

Central Committee On Recent Events In China

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India, now in session since 4th July, 1989 in Calcutta, has adopted the following resolution on the recent happenings in China :

The recent happenings in China came to the revolutionaries and the progressive people of the world as a rude shock. The students' agitation in Beijing and other places, no doubt, voiced many grievances accumulated in social life there, particularly over the burning issues like inflation, price rise, corruption in a section of the leadership of the party and the Government, which are the product of the long practice of revisionist policies pursued by the present Chinese leadership.

But the demands for 'more democracy' and 'more liberalisation of the political system' reflected nothing but the urge of existing bourgeois class, strengthened by the birth of new bourgeois elements as a result of introduction of 'market economy' and encouragement to private capital giving birth to wage labour and scope for individual profit, however limited, eroding more and more the socialist sector of the economy. These bourgeois demands also coincided with individualistic aspirations of the newly created intelligentsia who were educated and oriented by bourgeois ideas and thoughts, being totally divorced from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, not only in foreign universities but also inside China, and who were well placed in all spheres of social life having the scope to confuse and mislead the people in general and the students in particular taking advantage of their low level of consciousness. The policy of 'material incentive' helped develop bourgeois individualistic outlook towards life undermining the sense of obligation to society and revolution; while the policy of investment of foreign capital and foreign collaboration gave the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, a long rope to vitiate the Chinese socialist society with their rotten, decadent bourgeois culture. The conflict and rift within the revisionist leadership have also contributed to the worsening of the situation.

It is, therefore, not difficult to understand that the reactionary forces, both internal and external, were making use of this situation, particularly the students' agitation, to carry through their design of counter-revolution by capturing political power and eventually overthrowing the socialist system of China. This created an extremely compelling situation in which there was no option than to take military action to save the socialist system, the People's Liberation Army maintaining exemplary restraint. The present Chinese leadership must have to bear the responsibility of these painful developments born out of their practice of revisionism as against Marxism-

(Contd. on page 5)

JOINT MOVEMENT IN GUJARAT

Anti-Price Rise Morcha comprising SUCI, Janata Dal, BJP, CPI, CPM, Republican Party of India gave a call for Ahmedabad Bandh on 31st May against the price rise, particularly hikes in the price of milk by Ahmedabad Dairy (a Govt. undertaking), paper and the tariff of electricity by the Ahmedabad Electricity Company. Prior to the Bandh call demonstrations, dharnas, public meetings were held on 16th May. MSS and DYU staged a joint demonstration before the Ahmedabad Dairy. The Bandh was successful. Now the Anti-Price Rise Morcha has decided to continue the struggle which includes Jail Bharo, social boycott of ministers and spreading the movement to the grass-roots level. A deputation of the morcha leaders comprising Comrade Dwarika Rath (SUCI), Channalal Joshi (Janata Dal), Asok Punjabi and Girija Sankar Pandey (CPI), Sk. Nizzamuddin (CPM) and Somachand Makwana (RPI) met the Chief Minister Mr. Amarsingh Chaudhary, in Gandhinagar on 14th June last and gave a 15-day ultimatum to withdraw the hikes failing which they would resort to the higher stage of movement.

A Vidyarthi-Yuvak Sangharsh Samiti has been formed comprising AIDSO, AISF, SFI, Chhatra Janata, AIDYO, AIYF, DYFI and Juva Janata to launch movement against the hike in the prices of paper, milk and electricity. On 14th a joint demonstration was held before the Collectorate.

Proletarian Era

Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(fortnightly)

Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Vol. 22 No. 20

July 10 '89 Price 60 P.

Air Charge 5 P.

Withdraw IPKF From Sri Lanka

The continued stalemate over Sri Lanka's participation in the current SAARC meetings is now over. With Sri Lanka's "firm no" the SAARC foreign ministers' meetings scheduled to be inaugurated at Islamabad by the Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, on July 1, has been put off indefinitely. Earlier, the SAARC foreign secretaries' meet also fell through for non-participation of Sri Lankan foreign secretary in the scheduled meeting. It may be recalled, the boycott decision of Sri Lanka was the outcome of India Government's refusal to accede to the demand of total withdrawal of IPKF from the island state by July 29. This is the first time since the birth of SAARC in December 1985 last, that not to speak of SAARC foreign ministers' meet, even sittings of the standing committee of foreign secretaries could not be held as a result of sharp difference in approach and outlook between Sri Lanka and India governing the relationship amongst the member countries of the SAARC.

Meanwhile, the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have reached a definite understanding about cessation of hostilities between them. And the press report goes that in a wire-message, President Premadasa has called upon the Prime Minister of India not to engage the IPKF in any military operations against the LTTE. Surely, being encouraged with mending of one of his fences the Sri Lankan President, Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, said the other day that he would not allow

the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to operate anywhere in his country after July and confine the troops to barracks "if India has logistic problems."

The cat is now out of the bag. The Rajiv Government has outright rejected the demand for withdrawal of IPKF from the island state ostensibly on the pretext of non-fulfilment of this or that clause of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. Paradoxically enough, the Indian troops, i.e.

(Contd. on page 4)

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Meeting

5th AUGUST, SAHEED MINAR, CALCUTTA, 5 p.m.

MAIN SPEAKER : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

PRESIDENT : COMRADE PROVAS GHOSH

Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid Controversy

Congress(I) main culprit behind nationwide communal flare-ups

Communal flare-ups, are nothing new in this country. But the recent series of communal outbursts coming close on the heels of one another in widely separated areas and their character, unfolding a sinister prospect, cannot but cause deep anguish and grave concern to all with the country's good at heart. On 1st February, 1986 on the strength of a court order the lock of Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi was broken and the place thrown open to Hindu devotees. It is as if the Pandora's Box was opened centring round this issue. In February-March 1986, there were Hindu-Muslim riots in Srinagar, Delhi, Benaras, Bhopal and Sultanpur. In July 1986 came the Ahmedabad riot. May 1987 witnessed communal flare-up in Meerut area including the incidents in Hashimpur and the massacre at Maliana. After a relative lull during the second half of 1987 and first quarter of 1988 there has been a spurt of communal violence in far-flung areas including Aurangabad, Paithan and Bidkin in Maharashtra, Baharampore in West Bengal, Bidar in Karnataka and Muzaffarnagar, Aligarh, Khatauli and Faizabad in UP. Riots erupted at Faizabad and Bahraich in October 1988. In 1989, there have already been communal flare-ups in the Kashmir valleys, Mathura and Hazaribagh.

It is not that there had been no communal riots in independent India before the Babri Masjid - Ram Janmabhoomi issue erupted. There had earlier been numerous riots from time to time in different parts of the country, but barring the widespread communal holocaust centring round the transfer of power and partition of the country, such communal flare-ups were generally of sporadic nature. But with the recent spurt of fratricidal violences, these have almost become everyday occurrence tending to take a national dimension in their totality.

