

## GATT : DUNKEL PROPOSALS

# Design for more fierce neo-colonial attack on the peoples of the world

The Final Act Embodying the Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations that started seven years back at Punta del Este in Uruguay came to a close at the deadline set on 15th of December 1993. The Indian Government along with 107 other countries is a signatory to this draft agreement to be ratified by each country within a year to come to give it a finality.

It has been claimed by the protagonists that the three principles declared at the very initiation of this round of talks, eighth in order since the birth of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 45 years ago, viz. cranking further down import duties and other trade barriers, bringing under GATT rules farming and textiles and finally to have a new and powerful referee, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to police the treaty have been achieved. The great failure is said to be the hollowing out of the deals covering services, now assuming more and more important position in the world trade. It has further been claimed that as the members of WTO have agreed to bring their domestic trade laws into line with the treaty, an enormous change has been wrought by severely restricting the use of American trade laws like 'Super 301'. This is because every member state signing the agreement will be under obligation to provide equal treatment to others in so far as the enjoyment of most favoured nation' clause of the original GATT treaty.

It sounds well and gives a nosy picture which is far from the reality. Before showing why all that glitters is not gold let us quote from *The Statesman's* editorial column (The Moth-Eaten Accord - 18.12.93) which reads thus :

"The accord is historic in the sense that it exposed quite clearly the strength of the nationalist streak in the deliberations of nations, laced with the determination that no one will give way unless some purely unilateral advantage has been extracted." It further adds, debunking the achievements claimed, thus "... the future of the international order belongs to selective groupings of nation states in rigid trade blocs rather than to the ground concept of multilateralism..." And finally, the entire history of the Uruguay Round "has been a series of *quid pro quo* with poor countries always getting the worst of the exchanges." We quote extensively to show the sense of concern quite discernible even in the mouthpiece of bourgeois interests of our country.

The fact of the matter, that one cannot find in the quoted remarks, has been the severe accentuation of crisis in the world capitalist system on the one hand and rabid rivalry between the imperialist powers to grab as much market as possible by either forming separate trade blocs though moulthing multilateralism or by thrusting more fierce neo-colonial attacks on the less developed capitalist countries usually defined under the nomenclatures like the Less Developed Countries, the Third World, the Developing Countries, etc. This is happening at a time when the only deterrent to world capitalism, the USSR and other socialist states, their failures notwithstanding, has collapsed, thanks to the machinations of the US imperialist capital in particular, working hand in glove with its playboys - the arch

revisionists who ultimately turned counter-revolutionaries.

For our country, a capitalist state, which is a member nation of the GATT now reflecting the ambition of aspirant Indian bourgeoisie finds in the Union commerce minister, an ardent champion of the Dunkel Proposals, because though he never spells it out in so many words whatever hardships that may now be heaped afresh upon the common people, the Indian capital, now at its monopoly stage, shall have the opportunity to extract more profit when its exports are expected to go up by \$2 billion per annum following a general reduction in tariff. That is to say, for the sake of Indian monopoly finance capital more stridently becoming 'globalised' or a partner of world finance capital, the working people's vital interests and the future of the country can be sacrificed. The neo-colonial attacks, now reinforced will come down heavily on the common working people and even the small and medium capital can hardly expect to be spared. This is the truth, which no amount of ministerial assurances, jugglery of words or subterfuges can conceal.

### Latest Position

Hectic parleys preceded as the deadline of 15th December was zeroing. It was a tug-of-war so to say between the two powerful sides - the USA and

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the EEC, Japan doing the balancing act. Although the Dunkel Draft has been revised to accommodate the conflicting claims and the final text runs to some 5000 pages, the salient features that have come out so far may be taken into account.

We mention first of all, the comments of the *Wall Street Journal*, being not merely most conversant about the final outcome but also because of its position as the mouthpiece of the US imperialist capital.

According to the *Journal* "The Third World countries feel that while the USA and the Europe-

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## Revolutionary Glory Of Comrade Mao Zedong

### Recalled On His Birth Centenary

Calcutta, 28.12.93 :

The year-long programme of the birth centenary of Comrade Mao Zedong, the great international Marxist-Leninist authority and the architect of the Chinese revolution, began on and from 26th December 1993. In the present-day grave international situation when there occurred a great setback in the international communist movement, the necessity of studying and re-studying the invaluable teachings and the life struggles of this great revolutionary leader is all the more important by the people not only of our country but of the whole world. Comrade Mao is the epitome of the highest

standard of a communist and his unique life-long struggle is exemplary to the communists all over the world.

In order to inculcate afresh and highlight the teachings of this revolutionary genius, particularly in the present international perspective, the SUCI took up various programmes in all the states with due solemnity.

In the morning of 26th December, the birth centenary of Comrade Mao Zedong, Red Flag was hoisted amidst slogan-shouting at the party head-

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Komsomol presenting guard-of-honour to Comrade Mao Zedong with leaders on the dais reviewing at Subodh Mullick Square, Calcutta

## Dunkel Draft

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ans are getting the best pieces of the world trade pie, they are getting the crumbs."

The *Journal* further noted that while the demand of India, Pakistan and other textile manufacturing developing countries (who could have gained by extended facility of export of textiles better placed in competition both in regard to quality as also in price - Ed. *P.Era*) for increase in Western import quotas for textiles have been pushed back to ten years or more coming as it will do towards the end of the period, these countries are being asked to lower their restrictions on imports of textiles from the industrial world.

"While that may sound only fair", said the paper, "an Indian negotiator... says that it does not make sense in the broad scheme of things."

Similarly, opinions of representatives of the Third World meaning less developed capitalist countries, quoted by the *Journal* have been uniform. The Filipino negotiator said: "They (Europe and the USA) are trying to decide the fate of the world between the two of them. In this whole round, we are the givers." And a South American negotiator commented, "The USA and EC are shoving things down our throats. It is just ridiculous." The *Journal* concedes that developing countries won few concessions on specific products where they are competitive. Whereas, the preferential treatment they were enjoying for so long has been substantially wiped out.

Between the two imperialist giants the USA and EC there has been mutual scrapping of tariffs on \$ 5 billion trade. France has successfully opposed inclusion of audio-visual sector in the new treaty as it considered import of TV programme or American films amounts to 'cultural invasion'. Regarding farm subsidy (Blair House agreement of November '92) reduction by it to the extent of 21 p.c. has been reviewed and the French interest is said to have been guarded. The failure between the two to resolve their differences has been over audio-visual trade, financial services, maritime transport and subsidies to aircraft builders. The audio-visual being kept out has not only angered the USA but brought out the real significance of the new accord.

While Mr. Kantor, the US negotiator, remarked in Geneva that Washington had retained the right to deploy all its fearsome anti-dumping and 'fair' trade armoury if it thought fit. Thus, while the USA will continue to bolster up aircraft industry, the EC will do the same to Airbus industry through subsidies.

