

# World Economic Forum in Davos : A Review

An Indian delegation headed by Mr. P.V.Narasimha Rao, the Prime Minister of India participated in the World Economic Forum symposium from January 27 last, held in Davos, Switzerland. The Davos symposium is organised by the World Economic Forum annually and the top businessmen, the world's major political leaders, corporate giants and decision makers participate in this meet. For Mr. Rao, this is his second participation, the first one being in 1992, i.e., just after adopting the new economic and industrial policy of liberalisation and globalisation in 1991.

Now what is the economic and political significance of this event so far as India is concerned? This significance has to be assessed in the background of the present-day national and international situation.

In the international field all the countries, both advanced and less developed, are in the midst of a serious economic crisis. The Uruguay Round of talks on GATT started in 1984, but the advanced countries could not come to any agreement for years because of serious differences, particularly between the USA on one hand, and the EC and Japan on the other. At last Arthur Dunkel, the then GATT Secretary General, submitted a compromise formula, known as Dunkel proposal, for narrowing down the differences as far as possible. After much parleys and interaction between different countries the Dunkel proposal in a modified form was however at last accepted and the GATT agreement was signed. After this patch-up it is being trumpeted to show as if the GATT agreement were the panacea for trade war. But even before the ink of the GATT agreement could dry up, another disconcerting feature for the capitalist-imperialists is coming to the surface. Now we see that the US President and the Prime Minister of Japan could not arrive at an agreement on the question of trade between the two countries, and the USA is threatening with trade war against Japan. It is for the future to say whether this trade war will actually begin between them or they will ultimately come to an agreement through compromise and hard bargaining. But the point is that their conflict of interest cannot in any way be hidden under the carpet. Again while the European countries are trying to consolidate their position through EC, Germany is at the same time attempting to emerge powerful within this bloc, and this is creating a conflict which cannot be wrapped up any longer. Besides, another factor needs to be taken into account, that today we are living in a world where socialism has suffered a serious setback in the former USSR and the east European socialist countries — the countries which had been influencing the international political-economic developments quite significantly for a long time in the past. Against this background of international situation the significance of the Davos meet is to be viewed.

As regards the national situation, India is beset with serious problems, both political and economic. The misery of the common people is mounting and the Indian capitalist economy is in serious jeopardy. But the Indian capitalist class is aspirant, and Mr. Rao, as the trusted agent of the Indian capitalist class has to act in the given situation in such a way as will best

serve the aggregate interest of capitalism. A section of the press is not satisfied with the performance of Mr. Rao in Davos, and has commented that Mr. Rao advocated go-slow and middle path in implementing the liberalisation policy to steal a march over the opposition back home. But is it the whole truth? No doubt, Mr. Rao's speech in Davos apparently sounds different. There are various aspects and many a consideration behind.

People's grievances are mounting and the government cannot deny that. The opposition parties are also mounting pressure on the government capitalising on those grievances of the people. In such a situation the government is taking recourse to certain measures for fulfilling the objective of the aspirant bourgeois class.

The policy of mixed economy pursued since the time of Pandit Nehru after independence helped the Indian capitalists in a protected market to gain strength, despite shadow of crisis associated with the capitalist economy from the beginning. After the fall of the Soviet Union and the reversal in East European countries, the Indian export market in these countries was lost and as the home market is squeezed, there has been a serious crisis of market, and this crisis can be overcome only by exporting goods to foreign market. But without superior technology and knowhow Indian goods cannot compete in foreign market. So the urge of the top monopoly houses is to collaborate with the multinationals who, they expect, will provide necessary technology and knowhow, and utilise the cheap labour power and the cheap raw materials of our country. It may be mentioned incidentally that in the background of severe economic crises from which even the advanced capitalist countries are suffering, a tendency has become quite discernible today that these developed countries are favouring to make flow their capital and technological knowhow to the less developed countries to get the advantage of cheap labour power and raw materials to reap maximum profit. In India the goods produced by these collaborations can be competitively sold in the world market, and thus the top monopoly houses can have a share in the world market through these collaborations. The policy of liberalisation is for inviting the multinationals in these collaborations with the top monopoly houses of our country for attaining this goal.

The middle capitalists who were for so long protected by tariff wall in the home market are however growing apprehensive about this new economic policy. They apprehend that their products in the home market will be uncompetitive in the face of superior technology and knowhow. Centring round these apprehensions there are differences and contradictions among the Indian capitalist class. But despite these differences the big monopolists who actually control the economy have their final say, and the Congress (I) government, the main mouthpiece of them, embarked upon the liberalisation and the globalisation of the economy.

In defending this policy of globalisation in the Davos meet, Mr. Rao pleaded free movement of capital, technology and

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### W. B. SUCI on Rajya Sabha Poll

On the ensuing Rajya Sabha Election, Comrade Provasch Ghosh, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI, has issued the following statement on 14.2.94 :

"In the earlier Rajya Sabha Election we never supported the Congress (I), the most trusted party of the bourgeoisie and the main enemy of the people. On the other hand, due to non-left policy of the 'Left Front' on various issues we did not support the 'Left Front' also, and refrained from voting.

It is to be noted that, in the last election the Congress (I) could win a seat as six of the 'Left Front' MLAs voted for the Congress (I). This time also the leaders of the 'Left Front' are repeatedly expressing the apprehension that the Congress (I) candidate might purchase the votes of some MLAs of the 'Left Front'. At the same time the leaders of the CPI, the Forward Bloc and the CPI (M) have appealed to our party for support. In the circumstances, despite difference of opinion on many a question, the State Committee of our party has decided to support the 'Left Front' candidates to ensure the defeat of the Congress (I) candidate."

### Unite And Resist This Menace

The Central Congress(I) government led by Mr. Narasimha Rao has again announced a price-hike of petrol and diesel. As this would increase the cost of transportation of goods and commodities, it cannot but lead to a further all-round rise in prices of all essential commodities and fares. The condition of the people, already groaning under ruthless capitalist exploitation, will be further aggravated by it. Nor should this be viewed as an isolated attack upon the people, for this price-hike has come close on the heels of administered price-hike on cooking gas, sugar, rice and wheat sold through the public distribution system — the latter already having had the effect of further pushing up prices of these edible commodities in the open market and is sure to be followed by further fiscal savagery and attack on the people to be embodied in the coming Budget.

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# Rectify the Party's Style of Work

## — Mao Zedong

[In pursuance of the decision of the Central Committee of our Party, the SUCL, of a year-long programme to pay our deepest respect to Comrade Mao Zedong, the great leader of the proletariat, it is incumbent on our part to study and restudy his invaluable teachings meticulously and assiduously.

