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On 24th April, the foundation day of the SUCI, Guard of Honour presented to the revolutionary memory of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the Proletariat

24th April, 44th SUCI Foundation Day, observed in Calcutta

There are times when people have to wage relentless struggles to inch forward even. Struggle of the sort has to be carried out today by working men and women all over the world. The Indian masses, persecuted by the ruling capitalist class and its political agents and governments and deceived by the social democrats, are in the throes of a struggle for existence. 24th April returns every year to bring into relief their task in the changed situation and shed the light of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism – Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts on their way to win this battle for emancipation.

The 44th anniversary of the revolutionary working class party of India, the SUCI, was observed with due solemnity and purpose in all the different parts of the country. Mass rallies were held in the capitals of the most of the states to explain to the people the significance of the present international and national situation, their task and their responsibility towards the SUCI.

In Calcutta a massive rally was held under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of the party at the Saheed Minar ground in the heart of the city which beloved leader and General Secretary of the party, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, addressed. From the corners of the state, from villages and towns came workers, peasants, youths, students, office employees, women and

people of all sections of the toiling masses to join this rally on 24th April and learn their task of the hour, the task to set up their struggle for emancipation from capitalist exploitation, oppression, humiliation.

At the western end of the ground had been erected a huge red draped dais with a portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the departed leader, teacher, guide, founder General Secretary of the party and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, hung in the backdrop. Central and state leaders of the party including Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Com. Anil Sen, Member, Central Committee, Com. Sukomal Dasgupta, Member, Central Committee, Com. Provas Ghosh, Member, Central Committee and Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee and President of the meeting, Com. Manik Mukherjee, Com. Fatick Ghosh, Com. Pratiba Mukherjee and Com. Yakub Pailan,

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United Anti-imperialist International Forum is the Historic Necessity Today — Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

Speech of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, in paraphrase, delivered at Saheed Minar Maidan, Calcutta, on 24th April 1992.

Speaking about the national situation, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said : The world imperialist-capitalist system is being tossed about in the vortex of its third intense general crisis, and India too, as an inseparable part of this system. From the days of Nehru, the governments at the Centre serving the aggregate interest of the ruling Indian capitalists have, in the name of mixed economy, on the one hand built up the public sector – key industries of basic industrial materials, chemicals, heavy engineering, etc., – with people's money from the public exchequer in order to consolidate capitalism in the shortest possible time in a relatively backward country like India in the background of crisis-ridden world capitalism which had already become reactionary, decadent and corrupt; on the other hand, for the same purpose, they have been providing various subsidies and subventions to the capitalists. In this way they had consolidated capitalism in the country over the years in the name of Nehru's socialistic pattern of society or Avadi Socialism, which continued, after Nehru's demise, by deceiving the people taking advantage of their ignorance and yearning for socialism. Indian capitalism has gone from strength to strength. It has given rise to monopoly capitalism. Through merger of industrial and banking capital it has given birth to financial oligarchy. Through exporting capital as distinct from commodities, Indian capitalism has acquired imperialist character. Capitalist India has become the major regional power. To stave off endemic crisis and create artificial stimulation to the economy, the military expense has been increased astronomically budget after budget, with the state itself being the purchaser of military produce. India is now the greatest seller of arms in Asia.

Explaining the new economic policy adopted by Manmohan Singh as the Finance Minister of the Rao Government, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said : In order to understand the present turn in the policy, we have to understand the crises and problems of Indian capitalism in the background of present international situation. The essence of imperialist-capitalist crisis is the crisis of market. The aspirant Indian bourgeoisie has amassed huge capital which cannot be fully utilised in catering to the home market shrunk due to low purchasing power of Indian people. They must expand outward and this they have been trying to do over the years through export of commodities and capital. So long as a powerful socialist camp existed side by side with the imperialist camp, in Stalin's lifetime and even for a considerable length of time in post-Stalin period so long as the USSR moved as a super power, the non-aligned countries and especially India as the leading non-

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Dunkel proposal — A blueprint for perpetual subjugation of underdeveloped capitalist countries