From a study of reports about any communal flare-up as also from perusal of such Reports of enquiry commissions set up to investigate the riots as have been made public, it becomes crystal clear that such sordid happenings are no longer spontaneous but are fomented and organised by different parties and forces to serve their narrow interests. If, in the prevailing atmosphere of communal tension, in itself largely a product of fomenting by such parties and forces, an incident of communal vio-

lence occurs even "spontaneously", it is made use of by them to trigger off and organize communal riot often with the connivance of or even participation by the local administration and police. Previously, only branded communal parties and forces like Hindu Mahasabha, RSS and Muslim League were the main culprits in this respect, but now almost all parties and forces in the political spectrum who are engrossed in parliamentary politics fan up communalism-parochialism to suit their narrow political end as a regular practice while preaching communal harmony and national unity. And over the years, it is the Congress (I) that has emerged as the chief architect in fanning up communalism, parochialism and every sort of divisive tendency on a country-wide scale.

It is still fresh in public memory how, on the morrow of Smt. Gandhi's assassination, slaughter of Sikhs all over the country was engineered by Cong(I) with the tacit support of police and administration. In the capital city of Delhi, carnage of Sikhs went on unabated

for a few days. Thus a mass anti-Sikh hysteria and Hindu chauvinism was worked up which was duly cashed in by the Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi in the ensuing Lok Sabha polls. It is common knowledge that not only the local Congress(I) leaders but even some Congress(I) MPs and Ministers were involved in the Delhi massacre. Has any action been taken against them? Even the Report of the Government appointed enquiry commission is yet to see the light of day.

These days, the hand of Congress(I), in collusion with police and administration, is discernible behind almost every communal flare-up. Just take the instance of May 1987 riots in Meerut-Maliana-Hashimpur area. According to eye-witness accounts, the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) which played an active role in engineering the earlier Meerut riots in 1982, was active this time too. The non-official enquiry Report placed by the People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) has stated that initially, the riots were confined to a few crowded areas of Meerut town. But later on, riots took an entirely new dimension when the PAC, called upon to establish law and order, indulged in large scale arson, looting and killing in Maliana and Hashimpur areas adjoining Meerut town. A number of people were taken by them to Ganga Nahar, shot dead and the bodies thrown into the canal. A few days later the corpses were discovered in Hindon Canal near Muradnagar, Ghaziabad. The officers who were initially censured for involvement in these riots have in fact been promoted and given awards later on! In the meanwhile, the then Chief Minister of UP, suspected to have helped fan the riots, had been shifted

from Lucknow to New Delhi as a reward, and afterwards adorned the Union Cabinet!

As an antidote to the endemic communal outbursts, various commissions set up by the Governments to probe into causes of particular communal conflagrations at different times have recommended reconstitution of police forces in the states on a multi-religious basis, especially the PAC in UP and the BMP in Bihar which are Hindu-manned and notorious for their communal bias, but such suggestions have fallen on deaf ears. Precisely nothing has been done in this regard.

A study of records strongly suggests that while the Congress(I) governments are often forced to set up commission of enquiry to probe the riots in order to silence criticism and assuage public outcry, they resort to dilly-dallying about the work of the commissions, try to suppress such Reports as might have been placed by the commissions and render such inquiries infructuous by various means so that the truth, often showing up direct Congress(I) complicity in the riots, is not revealed, or else, the Reports are so much delayed that public furore and interest die natural death by the time these are placed so that these can be safely put into the cold storage of oblivion. The Pareikh Commission set up by UP government to probe the 1982 Meerut riot submitted Report in September 1988! Neither this Report, nor the Report of the Saxena Commission on the earlier riot at Moradabad in 1980, has been placed before the State Legislature. The Srivastav Commission set up to probe the Maliana massacre of May 1987 started proceedings after 3 full months and then found examination of witnesses by it effectively hindered by the presence of PAC in Maliana. It is reportedly "still considering various evidence" so that it can prepare its

Report! The Gyan Prakash Committee, instituted by UP Government as an administrative enquiry to probe the various aspects of the May, 1987 Meerut riots, submitted its Report in September, '87. The Govt. however, "has not considered it expedient to place the report of the Committee before the Legislature"! The Commission set up to probe September, 1988 Bidar riots was to submit its Report within 3 months, but now its term has been extended upto July end, 1989. The Gujarat Govt. took an inordinately long time to finalise terms of reference of the Jaswant Singh Commission set up to inquire into the wide spread communal violence in Ahmedabad in July '86, then decided that "it would be infructuous to proceed with the inquiry" in view of the delay and wound up the Commission! It may be recalled here that after the riot at Baharampore in Murshidabad District of West Bengal last year the State Govt. was forced to announce a judicial inquiry at the strong demand of our party, the SUCI. But the gov't. could appoint a judge to head the inquiry commission only the other day, after a lapse of about one year! Who knows when its Report will be placed, if at all, and what would be the fate of it. If such be the position in a state run by the CPI(M)-led 'Left' gov't., the situation in Congress (I) administered states can be well-imagined.

What has been record of the Congress(I) and its government on the longstanding crucial Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi discord which has been the catalyst for the recent communal disturbance all over the country threatening to coalesce into a communal conflagration of national dimension? The place of worship in Ayodhya in question has been known as the Babri Masjid for about 400 years where the Muslims have been offering prayers. There had been numerous attempts by communal Hindus to take po-

(Contd. on page 3)

(Contd. from page 2)

Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid

session of it through violent means. Finally, after a largescale riot in 1948, Hindu communalists took possession of the Masjid and installed deities of Ram and Sita on the platform on which the Muslims used to offer prayer earlier. As the communal tension heightened at this, the then Magistrate of Faizabad district, K. K. Nair, in 1949, ordered the gate to be locked up. Along with this, movement of Muslims within 200 metres of the Masjid was prohibited. This effectively stopped the movement of Muslims near or into the Masjid for *namaz*. But the offering of puja by Hindu priests to Ram-Sita continued through a side gate. The Hindu devotees could no longer enter into the premises, but could have '*darshan*' of the deities from a distance of about 3 metres, through the grilled gate. Since then, numerous law suits have been filed regarding ownership of the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi. These are still lying pending in the courts, most of them for over two decades. A number of these relate to disputes between different Hindu priests and religious bodies over the ownership of this so-called Ramjanmabhoomi and the right to conduct puja of the deities. One of the suits was filed by the Central Sunni Waqf Board praying that since this had been a Masjid for centuries, entry of Hindus therein should be prohibited. In the mid-80s, the Vishwa Hindu Parisad (VHP) whipped Hindu religious fanaticism and started an agitation on the demand of breaking up the lock. For this purpose, it organised Rathayatra processions along with Ram-Janaki *rathas* starting from different parts of UP, MP and Bihar and converging towards the so-called Ramjanmabhoomi in Ayodhya. Communal tension ran high along routes of the Rathayatra processions and clashes took place. The VHP announced that if the administration did not open up the lock by 9th March 1986, they would themselves break open

the lock. Meanwhile, a young Hindu lawyer Pandey put an appeal to the Faizabad Sadar Munsiff's Court on 25th January for opening of the lock. A record of sorts was created in the history of Indian judiciary when on 1st February, in just 5 days time, court order was issued that the lock would be opened. On the same afternoon, the City Magistrate had the lock broken up amidst religious chantings by fanatical Hindu devotees.