But what is most revealing is the fact as has been reported in the Press: "Hollywood is the country's second largest export industry."

"But the audio-visual issue could flare up again, in a different guise, if the Clinton Administration invokes domestic legislation, the so-called 'Super 301' trade laws, imposing unilateral retaliatory trade sanctions against France, thus bypassing the GATT process altogether."

This exposes the dominance and the right of unilateral retaliatory actions by the giant imperialist powers despite the 5000 pages of rules and regulations of the new treaty said to usher in a new era of expanded trade, free competition, boundless prosperity, so on and so forth.

Meanwhile, the dominant imperialist powers are busy in forming separate regional blocs or entering into trade pacts with important countries of the region. The recent instance of agreement on trade and technology between India and the EC is

a case in point. The EC has shown interest in regional cooperation among SAARC and encouraged any step towards the end. This means another regional trade bloc where the Indian monopoly finance capital can have a prominent role. Such things will be coming more and more making nonsense of multilateralism and 'free trade'.

In fact, both before and after the formation of the GATT the rule of imperialism has been the same. We want to briefly trace the genesis of the GATT from some concrete historical facts precisely to tell our common people as also people of other parts of the globe that even if they still retain a patriotic feeling to see the proper development of their country, which capitalism cannot bring about at this moribund stage, and defend their vital interests and the future of the country, they must all unite against imperialism-monopoly capital combine headed by US imperialism working hand in glove as in our country so also elsewhere.

At the very outset it should be clearly understood that the way crisis of capitalism had been brewing up internationally leading to what is known as trade war - a term widely known today - the object behind formation of GATT was to try to bring that trade war under control as far as possible obviously in favour of the leading imperialist countries in particular.

### GATT :

#### The Promises and Reality

Now, in the year 1948 i.e. three years after the Second World War came to an end, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was inaugurated in Geneva by 23 participating nations. The number of participating nations since increased to 108 in 1991 and now 116 nations are asked to accept the Dunkel Draft Act. The GATT members handle about 90% of world trade and commerce today. The three guiding principles which were supposed to act as pillars of the original Agreement are the following :-

1. **'Most Favoured Nation' Treatment** - meaning all the participating nations agree to apply equally the rules, regulations and tariff laws against one another in matters of import and export of goods.

2. **'National Treatment'** that is to say, the laws relating to indigenous business and the regulatory tariffs applied to them should not oppose in any way the import of commodities from other participating members.

3. **'Prohibition of Non-Tariff Barrier'** - meaning prohibitions of all other restrictions or regulations except on tariff. It implies the member countries should not enact laws to deny the principles laid down by way of putting non-tariff restrictions like the quota for import or other measures to virtually bar the entry of foreign commodities in the national market.

So it goes without saying that the USA has been the first and worst violator of all these principles. It is known to all that the USA while clamouring for 'free trade' and multilateralism does not hesitate to use its own trade law Super 301 to deprive a nation of 'most favoured nation' clause. This means, it obstructs free entry of goods of any other country from whom it fails to extract unilateral advantage or special privilege.

It is therefore obvious that notwithstanding the equitable principles enshrined in the original GATT text, the fate of those has been determined by the dominant imperialist capitals to the great disadvantage of other developing capitalist countries

who remained poor as before and could hardly increase their share in world capitalist market. The world capitalist market has been shared by the USA, European Community and Japan in the main and the present agreement aims at doing precisely the same.

From another aspect it is also obvious that the so-called principles were heavily loaded in favour of the imperialist and advanced capitalist countries because industrial and technological standards of these nations are very much uneven. As such, the underdeveloped countries had to depend on traditional items like agricultural products, etc. for earnings from export but they were and are still now greatly disfavoured by lesser values for their agricultural products while the values of manufactured goods of the imperialist nations rose continuously. So the foreign trade has always been adverse to the underdeveloped countries while the advanced imperialist countries always exploited the labour of the underdeveloped countries by paying less as also putting various restrictions on the entry of their goods. So, the very purpose of the GATT was to keep the global capitalist economy running but it was based on the principle that only the strong ones win the game.

In this connection, we would like our readers to bear in mind that imperialism means inter-imperialist rivalries for a continual redivision of the world in so far as the global market is concerned. This rivalry takes two forms - the 'peace manoeuvre' and 'war manoeuvre', as our revered departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown. The so-called 'peace manoeuvre' means nothing else but trade war, not only to retain the existing market but also for its extension. The trade war assumes acute form when the world market shrinks from two factors - one, the steady dwindling of the purchasing power of the people compared to amazing increase in productive capacity due to technological transformation, popularly called 'technological revolution' and secondly, because of the resurgent sovereign nations developing their own industries and agriculture for their respective capitalist national markets giving rise to competition with foreign products to that extent. That is why while the inter-imperialist rivalries goes on, so also the respective position of the imperialist powers changes in the changed world situation in so far as their grip and tentacles over the world market is concerned. This was pointed out by Lenin, long before, in his magnum opus, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. When the trade war, however acute, cannot solve the problem of redivision of the world, war or 'war manoeuvre' becomes the last resort. We have seen how the two great wars were fought between the imperialist powers precisely for the purpose of redivision of the world market.

#### The Background of GATT Recalled

At the time of the Second World War, a change of position amongst the imperialist powers was imperceptibly taking place. Great Britain which was then the roaming lion among the imperialist powers was losing its vigour and teeth because of the unbearable burden it was carrying to continue a global war as also to meet the mighty challenges of anti-colonial freedom movements in its world-wide colonies. The USA took the opportunity to steal a march by financial and other helps and support to the UK and other European countries by the so-called Lend Lease Bill adopted in its Congress in March, 1941.

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The US imperialist capital was no longer content with its hegemony over Latin America through the infamous 'Monroe Doctrine'. It had its wings strengthened enough to fly a more distant horizon. The Lend Lease scheme gave it the opportunity not only to give a boost to its industries suffering from sagging demands in goods on the morrow of the Great Depression and found a definite prospect of increased supply of goods and war materials to war entangled Europe as also to reap huge profit by this, so to say, a 'hire purchase' scheme at a grandiose scale. It provided for payment of debt at a later date. Excess US finance capital got thus a profitable outlet as also the prospect of further extension of market.

