and is engendering and causing to crystallize a more or less numerous class of native proletarians."

"... as the revolutionary movement progresses, the national bourgeoisie in such countries splits into two sections : a revolutionary section (the petty bourgeoisie) and a compromising section (the big bourgeoisie), the former of which continues the revolutionary struggle, while the latter enters into a bloc with imperialism." The then CPI leadership failed completely to grasp the lesson of Stalin and the International Communist leadership. Failing to do so, the CPI made no attempt to create a revolutionary anti-imperialist bloc and ensure hegemony of the proletariat", as suggested by Stalin, taking advantage of the service of Subhas Chandra Bose, among others.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, while he analysed the growth and history of Indian capitalism and the Indian bourgeoisie, pointed to the split of its trend into two. "Unlike western capitalism," he said, "which grew independently, Indian capitalism grew and developed under the domination of foreign finance capital with feudal relations surrounding it ... The nationalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie was naturally stirred into movement against imperialism ; because, the imperialist rule in our country stood as an insurmountable obstacle in the path of establishing its class rule here and freely exploiting the Indian masses. ... Antagonism with imperialism, on the one hand, and mortal fear of revolutionary struggle by the people against imperialism, on the other, made the nationalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie maintain a *reformist oppositional* role against imperialism. Its role against feudalism was equally compromising." Comrade

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# SUCI Attends Seminar in Cologne Against “New World Order”

The “Association for the Promotion of the Studies of the Workers Movement” (Cologne, Germany) organised a conference in Cologne over the week-end of the 23rd and 24th of November. The title of the conference was “The New World Order — Consequences and Challenges.” Apart from participants from abroad (Poland, Luxemburg, Belgium, Netherlands) German activists and cadres from different German communist organisations and solidarity movements such as the strong Cuba solidarity movement in Germany came to Cologne to discuss the above mentioned topic and to assess possibilities and perspectives of internationalist activities in Germany. The “Socialist Unity Centre of India” and the “All India Anti-Imperialist Forum”, which were represented by Comrade Manik Mukherjee, were very well received.

Harpal Brar (Great Britain) spoke about the validity and importance of Lenin’s theory on imperialism, Rolf Velley (Germany) analysed the dangerous role of German imperialism, Michael Opperskalski (Germany) submitted a text analysing the current strategy of the revolutionary movement in Mexico, the Cuban comrades had a speech on defending socialism in Cuba, the “National Democratic Front”(NDF) of the Philippines explained in detail their strategy of protracted people’s war and a Turkish comrade of the “Union of Revolutionary Turkish Communists”(TIKB) informed the participants of the seminar about the situation in Turkey after the successful hunger strike of political prisoners in their country.

A highlight of the seminar was definitely the presence of the former CIA-agent Philip Agee who spoke in detail about the ongoing CIA war against socialist Cuba. A delegation of the “National Democratic Front” of the South Korea (NDFSK) could not arrive, because they were denied visa by the German authorities. This was seen by the participants as a clear sign of collaboration between German imperialism and the reactionary, dictatorial regime in South Korea. Therefore the participants of the seminar passed a resolution expressing their solidarity with the NDFSK and assured the comrades of their support.

The participants clearly demonstrated their support of the “Calcutta Resolution” which was adopted at the “Anti-Imperialist Convention” in Calcutta in November last year. The video on the “Anti-Imperialist Convention” in Calcutta was shown and very much appreciated. Moreover they discussed ways and means of implementing the aims and goals of the “Calcutta Resolution” in Germany. Preparatory steps were discussed and adopted to officially launch an “Anti-Imperialist Forum” in Germany next year that will regard itself as an integral part of the world-wide anti-imperialist movement.

In course of his speech at the convention,

Comrade Manik Mukherjee said :

Whatever be the vocabulary, capitalist economy thrives on ‘market’. As it transcends onto imperialism, it has no option but to be in the look-out for ‘market’ beyond its respective national limits for finance capital that accrues ever-increasingly with profits, more profits and super-profits.

With the dismantling of socialism, capitalism-imperialism rejoiced at the regaining of the market once lost. And so it was a ‘new order’ for prosperity. And to make full use of the situation in a ‘unipolar’ world, the imperialists required that the global market with its trade and commerce, production, industry, management, financing, communication and everything, be brought under one umbrella.

During the post-World War days of third intensive general crisis of capitalism-imperialism, in spite of the growth in productivity as an outcome of technological progress and huge swelling of accumulated finance capital, absence of market bred the crisis each day, every hour. In its attempt to free itself from this crisis, imperialism was frantic. In such a bid, it mounted neo-colonial attack since the sixties, using its agencies, the IMF and the World Bank and the like, and the loans and aids to the developing countries advanced through them.