While VHP was stepping up Hindu religious fanaticism, not only the Congress(I) as a party or the government run by it did not do anything to put a curb upon activities of VHP and other communal Hindu bodies, actually many members and even leaders of Congress(I) as well as officers in the police, administration and members of judiciary actively participated in VHP activities. And in an atmosphere supercharged with Hindu religious frenzy when the very ownership and status of the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi was under dispute and sub-judice, instead of strenuously working for a just solution aimed at mitigating communal tension, the court order was issued posthaste with the full knowledge that this could not but aggravate the situation. The circumstances attending the issuance and implementation of the court order have given rise to strong suspicion that it was not the outcome of normal deliberation of the court but a predetermined, hastily contrived partisan step by the administration designed to project the Congress(I) as the champion of Hinduism.

There is no doubt that the Congress(I)'s main concern is to harness communalism in the interest of its vote politics at any cost in utter disregard of the grievous harm to the country it has caused and would further cause. Earlier, it tried to appease the Muslim fundamentalists who had been incensed at the Shah Bano case judge-

ment by offering them the reactionary and retrograde Muslim Women Bill. And now, it sought to come to the forefront as the sole political champion of the majority Hindu community in the Hindi belt at one stroke through its handling of the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi issue with the coming Lok Sabha poll in view, for who does not know that it is the Hindu heartland that would be the single greatest determinant in it?

Predictably communal tension has reached a new high as the outcome in North India. Heartened by the "liberation" of the so-called Ramjanmabhoomi, Hindu communalists have stepped up activities. Militant Hindu communal organisations like the VHP, the Bajrang Dal and the Sri Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Yagna Samiti have been flexing muscle and organizing congregations and processions. Various *Senas* brandishing *trishuls* have sprung up. Not content with "liberating" the Ramjanmabhoomi, Hindu communalists have renewed the call to "liberate" Krishna Janmabhoomi at Mathura and the Kashi Viswanath Temple at Benaras as well. VHP and its allies have announced that the foundation stone for their proposed Ram Janmasthan temple will be laid at the disputed place of worship on November 9, 1989 after demolishing the Babri Masjid. For the purpose, bricks will be consecrated as "Ram Shilas" in 6000 villages and taken to Ayodhya in processions. Hindu communalists have declared that the issue is not subject to the legal process, adjudication or negotiated settlement. The temple is going to be put up come what may, even through a blood bath if need be. In response, Muslim fundamentalists have also stepped up activities. Their Babri Masjid Coordination Committee (BMCC) has expressed determination to protect the right of Muslims to offer *namaz* at

the Babri Masjid. In fact, BMCC had declared an Ayodhya march in October last to offer mass *namaz* at the disputed shrine, but fortunately, it was called off at the last moment. Black flags flutter at many a mosque including the Jama Masjid, Delhi, to mourn the death of Muslims in the recent riots. A large black notice board at the gate of Jama Masjid lays blame on the govt. and the PAC for the repeated slaughter of Muslims in riots. If the Hindus have the Bajrang Dal and other *senas* the Muslims have their *Adam Sena* which is being drilled and trained up.

Since their chief concern is to reap electoral benefit from the worsening communal tension, the Congress(I) governments seem to have been gripped with a strange inertia in tackling the situation. Instead of trying to defuse the explosive situation, they have been dithering and letting the situation take its own course. To start with, the government could have come down heavily on the communalists at an early stage and declared the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi site a national monument protected by law. Instead, the lock was broken up to pamper Hindu communalism. Since then, hopes of a negotiated settlement have been held out time and again, notably by Buta Singh on behalf of the Central Government, without, however, concretely working for it, in a manner which strongly suggests that the Central Government is interested in keeping the issue alive till the coming Lok Sabha poll so as to cash in on polarisation of voters on communal line. It is not for nothing that the Congress(I) has close links with the VHP and is nurturing these. Shiv Nath Katju, the VHP President and erstwhile judge of Allahabad High Court, has close ties with the Congress(I) and D. D. Khanna, VHP leader from UP, was earlier a Congress(I) minister.

The Congress(I) has emerged as the chief architect of communalism-parochialism - divisive tendencies in the country. It indulges in this nefarious practice for two-fold reason. Firstly, in the face of severe crises besetting the capitalist economy, ruling capitalist class of the country is moving with a definite class design to destroy the people's unity at any cost so that the lease of life of moribund capitalism can be lengthened. The Congress(I) as their most trusted political agent, has been implementing this class design in the aggregate interest of the ruling class by actively fanning up communalism - parochialism-divisive tendencies in a bid to destroy the unity of the exploited masses, so that, divided in warring factions, they cannot unitedly concentrate their wrath against the hated capitalist system, the root cause of all problems and misery in their life. Secondly, by this means the Cong.(I) seeks to bolster up its electoral position by cashing in on the communalism - parochialism - divisive sentiments of different sections of the people in this multi-religious, multi-lingual, multi-racial caste-ridden country of ours. Such is the true face of the much vaunted value-based politics of Rajiv Gandhi!

Today, this has become an overriding exigency for the Congress (I) led by Rajiv Gandhi. For, although he was propped up as the Prime Minister by the ruling class on the morrow of Smt. Gandhi's assassination as their best bet under the circumstances and allowed to consolidate his position by sweeping the 1984 Lok Sabha poll through all-out centralised, administrative rigging aided by the mass Hindu communal psychosis generated through carnage of Sikhs in Delhi and other places of the country and his image was projected through radio, TV and other mass media as a new Messiah, a Mr. Clean committed to take the country forward in a leap into the 21st cen-

(Contd. on page 7)

CPI and CPI(M) eulogise India's Foreign Policy despite naked intervention in Sri Lanka

(Contd. from page 1)

IPKF, the Accord explicitly stated, would be under the over-all command of the President of Sri Lanka and subject to his discipline. And when President of Sri Lanka is commanding for withdrawal of the IPKF, Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, is telling, "come what may, the IPKF will stay in Sri Lanka till its mission is fulfilled."

The Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi did not stop there. He went on saying that withdrawal of IPKF was contingent on the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord being fully implemented by the Sri Lankan authorities. Again, on one issue he is specifically harping that the IPKF cannot leave, until issues concerning devolution of powers and responsibilities to the northeastern provinces of the island state are satisfactorily resolved. This means, by implication, the adequacy of the devolution is to be determined by the Indian Prime Minister alone.

Turn of events, since the time of signing the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord has corroborated our stand and analyses with regard to motive and objective of Government of India vis-a-vis the 'Accord'. It would therefore be quite in the fitness of things to recall the salient aspects of the Accord vis-a-vis stationing of Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka. In our previous writing in September 1987 in this organ (Vol. 21 No. 2), after explaining the background providing the signing of the agreement, we said: "No doubt, due to savage repression by the Jayewardene government of the Tamil minority people there was high wave of emotion in India and particularly among the Tamil people. But this cannot give any right to the India government to inter-

vene. This is against international law and violative of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Will the India government allow any neighbouring state having linguistic, religious or ethnic affinity with sections of people in India to intervene to come to an agreement on state to state basis? No genuinely patriotic and democratic minded person can accept it." That is why, we showed, at the same time, "the ethnic problems in Sri Lanka should be solved between the Sri Lankan Government and the struggling Tamil minority people. India as a foreign state cannot have any presence there. But trampling all norms of International Law and the principles of normal relations between the states the Indian Government took upon its shoulder the role of so-called advocate-general of Tamil minority people in Sri Lanka, underwriter, guarantor, and the implementing agency of this government to government agreement. In reality solicitation of the cause of Tamil minority people in Sri Lanka, was just a cover for the Indian state. Its real motive was to establish its sphere of influence over Sri Lanka and get a seal of approval for this from the US and other big powers. Indian state, by virtue of the agreement, has taken upon itself the responsibilities of guarding the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Sri Lankan state by the Indian troops sent there.

In short, India Government's overlordship over the Sri Lankan state has become full and complete..."

We also showed how perfidiously Mr. Rajiv Gandhi tried to pass off the sending of Indian troops to sending the Peace Keeping Force of the UNO. He had taken the subterfuge that "the Indian troops went to foreign countries as con-

tingent of the UN peace keeping force in the past." According to him, "there was, therefore, nothing wrong in it. The fact was otherwise. In the first place, we made it clear, that in case of a UN peace keeping force, the concerned country does not have to surrender its freedom and sovereignty to any other state. In case of Sri Lanka, the then President Jayewardene made it a point in his public statement that he had agreed this proposal of stationing IPKF under duress as he had no other alternative." (Ibid) Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in response said that the non-alignment of Sri Lanka became at stake and in order to defend it the Indian military forces were despatched as a part of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. That was a deception pure and simple.

For, who does not know that the very foundation of non-alignment lies in non-interference in the freedom and sovereignty of a state by another. So by the 'Accord' thrust on Sri Lanka, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has done just the opposite. And it is pointless to keep pretending that the presence of Indian troops is demanded by the Tamil population. The vast majority of Sri Lankan Tamil population have lost, in course of the last two years under surveillance of IPKF, whatever illusion once they had about the benefits likely to flow from the presence of IPKF. We have also unveiled the thread of lies and conjectures in our previous issue; while studying in-depth the 'Accord' that Rajiv Gandhi himself admitted in the Accord as to how it was so long providing all support, assistance and encouragement to the Tamil militants. He even accorded them to use the Indian territory as their base. The Sri Lankan government was accusing the India government

then of exactly with these charges which were being strongly refuted by the Rajiv government. It is an irony of history that the LTTE, whom the Indian Army, in the name of keeping peace in Sri Lanka, is exterminating with all ferocity now, was born propped up with the direct blessings of the Indian government once. The motive behind was to utilise the Liberation Tigers as the launching pad by using the Tamil sentiment on the Sri Lankan soil thereby paving the way for interference and penetration in the island state to establish its hegemonistic design.

On the other hand, the Liberation Tigers also had moved with an ulterior motive of power equation in the island state under the camouflage of Tamil aspiration and nationality interest, which actually, were neither akin to Sinhalese nationalism nor of Indian nationalism. But sooner than later they realised that they had fallen a prey to mischievous design of the Indian state: their power thirst for giving birth to separate state had been belied particularly after the installation of EPRLF government through a rigged election under the direct patronage of Indian army present there in the name of IPKF. It is worth noting in this connection that India never encouraged for creation of a separate state in Sri Lanka. What they aspired for was creation of a sphere of influence in Sri Lanka and implanting stooge government who will dance to the tune of hegemonistic design of the Indian state.

So, after signing of the Accord the LTTE leadership was left in no shade of doubt as to foresee what role the IPKF vis-a-vis the 'Accord' would have in Sri Lanka. Through their experiences in day-to-day life the bulk of the Tamil people have then realised the betrayal thrust upon them and gradually they all have begun opposing the 'Accord' resulting in resistance to IPKF operation. It is worth recalling in

this context that the LTTE refused to go along with the 'Accord' our Prime Minister had signed with Sri Lanka's President because the devolutions spelled out in it, fell far short of Tamil aspirations. As a result of this bit of intrasigence on the part of the LTTE threw our Prime Minister into a grave rage; he then ordered the IPKF to wipe it off organisationally and eliminate its leaders physically. Little wonder therefore that our Prime Minister will suddenly discover virtues in the then demands of the LTTE leadership! So much so about settlement of Tamil ethnic problems. What about the fate of ensuring durable peace, cited by the India Government about sending of the IPKF? In our previous issue dated Jan. 1, '89 (Vol. 22, No. 9) we said: "Even the bourgeois parliamentary Opposition parties expressed their doubt on the floor of the Indian Parliament, the other day, about the very purpose for which the IPKF was stationed there. If that be so, why appeal to the LTTE to accept the democratic process that had been made on behalf of the Indian government or why the official or RAW conducted negotiations with the LTTE, if it was a fact that peace after all had dawned as a result of isolation of the LTTE militants from the masses of the Tamil people in general once for all? Some of the OMPs went so far as to say that destruction of the LTTE will remove the protective shield of the Tamil people in general..."

Let us now consider the facts of the circumstances. Both Mr. Premadasa and his rival Sirimavo Bandaranaike (SLFP) fought presidential elections in Sri Lanka on the specific pledge that they would ask for withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. Mr. Premadasa won the elections. Sirimavo Bandaranaike was more categorical of her pledge: the moment she was declared elected, she would order the Indian

(Contd. on page 5)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON CHINA

(Contd. from page 1)

Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, and of undermining the authority of the great Marxist leader Mao Zedong and denouncing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Although the present leadership has admitted that there are price rise, disparity of wages, corruption etc., and there has been neglect of ideological education and although it has also observed that taking advantage of a trend of reform in the socialist countries, an attempt is being made to push those countries towards capitalism, it is, however, unfortunate that there is yet no sign of correcting their mistaken line. Instead, they are reiterating their resolve to cling to the same old revisionist policies, which, if continued unaltered, military actions alone will not save socialism in China from the danger of recurrence of counter-revolution in greater dimension in future.