This scheme was followed up by the so-called Declaration of Atlantic Charter, clinched between two imperialist powers — one losing leadership, the UK, and the other, the emerging leader, the USA, in August 1941, at the eastern coast of Canada (in a warship after 5 days' parleys). It would be interesting to recall the so-called 'solemn pledge' (!) agreed upon by the two powers. What was it? It read like this: It is agreed that the people of all nations have their sovereign right to form governments of their own choice — that the geographical boundaries cannot be altered without the expressed consent of the people concerned; that after the fall of Hitler's Germany these two powers would ensure that the people of every country can live peacefully within their own territories; that in the world after the war, every nation would cooperate with other and that the sea lanes would remain free and open for all. And finally, here comes the gut of the issue — the nations of the world will have the unfettered right to trade and commerce with one another meaning they will have the unrestricted right to freely purchase raw materials and sell the finished products. The seed of the GATT lay in the last clause. Others were meant in effect to remove the barriers set in the path of expansion of the US finance capital. The old had to yield to the young and the vibrant. This, in brief, is the genesis of the GATT. To be precise, it was an arrangement in the post-Second World War situation in the concrete historical background that developed gradually with the emergence of the socialist bloc on the one hand and newly independent bourgeois sovereign states in Asia, Africa and Latin America pursuing the path of capitalist development on the other, and both restricting the market of advanced imperialist capitalist countries.

### The Uruguay Round of Talks : A New Chapter

What about the 'Round' — the Uruguay Round to be specific? Like the UN General Assembly the GATT has also a Council of Representatives (of member states) having its headquarters in Geneva. It discusses various issues, general as well as particular, relating to trade and tariff, review of old policies, formulation of new ones, etc. In the last 45 years of its existence, 7 rounds of this council were complete, the last one being the Tokyo Round — held between 1977 and 1979. The present round or the Uruguay Round, started at in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, in 1986 has been going on for the longest period so far since then because not only of the very contentious nature of changes demanded but also for a total change in the structure and nature of the GATT so far understood. Why and what for?

### Why This Round ?

Before the Tokyo Round, GATT concerned itself with general commodities or goods of usual import and export. The whole intention was to remove the tariff restrictions or regulations in the newly independent countries so that the advanced capitalist countries could extend markets for their manufactured items like machineries or industrial products. The intention was to reduce step by step the tariff walls obstructing penetration of their goods in these markets. It did not yet give attention to the government backing, financial or otherwise, to the indigenous industries or to subvention to export items. For the first time in the Tokyo Round questions were raised about export subsidies or government orders being given to indigenous trade and industry. The export subsidy was branded openly as nothing but 'dumping', that is to say, reducing artificially the prices of exportable items and was threatened to be retaliated by countervailing tariff increases in the exporting countries. Even governments' order or weightage to indigenous industry was frowned upon and opposed. Instead, global tender by the governments was demanded. The whole intention was to deny the opportunity to the developing capitalist countries to earn competitive strength in world market, pathetically dependent as they are on foreign exchange through export of their agricultural products which were cheaper than those in advanced capitalist countries. This export earning was essential for these countries to pay the cost of import of machineries and other industrial products requiring higher technology. In the similar fashion textiles which were cheaper in productive costs in these countries were restricted as exportable items by imposing quota for each developing country set down by a separate organisation — Multi Fibre Agreement (MFA). This agreement has never been brought under the GATT for the obvious reason of protecting home market of the advanced capitalist countries. MFA has been extended, but every time demand rose for bringing it under the GATT. Now the promise is for phasing it out in 10 years.

We are always to bear in mind, therefore, that notwithstanding the clamour for free competition or free trade the era of free competition in capitalist world system ended long back as in the national plane. Instead, there has been identification of the interests of the Multinational Corporations with those of the world capitalist system just as of the national economy with the interests of the monopoly capital in the capitalist countries, even of the so-called third world countries like ours.

This is one aspect. There was another, the more important aspect was there for setting the background of the Eighth Round — the Uruguay Round lasting for last seven years as also of the Draft Final Act (DFA) that Arthur Dunkel, the then Director General of the GATT, placed nearly two years back. What is that?

This is the fact of change in composition of world trade and commerce effected between 1950 and 1987. i.e. within a span of 37 years. In 1950, agricultural products composed 46% of world trade which was altered to just 13% in 1987. Instead, according to the survey of the IMF, Service Sector viz., bank, insurance, telecommunication, transportations, space science, hotels, restaurants and even fast food and medical services, etc., composed 30% of total volume of world trade. Within developed capitalist economies, the structure of employment and contribution of goods sector to Gross Domestic Production

(GDP) have long since moved in favour of service sector. In the USA it represents two-thirds of the Gross National Product (GNP) and provides employment to over to 70% of the workforce. By 1980 the USA was already exporting \$ 35 billion worth of services many of which had got internationalised.

The clash of interest between the competing newly industrialised countries and Japan especially in goods sector was being felt from the pressure of these countries on the US imperialist capitals and its partners for adjustments in international trade and commerce. The imperialist overlords led by the USA found in this development not only their distinct superiority in technological advancement which has been termed as 'Intellectual Property' including thereby the technological skill and scientific experiments and devices, but also to monopolise this advantage as capital or an instrument of exploitation over the less advanced countries. Not only that, they also want to restrict scientific and technological advancements of these countries by putting a lace over indigenous researches and skill by internationalisation of Patent Laws so as to keep them wholly dependent on the advanced imperialist-capitalist countries and even to bring under firm grip for a long time the national markets of these countries by ensuring free entry of imperialist capital in this sector, i.e. service sector. The USA, therefore, took the initiative in bringing services within the ambit of negotiations where it saw its distinct advantage and brought around other advanced imperialist-capitalist countries to this view. We intend to discuss the principal items of Dunkel's recommendations as contained in the DFA avoiding various other technical issues for a clearer understanding as to the real class motive and its practical implications to be felt by the toiling masses all over the world. This will also help in understanding the actual meaning of so-called 'globalization' as also 'opening up' of the economy and the bogey of 'market rules' now being projected as synonymous with democratic values, etc. as an ideological prop against scientific socialism or the class interests of the working people of the world.

### DFA — Salient Features and Implications

We do not intend to go into the details of the whole issues that were divided to be adjudged by 14 committees of the GATT. We will concern ourselves only with those items whose implications on the economy of the country and more particularly on employment, pricing of products, mounting economic burden on common people including large section of farmers on the one hand and loss of earnings on the other which are simply portentous. In short, the proposed international trade policies aim at striking deadly blows against economic and technical developments of every developing country and the only beneficiaries of which will be the Multinational Corporations of the USA and other imperialist countries and the monopoly capital like that of ours which have already become cosmopolitan, i.e. imperialist in character.

### Service Sector

As we have shown, while the share of commodities in world trade both of agricultural and industrial products has diminished, a new commodity, service, has increased its share to the extent of 30%. For the first time, in the history of the GATT,

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its rules have been proposed to be thoroughly changed to include in their ambit, service. The service sector of every country starting from banking, insurance, transportation, telecommunication to hotel, restaurant and even fast food will have to be made open for foreign finance capital on equal footing with the national enterprises or agencies grown mostly under government control. An important factor is to be noted here. With the development of capitalist productive system at its present stage and sharpening to the fullest extent of competition between the countries in the capitalist world order for share of market, it has become apparent that development, rapid diffusion and mastery of technology alone can give comparative advantage and thereby competitive edge to the international market.