But the reversals in the eighties brought an added unwarranted opportunity to them. The huge finance capital of the imperialists, their agencies and MNC-s as well as the phenomenally developed technology based on electronics, global communication network — all these could now find its market — as the imperialists thought it — a global market. Globalisation was, thus, the catchword. It was further necessary to them that the mutual conflicts and contradictions among the more powerful G-7 imperialist powers be minimized and the height of the whole crisis be shifted on to the shoulders of the people of the developing countries and to that effect, barriers and protective measures, that the developing countries adopt in their national limits to safeguard in the interest of their national capital, be removed. Liberalisation that the imperialists clamoured for, was sought to that end.

But then, in this decade and a half since socialism suffered its setback and imperialism plunged into its new offensive, how far has the latter been able to bring a new world to the mankind? Take for example, their call for globalisation. When imperialists speak of globalisation, they claim it as a panacea for global prosperity; the GATT, the WTO were supposedly to act as steps to that. But except in words, globalisation remains an illusion. As they pledge for it with much fanfare, in most cases to allure others, particularly the poorer

developing countries, the imperialists themselves keep on organizing new regional markets as continuing with the older ones. The EEU (European Economic Union) dominated by Germany and France, the NAFTA (North Atlantic Free Trade Association) by the US, the OECF of Japan (Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund) and the like are such regional combinations as alignments of imperialist powers to sort out mutual strifes among themselves and to rope in relatively weaker countries, with a view to protecting their own respective trade and economic interest from the encroachment of some other big powers as a combination. In fact, the aspiration of the US imperialism to assume the role of the supreme power in the globe is apparently jeopardised at the rise of the German imperialism in Europe and the Japanese imperialism in the Pacific, in particular. Ironically enough, the words of Sutherland stand prophetic, where he indicated, right at the time of signing the GATT, that though the Treaty was meant to minimize mutual trade and commerce conflicts, bitter struggle would just begin with the signatures put on the Treaty.

The bitterness rises high. It is evident in the protest and opposition, even counter threat from the European Union countries headed by Germany and France, against the sanctions imposed by the US imperialism not only on Cuba, Iraq or Libya, but also on any foreign investors or trader having business ties with these countries. It is also evident during recent attack of the US imperialism on Iraq. Whereas on earlier occasion of the Gulf War, the US could rope in other imperialist countries in its favour, this time Britain stood virtually as the lone camp-follower of them, others remaining lukewarm or critical; even Saudi Arabia, American ally in the Arab world, did not come forward in the help of the US.

Thus even developing countries, the more advanced among them in particular, are gradually throwing challenges to the ‘unipolar world’ theory of the US imperialists. The combination of 15 developing countries, the Group of 77, attempts at revitalising NAM — all these are signs of this contradiction among the capitalists-imperialists themselves. We, from India, should also mention the role of the Indian Government on CTBT issue, as a current example of its attitude. For several years, the same government has engaged itself in talks, and even joint exercises, with the US imperialist army, much to the detriment of the interest of the Indian people. And so, however tall may be its claim, its decision not to sign the Treaty is not really in the people’s interest; it is an expression of the Indian capitalists’ desire to exert pressure on the US for some bargain in trade and commerce. It is as well an attempt by them to pose themselves as a force with a voice,

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# Ideologically armed and united people will defeat imperialism

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as a force to reckon with. These, in turn, may help them in their bid to establish hegemony over the neighbours and even less developed countries, as well as to foment nationalistic jingoism among its people, who became more and more restive with exploitation, poverty and corruption, the Indian capitalism breeds at every instance.

The dream of a globalised economy, albeit, capitalist and of a globalised human society is, thus fast receding to give way to stark reality. And in that reality, whatever remains as globalised are, among others, globalised exploitation, globalisation of a putrid, vulgar, dehumanizing and emasculating consumerist bourgeois culture.

Comrade Mukherjee concluded by saying :

Mankind, toiling people of the globe — of the developing countries as also of the bigger imperialist ones, the peace-loving well-meaning intellectuals-professionals-scientists, face a serious threat from this New World Order of the imperialists. They must realize that fascism was brought by imperialists, built philosophically on a fusion of spiritualism, more so obscurantism and fanaticism with

technological aspects of science, being founded on blindness, mechanization, self-centrism with social indifference and callous inaction from the people, specially the intelligentsia. And today, they must take up the challenge or be perished in the same way as the fascism tried to drive humanity to perish, in the same way as the countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere, once fertile and prosperous, now exist as war-ravaged, famine-stricken, pauperised entities on the global map in consequence of imperialist exploitation, intrigue and plunder.