The draft text released by Arthur Dunkel, the Director General of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade for an agreement with 'take it or leave it' syndrome to all 108 GATT member countries is an attempt to reframe and enlarge the international trading system in tune with the 'new world order' envisioned by the U.S. imperialists. The draft text of Arthur Dunkel dealt with various issues and it is not the intention to discuss the entire draft text here. Only those aspects of the draft, which are of serious concern to the people of the less developed capitalist countries including ours will be analysed.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has been guiding the international trade in goods between different countries. Before the GATT system came into vogue, the countries negotiated bilaterally for market access of goods in their respective countries. To protect the domestic industries, all the countries practised protectionism and this policy helped rapid industrialisation of the present day industrialised countries. But because of the inexorable law of capitalism the problem of surplus production soon appeared in these countries which felt the urgent necessity of exporting their surplus goods to other countries. So the idea of free flow of goods and free trade was mooted to reap the enormous benefits offered by expansion of market. But the free flow of goods caused trade war and so the quest for an international regime of discipline in trade resulted in the multilateral agreement. Thus the bilateral trading system was replaced with the quest for an international regime of discipline in trade in goods and this was multilateralised through GATT system with the provisions of dispute settlement mechanism.

Though the GATT has been so long limited to international trade in goods only, now this system is proposed to be extended beyond goods to trade in services, trade related investment measures and trade related intellectual property rights. Since the U.S. multinationals are less competitive in the production of goods than in the production of technology and services, it is felt necessary by the US imperialists that the GATT should embrace these fields as well so that the market access to the less developed capitalist countries is ensured in these fields.

The Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations began more than five years ago following the Ministerial Declaration at Punta del Este, in September 1986. But the negotiations were on the verge of collapse following the violent dispute between the US and the EEC (European Economic Community) on the question of farm subsidy. The EEC countries provide large farm subsidies to their farmers to protect them from foreign competitors and as a result the prices of cereals, milk, beef, tobacco, wine etc. are highly subsidised. This is, according to the US perception, unfair advantage against its own farmers. As a matter of fact the US economy has lost its competitiveness and has become the largest debtor country of the world. In this situation the US attempt is to force open other economies and the EEC's agricultural market is one such target. But the farm lobby of the Community's member states forced the GATT negotiators to reject any reduction on farm subsidy and so the deadlock in the negotiation was the result. But both the sides

understood that a trade war in which neither side would win would ensue as a consequence the breakdown of the Uruguay Round of Negotiation and so their dream of dividing the world market among themselves might face severe jolt. So the disputes were patched up again and Arthur Dunkel, the Director General of GATT has now come forward to intervene and rescue the negotiations from the point of collapse and presented a Draft on the Final Act on the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. But the prospects of an ultimate agreement remain dim as yet.

This Draft presented by Dunkel is the outcome of the bargaining strength or weaknesses of the groups of countries participating in the negotiations. This Draft aims at narrowing down the EEC's opposition on the question of lowering of farm subsidy. But Dunkel has tried to do this by being less generous to the US vis-a-vis the EEC countries on this question but then balanced his feat by being more generous to the US vis-a-vis the less developed third world countries on other issues. As a matter of fact, there have been a three-pronged attack on the underdeveloped capitalist countries through TRIPS (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights), TRIMS (Trade Related Investment Measures) and Services. Dunkel has framed the draft with a 'take it or leave it' package. Thus delinking of TRIPS, TRIMS and Services from trade in goods has been tried to be resisted in the interest of the developed countries.

It is to be noted that Uruguay Round is a calculated move on the part of the US and other industrialised countries to reframe the rules and parameters governing the functioning of the world economy to suit the interests of the multinational Corporations which are capital exporters and possess latest technology in services, capital technology and information across national boundaries. The multinational Corporations enter a particular country to earn returns, but its frame of reference is not the set of investment opportunities in that particular country only but is worldwide. So if the return is low, the multinationals must leave that country and leave swiftly. So both entry and exit must be unhindered by domestic regulations. These transnational Corporations fight any hindrance imposed by any national government in the form of trade and foreign investment restrictions. In order to force open the market of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a variety of pressures are exerted including pressure by the imperialist controlled financial institutions like IMF, World Bank etc. and various other imperialist controlled bodies. The GATT is one such trade related body by which the transnational companies want to ensure unfettered movement of not only goods but also services, capital technology, information across national boundaries and varied other things including maintaining their rights. These transnational Corporations can also obtain these rights by bilateral negotiations with the national governments but if these rights are incorporated in the multilateral framework with dispute settlement system, it will provide legal right to them and so it is undoubtedly preferable to them.