Export success and dominance of world market depend now not so much on static advantages like natural resources and low labour cost as on dynamic capacity to adapt to imitate and improve technology. Know-how has become a key element in productive processes while costs of materials and labour are declining in a proportion in the production cost. This is why so much emphasis is laid on service sector. The imperialist capitals by virtue of their superior technology, while penetrating in the markets of the less developed countries let alone creating new employment, will actually drive out those already employed with the help of electronic machines in this vital sector that has provided substantially whatever new jobs have been created since the country's independence. Ten years' time has been proposed to the countries for adjustment with the proviso of the right to review how foreign capitals have been helped to proceed to their desired direction after five years. The top super monopoly houses of the USA, the owners of the MNCs have dubbed this granting of time as an unwanted 'excessive concessions' in the Draft. One may unmistakably understand how this neo-colonial policy has been already put into practice through the conditionalities of the IMF loan, India has contracted. In fact, the IMF and the World Bank are nothing but the two executing agencies of the same imperialist design of thrusting neo-colonial interests on the relatively backward capitalist countries like ours.

### Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs)

It is the worst sort of blow to the relatively backward capitalist countries inasmuch as it virtually puts a damper on scientific, technological and economic advances of these countries. It is now the realisation of the US imperialists that creation of another Japan who by virtue of advanced technology, brought by the US finance capital there, has now emerged as the mightiest contender in the world market and even made intrusion in a big way in the US home market. Higher technology or scientific knowledge, the product of human brain, thus has been turned into capital and thereby an instrument to subjugate the world under the dominance of stronger imperialist capital at a particular stage of most acute crisis of world capitalism. If the developing capitalist countries are allowed to advance in research, scientific pursuits, technologi-

cal improvements true to the principles of free competition as enshrined in GATT document, then these may be transformed into actual products competing with foreign products and to that extent, shrinking the market of foreign imperialist capital. This is far from the interest of dominant imperialist capital notwithstanding rivalries among them.

Therefore, in the Uruguay Round, it was the USA who introduced the TRIPs so that R & D (Research and Development) and advancement made in the fields of science and technology particularly in bio-technology, drugs and chemicals, pesticides and new varieties of plants and animals, computer, space science and technology as also telecommunication cannot be copied or reproduced independently in varied forms, nor can be circulated by means of licensing from the inventor companies as has so long been in vogue.

For this purpose, the patent law is proposed to be internationalised by means of international registration both of the product as also of the process. The British imperialist rulers saw to it that the colonial markets were kept open for their own products and expertise by preventing indigenous efforts to develop the same. The Indian Patent Act of 1970 was obviously intended to safeguard the interests of the Indian capitalists to develop their own strength by utilising the indigenous resources, scientific researches and technical skills. This Act, still in effect, gives patent right only to process and not to the products. That is to say, one can make the same product by different methods or processes without violating the patent law. But the explicit term of TRIPs (Art.271) demands patentable right both on the process and on the product thereby denying the indigenous industries to produce their own products on the ostensible plea that those have been made either by copy or substantially copying of the process already registered by the MNCs.

This is also evident from the fact that hitherto any indigenous company could get the licensing right to sell the foreign products by locally producing those. But this has also been prohibited under the terms of the TRIPs. TRIPs, if accepted, will give the right to the patent-holder to block others in making or importing the products whereas the patent-holder shall have the right to flood these markets with foreign products. There will, therefore, be hardly any need for collaboration by foreign firms with local counterparts. Markets will be opened for foreign finance capitals' free exploitation as imported and local products will have equal treatment as regards the workability of the patent which incidentally is for 20 years.

Internationalisation of patent is extended to Industrial Design (Art.25) under which the patent owner will have right to prohibit unless there is explicit consent from him, making, selling, importing articles bearing or embodying a design which is a copy or substantially a copy of the protected design. And we should always bear in mind that the judges will be those either enjoying the full confidence or actually the representatives of the MNCs, who want to monopolise the world market.

Let us pause a while to understand the implications of what have been stated. The new patent law now being internationalised thus will affect most adversely the indigenous industries so far grown, not only the engineering but also pharmaceutical and drug. From a rough estimate, more than 50% of these industries face the danger of closure on the plea of violating the TRIPs. This will entail loss of jobs to thousands upon thousands of working people, wastage of capital, so on and so forth. Not

only that, the drug prices can be increased at will by the MNCs to fleece the famished people of these countries. The transitional period of 10 years given to the developing countries to adjust to this new dispensation is hardly a solace. The Union Commerce Minister Mr. Pranab Mukherjee by way of giving justification to India's signing the new GATT settlement says quite naively that the 10-year transition period for introduction of product patents in drugs, chemicals and food products would help in rebuilding the research and development efforts. Fantastic it may sound, but still he holds that India would gain from the adoption of international standards in intellectual property rights, protection and enhancement of the flow of foreign capital. But the fact is that the impact is so damaging that even "the Standing Committee of Parliament on Petroleum and Chemicals feels that Indian Drug sector will be adversely affected if the Dunkel Proposals relating to drug industry are accepted. ... that prices of medicines would go up further and multinational companies would capture the market. ..." (*Indian Express*, 7.8.93)

The TRIPs provisions do not allow the developing countries to defend their age-old agriculture and the products related to it including animals. That is why, Art.27, 3b makes plants and animals falling in the category of micro-organism and essentially biological processes for production of plants and animals falling in biological and microbiological processes patentable. This means in simple words that high yielding variety of seeds for rice or wheat, say for instance, the *Taichung* variety of rice once imported from Taiwan, will be patented and the farmers will have to pay royalty for that. Moreover, there will hardly be any scope for the new varieties of rice like *Joya* and *Padma* to grow indigenously because by any plea those could be shown to have a similarity in process with a foreign variety already patented. Such will also be the fate of better type of cow like *Jersey* as any of the MNCs can claim it to be a copy or substantially a copy of their process already patented. The progenies of this higher variety of animals will remain patented internationally for a period of 17 years. No amount of ministerial assurance can remove the danger actually posed.

It is interesting to recall in this connection that at the 1983 FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization-1945) Conference, 66 countries largely from the Third World adopted the international understanding on plant genetic resources according to which plant germ plasm is a heritage of mankind to which all countries should have access both to its natural as well as manipulated forms. It was the USA who did not sign the understanding because of its treating the plant genetic resources as private property.

In real terms, therefore, with the acceptance of TRIPs the agricultural, horticultural and other biotechnological processes being patentable, biotechnological research and as such new breed of wheat, rice, etc., in the countries like India will be reduced to impossibility, the minister's assurance to the contrary notwithstanding. The farmers will have to depend on imported varieties of seeds at a very high cost from the MNCs and that too to produce from those for no other purpose than personal consumption if insisted upon by the patent-holders. The country will be pushed to a pathetic dependence on import of food from the imperialist sharks. This is further reinforced by the DFA's new formulations on agriculture sector to which we will come hereinafter. But for the present we would just mention

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**MAO ZEDONG DAY OBSERVED**

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quarters by Comrade Manik Mukherjee, member of the State Secretariat and Secretary, Calcutta District Committee of the party. After the flag-hoisting the *Internationale* was sung by the comrades present there.