They must realize that the only way to wrest the initiative from the hands of war-mongers, exploiters and despots lies in developing mighty surges of a militant peace movement over the globe, cutting across the national and nationality barriers, going beyond the diversities of language, religion, caste, creed and races. They must recognize : humanity faces the most-dreaded enemy of civilization — the capitalists-imperialists, armed to the teeth, fat with purse and privilege, dazzling with consumerism and high-tech, but devoid of humanitarianism, all its morals and ethics. They must also take it clearly into themselves that

dreaded may it be, the enemy can never survive the mighty ocean of human population, armed with noble ideology and moral zeal and determination to free the earth from exploitation. And here lies the vital role of the communists of the world. The setback can never be the end ; united we must stand to forge a greater unity with the people of the world to fight and annihilate the arch-enemy of mankind, the capitalists-imperialists.

Lastly, may I be allowed to address a few words to the heroic people of this land, Germany, Deutschland. We are aware we stand on a soil in which the earth witnessed the birth of Nazism, tasted perhaps the most naked barbaric slashes from the imperialists. But we are also aware that this is also a land of great scholars mankind has produced, a land of gallant battles of the working people. We thus look ahead for a near future, when an unity of the German people will break loose the inertia to develop and mount a mighty anti-imperialist peace movement, as an immediate and integral part of the movement over the world.

The New World Order when established on a global success of these movements is the only one, man can aspire for.

## National Convention condemns anti-people policies of UF government

The National Convention of the National Platform of Mass Organisations was held on 16th December last at the Mavalankar Hall in New Delhi. The mass organisations participating in the Convention include AITUC, CITU, AIAWU, BKMU, SFI, AIDWA, NFIW, AICCTU, FMRAI, UTUC - LS, AIDSO, AIMSS and others.

The Convention explains its anguish over the persuasion of the retrograde policy of 'liberalisation' by the UF government at the Centre, creating severe adverse impact on the life of the common people. The Convention condemns the UF government for not taking positive measures against price rise, decline in minimum wages, growing casualisation and contractisation of labour, and for failure to implement land reform and enact comprehensive central legislation for agricultural labour. The Convention notes that instead of taking any positive measure for employment generation, the government is taking recourse to the economic 'reforms' which aggravate the unemployment situation. The Convention condemns the disinvestment of the PSU shares and the opening up of the vital sectors of the economy to the foreign and private monopoly capital. The Convention notes with alarm the commercialisation of education and desperate invasion of the international media, tearing apart the cultural fabric of the country. The Convention indicts the government for

disregarding the demand of the trade unions for removal of bonus ceiling, raising of gratuity ceiling, higher exemption limit for income tax and finalisation of 5th Pay Commission for central government employees. The Convention notes with deep anguish that women have become the worst victims of the so-called policy of liberalisation. The Convention also demands that economic offenders, corrupt officials and ministers must be punished exemplarily. The Convention urges the people to fight against the IMF World Bank dictated policy measures and resolves to build up popular movement to mount pressure on the government of India.

The Convention also extended its support to the phased action programme of the public sector workers, culminating on one day strike on 2nd April, 1997.

The Convention adopts the following programmes :

1. State/District level conventions within February 15 '97
2. Picketing before Central government offices on 25th February '97
3. Rail Roko/Rasta Roko all over the country on 28th March '97 from 9-30 a.m. to 11-30 a.m.
4. March to Parliament during second part of the Budget session ; date to be notified later on.

## Workers' Victory at Kanpur, UP

At Kanpur, 7 workers of Ima India and Ghering India Ltd., an Indo-German joint engineering enterprise, were dismissed by the management two months back. Different trade union organisations took a compromising attitude regarding this onslaught. But the workers resorted to a valiant fight demanding, among others, reinstatement of all the 7 employees. The workers started strike on 14th October and took other protest programmes, thus gradually building up resistance. The UTUC-LS was leading the movement. The management tried to thwart the movement while there were attempts to misguide it. But the workers remained determined. The strike continued till 10th December and after a final bipartite talk between the UTUC - LS and the management all the 7 workers were ultimately reinstated.

# Politics of Sharing of Ganga Water

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Bangladesh in 1971, India contributed much, later incidents reflecting India's big brotherly attitude became a serious concern to them. Our party has long ago analysed that India has not only developed into a junior partner of imperialist multinationals, but it has emerged as a regional big power, led by an aspirant bourgeoisie. India's relation with Pakistan, for obvious reasons, was mainly dominated by a feeling of animosity. Relations with other neighbours of India were, in a word, strained. Indian rulers felt that to augment trade and commerce with Bangladesh this anti-India feeling existing in that country should be assuaged. Hence to pave the way for achieving above objective it matters little to India if it has to surrender several thousand cusecs of waters of Ganga. Significantly, the Indian Government has already raised the demand for fresh transit access to Bangladesh and of using Chittagong port. All this becoming successful, Indian big business hopes to gain much and earn huge profit from this.

This treaty has been signed to remain valid for 30 years. But there is a provision for 5 yearly review of how things are going. Besides, in case of any necessity there is also provision for review after two years. Although the question of transit issue or using the port of Chittagong by India has not been included in the water treaty as conditionality, but for obvious reasons there will remain some scope of manoeuvrability on the part of India.