The proposals in the Dunkel Draft are a cause of serious concern to the people of the less developed capitalist countries including the people of our country. In this Draft, equal treatment has

been proposed between the unequals. So in order to ensure market access to the industrialised countries, the weaker ones will have to reciprocate by treating the powerful industrialised countries on a par with them in the matter of investment, technology and services. These proposals are nothing but a neocolonial trap to keep the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America perpetually under the economic domination of the imperialists.

Let us now examine the Dunkel proposal on the trade related intellectual property rights. The Draft on this question is forthright in stating: "patents shall be available for any invention, whether products or processes" and "patent rights enjoyable without discrimination as to the place of invention, the field of technology and whether products are imported or locally produced." The period of protection for patents would be extended to twenty years. The draft dispenses with even the mentioning of compulsory licensing and shifts the burden of proof from plaintiff to the defendant in the case of disputes on process patent. This means that Indian Patent Act of 1970 will have to be extensively changed to suit the Dunkel proposal and many existing technology development projects would be abandoned. The Patent Act of 1970 was enacted with the objective of encouraging inventions for using the same on a commercial scale within the country and also to ensure that patents are not granted to enable patentee to enjoy a monopoly. This Act has helped in the development of process in pharmaceuticals, chemicals and pesticides. Indian drugs and pharmaceutical industry has achieved considerable growth and attained near self-sufficiency since the current Patent Act came into being. So, with the acceptance of Dunkel proposal all these would be reversed and the development of indigenous technology will not only be hindered but even technological blackmailing may be resorted to by the transnational Corporations with restrictive business practices.

The ambit of the trade related intellectual property right will extend to researches in agriculture and covers the granting of product and process patents to all biotechnological innovations, including micro-organism and all non-biological and micro biological processes for the production of plants and animals. It means that all plants and animals developed outside natural surroundings will have to be patented. It is obvious that in that eventuality the Indian peasantry will have to pay huge royalty for the production of high yielding crop or exotic cattle or poultry birds. Moreover, the patentibility will not be limited to processes only but will extend to products as well. So, the farmers will have to pay royalty not only on the process adopted by them for raising any new variety of farm product but on the products also. Moreover, the Dunkel draft concedes to the foreign firms the right to refuse granting patent rights and insisting on access through import of goods. All these are against the interest of the people of our country and a definite neocolonial attack on the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Dunkel proposals on TRIMS (Trade Related Investment Measures) are the dreams of the multinationals. It means that if these propos-

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Dunkel Proposal and its implication for the relatively backward capitalist countries

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als are accepted, the economic sovereignty of the host country will be impaired and the people there will be fleeced severely.

Next comes the trade in services i.e. in banking, insurance, transportation, communication etc. In these fields the multinational Corporations are superior to the domestic units because of their superior technology. But it has been proposed in the draft that equal treatment is to be meted out in trade in services to these multinationals which are much superior to the domestic units in technology intensive and capital intensive services. But as regards the labour-intensive services in which our country is in an advantageous position, the Dunkel proposals are silent in the question of labour mobility, in so far as the question of relaxation of immigration laws and consular practices are concerned. So, it is clear that this Dunkel draft caters to the needs of the developed countries having comparative advantage in capital intensive and technology intensive services. The Dunkel Draft seeks to ensure unfettered right to the multinationals in capital investment, repatriation of profit and procurement of materials for production in carrying out trade in services. One can easily see how tilted the draft is against the people of the third world countries!