With this object we had published in our 16th December '93 issue "Combat Liberalism" by Comrade Mao Zedong. Now, in this issue we are publishing the full text of his speech "Rectify The Party's Style of Work" which we consider will be very helpful in strengthening the revolutionary party organisation, pursuing the rectification process constantly with utmost vigil.

— Editor, *Proletarian Era*]



The Party School opens today and I wish it every success.

I would like to say something about the problem of our Party's style of work.

Why must there be a revolutionary party? There must be a revolutionary party because the world contains enemies who oppress the people and the people want to throw off enemy oppression. In the era of capitalism and imperialism, just such a revolutionary party as the Communist Party is needed. Without such a party it is simply impossible for the people to throw off enemy oppression. We are Communists, we want to lead the people in overthrowing the enemy, and so we must keep our ranks in good order, we must march in step, our troops must be picked troops and our weapons good weapons. Without these conditions the enemy cannot be overthrown.

What is the problem now facing our Party? The general line of the Party is correct and presents no problem, and the Party's work has been fruitful. The Party has several hundred thousand members who are leading the people in extremely hard and bitter struggles against the enemy. This is plain to everybody and beyond all doubt.

Then is there or is there not any problem still facing our Party? I say there is and, in a certain sense, the problem is quite serious.

What is the problem? It is the fact that there is something in the minds of a number of our comrades which strikes one as not quite right, not quite proper.

In other words, there is still something wrong with our style of study, with our style in the Party's internal and external relations and with our style of writing. By something wrong with the style of study we mean the malady of subjectivism. By something wrong with our style in Party relations we mean the malady of sectarianism. By something wrong with the style of writing we mean the malady of stereotyped Party writing.<sup>1</sup> All these are wrong, they are ill winds, but they are not like the wintry north winds that sweep across the whole sky. Subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing are no longer the dominant styles, but merely gusts of contrary wind, ill winds from the air-raid tunnels. (*Laughter*) It is bad, however, that such winds should still be blowing in the Party. We must seal off the passages which produce them. Our whole Party should undertake the job of sealing off these passages, and so should the Party

School. These three ill winds, subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing, have their historical origins. Although no longer dominant in the whole Party, they still constantly create trouble and assail us. Therefore, it is necessary to resist them and to study, analyze and elucidate them.

Fight subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism in order to rectify the style in Party relations, and fight Party stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing—such is the task before us.

To accomplish the task of overthrowing the enemy, we must accomplish the task of rectifying these styles within the Party. The style of study and the style of writing are also the Party's style of work. Once our Party's style of work is put completely right, the people all over the country will learn from our example. Those outside the Party who have the same kind of bad style will, if they are good and honest people, learn from our example and correct their mistakes, and thus the whole nation will be influenced. So long as our Communist ranks are in good order and march in step, so long as our troops are picked troops and our weapons are good weapons, any enemy, however powerful, can be overthrown.

Let me speak now about subjectivism.

Subjectivism is an improper style of study; it is opposed to Marxism-Leninism and is incompatible with the Communist Party. What we want is the Marxist-Leninist style of study. What we call style of study means not just style of study in the schools but in the whole Party. It is a question of the method of thinking of comrades in our leading bodies, of all cadres and Party members, a question of our attitude towards Marxism-Leninism, of the attitude of all Party comrades in their work. As such, it is a question of extraordinary, indeed of primary, importance.

Certain muddled ideas find currency among many people. There are, for instance, muddled

ideas about what is a theorist, what is an intellectual and, what is meant by linking theory and practice.

Let us first ask, is the theoretical level of our Party high or low? Recently more Marxist-Leninist works have been translated and more people have been reading them. That is a very good thing. But can we therefore say that the theoretical level of our Party has been greatly raised? True, the level is now somewhat higher than before. But our theoretical front is very much out of harmony with the rich content of the Chinese revolutionary movement, and a comparison of the two shows that the theoretical side is lagging far behind. Generally speaking, our theory cannot as yet keep pace with our revolutionary practice, let alone lead the way as it should. We have not yet raised our rich and varied practice to the proper theoretical plane. We have not yet examined all the problems of revolutionary practice—or even the important ones—and raised them to a theoretical plane. Just think, how many of us have created theories worthy of the name on China's economics, politics, military affairs or culture, theories which can be regarded as scientific and comprehensive, and not crude and sketchy? Especially in the field of economic theory: Chinese capitalism has had a century of development since the Opium War, and yet not a single theoretical work has been produced which accords with the realities of China's economic development and is genuinely scientific. Can we say that in the study of China's economic problems, for instance, the theoretical level is already high? Can we say that our Party already has economic theorists worthy of the name? Certainly not. We have read a great many Marxist-Leninist books, but can we claim, then, that we have theorists? We cannot. For Marxism-Leninism is the theory created by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the basis of practice, their general conclusion drawn from historical and revolutionary reality. If we merely read their works but do not proceed to study the realities of China's history and revolution in the light of their theory or do not make any effort to think through China's revolutionary practice carefully in terms of theory, we should not be so presumptuous as to call ourselves Marxist theorists. Our achievements on the theoretical front will be very poor indeed if, as members of the Communist Party of China, we close our eyes to China's problems and can only memorize isolated conclusions or principles from Marxist writings. If all a person can do is to commit Marxist economics or philosophy to memory, reciting glibly from Chapter I to Chapter X, but is utterly unable to apply them, can he be considered a Marxist theorist? No! He cannot. What kind of theorists do we want? We want theorists who can, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, correctly interpret the practical problems arising in the course of history and revolution and give scientific explanations and theoretical elucidations of China's economic, political, military, cultural and other problems. Such are the theo-

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rists we want. To be a theorist of this kind, a person must have a true grasp of the essence of Marxism-Leninism, of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method and of the theories of Lenin and Stalin on the colonial revolution and the Chinese revolution, and he must be able to apply them in a penetrating and scientific analysis of China's practical problems and discover the laws of development of these problems. Such are the theorists we really need.

The Central Committee of our Party has now made a decision calling upon our comrades to learn how to apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in the serious study of China's history, and of China's economics, politics, military affairs and culture, and to analyse every problem concretely on the basis of detailed material and then draw theoretical conclusions. This is the responsibility we must shoulder.