Be that as it may, politically also this water treaty will help India much for another reason. The big brotherly attitude of the Indian state in this region has isolated it somewhat from the other SAARC countries. The image of a liberator which India once built up by providing military help to the freedom movement of Bangladesh faded fast due to its domineering attitude towards that country in the post-independence period, as stated earlier. The handling of the LTTE issue with Sri Lanka, the Indo-Nepal pact regarding provision of transit to the landlocked country of Nepal and such other issues with other neighbouring countries made India somewhat isolated in the subcontinent. Added to it are its gigantic geographical area, huge population, tremendous scientific and technological man-power and, above all, enormous military might. In this background the feelings of the people of those countries vis-a-vis India were similar to that of a weaker nation facing the danger of the big brother hegemony. In this situation India's aspiration to emerge as a superpower in the region was facing some constraint. It was India's compulsion to repair its image under the circumstances.

In a situation, when the big imperialist powers are engaged in a cut-throat competition among one another across the world and the

market is very much squeezed, India needs to carve out areas of her own sphere of influence in a bid to bear pressure upon the possible contenders and make best bargain out of it. Naturally, developing a good neighbourly relation with Bangladesh at this moment along with her attempt to improve relations with Nepal would help her position in the SAARC which the Indian bourgeoisie needs very much. Taking all these aspects into account, the benefit which India is trying to reap far out-weighs the loss, if any, to be incurred in terms of a few hundred or thousand cusecs of water.

None perhaps fails to observe one ominous feature in the opposition to this treaty by the fundamentalist forces of both these countries. True to their typical politics, marked by arrogant attitude to the minority community people, it has been found that both the BJP in India and the Jamat-E-Islami in Bangladesh have come out openly to oppose this treaty. This brings out clearly how these two fundamentalist and communal forces have made common cause in opposing the treaty, although they are from two different countries. It is the task of genuine democratic and secular forces of both the countries to be on the vigil and constant alert against any attempt by the communal forces to create cleavage and disrupt people's unity, by

building mighty democratic mass movements free from any illusion.

A few words on the role of West Bengal Chief Minister, Jyoti Basu. From the very beginning till the signing of the treaty he has played a very important role. Although he initially said that he would not entangle himself in this process, facts proved otherwise. He surely played a very important role in it. But the success achieved should not be confused as his personal success. It is the success of the Indian ruling class to pursue its hegemonistic design in a bigger and better way through the person of Jyoti Basu, while the treaty was signed by Deve Gowda as the Prime Minister.

In fine, we call upon the people of both India and Bangladesh to

1. mount pressure on the respective governments to take all possible scientific-technical measures both short-term and long term, so that there does not arise any problem of scarcity of water in future ;
2. to make the people conscious of the danger of politics of communalism and hegemonism and, above all, to avail of the new opportunities of regular and prompt communications, etc., to restore and strengthen the bond of unity between both the peoples.

## Observe the Birth Centenary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

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Ghosh also showed that in this period, when capitalism as a world social force had not only lost its revolutionary character but also become definitely anti-revolution, the revolutionary spirit was still left in petty bourgeois revolutionism. "So, the revolutionary ideals of the early period of capitalist revolution was reflected in the upsurge of petty bourgeois revolution in our country. In the thoughts and ideas of Rabindranath and Gandhiji there was domination of the liberal, reformist and compromising outlook of the national bourgeoisie. But in the thoughts, ideas and activities of Saratchandra, Nazrul and Subhaschandra was reflected this petty bourgeois revolutionsim."

Analysing the unfinished task of the bourgeois democratic revolution in our country, and the tasks devolving on the genuine revolutionaries of today, Comrade Ghosh said : "... today we have become rootless. We are failing to maintain the continuity with the high cultural standard attained during the days of our freedom movement. Lofty phrases we are culling from the outside world, no doubt, but have

lost the link with the high cultural tune once developed on our soil. We have to establish that link once again, although a contradiction is inevitable today. ..." Remembering the period of our freedom struggle and paying tribute to the pioneers, Comrade Ghosh emphasised both continuity and break. He showed that a contradiction was bound to appear today with petty bourgeois revolutionism and bourgeois humanism. Because, he said : "... we shall have to accomplish the task of working class revolution, socialist revolution, the revolution to overthrow capitalism. So we shall have to go further in our revolutionary struggles."

On this august occasion of observance of the birth centenary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, we call upon all to observe it in the most solemn and befitting way, to learn and re-learn and study and re-study the glorious and struggling character of Netaji in the best possible way. We can pay real tribute to such a great man if we renew our pledge on this occasion to carry forward our struggle on to the path of socialist revolution in a way as shown by our departed leader, teacher and guide, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

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