The proposal on trade in agriculture in the Dunkel Text is also a cause of serious concern to the people of third world countries. There is a stipulation of market access to a minimum of 2 per cent of domestic consumption by 1993 and this is to be raised to 3.33 per cent by 2003. It means that the imperialists want to force entry into the agricultural market of the other countries. Moreover, the government will have to withdraw the support price on agricultural products. Besides, we maintain a public stock of foodgrains or the food security system, but this stock would be considered as too large as according to the GATT discipline proposed in the Dunkel Draft there would be an absolute stock limit of 10 per cent of the total volume of production of each crop beyond which domestic support will not be allowed. So the government would be forced to withdraw the public distribution system on food and crores of undernourished and half-fed people of the country will be affected; they will suffer and die. The only solace is that there is difference among some major countries on the question of agriculture and in all probability the Dunkel Draft would not get a smooth sailing because of the conflict on agriculture between the US and the EEC.

The most heinous design behind these proposals is to deprive the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the opportunity of indigenous research development and application of the result of such research for technological advancement of the respective countries. The people of these countries will be dependent on the multinational corporations for advanced technology. It is nothing but an attempt towards sheer blackmailing on the part of the imperialist countries.

Again, while the Dunkel Draft is for free trading rules covering services, intellectual property, investment, high technology and a host of other items, the USA is not going to immediately dismantle the very protectionist multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA) by which the textile trade is conducted. So, India's large low cost textile in-

dustry will have to go on operating under this protectionist MFA. Any violation of the MFA clause will invite invocation of Special 301 and Super 301 for controlling what according to them is unfair trade practices. This is indeed paradoxical. While the very protectionist MFA is retained the US imperialists are crying hoarse on free flow of goods and services. All have seen how the duration and scope of this protectionist MFA were extended time after time during the last three decades and restrictions on market access of the textile goods into the USA have become tougher and tougher.

The present Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations reveals the bitter trade war going on between the powerful imperialist countries among themselves and the attempt on the part of the industrialised countries to patch up their differences at the cost of the underdeveloped capitalist countries. This Uruguay Round is a clear manifestation of various antagonistic interests of the powerful imperialist and aspirant capitalist countries within the world capitalist system. The different pressure groups within the Uruguay Round of talks are trying to survive at the cost of others, each quarrelling with others to protect its home market and at the same time trying to intrude into the market of others. Even the US imperialists have erected protectionist walls like MFA to regulate import of textile goods and at the same time pressurising to get the trade barrier erected by others dismantled. It is clear from a statement in the Lok Sabha by the Minister of State of Commerce on 3rd April 1992 that combinations are taking shape within combinations and members are making deals outside and inside to have better manoeuvrability. The Minister informed the House that France had sought India's support on certain issues of Dunkel Text and in return India also sought the French government's help on certain other issues. It is a fact that Indian capitalist state has become the most powerful among the underdeveloped capitalist countries and the most powerful capitalist country in Asia and Africa leaving Japan. Within four decades after independence Indian capitalism gave birth to finance capital and financial oligarchy and acquired expansionist characteristic features.

Incidentally one thing should be mentioned here. It is true that after the setback in the erstwhile USSR and the East European countries the US imperialists have been on the offensive and are trying to dominate the world with neocolonial design. The aggressive role of the US imperialists is clearly discernible in the GATT talks and among others India is also subjected to this pressure. India has yielded to the conditionalities of the imperialist controlled IMF and the World Bank. But it should be borne in mind that even if India yields to some of the demands which go against the interest of the Indian ruling class, it does so to intrude into the market of some other countries in combination with others. The present policy of 'globalisation' and 'liberalisation' is an attempt to integrate national capital with foreign capital for getting a share of the international market. So those who muddle up this fundamental issue and are talking about starting freedom movement anew because of the neocolonial attacks, should bear in mind that Indian capitalist

class firmly entrenched in state power has developed the country along capitalistic line into the major industrial and military power of the region and Indian capitalism has itself been showing marked and growing imperialistic traits. Despite inroads by giant multinationals, India remains a sovereign national bourgeois state and so anti-imperialist struggle is required to be integrated with the prime task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie from state power through anti-capitalist revolution.