Our comrades in the Party School should not regard Marxist theory as lifeless dogma. It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it. If you can apply the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint in elucidating one or two practical problems, you should be commended or credited with some achievement. The more problems you elucidate and the more comprehensively and profoundly you do so, the greater will be your achievement. Our Party School should also lay down the rule to grade students good or poor according to how they look at China's problems after they have studied Marxism-Leninism, according to whether or not they see the problems clearly and whether or not they see them at all.

Next let us talk about the question of the "intellectuals". Since China is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country and her culture is not well developed, intellectuals are particularly treasured. On this question of the intellectuals, the Central Committee of the Party made the decision over two years ago that we should win over the great numbers of intellectuals and, insofar as they are revolutionary and willing to take part in the resistance to Japan, welcome them one and all. It is entirely right for us to esteem intellectuals, for without revolutionary intellectuals the revolution cannot triumph. But we all know there are many intellectuals who fancy themselves very learned and assume airs of erudition without realizing that such airs are bad and harmful and hinder their own progress. They ought to be aware of the truth that actually many so-called intellectuals are, relatively speaking, most ignorant and the workers and peasants sometimes know more than they do. Here some will say, "Ha! you are turning things upside down and talking nonsense." (Laughter) But, comrades, don't get excited; there is some sense in what I am saying.

What is knowledge? Ever since class society came into being the world has had only two kinds of knowledge, knowledge of the struggle for production and knowledge of the class struggle. Natural science and social science are the crystallizations of these two kinds of knowledge, and philosophy is the generalization and summation of the knowledge of nature and the knowledge of

society. Is there any other kind of knowledge? No. Now let us take a look at certain students, those brought up in schools that are completely cut off from the practical activities of society. What about them? A person goes from a primary school of this kind all the way through to a university of the same kind, graduates and is reckoned to have a stock of learning. But all he has is book-learning; he has not yet taken part in any practical activities or applied what he has learned to any field of life. Can such a person be regarded as a completely developed intellectual? Hardly so, in my opinion, because his knowledge is still incomplete. What then is relatively complete knowledge? All relatively complete knowledge is formed in two stages: the first stage is perceptual knowledge, the second is rational knowledge, the latter being the development of the former to a higher stage. What sort of knowledge is the students' book-learning? Even supposing all their knowledge is truth, it is still not knowledge acquired through their own personal experience, but consists of theories set down by their predecessors in summarizing experience of the struggle for production and of the class struggle. It is entirely necessary that students should acquire this kind of knowledge, but it must be understood that as far as they are concerned such knowledge is in a sense still one-sided, something which has been verified by others but not yet by themselves. What is most important is to be good at applying this knowledge in life and in practice. Therefore, I advise those who have only book-learning but as yet no contact with reality, and also those with little practical experience, to realize their own shortcomings and become a little more modest.

How can those who have only book-learning be turned into intellectuals in the true sense? The only way is to get them to take part in practical work and become practical workers, to get those engaged in theoretical work to study important practical problems. In this way our aim can be attained.

What I have said will probably make some people angry. They will say, "According to your explanation, even Marx would not be regarded as an intellectual." I say they are wrong. Marx took part in the practice of the revolutionary movement and also created revolutionary theory. Beginning with the commodity, the simplest element of capitalism, he made a thorough study of the economic structure of capitalist society. Millions of people saw and handled commodities every day but were so used to them that they took no notice. Marx alone studied commodities scientifically. He carried out a tremendous work of research into their actual development and derived a thoroughly scientific theory from what existed universally. He studied nature, history and proletarian revolution and created dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the theory of proletarian revolution. Thus Marx became a most completely developed intellectual, representing the acme of human wisdom; he was fundamentally different from those who have only book-learning. Marx undertook detailed investigations and studies in the course of practical struggles, formed generalizations and then verified his con-

clusions by testing them in practical struggles – this is what we call theoretical work. Our Party needs a large number of comrades who will learn how to do such work. In our Party there are many comrades who can learn to do this kind of theoretical research; most of them are intelligent and promising and we should value them. But they must follow correct principles and not repeat the mistake of the past. They must discard dogmatism and not confine themselves to ready-made phrases in books.

There is only one kind of true theory in this world, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality; nothing else is worthy of the name of theory in our sense. Stalin said that theory becomes aimless when it is not connected with practice. Aimless theory is useless and false and should be discarded. We should point the finger of scorn at those who are fond of aimless theorizing. Marxism-Leninism is the most correct, scientific and revolutionary truth, born out of and verified by objective reality, but many who study Marxism-Leninism take it as lifeless dogma, thus impeding the development of theory and harming themselves as well as other comrades.

On the other hand, our comrades who are engaged in practical work will also come to grief if they misuse their experience. True, these people are often rich in experience, which is very valuable, but it is very dangerous if they rest content with their own experience. They must realize that their knowledge is mostly perceptual and partial and that they lack rational and comprehensive knowledge; in other words, they lack theory and their knowledge, too, is relatively incomplete. Without comparatively complete knowledge it is impossible to do revolutionary work well.

Thus, there are two kinds of incomplete knowledge, one is ready-made knowledge found in books and the other is knowledge that is mostly perceptual and partial; both are one-sided. Only an integration of the two can yield knowledge that is sound and relatively complete.

In order to study theory, however, our cadres of working-class and peasant origin must first acquire an elementary education. Without it they cannot learn Marxist-Leninist theory. Having acquired it, they can study Marxism-Leninism at any time. In my childhood I never attended a Marxist-Leninist school and was taught only such things as, "The Master said: 'How pleasant it is to learn and constantly review what one has learned.'" Though this teaching material was antiquated, it did me some good because from it I learned to read. Nowadays we no longer study the Confucian classics but such new subjects as modern Chinese, history, geography and elementary natural science, which, once learned, are useful everywhere. The Central Committee of our Party now emphatically requires that our cadres of working-class and peasant origin should obtain an elementary education because they can then take up any branch of study – politics, military science or economics. Otherwise, for all their rich experience they will never be able to study theory.

It follows that to combat subjectivism we must enable people of each of these two types to develop in whichever direction they are deficient

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entrepreneurship across "national boundaries", the "relevance" of which has now been blurred by new technologies. This may be a new found truth to Mr. Rao who asserted "the rejection of the paradigm of the command economy based on communism", but this feature of capital transcending national boundaries and becoming cosmopolitan was shown long ago by Lenin in analysing imperialism. So what does Mr. Rao mean by free movement of capital across national boundaries ? Is it not the feature of imperialism which Indian capitalism has already achieved?