The West Bengal State Committee of the party organised a huge rally at Subodh Mallick Square, Calcutta, on the day and an exhibition of quotations of Comrade Mao at Metro Station, Esplanade, taking excerpts from his different works which are very much pertinent in the present context. The exhibition was declared open by Comrade Provash Ghosh, member, Central Committee, and Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the party at 2-30 p.m. In his inaugural speech he said that the Birth Centenary programme will cover the whole year through various programmes to be taken up by our party in the state as per the decision of the Central Committee of the party.

At Subodh Mullick Square, Calcutta, a beautifully decorated dais with a huge portrait of Comrade Mao Zedong, was erected for the meeting attended by thousands of workers, peasants, students, youths, women along with the common men. Two huge well-decorated processions, with the huge portraits of Mao Zedong mounted on the well-decorated vans in the front, one from Azad Hind Bagh in the northern part of Calcutta and another from Ballygunge station in the south of this me-

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In the last paragraph of the article on Kashmir (Vol. 27 No. 6) *autonomous status* is to be read as *special status*. The error is regretted - Editor P.Era.

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that the neo-colonial attack seems to be all-pervading inasmuch as it includes animal breeding also. We just mention a case. On April 7, 1987, the US patent office approved the patenting of animals with new traits produced through genetic engineering. Companies are holding patent on the new animals and on generations of their offsprings produced through 17 years' life of the patent.

**Agricultural Sector**

The Third World countries like ourselves need be concerned most about the neo-colonial attack in preparation in the Dunkel Draft on agricultural sector which still remains to be dominant in the economy both as producer of food and raw materials as also as the main export earner. We have shown before that agricultural commodities, share in world trade has dwindled to a large extent. The US farming which has become a modern industry wants to expand its market in this sector. That is why, its main object in the garb of Dunkel proposals has been to penetrate into the agricultural sector of these countries and do away with the self-reliance on food front, so far as the production is concerned, achieved at a high cost borne by the common people of the country.

The complaint of the US imperialists in the Uruguay Round of talks has been that the three main principles of the GATT in regard to distribu-

tion throughout the world of agricultural products are being violated. The USA is supported by 13 states who are referred to as 'Cairn Group' - the states like Argentina, Australia, Canada, Brazil, etc., representing 50 crores of people and taking 25% share of total world export of agricultural commodities. The complaint is aimed at various subsidies whether in the form of supply at cheap rate of water, electricity, or exemption from agricultural income tax, etc., being resorted to by the governments. They oppose subsidy and subvention of any kind, covert or overt, to agriculture more than 10% in the aggregate in order to protect the home market though they themselves do the same thing. They meet stiff resistance from Japan where rice production is heavily subsidized but which is not inclined to allow any intrusion of foreign agricultural products in home market to the serious disfavour of the big farms who control the grain market. Ultimately however, the Japanese government representing the interests of the imperialist capital weighing the comparative advantage to be derived from the new agreement, relented on the rice front, ensuring at the same time sufficient safeguards to the farm lobby. The passage has, still then, not been a smooth and easy one because of differences among political parties forming the coalition government.

Summing up the various provisions contained in the Dunkel Draft in this regard the following may be listed :

1. Binding commitments are sought in each of the areas: (a) market access; (b) domestic support and (c) export competition. The less developed countries get no exemption.
2. Market access concession meaning allowing foreign food articles in the home markets is to be allowed at the minimum rate of 3% in the first year and the maximum of 5% by the end of the period of the internal consumption. Current access opportunities shall not be less than 1986-1988 level.
3. Ordinary customs duties shall be reduced between 1993 and 1999 by an average of 36% but not less than 15% on each tariff line. For the less developed countries (LDCs) the limits are two-thirds of the level and the transition period allowed is ten years.
4. Likewise there is to be commitment on reduction of domestic support on agricultural products based on 'aggregate measurement of support' (AMS) by 20% between 1993 and 1999. Such commitment is not required when the support is less than 10% *ad valorem* for a product. It is to be noted that in computation of figures about domestic support such things like the difference in price of government procurement and market price, electricity rates, irrigation rates as also any other support in national and sub-national levels will be taken into account.
5. Similarly outlays and quantities receiving budgetary support for export subsidies are to be reduced by 36% and 24% respectively from 1993 to 1999. (This is the main area of contention between the EEC and the USA).

Needless to point out the disastrous effects of all these provisions on both the consumers and the peasantry other than the section controlling the market.

A few other items need to be discussed.

**Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIM)**

Initiatives in the Uruguay Round relating to services, TRIPs and TRIMs are interlinked and a

major strategic thrust. The multinational corporations have practically monopolised the technological improvements, information channels, research and scientific developments. They want to dominate the world market. And it is in their interest that the Dunkel Draft or, new trade rules, are being framed under the GATT's 8th round of talks.

For the multinational corporations the distinction between trade and investment has become academic. Since what they require is presence of 'right of establishment'; the opportunity to compete on a par with national suppliers (national treatment); absence of regulations which impose certain obligations, e.g. export requirement; (the government spokesmen say just the opposite that foreign capital investment will increase export - Ed. P. Era) free remittance of profits, unrestricted trans-border dataflows, and a guarantee that their local competitors will not have access to their technologies (even Sri Jyoti Basu advocating foreign capital investment justifies it by falsely holding foreign capital means improved technology - Ed. P. Era). Exactly all these interests of the MNCs have been safeguarded in the Dunkel text as regards TRIPs, TRIMs and service sector.

**Multilateral Trade Organisation (MTO)**

A new and separate organisation has been proposed to oversee how the rules relating to Service and TRIPs are being implemented with the same authority of the GATT. The rules relating to commodities which have so long been the concern of the GATT are to be equally applied with same force by the MTO. Only those countries can be the members of this organisation who would accept the DFA in its entirety, "The Draft Final Act has been presented on a take it or leave it basis as a single treaty to be accepted in toto without making reservation on any part of the treaty." (*Dunkel's Draft Text - Critical Analysis - July '92*)

And Carla Hill, the US trade representative canvassing for the DFA is candid enough to say : "If Super and Special - 301 (of the US Government - Ed. P. Era) was a crowbar to prey upon the market of developing countries, the Uruguay Round was the sustained heavy pressure designed to bring about the ultimate collapse of resistance to the entry of the US goods and services in the countries." (*Ibid - p. 2*)

This MTO will have three pillars or chambers : a council for trade in goods, a council for trade in intellectual property and the third relating to services with a common ministerial level general body above them. In the integrated dispute settlement procedures, cross retaliation is permitted. We have shown earlier the practical meaning of this in the US government's assurance to the Hollywood about restriction to be put on French and European film industries for their opposition to remove import duties on American films.