We appeal to the whole party and the working people of China to take concrete historic lessons from these painful happenings and to have unshakable faith in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. We also appeal to them to launch vigorous struggle against revisionism and restore the authority of the great leader Mao Zedong steadfastly adhering to the path of continued class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat which is the real guarantee of socialism in China.

Taking further lessons they should also continue their struggle against the policy of 'Open door' which has given the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, the scope to move hand in glove with the reactionary forces within the country and to engineer counter-revolutionary venture.

The initial orchestrated propaganda barrage whipped up by the imperialist-capitalist camp headed by the U.S.A. in support of the students' movement with a design to hide its counter-revolutionary conspiracy by confusing the world people and their sharp reactions to the extent of economic sanctions, immediately after its failure, nakedly exposed their involvement and complicity in this attempted counter-revolution.

The crocodile tears shed by the imperialist-capitalists in general and U.S. imperialists and their kinsmen in particular, therefore, cannot ultimately befool anybody. Well intentioned people throughout the world will not fail to understand why these imperialist death-merchants who are never tired of butchering innocent people, suppressing people's liberation struggles, organising acts of subversion and counter-revolution wherever possible, and trampling under foot all democratic and human rights everywhere have, now all of a sudden, become very vocal champions of 'liberty' and 'human rights'.

We appeal to the people not to fall prey to the malicious propaganda being carried out by the arch enemy of humanity—the imperialist-capitalist circle—the world over, against communism and the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Remaining unperturbed in the face of thousand and one difficulties and the twists and turns encountered on the way, they will have to grasp the objective law of social change and historical destiny of mankind and civilisation towards the goal of communism. Notwithstanding the temporary setback here and there, temporary accumulation of clouds and dusts blurring the vision, the class struggle, the driving force of history, is going on in China, in Russia and everywhere. The course of history, the destiny of human civilisation, will undoubtedly be shaped by the class struggle and class struggle alone in which we all, guided by Marxism-Leninism, will have to play a conscious and positive role to hasten the process.

SRI LANKA

(Contd. from page 4)
Army out. We all know, if we take the votes of these two candidates together, they polled more than 95 p.c. of the votes cast. The United Socialist Alliance, press report goes, along with the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaja Party, are now demanding withdrawal of the troops. Needless to say, the principal insurgency group in Sri Lanka, JVP, is all along vociferous in its demand for withdrawal of IPKF and on the basis of this demand it has been able to rouse deep emotions in towns and countryside in support of its demand. The LTTE, who command the allegiance of the overwhelming majority of the Tamil population through twists and turns of events are nearer to a rapprochement with the island state's majority population on this demand. Even there are indications enough to suggest, according to press reports, the Muslim Congress as well as various professional associations representing lawyers, doctors, civil servants, teachers, etc. have also endorsed Mr. Premadasa's call for ouster of the IPKF. And lastly, the students and youths all over the island have rallied in thousands voicing this national demand.

So, from all available accounts it is crystal clear that the President Premadasa has the mandate from the people of the country as a whole. But the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is stubbornly adamant not to accede to the demand. Over and above, according to press reports, government of India, have replied it with barbarous aerial bombardments with re-inforced troops over the strongholds of the LTTE. In the context of the mandate of the people that the President Mr. Premadasa has received, do not all other considerations that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is adducing fall asunder?

Whatever might be the plea that Rajiv Gandhi provides, the fact of the matter is that by the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, the Indian troops were despatched to Sri Lanka at the request of Sri Lankan President, and have no locus standi whatsoever to stay there once the President has made a public demand for their ouster from the Sri Lankan soil. Not only this; what will be the fate of North Eastern Provincial Council Government if IPKF withdraws cannot surely be the lookout of India, a foreign country. The task of solution of all sorts of problems afflicting Sri Lankan people, including the ethnic problem, devolves on them only and none else. We therefore unequivocally reiterate our earlier demand in tune with the genuine aspiration of Indian people that the IPKF must withdraw immediately from the island state lock, stock and barrel and desist from deteriorating the situation further.

In the face of authoritarian stand and role of India Government, our people, true to the glorious role played by their predecessors against British imperialism in the national independence movement, should come forward to tear apart the interventionist and expansionist character of the Rajiv Government. They should rend the sky: 'why this heinous game of interference and violation of sovereignty of another national state? Is the military might of the Indian State being systematically increased raising the bogey of 'National Interest' and 'Nation in danger' and the like, through yearly increase in defence budgets only to be directed towards trampling upon sovereignty of neighbouring countries? One can aptly ask: Was there anything to do to serve the 'National interest' by way of wasting astronomical figure of twelve thousand crores of rupees for stationing IPKF on

Sri Lankan soil during the last two years? Can any sensible person deny the stark reality that instead of protecting the Tamil population in Sri Lanka for which the IPKF was sent there, they are now engaged in systematically butchering the Tamil population led by the foremost Tamil militant group in Sri Lanka? Who is to provide a plausible reply to the hundreds of casualties sustained by the Indian army personnel? Surely, they were not employed there for the defence and maintenance of integrity and sovereignty of the Indian land mass, for the avowed object of which, we are told, day in and day out, the armed forces are reared up!

When all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, not excluding the CPI and the CPI(M), in the moments of their excitement, were discovering eminent virtues in Rajiv Gandhi's special foreign policy approach towards India's neighbour, our party, we can modestly claim, true to our sense of proletarian internationalism, came forward to provide the world at large through facts and in-depth analyses dealing the whole gamut of the Tamil ethnic problem in relation to its genesis (Vol. 17, No. 1 : October 17 '83) vis-a-vis the imperialist expansionist move of the India government (Vol. 20 No. 17 : July 17 '87) as also tearing apart myth of the 'Accord' undermining the Sri Lankan freedom and sovereignty, (Vol. 21 : No. 2 dt. 14.9.87 and Vol. 22 : No. 9 dt. Jan. 1, 1989)

The CPI and more particularly the CPI(M) were the vociferous defenders of despatching and staying in of the Indian Peace Keeping Force there. Despite the collusion between the Indian and the US Governments over Sri Lanka and the Maldives being known to the CPI(M) leadership, as reflected in its Draft Political Resolution placed in the 13th Congress, it did not hesitate to endorse the inter-

(Contd. on page 8)

Panama—victim of U.S. gangsterism

The naked aggressive policy of the US imperialism in different countries is again brazenly exposed to the world. This time the victim is Panama, a tiny country of Latin America. In utter disregard of all international norms and principles affirming non-intervention by any country into other independent and sovereign ones, the US imperialist marauders have very recently despatched several thousand soldiers in addition to the standing 10,000-strong Southern Command Army traditionally maintained in 20 military bases and training centres in Panama.