Now for implementing the liberalisation policy the World Bank and the IMF are imposing stringent conditionalities which, in turn, are causing additional miseries in the life of the common people. The recent pre-budget price hike of essential commodities is an instance of the heavy burden imposed on the people. Resentment among the common people is growing tremendously. The common Indian people who were advised during the period of Nehruvian policy of 'mixed economy' to tighten the belt a little further for a better tomorrow are now being told about the inevitability of social pains associated with the liberalisation process. It is being dished out that this liberalisation policy is addressed to ameliorate the lot of the common people; but three years after the initiation of this policy the common man, let alone seeing a flicker of hope for a better tomorrow, goes hungry, finds no prospect of any gainful employment, roof over head, health care, education for children or even potable water. Apart from the question of assuaging the feeling of the people, the government is assessing how far the Indian economy can absorb the changes by implementing the conditionalities. These considerations were in the mind of Mr. Rao when he deviated from his prepared text to warn the West, "We cannot have readymade prescriptions coming from thousands of miles."

In the Davos meet Mr. Rao advocated middle path and stressed that India would implement the liberalisation policy in her own way. It actually means that the government would go as fast as possible in the given situation obtaining in the country. Thus when Mr. Rao said, "In the new found enthusiasm for change, the government should not go overboard and plunge the large chunks of their people into mass misery," he actually meant that the conditionalities would be implemented gradually to make it bearable for the people.

The Indian bourgeoisie are aspirant and they want to enter the world market on a wider scale. But because of their relative weakness they have to concede greatly. But the concession is not in any way related to the question of the sovereignty of the country. Lenin showed, "A somewhat different form of financial and diplomatic dependence, accompanied by political independence, is presented by Portugal. Portugal is an independent sovereign state, but actually, for more than two hundred years, since the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), it has been a British protectorate. Great Britain

has protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify her own positions in the fight against her rivals, Spain and France. In return Great Britain has received commercial privileges, preferential conditions for importing goods and especially capital into Portugal and Portuguese colonies, the right to use the ports and islands of Portugal, her telegraph cables, etc., etc. Relations of this kind have always existed between big and little states, but in the epoch of capitalist imperialism they become a general system, they form part of the sum total of 'divide the world' relations and become links in the chain of operations of world finance capital." (*Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism.*)

In the Davos meet Mr. Rao conveyed the message of the bargaining strength of the Indian bourgeoisie despite their relative weakness. So while referring to the clause relating to the intellectual property rights in the GATT agreement Mr. Rao made it clear there that India would not mind to pay the price to those who invest in extending the frontiers of science and technology; but after the price is paid there should not be any extraneous conditionalities, and if there is any, necessary peaceful technology at the national level would be developed by India. The message is loud and clear.

After the Davos meet Mr. Rao visited Germany and entered into a bilateral agreement. This demonstrated that taking advantage of the contradiction within the different countries, India is attempting to enhance her bargaining power between these countries after the fall of the Soviet Union.

In fine, there must not be any confusion as to the motive of the Indian ruling class. The liberalisation and the globalisation policy is solely in the interest of the big monopoly houses of the country, and whatever may be the utterances of the ministers to the contrary, the burden on the common people will more and more increase. So it is the need of the hour to unite to build up a powerful sustained movement against this anti-people new economic and industrial policy.

## Assam SUCI protests against price hike

At the call of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI demonstrations were held on 7.2.94 in different places of the state in protest against the undemocratic hike of the essential commodities like rice, sugar, wheat, petrol, diesel, LPG, etc. At Guwahati a demonstration was held in front of the D.C.'s office. On behalf of the demonstrators Comrade Kantimoy Deb, Secretary of the Guwahati District Committee of the party, Comrade Indu Bhowmic, a veteran TU leader, Comrade Ajit Acharyya, a renowned student leader and Comrade Namita Biswas met the D.C. and through him submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister of India, demanding immediate withdrawal of such undemocratic order of the price hike. Comrade Kantimoy Deb addressed the gathering. While returning, the demonstrators were ill behaved with by the police who snatched away the party flags and festoons. The demonstrators and the onlookers condemned the misbehaviour of the police. So far report has been received that demonstrators were arrested at Mongaldai.

## Bandh against Headmaster's murder

The murder of Kamallesh Sarkar, the founder Headmaster of the Raghunath High School of Kumargunje in the district of South Dinajpur, West Bengal, by the CPI(M) workers for his refusal to toe the CPI(M)'s line in running the institution and the murder of a class IX student who was among the protesters against this heinous act fell to police bullets once again expose how the politics of the CPI(M) is helping to malign democratic movement and leftism. Condemning this heinous murder and calling a 12-hour Bandh in South Dinajpur, Comrade Provash Ghosh, Secretary West Bengal State Committee, issued the following statement on 31.1.94, reproduced below :

"Along with the entire well-meaning people of West Bengal we feel deep anguish and pain at the sad death of the eminent teacher, Kamallesh Sarkar. As a result of the most vile party politics of the CPI(M) and by the attack of the CPI(M) workers the life of an eminent teacher was sacrificed in this way.

"We express our deep condolence to the bereaved family and demand severest punishment to the murderers. At the same time we call for a 12 hour Bandh in South Dinajpur in protest against this barbarous incident."

The bandh was an all-out success.

## All Assam Protest Day Observed

In a highly unjust and high-handed decision the Election Commission has ordered a special revision of the electoral rolls in 40 assembly constituencies of Assam. The Commission has stalled the publication of the electoral rolls for these constituencies which have been prepared very recently. This decision is heavily biased against the oppressed linguistic and religious minorities of the state and would cause immense suffering to the poor and the downtrodden in a very definite way.

At the call of the Assam State Committee of the party 'All Assam Protest Day' was observed on 19th January 1994 throughout the state through meetings, demonstrations and bandhs demanding immediate rescinding of this uncalled for decision of the Election Commission and to immediately publish the electoral rolls which have been already prepared. The Bandh was all out in Dhubri and Goalpara area defying the Congress (I) government's determined and relentless efforts to foil it. Hundreds of party comrades along with state committee members Comrades Jainal Abedin, MLA, Nazmul Haque MLA, Chandrlekha Das and Surotjamman Mondal were taken into custody in these districts while picketing in front of different offices.

Comrade Kalyan Choudhury, the state secretary of the party, congratulated the people of Assam in general and of Dhubri and Goalpara in particular for making the Protest Day a grand success and in a message to the Chief Election Commissioner Sri T. N. Seshan urged the Election Commission to honour the wish of the people and withdraw the unjust and anti-people directive immediately.