**TO BE CONCLUDED**

Rates of subscription have changed as follows :

Yearly	Rs. 34.00
Half-yearly	Rs. 17.00

Subscribers are requested to send their dues as early as possible.

## Mosabani copper miners foil conspiracy of HCL management and puppet INTUC union

The struggling workers of the Hindustan Copper Limited, Mosabani, Bihar, under Indian Copper Corporation, have added another glorious chapter to the heroic struggles of the copper miners of India under the leadership of the Copper Mazdoor Union affiliated to UTUC (LS). This time on the demand of regular payment of monthly wages and annual bonus they launched a long-drawn powerful movement exposing the heinous conspiracy of the INTUC-led puppet union and the copper management from 30th August last. As a part of this ongoing struggle a mammoth rally of thousands of miners under the leadership of Copper Mazdoor Union was organised at Mosabani on 12th of December last. The meeting was addressed by the miners' beloved leader and president of the union, Comrade Prithvi Chanda, all-India President of UTUC (LS) and member, Central Committee of the SUCI.

Comrade Chanda in his speech exposed before the gathering how the management in collusion with its puppet INTUC union were spreading rumours that the financial condition of the HCL was very precarious. The only purpose of it was to deprive the miners of their legitimate due and to pave the way for privatising the industry showing it sick. He said the fact speaks otherwise. Refuting the false propaganda launched by the management and its puppet INTUC union Comrade Chanda cited that the management in two consecutive years of 91-92 and 92-93 made a net profit respectively of Rs. 51.04 crores and Rs. 33 crores in spite of severe recession in worldwide copper market. In 1990-91 the company cleared all the debts it incurred previously. It had been possible because the workers continuously have been increasing production and in 1991, 1992 and 1993 respectively the miners produced copper worth Rs. 640, 661 and 684.15 crores, Comrade Chanda said, and called upon the copper miners to continue their struggle till the victory was achieved.

Greatly enthused and inspired by the speech of Comrade Chanda the miners the very next day, 13th December, gheraoed the managers of different copper mines in the region and as a result on 15th the management was compelled to notify that the payment for November would be made on 24th December. The movement is going on vigorously to achieve the total demands of the miners.

In regard to the background of the movement it is necessary to mention that in Mosabani copper

mines the Copper Mazdoor Union (UTUC-LS) has the pride of leading the copper miners in their many victorious struggles. The management took repressive measures to crush the movements of the union and particularly from March '92 onwards they began to prop up the INTUC-backed union by creating confusion among a section of the workers and by intimidation and threat managed to let them sign the so-called 'check-up form' in favour of management and began to deduct at the rate of Rs. 3/- as so-called 'welfare fund' contribution and union subscription forcibly from the workers' pay. But in no time, the mischief was unmasked and the workers under the leadership of Copper Mazdoor Union protested before the ALC(C), Chaibasa, against such illegal act of the management and its puppet union. Along with the growing resistance of the workers the management resorted to newer and newer coercive tactics. They changed the monthly pay day from 10th to 15th or even to 24th of the month violating the Payment of Wages Act. The INTUC-led union, in collusion with the management, began to spread rumour and panic among the miners that the financial condition of the company was so precarious that it would not be possible for it to make regular payments at all, let alone paying bonus. But in rebuff, the Copper Mazdoor Union with greater strength and wider support placed on 30th August a charter of demands for regularisation of payment and yearly bonus at the rate of 20% before the management and the ALC(C). The miners gheraoed the management and the very next day the management was compelled to notify that ex-gratia payment @ Rs. 1600/- or special incentive @ Rs. 1500/-, as the case may be, would be given on 30th of November '93. But the Mosabani copper miners in utter hatred boycotted such a meagre payment as bonus. The miners of Rakha mines and workers of Moubhandar also joined. In retaliation, the company through a notification on 30th November evening declared that the monthly payment for November '93 was also uncertain. Creating such an atmosphere of panic the management tried to make the said ex gratia payment on 1st December, but in vain. The miners boycotted payment that day also.

The Copper Mazdoor Union more and more organised the agitated workers on the right path. And on 12th December the mammoth gathering of the copper miners was organised. The puppet INTUC union was completely isolated.

A 3-member delegation headed by Comrade R. Baskaran, member, State Committee, SUCI submitted a memorandum, addressed to Boris Yeltsin, to the representative of the Russian Consulate General in Madras.

### Kerala

The SUCI, Trivandrum District Committee, vehemently protested the heinous act of demolition of Lenin's statue in Caucasus region of Russia. It took out a protest demonstration in the city on 8th December last. Denouncing the butchery of even the last vestiges of democracy by the criminal imperialist lackey Yeltsin the well decorated demonstration marched from East Fort to Palayam denouncing imperialism-revisionism-counterrevolution.

## 6th All Orissa Students' Conference

The 6th All Orissa Students' Conference organised by the AIDSOS was held with success on 27th, 28th and 29th November '93 at Cuttack. Thousands of students from different corners of Orissa participated in the conference and expressed determination to unleash far more powerful movements against the anti-people new education policy, imperialist Dunkel proposal, danger of communalism, donation and capitation fee system and the pervasive obscenity in culture.

On 27th November, the day of the open session, the flag of the AIDSOS was hoisted at Barabati Stadium, the site of the delegate camp. From there a huge well-decorated fervent procession marched to the College Square passing through the main thoroughfares of the city. On the way the statue of Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Dash, the eminent freedom fighter was garlanded. At College Square the statue of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was garlanded.

Eminent poet Sri Sachi Routroy, was the guest-in-chief and speakers present were Comrade Arun Singh, President and Comrade Rabin Samajpati, General Secretary of AIDSOS. Comrade Dhurjati Dash, state AIDSOS president, presided over the open session.

Comrade Chhabi Mohanty, AIDSOS state secretary, Comrade Ramesh Nayak, Secretary, Reception Committee and Comrade Mukesh Tyagi, All India Council member, also participated in deliberation.

Sri Sachi Routroy, in his speech, urged the students to fight to save education and culture against all odds drawing inspiration from the great martyrs of freedom movement. Then the all India leaders spoke and called upon the students to build up mighty united movements against the central government's New Education Policy and all the anti-student policies of the Janata Dal-led Orissa government and to fight for secular, scientific and democratic education on the basis of higher moral values.

The Delegate Session was held on 28th and 29th November at Kala Vikash Kendra, Cuttack, attended by nearly one thousand delegates and was conducted by a presidium consisting of Comrade Dhurjati Dash and Comrades Shankar Dasgupta and Gobinda Maharana, both vice-president, AIDSOS, Orissa.