The plea for this massive reinforcement, as put forward by the imperialist rulers, is said to be protecting the 40,000 US citizens whose lives and properties are alleged to be in jeopardy owing to the very tense situation prevailing in the country following the 7th May rigged Presidential and National Council elections and their subsequent annulment by Panama's Election Tribunal. But, whatever pretext the imperialist rulers might extend in defence of their heinous act, the real motive behind it is to overthrow from power Manuel Antonio Noriega, the present ruler of the country, a long trusted stooge of the US imperialists—as we shall show in detail hereafter, who has recently failed to satisfy his foreign masters as much as they require. That is why a series of attempts have been made by the US administration for a long time to remove Noriega from the Panamanian roost.

First, he was directly instructed to quit power on ground of drug charges. But Noriega refused to do so. Then with the help of a few disgruntled military personnel of Panama's army a coup was conspired by the CIA, but failed. Followed by this, after an interval, was an attempt made to annihilate him physically. This attempt having failed too, furious US administration tried to foment a civil war in Panama taking advantage of the situation being created after dismissal of the

then President of Panama, Eric Arturo Delvalle by Noriega in February '88, before his term expired. But that also went infructuous due to Noriega's iron handling of the situation. Next came imposition of economic sanction on Panama to cow Noriega into submission and relinquish power. This economic blockade, however, could do nothing to Noriega, rather provided him with the scope of covering up his anti-people activities in the country by projecting himself as the victim of the US imperialist machination, but what it did actually was an incalculable damage to Panama's economy. Her gross national product had declined by 20 p.c.; Government revenue had reduced by 43 p.c. while unemployment had increased by 20 p.c. Further, making the plea of this sanction the US imperialists deprived Panama of her share of canal revenues amounting to \$90 million and also impounded about \$100 million deposited in the US banks.

All these attempts having failed to bear down Noriega, the US administration while keeping continued to evolve other conspiratorial devices took the chance of elections to the President, Vice-President and National Council which were declared to be held on 7th May last, to bring Panama's Government within its command. For this, it is reported, the White House exerted its influence over the Opposition forces there and rather

pressurised them to nominate Guillermo Endara, a handpicked candidate of the US rulers, as the Presidential candidate of the Civic Democratic Alliance of the Opposition parties. To ensure victory of this alliance candidate the US administration funnelled \$10 million into the Opposition's political campaign. Not only this, they also commissioned a secret radio and television network for the Opposition parties' election campaign. These arrangements coupled with Noriega's tremendous unpopularity with the people gave the Opposition's Civic Democratic Alliance candidate an edge over Noriega's candidate. A pre-polling review revealed that 73 p.c. of the Panama's people expressed their mind against Noriega's chosen candidate Carlos Duque. Smelling danger in this and apprehending sure defeat Noriega resorted to massive rigging on the election day using administration to ensure victory of his candidate. But this also did not save his candidate. On counting table it was seen that his candidate Duque was trailing Opposition candidate by more than 2:1 vote. This prompted Noriega to instruct his troops to storm into counting centres and burn all the ballot papers. Afterwards he got the Election Tribunal of Panama, under his control, issued a decree on May 10 annulling the whole election on the ground of foreign intervention. People rose in vehement protest against it and launched movement led by the Opposition parties, which was cracked down on by Noriega's forces with all ferocity. This incident belying the hope of removing Noriega from power was enough for the US administration to make a plea for preparation of direct military intervention and within 24 hours they despatched 2000 troops.

This is the focal point of the episode centering round which Panama is in turmoil presently. But the question is, why so? To find answer we are to turn a few pages of history of Panama.

In fact, the entire history of Panama is a history of struggle against the imperialists for its sovereignty over Panama Canal. Immediately after independence in 1903 Panama took control of the Canal from Columbia, but the US imperialists installed a satellite govt. in Panama on which the US rulers imposed one of history's most plunderous treaties. By virtue of this treaty the USA gained control over the Panama Canal which over and above the facilities of international trade and commerce provides an easy point for the transport of naval armadas between the Pacific and the Atlantic as the cheapest and the shortest route for their piracy in both the eastern and western hemispheres of the globe. Not only this, by exerting influence on the puppet government the US imperialist rulers built a loyal army with their funds and armaments for guarding the Canal.

Since then, as a matter of fact, the US rulers squeezed gradually out one after another privileges from Panama's rulers against a slender monetary benefit. Thus, under the 1942 agreement they took away 134 plots of land outside the Canal Zone for the construction of military bases. In 1947 agreement they acquired the right to build bases in any part of the country. Under 1955 agreement the US monopolists carved out a rent-free territory for building an air force base at Rio Ato of Panama.

However, the people did accept neither this treaty nor the subsequent agreements imposed by the imperialist rulers. In 1959, demonstrators hoisted the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone and they were shot by the US soldiers. In 1964 massive demonstrations were organised by the

people to demand Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone, which too, were brutally smothered by the imperialists.

The struggle, of course, continued though at a low profile. But with the signing of agreement between the then US President Jimmy Carter and General Omar Torrijos, then a pro-US Panamanian dictator, in 1977 extending the lease of 1903-Treaty for a further period of 22 years ending on December 31, 1999, people upsurged. The movement assumed such a militant character on the background of the traditional anti-US imperialist nationalist sentiment that apprehending serious threat to their business interest, the US rulers after the mysterious death of Torrijos installed General Manuel Antonio Noriega on the Panamanian roost, who ran the steamroller of oppression to suppress the movement. In fact, Noriega whom the US administration is now frantically trying to dislodge, started his career as the spy of the CIA supplying information of the student movements of Latin America. Since then he became a most trusted accomplice of the US imperialists in Latin American countries. Starting from drug trafficking in collusion with the CIA, formation of fake corporation to supply arms to Contras against Nicaragua's Leftist Sandinista Govt., perpetration of innumerable secret political murders in Latin America to the throttling of domestic movements both against the US imperialists and his own misrule highhandedly were the pronounced activities to his credit. Actually, as a recognition to his 'service', the US imperialist rulers crowned Noriega with the power to rule Panama as dictator.