## UNITE AND RESIST

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This cannot be otherwise because following the footsteps of his predecessors Mr. Narasimha Rao took up the responsibility of serving from the government the crisis-ridden capitalism in the country and so, despite tall talks about ushering in a millenium through the much vaunted new economic and industrial policies, the object of his government, like its predecessors, is on the one hand, to pass the whole burden of crisis of capitalist economy in India through further price-hikes, increased taxation etc. on to the shoulders of the common people who are already bent low by the tax burden and inflation, and on the other, to serve the ruling capitalist class by providing tax-cuts, subsidies and subventions to it in various ways in order to further facilitate amassing of wealth by them by fleecing the people. The recent heavy import duty exemption to the private LPG business clearly bears evidence of this truth. If the government had the real intention to raise money by cutting the subsidy where is the justification of exempting by 60% the import duty of petroleum and LPG for the private business? The real intention is to fleece the common man and to feed the exploiters whose interest the government protects.

The deception of budgeting by instalments that has been customary from the time of Indira Gandhi has been resorted to by Rao government this time too. The deception lies in spacing the contemplated anti-people measures over a span of time before and after the Budget in order to defuse and blunt the concentrated storm of protest that would have resulted if all the anti-people measures had been contained at a time in the Budget proper.

The Rao government in the name of freeing the economy of the ills, has introduced new economic and industrial policies, has been taking huge amount of loans from the imperialist financial agencies, the IMF and the World Bank, on abjectly humiliating terms and conditions thus pushing the country more and more into debt-trap. It has already signed the notorious GATT agreement, accepting the Dunkel Proposals, to the serious detriment of the interest of the people. The monopoly houses of our country, driven by their desire to enjoy the leftovers from their big brothers in the markets abroad and to jointly share the home market, in the name of globalisation, have opened the doors to the multinationals to loot and plunder our cheap labour power, raw materials, to ruthlessly exploit the toiling millions of the country.

The truth is that those at the helm of affairs in the governments at the Centre and in the states have in reality no concern for the people's lot. They wave flags of different colours, raise catchy slogans and resort to populist jargons but these are only to dupe the people and attain government power with the backing of the ruling class. It is for the people, being at the receiving end of the onslaughts, to rise against the present and coming attacks and remedy the situation. The central government has been clamping down these anti-people steps because

there is no sustained democratic mass movement which alone can provide effective deterrent to these nefarious measures of the governments both at the Centre and in the states.

Our party and its mass fronts singlehandedly have all along been engaged in developing democratic mass movements against each and every anti-people step of the government, wherever possible, and in some cases have achieved significant victories. But at the same time we have been fervently appealing to all Left and democratic parties and well-meaning people throughout the country to develop countrywide democratic mass movements to stall this menace created by the government.

It is heartening to note that representatives of 32 Left and democratic mass organisations recently met in Delhi and chalked out various programmes — both propaganda and action — in the local, district and state levels to be culminated in a massive protest demonstration before Parliament on 5th April, 1994 as the first step of a countrywide movement. Our party is making all-out efforts at the same time to explore the possibility of a joint movement with all seriousness. Though there is a distinct difference of approach and angularity with other parties regarding the mass movements, our party stands for developing a sustained mass movement jointly with those parties and forces which can be united in the interest of a broader movement.

The need of the hour is to grow, build up, strengthen and continue these movements in such a way as would give a new turn in the united mass movements and compel the central government to desist from pursuing these anti-people measures. We appeal to the people to come forward, participate and raise the movement to higher and higher stages to be eventually effective in forcing the government's hands.

### Powerful Student Movement in Bihar

For the first time in 20 years since the Jayaprakash Narayan led movement in the early 1970s, a powerful united student and youth movement shook the whole of Bihar. The movement was sparked off by the killing of an agitating student in Madhubani in north Bihar. When students protested against the inadequate sitting arrangement in an examination they were appearing at, the police opened fire indiscriminately killing one student.

The incident cannot be and should not be seen in isolation, for discontent was simmering among the students for long throughout the state and the situation had already taken explosive proportions when the Madhubani event happened in December last.

The students have reasons to be agitated. The education system in Bihar is on the verge of collapse and rapidly slipping towards total anarchy. The high-handed decisions of the Janata Dal government have only accentuated the process.

The educational institutions, groaning under a total absence of infrastructures due to a virtual stoppage of government aid, have been asked by the state government to fend for themselves, in keeping with the new economic and education policies of the central

government. On the other hand, the state government is squandering astronomical sums on 'total literacy' and adult education programmes, which have proved to be a mere hoax.

The democratic rights of students in the universities, attained through arduous struggles over the years, have been taken away one after another. The student unions, Senates and Syndicates of the universities had been superseded by the previous Congress(I) state government. The Laloo Prasad Yadav government, taking a step 'forward' has now removed educationists from the posts of vice-chancellors and appointed bureaucrats in their places.

Following the footprints of the previous Congress(I) government, the Janata Dal government, in pursuing its populist policies has vitiated the educational environment giving a free hand to rampant mass copying in the examinations right from the primary to the post-graduate level. Question papers are regularly leaked before each and every examination, while the government has taken no step whatsoever to punish the guilty. And now, when students protest against lack of library and laboratory facilities and non-filling of vacant sanctioned posts of teachers — more than 6000 posts of lecturers lie vacant — the new bureaucrat-heads of institutions tackle it by bullets and batons, for they view the unrest among the students as a law and order problem. The Madhubani firing is a glaring example of this attitude.

The students have now decided to raise their voice against these maladies. At the call of 13 left and democratic student and youth organizations including the AIDS, who have closed their ranks, a Bihar Bandh was observed on 24th January in protest against the Madhubani killing and other burning problems faced by the students and youths. The bandh was a resounding success defying the all-out effort of the state government to foil it. On 2nd February, a massive central protest rally was organised when youth-student jathas from Madhubani, Bhagalpur and Bokaro converged in Patna with the slogan "Save education - Give employment". Buckling under pressure the Chief Minister has since been forced to call for a meeting with student leaders on 26th February to solve the educational impasse in the state.

### West Bengal

### Law Violation Against Price-rise and GATT

In protest against the hike in prices of petrol, diesel, cooking gas, sugar, wheat and rice by the Centre and the state government's added surcharge to it as also against the Dunkel Agreement our party violated Section 144 in Calcutta on 9th February last at Esplanade.