Comrade Tapas Dutta, Member, Central Committee, SUCI was the Chief Guest in Delegate Session. He addressed the delegates urging them to acquire higher ethics and culture by correctly and deeply studying the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the age and to strengthen the AIDSOS to build up movements not only on educational problems but on the day-to-day problems of the common millions. He inspired the delegates to build up mighty democratic movements conducive to the revolutionary transformation of the exploitative capitalist society.

The new powerful AIDSOS State Committee was formed with Comrade Ajoy Kumar and Comrade Ramesh Nayak as Vice-Presidents, Comrade Rajendra Burma as Secretary and Comrade Basanta Nayak as Treasurer.

A programme of sustained movement was declared at the end of the conference.

## Destruction of Statue of Lenin Condemned

### Tamilnadu

On 13th December, 1993 the Tamilnadu State Committee of the SUCI held a demonstration in front of the VP Hall, near Moore Market, to protest against the blowing up of the statue of Lenin in the capital of Ossetia in North Russia. The demonstration was held there as the ADMK government most undemocratically refused permission to hold it before the Russian Consulate. Comrade S. Narayansamy, Tamilnadu state secretariat member, SUCI, addressed the gathering. He said, inter alia, that despite such criminal acts of Yeltsin clique, the ultimate design being the removal of Lenin's body, the great Marxist leader would live in the hearts of millions of exploited peoples all over the world.

## WITHOUT COMMENT

### When scoundrels lead the criminals

"The country seems to have forgotten, in the ersatz excitement of electioneering, that a "Core Group" constituted by the Union Home Ministry... has submitted its report. The Core Group was asked to explore the nexus between politicians and criminals, recognizing the public perception of the criminalization of politics. ...Crime syndicates have never before been so entrenched in the political system, Mr. C.D. Patil, whom Mr. Chimanbhai Patel dismissed as Gujarat Home Minister, has made the astounding revelation that he first learnt of his dismissal from an influential bootlegger. Mr. Pawar has been accused of intimacy with the underworld to the extent that notorious criminals travelled in the same Defence aircraft with him. A former Goa Chief Minister, Mr. Alemao Churchill, was said to be turning the state into a kingdom of crime. In the Hindi belt, scores of candidates of all hues have criminal records but, in a mockery of justice, enjoy armed protection from the State. Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav had men of unsavoury reputation around him while in power and they are with him in the Opposition. Dons in Bihar enjoy official patronage, while in West Bengal, the Communists are widely perceived to maintain links with a ruthless criminal. ...The creeping criminalization subverts the majesty of the vote and the popular will. ..."

(*'Vultures & The Vote'*, editorial in *The Statesman* dated 28.11.1993)

### Only for power and pelf !

The Congress(I) headquarters here witnessed unprecedented scenes this evening when party workers, disgruntled with the selection of candidates for the Assembly elections, went on the rampage in the conference hall, breaking window panes and disconnecting the microphone while a press briefing was in progress. The demonstration was ended by a police lathi-charge.

(*The Statesman*, 16-10-93)

"In Himachal Pradesh, about 20 rebel Congress(I) partymen have even announced the formation of a new party. The HPCC(I) chief and former Chief Minister Mr. Virbhadra Singh, is a likely contender for Chief Ministership though the group led by the Union Minister, Mr. Sukh Ram, is also keeping its option open..." (*Ibid*)

"The BJP, which has always derided Congress(I) infighting, today faces the same predicament. This is hampering the party's prospects in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Factionalism has come to the fore with a large number of partymen filing nominations against official candidates in Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan." (*Ibid*)

"The re-unification of the original Janata Dal has failed to percolate down to the grassroots level. The communist parties, eager for seat adjustments with the Dal, are not sure who to approach for talks." (*Ibid*)

### Election a money-spinner !

"The main contenders in South Delhi's Kalkaji constituency were the BJP's Purnima Sethi and the Congress(I)'s Subhas Chopra..."

"Independent Initiative says: "Sethi's lavish spending in the election is estimated to have already touched Rs.30 lakhs with big hoardings, cut-

outs, "Jai Sriram" badges... Ambassadors, Maruti cars and vans with Rs.750/- spent on petrol for each car, as also the expenditure on volunteers (200 volunteers at Rs.200 each a day) are the major heads of expenditure.

"The Matia Mahal constituency, which covers a major part of walled city, is the only Muslim-majority constituency in Delhi; all the campaigns therefore were directed towards community-specific issues. The three main contenders - Saheab Iqbal of the JD, Khursheed Kidwai of the BJP and Mahmood Pracha of the Congress(I), had each spent about Rs.15000 a day." (*Frontline*, 3.12.93)

### Discipline: BJP style?

"But the fact is that the party is no longer the monolithic edifice it once was. Throughout the state, casteism and factionalism have become the bane of the party. The squabbles over seat allocations and the subsequent changes made in the list with respect to 32 constituencies sufficiently bear this out.... This change has infuriated a majority of the upper caste workers of the BJP, who have joined the Congress(I) handwagon. ..."

"In Mathura, Ravikant Garg, former Minister in the Kalyan Singh Government has stopped campaigning in the city where he wields considerable influence. The reason: he was denied the party ticket ... In Etawa, Ramveer Singh, a powerful leader of the trading community, is in the fray as a BJP rebel." (*Frontline*, 3.12.93)

### Birds of a same feather?

"...It would seem that Opposition parties, which move towards power, display symptoms similar to those of the ruling party. Very little separates the BJP from the Congress(I) in their pre-election behaviour and the Left, too, is not free at all. Alimuddin Street was subjected to a noisy demonstration after a CPI(M) MLA was not renominated for the last Assembly elections in West Bengal." (*The Statesman*, 22.10.93)

### Devil incarnate ?

"The magic wand of religion is doing the trick, with Mr.(Kalyan) Singh telling his audience that he has established contact with Lord Ram, albeit, over the "telephone", and the God was kind enough to hear his request to delay or stop the rain when he addressed public meetings. The remorseless BJP leader says the only formula for peace India can have is to let Ram temple come up in Ayodhya." (*The Statesman*, 19.9.93)

### Secularism: CPI(M) brand?

Despite tall talks by the CPI(M) leadership for secularism, "Yet the Kerala Unit has suddenly started courting the Sulaiman Sait faction of the Indian Union Muslim League. Mr.Sait's action in snapping ties with the Congress(I) might tempt the Kerala Party leadership into supporting him but it will be viewed elsewhere as crass electoral opportunism. The CPI(M) never has lived down Mr.EMS Namboodiripad's partnership with the Muslim League and this time too he is among those in favour of renewing it. ... More damaging to the cause of national integration is the Left Democratic Front's curious decision to get close to the Islamic Sevak Sangh Chief during the Ootapalak Lok Sabha by-election, more so since he had threatened to turn Kerala into a Kashmir. In contrast, West Bengal's puritanic ideologue, Mr.Biman

Bose, criticizes the Governor for associating with the Pujas, but is silent on the participation of CPI(M) members in the Pujas, or the party's reported payment of Puja bonus to its wholtimeers and other associates this time." ("Confused Signals - editorial in *The Statesman*, 3.11.93)

### True messiah of Dalits !

"The Bahujan Samaj Party, led by Mr.Kanshi Ram, which had pinned hopes on the coming Assembly polls in Madhya Pradesh, has suffered a setback with some of its members breaking away and forming two different parties - the Bahujan Kranti Dal and the Bharatiya Bahujan Samaj Party." (*The Statesman*, 31.10.93)

### Family Business?

"In a bid to cash in on reflected glory, political parties have fielded several candidates whose main claim to fame is their kinship with prominent personalities.