The bourgeoisie the Indian ruling class is trying to make an overall assessment of the Dunkel Text and if it is found suitable for serving the aggregate interest of the capitalist class, it will be accepted by the rulers even if it brings about immense sufferings and incalculable harm to the vast majority of the Indian masses. Unless the people are united and countrywide movement is built up to make the people aware of the dangerous implications of the Dunkel Text, the ruling class of the country can not be compelled to reject the Dunkel Text lock, stock and barrel.

24th April, observed in Calcutta

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all Members of the West Bengal State Secretariat of the party on the dais.

With 24th April, the song on the SUCI Day, the proceedings began. Contingents from the mass fronts of the party, beginning with the members of the Komsomol presented a guard of honour to the memory of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. In a brief address then Com. Provas Ghosh explained the significance of observance of 24th April. 'Com. Shibdas Ghosh is no more with us, but the party he built, reared and trained, is advancing in every part of the country following his teachings' he said. 'Through the relentless struggles it has conducted over the past four decades on every vital issue affecting our people's life, the party has made its place in the hearts of the people who truly believe today that this is the party, the only one, which does not hanker after governmental power, which rather is ever vigilant as the genuine defender of the people's interests'. Comrade Provas Ghosh pointed to the severe crisis shocking the capitalist countries and drew attention to how large sections of the people in the former Soviet Union were now beginning to put up resistance against the capitalist free market economy and so-called democracy of the Yeltsin Government. That defused the ray of hope, the silver lining of the dark clouds of setback, frustration and despair gathering over the head of the people of the world. 'The inexorable law of history will assert and re-assert itself and lead to a new revolutionary upsurge and victory of socialism all over the world'. Com. Provas Ghosh exhorted in the end.

In an analytical and comprehensive speech Comrade Nihar Mukherjee then addressed the gathering dwelling on the current international and national situation and defining the people's task in it in the light of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

The meeting ended with the *Internationale*.

New Economic and Fiscal Policy Serves monopolists and fleeces the People

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aligned country, the leader of the NAM, secured concessions from both the imperialist and socialist camps, taking advantage of the contradiction between the two. Now the socialist camp is broken up. Indian monopolists also lack competitiveness in the international market in the face of superior technology and money power of the leading imperialist countries. But they must earn not only profit but super-profit, no matter if the Indian people groan under the burden of poverty and misery, and for this they have to take recourse to privatization of public sector industries built with public money and came to an arrangement with the giant imperialist multinationals allowing free flow of foreign capital into the country, so that in conjunction with them as junior partners, they can maximise their profit in India and outside. Those who see colonial subjugation or take over in this are wrong. Disappearance of the Soviet Union from international scene has curtailed the bargaining power of Indian Government vis-a-vis the leading imperialist powers. There are elements of both subjugation and conflict in the relationship between the two. On the one hand they had to swallow the humiliating conditionalities of IMF and World Bank loans while on the other they are not signing the nuclear. Non Proliferation Treaty at the dictates of the USA. That is why both the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister are saying that how much liberalisation for inviting foreign capital and multinationals will be adopted will depend on many things. Character of Indian capitalism cannot be understood unless both these aspects are grasped. Today, the Indian monopolists want a bigger share of the foreign market by clubbing with the imperialist multinationals and in order to achieve this, they are ready to give foreign capital access to Indian market. The present economic policy has been adopted in the interest of Indian capitalist class. The earlier Nehruvian socialism and the present "market economy" of Manmohan Singh are both for serving the aggregate interest of Indian capitalist class, albeit in different conditions. Their servitor Indian state is proclaiming the new economic policy to be in national interest. For, to them, national interest is synonymous with the interest of the Indian monopolists.

Regarding the IMF and World Bank loans, Comrade Mukherjee pointed out: Today, Manmohan Singh openly speaks about welcoming foreign capital and the IMF and the World Bank although humiliating conditionalities are attached to loans from these imperialist financial institutions, because the crisis of Indian capitalism has reached such a pass. The CPI(M) is very vocal in criticising this, but the CPI(M) – led Government in West Bengal has been wooing Indian monopoly capital and foreign multinationals in the same manner for years and has accepted World Bank loans for projects in West Bengal under the same humiliating terms!