Earlier at a brief meeting at Subodh Mullick Square Comrade Prativa Mukherjee, member, West Bengal State Secretariat, addressed the gathering. Then the huge procession marched to Esplanade through Lenin Sarani and broke the police cordon.

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and to merge with the other type. Those with book-learning must develop in the direction of practice; it is only in this way that they will stop being content with books and avoid committing dogmatist errors. Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors. Dogmatism and empiricism alike are subjectivism, each originating from an opposite pole.

Hence there are two kinds of subjectivism in our Party, dogmatism and empiricism. Each sees only a part and not the whole. If people are not on guard, do not realize that such one-sidedness is a shortcoming and do not strive to overcome it, they are liable to go astray.

However, of the two kinds of subjectivism, dogmatism is still the greater danger in our Party. For dogmatists can easily assume a Marxist guise to bluff, capture and make servants of cadres of working-class and peasant origin who cannot easily see through them; they can also bluff and ensnare the naive youth. If we overcome dogmatism, cadres with book-learning will readily join with those who have experience and will take to the study of practical things, and then many good cadres who integrate theory with experience, as well as some real theorists, will emerge. If we overcome dogmatism, the comrades with practical experience will have good teachers to help them raise their experience to the level of theory and so avoid empiricist errors.

Besides muddled ideas about the "theorist" and the "intellectual", there is a muddled idea among many comrades about "linking theory and practice", a phrase they have on their lips every day. They talk constantly about "linking", but actually they mean "separating", because they make no effort at linking. How is Marxist-Leninist theory to be linked with the practice of the Chinese revolution? To use a common expression, it is by "shooting the arrow at the target". As the arrow is to the target, so is Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese revolution. Some comrades, however, are "shooting without a target", shooting at random, and such people are liable to harm the revolution. Others merely stroke the arrow fondly, exclaiming, "What a fine arrow! What a fine arrow!", but never want to shoot it. These people are only connoisseurs of curios and have virtually nothing to do with the revolution. The arrow of Marxism-Leninism must be used to shoot at the target of the Chinese revolution. Unless this point is made clear, the theoretical level of our Party can never be raised and the Chinese revolution can never be victorious.

Our comrades must understand that we study Marxism-Leninism not for display, nor because there is any mystery about it, but solely because it is the science which leads the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to victory. Even now, there are not a few people who still regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. These people show childish ignorance, and we should enlighten them. It is

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precisely such ignorant people who take Marxism-Leninism as a religious dogma. To them we should say bluntly, "Your dogma is worthless." Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly stated that our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. But such people prefer to forget this statement which is of the greatest, indeed the utmost, importance. Chinese Communists can be regarded as linking theory with practice only when they become good at applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin concerning the Chinese revolution and when, furthermore, through serious research into the realities of China's history and revolution, they do creative theoretical work to meet China's needs in different spheres. Merely talking about linking theory and practice without actually doing anything about it is of no use, even if one goes on talking for a hundred years. To oppose the subjectivist, one-sided approach to problems, we must demolish dogmatist subjectiveness and one-sidedness.

So much for today about combating subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study throughout the Party.

Let me now speak about the question of sectarianism.

Having been steeled for twenty years, our Party is no longer dominated by sectarianism. Remnants of sectarianism, however, are still found both in the Party's internal relations and in its external relations. Sectarian tendencies in internal relations lead to exclusiveness towards comrades inside the Party and hinder inner-Party unity and solidarity, while sectarian tendencies in external relations lead to exclusiveness towards people outside the Party and hinder the Party in its task of uniting the whole people. Only by uprooting this evil in both its aspects can the Party advance unimpeded in its great task of achieving unity among all Party comrades and among all the people of our country.

What are the remnants of inner-Party sectarianism? They are mainly as follows:

First, the assertion of "independence". Some comrades see only the interests of the part and not the whole; they always put undue stress on that part of the work for which they themselves are responsible and always wish to subordinate the interests of the whole to the interests of their own part. They do not understand the Party's system of democratic centralism; they do not realize that the Communist Party not only needs democracy but needs centralization even more. They forget the system of democratic centralism in which the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, the part to the whole and the entire membership to the Central Committee. Chang Kuo-tao<sup>3</sup> asserted his "independence" of the Central Committee of the Party and as a result "asserted" himself into betraying the Party and became a Kuomintang agent. Although the sectarianism we are now discussing is not of this extremely serious kind, it must still be guarded against and we must do away completely with all manifestations of disunity. We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into

account. Every Party member, every branch of work, every statement and every action must proceed from the interests of the whole Party; it is absolutely impermissible to violate this principle.

Those who assert this kind of "independence" are usually wedded to the doctrine of "me first" and are generally wrong on the question of the relationship between the individual and the Party. Although in words they profess respect for the Party, in practice they put themselves first and the Party second. What are these people after? They are after fame and position and want to be in the limelight. Whenever they are put in charge of a branch of work, they assert their "independence". With this aim, they draw some people in, push others out and resort to boasting, flattery and touting among the comrades, thus importing the vulgar style of the bourgeois political parties into the Communist Party. It is their dishonesty that causes them to come to grief. I believe we should do things honestly, for without an honest attitude it is absolutely impossible to accomplish anything in this world. Which are the honest people? Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are honest, men of science are honest. Which are the dishonest people? Trotsky, Bukharin, Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao are extremely dishonest; and those who assert "independence" out of personal or sectional interest are dishonest too. All sly people, all those who do not have a scientific attitude in their work, fancy themselves resourceful and clever, but in fact they are most stupid and will come to no good. Students in our Party School must pay attention to this problem. We must build a centralized, unified Party and make a clean sweep of all unprincipled factional struggles. We must combat individualism and sectarianism so as to enable our whole Party to march in step and fight for one common goal.

Cadres from the outside and those from the locality must unite and combat sectarian tendencies. Very careful attention must be given to the relations between outside and local cadres because many anti-Japanese base areas were established only after the arrival of the Eighth Route Army or the New Fourth Army and much of the local work developed only after the arrival of outside cadres. Our comrades must understand that in these conditions it is possible for our base areas to be consolidated and for our Party to take root there only when the two kinds of cadres unite as one and when a large number of local cadres develop and are promoted; otherwise it is impossible. Both the outside and the local cadres have their strong and weak points, and to make any progress they must overcome their own weak points by learning from each other's strong points. The outside cadres are generally not up to the local cadres in familiarity with local conditions and links with the masses. Take me for instance. Although I have been in northern Shensi five or six years, I am far behind the local comrades in understanding local conditions and in links with the people here. Our comrades going to the anti-Japanese base areas in Shansi, Hopei, Shantung and other provinces must pay attention to this.