"The wives, sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, cousins and sons and daughters-in-law of senior politicians have been given party tickets, giving rise to allegations of nepotism.

"In Rajasthan, the "kin factor" in the selection of candidates has sparked off a rebellion in the Congress(I) and the Bharatiya Janata Party, resulting in many former legislators entering the fray as rebels." (*Ibid*)

### "The Selling of the Parties"

Computer technology, satellite television and new marvels of communication dominate electioneering: are they substitute for issues to vote?

"The BJP says it has at its disposal 125 video vans owned by Dr.J. K. Jain. Of these 20 are mega-screens ... and can be viewed by 25,000 to 50,000 people at one time. ..."

"A simple mathematical calculation shows that if 25,000 people were to see each show, and based on the premise that the mega-screens will be utilised for a total of 25 campaign days, by the end of the campaign 2.5 crore people will have got a taste of BJP propaganda before they cast their votes.

\* \* \* \* A 40-minute propaganda film can cost up to Rs. 60 lakh and the two main political parties have both made several such films."

"Advertising Agencies: political parties have gone for smaller, less glamorous agencies. The Congress passed Rediffusion over in 1991 and this time, the 20-crore-account has gone to a variety of low key outfits..."

"Market research: All political parties hire market research agencies though few are willing to say so on the record. MRAS (The leading agency in this field - *Ed.P.Era*) will charge Rs.25,000 for a preliminary survey. But the actual poll costs much more."

This time round, it is the Congress and the BJP which have the money to participate in the electronic campaign. The Janata Dal will not be making films due to a shortage of funds and its slogan, "Na paisa hai, na gaddi. Bas Janata ki hai tarafdari (We have no money or power, only the goodwill of the people)", is a fitting summing up of the state of its affairs.

(*The Selling of the Parties '93* quoted in the *SUNDAY*, 14-20 November)

## Comrade Mao Zedong on Historic Long March

(Excerpt quoted in  
*Recalling The Long March*)



The Long March is the first of its kind in the annals of history, ... it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding-machine. Since Pan Ku divided the heavens from the earth and the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors reigned, has history ever witnessed a long march such as ours? For twelve months we were under daily reconnaissance and bombing from the skies by scores of planes, while on land we were encircled and pursued, obstructed and intercepted by a huge force of several hundred thousand men, and we encountered untold difficulties and dangers on the way; yet by using our two legs we swept across a distance of more than twenty thousand *li* through the length and breadth of eleven provinces. Let us ask, has history ever known a long march to equal ours? No, never. The Long March is a manifesto. It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes, while the imperialists and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are impotent. It has proclaimed their utter failure to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us. The Long March is also a propaganda force. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have learned so quickly about the existence of the great truth which the Red Army embodies? The Long March is also a seeding-machine. In the eleven provinces it has sown many seeds which will sprout, leaf, blossom, and bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future. In a word, the Long March has ended with victory for us and defeat for the enemy. Who brought the Long March to victory? The Communist Party. Without the Communist Party, a long march of this kind would have been inconceivable. The Chinese Communist Party, its leadership, its cadres and its members fear no difficulties or hardships. Whoever questions our ability to lead the revolutionary war will fall into the morass of opportunism. A new situation arose as soon as the Long March was over. In the battle of Chihlochen the Central Red Army and the North-western Red Army, fighting in fraternal

## Birth Centenary of Comrade Mao Zedong

(Contd from Page 5)

solidarity, converged on the meeting place, parading the main thoroughfares. The huge processions and the vast gathering on this historic occasion created wide enthusiasm among the people. But strangely enough the newspapers of the city almost blacked out the entire observance for the reasons best known to them.

Beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was present as the main speaker and Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, member, Central Committee of the party, presided over the meeting. On the dais were seated other members of the Central Committee, Comrade Anil Sen, Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, Comrade Pravash Ghosh and other leaders, Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Comrade Fatik Ghosh, Comrade Protiva Mukherjee, Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Comrade Sanat Datta and Comrade Yakub Pailan.

After his introductory speech Comrade Pravash Ghosh proposed the name of the president of the meeting and Comrade Manik Mukherjee supported the proposal. The DYO music squad then presented two songs composed on Comrade Mao. Then on behalf of the State Committee of the party, Comrade Pravash Ghosh, the president of the meeting, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta and finally Comrade Nihar Mukherjee paid floral tributes by placing the wreaths at the portrait of Comrade Mao Zedong. 100 Komsomol comrades who started their rhythmic march with the beating of drums and call of the bugles, from Saheed Minar, Calcutta, carrying 100 red flags symbolising 100th birth day

Beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee addressing the vast gathering a portion of which is shown below.

of Comrade Mao Zedong, then presented a guard-of-honour to the portrait of the great leader of the world proletariat.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta in his brief presidential address recalled some aspects of Comrade Mao Zedong's life struggles and emphasised the necessity of holding the birth and death anniversaries of the leaders of the international communist movement particularly at this critical international juncture. He said that the life struggle of Mao Zedong is so varied, so eventful and so educative that to release the struggle against revisionism and imperialism we must have to take lessons from it. He said Mao's correct understanding of the strategy and tactics of revolution, handling of contradictions among the people and inner struggle within the party, particularly against revisionists within the CPC through the Great Cultural Revolution involving the party, the class and the people will remain as a brilliant lesson before all the communist. That is why Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved departed leader, teacher and guide, called it 'magnificent.'

After the speech of Comrade Dasgupta, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee in his analytical and penetrating speech dwelt at length on various aspects of Comrade Mao Zedong's struggles through which he creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese soil and thus enriched the storehouse of Marxism-Leninism. His contribution towards



struggle against imperialism and revisionism is simply glorious and every communist must take lessons from his thoughts to unleash struggle against bourgeois fads inside and revisionist and imperialist onslaught, Comrade Mukherjee said.

We shall cover in the next issue the full text of Comrade Mukherjee's speech.

With the *Internationale* by the DYO music squad the meeting came to an end.

(Excerpts quoted in *Recalling The Long March* Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1978)

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