But oppression or repression can never keep the people subdued forever. Panama's people also were not. Braving all atrocities and terrorism they started vigorous movement under the banner of Left and commu- (Contd. on page 8)

Nationwide Left and Democratic Mass Movement against Congress(I) Need of The Hour

(Contd. from page 3)

tury, that hallowed image has worn thin in less than five years and his prestige and popularity among the people have touched the nadir. The people, groaning under evermounting tax burden and price hikes, soaring inflation and resultant erosion of real wage and rampant unemployment further aggravated by large-scale lay-off, retrenchment, lock-outs and closures in the organised sector of industry resulting in mass pauperisation are thoroughly disillusioned and discontented. Continual curtailment of even the last remnants of democratic rights and civil liberties through fresh draconian ordinances and Acts has made for a suffocating atmosphere in the country. Rajiv Gandhi Government stands indicted before the people on charges of massive, palpable corruption at the highest level centring round the HDW Submarine and the Bofors gun deals. Developments in connection with the leakage of the Report of Thakkar Enquiry Commission on Indira Gandhi assassination and the subsequent transparent deceit and subterfuges resorted to by Rajiv Gandhi Government to cover up truth and anyhow present itself in good light have laid bare its utterly dishonest character. All these have thoroughly discredited Rajiv Gandhi, his party and government who have lost all credibility in public eyes. There are signs that the Indian ruling class finds that Rajiv Gandhi's efficacy in serving its aggregate interest is fast dwindling and is on the lookout for an alternative. Cornered, a major hope of Rajiv Gandhi lies in creating massive vote banks on communal lines to be drawn upon at the coming Lok Sabha polls. That is why he is playing upon and fanning up communalism at every opportunity and patting either Hindu or Muslim

communalists with openly partisan stand in their favour, whichever seems to be advantageous at the particular place and time, but mainly pampering Hindu communalism since Hindu vote bank has by far the larger potential. Muslim Women's Act, breaking open of the lock of Babri Masjid - Ramjanmabhoomi, ceremonial inauguration of the holy Ganga Action Plan at Benaras amidst a frenzy of Hindu religious fervour in presence of a vast congregation of Hindu priests and *babas*, serialised screening of first *Ramayana* and then *Mahabharata* on TV network with distinct Hindu religious overtones, Rajiv Gandhi's frequent visits to temples, mosques, churches and holy shrines and places for *darshan*, to offer puja or prayer and receive blessings, his proposed visit to Kumbh Mela which was planned to coincide with the VHP's call from the same Mela to build up the Ramjanmasthan Temple at Ayodhya although this visit had to be called off at the last moment due to public outcry—all are to be viewed in this context.

Communalism-casteism-divisivism is on a stridently mounting ascendancy all over the country. Everywhere, *sadhus*, *babas* and *mullahs*, are being openly involved in politics. Realignment on communal lines of various patterns are surfacing in different parts of the country. A BJP-Shiv Sena axis has emerged in Maharashtra. In Kashmir, an unholy nexus exists between Islamic fundamentalists and Sikh fanatics. Shiv Sena, earlier confined to Maharashtra, is now spreading to other parts of the country. They are now vocal in the Jammu region and Punjab and Haryana. The recent Municipal elections in UP were contested by the Shiv Sena where they tried to lure the voters by such palpably communal promise that if victo-

rious, they would rename Muzaffarnagar as Lachminagar as it was a Hindu-majority area. The Dalit phenomenon, earlier confined to some areas, is now spreading in a network all over the country. The clash between Ramdhan and V. P. Singh over the issue of so-called interest of the depressed classes is a pointer. Every serious student of Indian politics should ponder over how Kansiram, the Bahujan Samaj Party leader, could poll so many votes in the Allahabad by-election on the slogan of protecting rights of the depressed classes, the dalits, in the face of extreme polarisation between V. P. Singh and the Congress (I) candidate. Even in West Bengal where caste-politics has not been a major factor, Dalit/Bahujan Samaj Party activities are on.

Thus, when the country threatens to revert back to religious and caste fanaticism of medieval ages, Rajiv Gandhi, in a desperate bid to cling to power, is trying to make use of communalism on a massive scale which might well spell disaster for the country. Since the Government administration is also involved in whipping up communal hysteria, communalism cannot be fought effectively without fighting the Central Government, its anti-people policies. It should be understood that the Congress (I) as the chief perpetrator of communalism not only aims through this to destroy the people's unity in the interest of the ruling class apart from winning the next election, the portents are even more sinister. This widespread practice of communalism will provide an ingredient to prepare the base of fascism in furtherance of the evil design of the ruling capitalist class to foist all-out fascism upon the country. In this context, the fight against communalism and the fight against the all-out fascistic de-

sign of the ruling class stand intergrated into one. And it is the Congress (I) that symbolises both the menaces. So, all efforts must be concentrated and directed against Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I). This is the need of the hour.

Naturally, Rajiv Gandhi is trying to scuttle all-out Opposition unity. He is trying to bring a differentiation between CPI-CPI(M) and the others in the Opposition on grounds of anti-communalism and secularism. By hypocritically talking about secularism and raising the bogey of communalism, he is trying to keep the CPI and the CPI(M) away from the other Oppositoin parties. He is trying to carry this differentiation into the forums of Lok Sabha and the National Integration Council as well. It is a sad fact that right from the beginning, the CPI and the CPI(M) have hindered Opposition unity, have disrupted efforts towards it from within the folds of the Opposition. Taking heart at this, Rajiv Gandhi is encouraging and trying to handle the so-called Kerala line within the CPI(M) of having no truck with the BJP so that Opposition unity dose not materialise, and giving certificates of anti-communalism and secularism to the CPI and the CPI(M)!

The Opposition parties should not get ensnared in this trap. We note with concern that while Rajiv Gandhi hypocritically talks about secularism, about resisting the communal danger to muddle the issues and befool the people, the CPI and the CPI(M) too echo these in almost similar terms. We like to ask them : They do talk about fighting communalism and authoritarianism,

do not they? And does their anti-communalism, anti authoritarianism struggle concretely boil down to anything at all unless spearheaded against Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I)? The question of forging all-out unity against Rajiv Gandhi brooks no delay on any extraneous issue or consideration, on any ground whatsoever.

Time is running out. The nefarious game being played by the Congress(I), its whole evil design must be exposed before the people and the Congress (I) thoroughly unmasked. Only an all-out united anti-communal, anti-fascistic, countrywide movement can be the real deterrent. Not a makeshift unity for electoral purpose but a united forum as instrument for protracted mass struggle, because elections come and go but the grievous damage caused by communal discord to people's cause remains as an ugly scar on the face of society for long with deleterious effect. Hence, the supreme need of the hour is an upsurge of the united democratic mass movement on the burning problems in people's life, against communalism and the all-out fascist design of the ruling class spearheaded against Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) led by him. This, and only this, can create a countrywide countercurrent, prevent a plunge-back into medieval darkness of religious bigotry and intolerance and save our land from the clutches of fascism, the greatest enemy of civilization in this era.

SRI LANKA

(Contd. from page 5)

ventionist role and the 'Accord' thrust upon by India government by saying: "But for the direct help to Sri Lanka, the imperialists would have succeeded in their plan."