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Moreover, even within the same base area, owing to the fact that some districts develop earlier and others later, there is a difference between the local cadres of a district and those from outside it. Cadres who come from a more developed to a less developed district are also outside cadres in relation to that locality, and they, too, should pay great attention to fostering and helping local cadres. Generally speaking, in places where outside cadres are in charge, it is they who should bear the main responsibility if their relations with the local cadres are not good. And the chief comrades in charge should bear greater responsibility. The attention paid to this problem in some places is still very inadequate. Some people look down on the local cadres and ridicule them, saying, "What do these locals know? Clodhoppers!" Such people utterly fail to understand the importance of local cadres; they know neither the latter's strong points nor their own weaknesses and adopt an incorrect, sectarian attitude. All outside cadres must cherish the local cadres and give them constant help and must not be permitted to ridicule or attack them. Of course, the local cadres on their part must learn from the strong points of the outside cadres and rid themselves of inappropriate, narrow views so that they and the outside cadres become as one, with no distinction between "them" and "us", and thus avoid sectarian tendencies.

The same applies to the relationship between cadres in army service and other cadres working in the locality. They must be completely united and must oppose sectarian tendencies. The army cadres must help the local cadres, and vice versa. If there is friction between them, each should make allowance for the other and carry out proper self-criticism. Generally speaking, in places where army cadres are actually in positions of leadership, it is they who should bear the main responsibility if their relations with the local cadres are not good. Only when the army cadres understand their own responsibility and are modest in their attitude towards the local cadres can the conditions be created for the smooth progress of our war effort and our work of construction in the base areas.

The same applies to the relationship among different army units, different localities and different departments. We must oppose the tendency towards selfish departmentalism by which the interests of one's own unit are looked after to the exclusion of those of others. Whoever is indifferent to the difficulties of others, refuses to transfer cadres to other units on request, or releases only the inferior ones, "using the neighbour's field as an outlet for his overflow", and does not give the slightest consideration to other departments, localities or people — such a person is a selfish departmentalist who has entirely lost the spirit of communism. Lack of consideration for the whole and complete indifference to other departments, localities and people are characteristics of a selfish departmentalist. We must intensify our efforts to educate such persons and to make them understand that selfish departmentalism is a sectarian tendency which

will become very dangerous, if allowed to develop.

Another problem is the relationship between old and new cadres. Since the beginning of the War of Resistance, our Party has grown enormously, and large numbers of new cadres have emerged; that is a very good thing. In his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), Comrade Stalin said, "... there are never enough old cadres, there are far less than required, and they are already partly going out of commission owing to the operation of the laws of nature." Here he was discussing the cadres situation and not only the laws of nature. If our Party does not have a great many new cadres working in unity and co-operation with the old cadres, our cause will come to a stop. All old cadres, therefore, should welcome the new ones with the utmost enthusiasm and show them the warmest solicitude. True, new cadres have their shortcomings. They have not been long in the revolution and lack experience, and unavoidably some have brought with them vestiges of the unwholesome ideology of the old society, remnants of the ideology of petty-bourgeois individualism. But such shortcomings can be gradually eliminated through education and tempering in the revolution. The strong point of the new cadres, as Stalin has said, is that they are acutely sensitive to what is new and are therefore enthusiastic and active to a high degree — the very qualities which some of the old cadres lack. Cadres, new and old, should respect each other, learn from each other and overcome their own shortcomings by learning from each other's strong points, so as to unite as one in the common cause and guard against sectarian tendencies. Generally speaking, in places where the old cadres are mainly in charge, it is they who should bear the chief responsibility if relations with the new cadres are not good.

All the above — relations between the part and the whole, relations between the individual and the Party, relations between outside and local cadres, relations between army cadres and other cadres working in the locality, relations between this and that army unit, between this and that locality, between this and that department and relations between old and new cadres — are relations within the Party. In all these relations it is necessary to enhance the spirit of communism and guard against sectarian tendencies, so that the ranks of our Party will be in good order, march in step and therefore fight well. This is a very important problem which we must solve thoroughly in rectifying the Party's style of work. Sectarianism is an expression of subjectivism in organizational relations; if we want to get rid of subjectivism and promote the Marxist-Leninist spirit of seeking truth from facts, we must sweep the remnants of sectarianism out of the Party and proceed from the principle that the Party's interests are above personal or sectional interests, so that the Party can attain complete solidarity and unity.

The remnants of sectarianism must be eliminated from the Party's external as well as its internal relations. The reason is this: we cannot

defeat the enemy by merely uniting the comrades throughout the Party, we can defeat the enemy only by uniting the people throughout the country. For twenty years the Communist Party of China has done great and arduous work in the cause of uniting the people of the whole country, and the achievements in this work since the outbreak of the War of Resistance are even greater than in the past. This does not mean, however, that all our comrades already have a correct style in dealing with the masses and are free from sectarian tendencies. No. In fact, sectarian tendencies still exist among a number of comrades, and in some cases to a very serious degree. Many of our comrades tend to be overbearing in their relations with non-Party people, look down upon them, despise or refuse to respect them or appreciate their strong points. This is indeed a sectarian tendency. After reading a few Marxist books, such comrades become more arrogant instead of more modest, and invariably dismiss others as no good without realizing that in fact their own knowledge is only half-baked. Our comrades must realize the truth that Communist Party members are at all times a minority as compared with non-Party people. Supposing one out of every hundred persons were a Communist, then there would be 4,500,000 Communists among China's population of 450,000,000. Yet, even if our membership reached this huge figure, Communists would still form only one per cent of the whole population, while 99 per cent would be non-Party people. What reason can we then have for not co-operating with non-Party people? As regards all those who wish to co-operate with us or might co-operate with us, we have only the duty of co-operating and absolutely no right to shut them out. But some Party members do not understand this and look down upon, or even shut out, those who wish to co-operate with us. There are no grounds whatsoever for doing so. Have Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin given us any grounds? They have not. On the contrary, they have always earnestly enjoined us to form close ties with the masses and not divorce ourselves from them. Or has the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China given us any grounds? No. Among all its resolutions there is not a single one that says we may divorce ourselves from the masses and so isolate ourselves. On the contrary, the Central Committee has always told us to form close ties with the masses and not to divorce ourselves from them. Thus any action divorcing us from the masses has no justification at all and is simply the mischievous result of the sectarian ideas some of our comrades have themselves concocted. As such sectarianism remains very serious among some of our comrades and still obstructs the application of the Party line, we should carry out extensive education within the Party to meet this problem. Above all, we should make our cadres really understand how serious the problem is and how utterly impossible it is to overthrow the enemy and attain the goal of the revolution unless Party members unite with the non-Party cadres and with non-Party people.