Even when the press media in particular, at home and abroad, have become vociferous about the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force and many of the knowledgeable circles including Mr. V. P. Singh have condemned the role of the IPKF as a manifestation of Indian expansionism and hegemonism, neighbouring smaller countries have become extremely panicky about the design of Indian foreign policy, as reflected in the just postponed SAARC foreign ministers' meet, both the CPI and the CPI(M) are dragging their feet. They are visibly perturbed over the widespread demand of withdrawal of IPKF from Sri Lankan soil. That is why, out of compulsion when the CPI(M) leaders are coming out in the open with their views in order to refurbish their image, to their much discomfiture, people are witnessing sharp contradiction among them. So, we see, Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, a Polit Bureau leader is opining for withdrawal of the troops since Sri Lankan Government are demanding for it, adding hurriedly that the Accord should be examined critically before that. Again, Mr. Jyoti Basu, another Polit Bureau leader was found to have asked in a mass meeting in Calcutta that India Government should pull out its army.

The recent Polit Bureau communique also has come about in a roundabout way urging the India Government to "immediately open substantive negotiations" not for an unconditional withdrawal, but "for an agreed time-table for the withdrawal of the IPKF."

There is every reason to believe that besides offering full-throated support to Rajiv Gandhi's contention, the CPI(M) leadership, in raising the demand for withdrawal of the IPKF, has been dictated more on the exigency of vote bank in Tamil Nadu where it wants to reap rich harvest in the coming Lok Sabha polls, in collaboration with its DMK partner, than to uphold the legitimacy of outright total withdrawal of the IPKF. Reiterating its earlier solid defence of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord and commending the work done by the IPKF in creating favourable conditions for its implementation, it did not fail to assert that the Sri Lankan government had failed to fully implement the commitment to devolve power to the provincial councils. All these are taken from an editorial to appear in the next issue of *People's Democracy*, the Central English organ of the CPI(M), as reported in the press. What a pathetic attempt on the part of the CPI(M) leadership to endorse the expansionist policy of the government of India in collusion with the US imperialism! It is now admitted on all hands that under the garb of the doctrine of 'regional security' the government of India has been pursuing its imperialist, expansionist and interventionist policy in the sub-continent with seal of approval by both the US and Soviet super powers, the glaring testimony of which has been manifested recently in cases of Nepal, Sri Lanka and Maldives. Indeed, these parties, claiming themselves to be 'Communist', by their national chauvinist stand and postures are proving themselves to be communist in name only but out and out national social democratic parties in reality!

True sense of patriotism demands the urgent task of united movement of all sections of toiling masses cutting across the

PANAMA

(Contd. from page 6)

nist parties there against Noriega's rule. Naked sale out of the country's interests to the US imperialists in the later days particularly on questions of canal sovereignty and drug smuggling coupled with his own extortion of money from the poor people through taxes etc. turned the situation so serious that any moment an upsurge might take place which not only would end Noriega's rule in Panama but the US control over Panama Canal too. This alarmed the US imperialists and led them promptly to decide discredited Noriega's removal from power.

Here began the conflict between Noriega and the US rulers. Noriega having smacked of the US design started preparing ground to frustrate it. As a first measure he established relation with other Latin American as well as the Central American countries like Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador etc. projecting himself as the victim of the 'Yankee' aggression. Followed by this was the device of wooing the people's con-

barrier of race, caste, creed, and religion in both Sri Lanka and India against the danger of imperialist interventionist policy of government of India. The toiling people of both the countries cannot afford to miss the all important point that the ruling class of Sri Lanka and India tries and will continue to try to whip up senseless frenzies for their narrow interest only to grant newer lease of life for their respective worn-out exploitative systems and they must not fall a victim to such machinations to the peril of their onward march! So, by enhancing the cause of democratic mass movement in the respective countries, the toiling peoples of both Sri Lanka and India can create ground for restoration of amity and goodwill between them paving thereby the way for foiling the bourgeois design in both the countries.

fidence in him. For this he very cleverly and subtly started fanning up the people's sentiment against the US imperialism. He raised one after another demands against the USA, such as 10 p.c. of the commission collected on account of Panama Canal; appointment of Panama's representatives on the Board of Directors of Panama Canal; giving the post of Chairman of the Joint Commission of Panama Canal to a Panamanian; deposition of the Commission of the US portion collected on account of Panama Canal in the Panama's National Bank. All these demands, however, were acceded to by the US rulers as a tactic to isolate Noriega from the people. But, finally when Noriega declared that after 1999 the term of treaty will never be extended and also demanded the abolition of all military bases from Panama forthwith, the US imperialist rulers could not wait any longer and started conspiracy to oust him immediately, which culminated in sending forces to Panama for direct military intervention, an episode we have delineated above.

Such heinous act has no doubt attracted bitter indignation against the US imperialists among the people the world over. Panama is an independent sovereign state. It is the people of this country alone who can settle what kind of government with which personnel should rule their country, not any foreign power, not to speak of the US pirates at all. All the peace and democracy-loving people feel that by violating all the accepted international norms and principles the USA has committed the vilest crime of gangsterism upon a small country with its brutal military and financial might.

We appeal to the people of Panama to rise up against this gangsterism. They would definitely intensify their movement against Noriega's dark anti-democratic offences and ruthless oppression in the country and oust him from the power. But this must not be at the cost of the struggle

Red Salute Comrade Abdus Salam Laskar

Com. Abdus Salam Laskar, an important SUCI organiser of Joy-nagar under South 24-Parganas District, West Bengal was shot by the anti-socials led by the CPI(M) on 14th June last at his village Chaltaberia. While desperately fighting for life he was sent to the NRS Hospital, Calcutta, where he breathed his last on 15th June.

It was a cold-blooded murder and a part of the 'Master Plan' of the CPI(M) to wipe-out our organisation in the vast peasant belt of South 24 Parganas forcibly with the help of the anti-socials, police, administration, jotedars and vested interests.

21st June was observed as 'Protest Day' throughout West Bengal demanding arrests of assassins of Com. Salam and putting a stop to murder tactics against political opponents.

against US imperialism which is the source of their national humiliation and their misery in life. It is also that US imperialism which imposes the stooge-rule, of which Noriega's is the latest, in order to drain out the wealth of the country to the benefit of the US monopolists who in retribution throw crumps of the exploits before the stooge to regale his self interest both in respect of pelf and power, by ruthlessly repressing the people. Hence, there is no reason to be duped either by the US imperialists or by the pro-people pretences of the stooges, who are at loggerheads to further their respective self interests. The need of the hour is, therefore, that the Panamanians must fight all these enemies with equal emphasis to their last under the banner of the genuine Left and democratic forces to end the ageold exploitation of Panama and save the country from ravage.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

Edited and Published by Sukomal Das Gupta from 48, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-700 013 and printed by him at Ganadabi Printers and Publishers Private Limited 52B, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-700 013.