All sectarian ideas are subjectivist and are incompatible with the real needs of the revolution; hence the struggle against sectarianism and the

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struggle against subjectivism should go on simultaneously.

There is no time today to talk about the question of stereotyped Party writing; I shall discuss it at another meeting. Stereotyped Party writing is a vehicle for filth, a form of expression for subjectivism and sectarianism. It does people harm and damages the revolution, and we must get rid of it completely.

To combat subjectivism we must propagate materialism and dialectics. However, there are many comrades in our Party who lay no stress on the propaganda either of materialism or of dialectics. Some tolerate subjectivist propaganda and regard it with equanimity. They think they believe in Marxism, but make no effort to propagate materialism and do not give it a thought or express any opinion when they hear or read subjectivist stuff. This is not the attitude of a Communist. It allows many of our comrades to be poisoned by subjectivist ideas, which numb their sensitivity. We should therefore launch a campaign of enlightenment within the Party to free the minds of our comrades from the fog of subjectivism and dogmatism and should call upon them to boycott subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing. Such evils are like Japanese goods, for only our enemy wishes us to preserve them and continue to befuddle ourselves with them; so we should advocate a boycott against them, just as we boycott Japanese goods. We should boycott all the wares of subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing, make their sale difficult, and not allow their purveyors to ply their trade by exploiting the low theoretical level in the Party. Our comrades must develop a good nose for this purpose; they should take a sniff at everything and distinguish the good from the bad before they decide whether to welcome it or boycott it. Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness.

Finally, in opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones", and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient". The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones". But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes his appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely

wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go, and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of "curing the sickness to save the patient", which is the only correct and effective method.

I have taken this occasion of the opening of the Party School to speak at length, and I hope comrades will think over what I have said. (*Enthusiastic applause*)

### Notes :

1. Stereotyped writing, or the "eight-legged essay", was the special form of essay prescribed in the imperial examinations under China's feudal dynasties from the 15th to the 19th centuries; it consisted in juggling with words, concentrated only on form and was devoid of content. Structurally the main body of the essay had eight parts - presentation, amplification, preliminary exposition, initial argument, inceptive paragraphs, middle paragraphs, rear paragraphs and concluding paragraphs, and the fifth to eighth parts each had to have two "legs", i.e., two antithetical paragraphs, hence the name "eight-legged essay". The "eight-legged essay" became a byword in China denoting stereotyped formalism and triteness. Thus "stereotyped Party writing" characterizes the writings of certain people in the revolutionary ranks who piled up revolutionary phrases and terms higgledy-piggledy instead of analysing the facts. Like the "eight-legged essay", their writings were nothing but verbiage.

2. This is the opening sentence of the *Confucian Analects*, a record of the dialogues of Confucius and his disciples.

3. Chang Kuo-tao was a renegade from the Chinese revolution. In early life, speculating on the revolution, he joined the Chinese Communist Party. In the Party he made many mistakes resulting in serious crimes. The most notorious of these was his opposition, in 1935, to the Red Army's northward march and his defeatism and liquidationism in advocating withdrawal by the Red Army to the minority-nationality areas on the Szechuan-Sikang borders; what is more, he openly carried out traitorous activities against the Party and the Central Committee, established his own bogus central committee, disrupted the unity of the Party and the Red Army, and caused heavy losses to the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army. But thanks to patient education by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee, the Fourth Front Army and its numerous cadres soon returned to the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and played a glorious role in subsequent struggles. Chang Kuo-tao, however, proved incorrigible and in the spring of 1938 he slipped out of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and joined the Kuomintang secret police.

4. Boycotting Japanese goods was a method of struggle frequently used by the Chinese people against Japanese imperialist aggression in the first half of the 20th century, as in the patriotic May 4th Movement of 1919, after the September 18th Incident of 1931, and during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

[This speech was delivered by Comrade Mao Zedong on February 1, 1942, at the opening of the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.]

## Lenin Memorial Day Observed

**Sagar (MP), 21st January:** Under the auspices of Sagar District Committee of our party, SUCI, a public meeting was organised in Sham Bazar in Sagar town to observe Lenin Memorial Day. Comrade K.D. Sharma, who was the main speaker, discussed the revolutionary life and struggle of Lenin. Discussing the current Russian situation Comrade Sharma emphasized that Marxism-Leninism being the science of all sciences is invincible and revisionism of any hue is bound to fail. Rounding up the discussion Comrade Ramavatar Sharma recalled how Comrade Lenin built up a genuine communist party which achieved revolution and urged all to strengthen SUCI, the only genuine communist party in India.

## Demonstration against Price-hike

**Trivandrum, February 2 :** The SUCI today demonstrated in the city against the administered price-hike of essential commodities like petrol, diesel and food items in the rationing system and cooking gas, etc. The demonstration against the central government created a good impact on the city population.

## Successful Orissa Bandh

Our party, SUCI, the CPI and the CPI(M) unitedly called for Orissa Bandh on 8th February '94, against the price-hike of rice, wheat, sugar, as well as of petrol, diesel, cooking gas, etc. by the Congress(I)-led central government. The Janata Dal also called a bandh on the same day. The bandh was total. Our party workers, on that day, squatted on rail-tracks, picketed before different offices and put up road blockades at important road junctions.

The united platform of the three parties has been formed to build up movements against GATT agreement, World Bank-IMF conditionalities and such other neo-colonial attacks and also against the anti-people policies of the central and state governments, particularly against the new economic policy, privatisation, etc. The three-party combine, in its last meeting on 6th February, has thrashed out the programmes of meetings, demonstrations, dharnas, deputations, jathas from 5th March to 15th, which will culminate in a state-level massive rally on 24th March in Bhubaneswar.

## Movement against LPG price-hike

**Sagar (MP) 18th January :** To protest against the hike in cooking gas price, the SUCI and CPI District Committees of Sagar (MP) jointly organised a dharna in front of the office of the District Magistrate, which at the end of the day was converted into a public meeting. The protesters also warned the government of further intensification of the movement unless it took steps to put an immediate stop to the rampant blackmarketeering and malpractices in distribution of cooking gas in the city.

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