Continuing, Comrade Mukherjee said: The ruling class is trying to secure and perpetuate its class rule through many a cunning trick and strategy so that the people cannot see through it. Their dual tactics are of deception and repression. The ruling class is putting into power whichever party that can do these best. If the Congress(I) no longer serves the purpose, bring in the Janata; if the Janata fails, bring in BJP or else CPI(M). They are trying to apply this formula from state to state and at the Centre. The ruling class is trying to

establish two-party parliamentary system in the country in order to ensure that mass wrath against capitalist rule does not find outlet in revolutionary movement but can be channelised to and confined within the orbits of election politics. You may recall that before the last general election, even the BJP which earlier banked principally on the Hindu trading community, drew support from the industrial houses through money grants and projection of its image in the mass media.

But despite many attempts, the ruling class has not yet succeeded in this design to foist this bourgeois two-party system at the all-India level, such is the instability engendered by the crisis of capitalism in all spheres – economic, social and even political. The ruling class in the last election gave all out support to the Congress(I) but failed to secure a clear-cut majority for it at the hustings. The minority Congress(I) Government headed by Narasimha Rao was formed. The industrial-bureaucratic-military complex which wields real power on behalf of the ruling class from behind the facade of parliamentary democracy, pulled strings to ensure smooth passage for this government for if it fell, that would trigger a political crisis necessitating another poll within such a short period and that was likely to weaken the parliamentary illusion of the people. All the defenders of crisis-ridden capitalism in the opposition – Janata Dal, BJP and even the CPI(M) – led "Left" bloc participated in this nefarious game of the ruling class. Even while they spoke against the government and its new policies, they never combinedly voted against it on the floor of the House which would have caused its downfall. The Rao Government could never have carried through its anti-people policies without tacit support of the opposition parties. In the name of politics of consensus, such nefarious practice has been adopted taking advantage of lack of consciousness of the people and the absence of democratic movement in the country. Politics of consensus in whose interest? Surely, the ruling capitalist class.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee pointed out: The CPI(M) has been serving the ruling class well. Being in Government in West Bengal as its chosen alternative to the Congress (I), the CPI(M) has brought to fruition the two-party system at the state-level there. Being at the helm of the government, it has served the ruling class faithfully through pursuing out and out anti-people policies including repeated enhancement of tram and bus fares, increasing prices of rice and cereals through imposing tax, increasing the expenditure on police, the deceit of Barga Operation and language-education policy aimed at drastic curtailment of education and has attacked all legitimate democratic protest movements mercilessly with the police and its armed cadres in fascist style. As far as the CPI(M) is concerned, it has been practising politics of consensus for long in defence of the capitalist order. It has maintained close contact, tacit understanding and liaison with the Central Government ever since the time of Smt. Indira Gandhi in "national", that is aggregate bourgeois, interest. In this, the West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu has been playing a larger role than what his status as the C.M. of a mere state warrants. Right from the time of Indira Gandhi, Basu has been summoned to New Delhi off and on by the Prime Ministers to confer upon matters of overall "national" interest, i.e., aggregate bour-

geois interest. There has been such parleys on the eve of some visits to other countries by the Prime Ministers and also many of Basu's foreign trips. The latter suggest Basu's role as the unofficial envoy of the Central Government to the country visited.

About the plight of the toiling masses, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee had this to say: The condition of the people after 45 years' capitalist rule is known to you all. I shall not dwell upon it at length, the country is so plentiful in natural and human resources and yet the minimum needs for civilized living remain unfulfilled for the people. Their rights for life and a living are embodied in the constitution, but absent in practice. There is no dearth of money for the military or subsidies and subventions provided to the capitalists, but little for health and education of the people. Bulk of the people are confined to the rural areas in semiferal condition like living skeletons with provision of not more than three months, work in a year. Due to massive lay-off, retrenchment and lockouts in the industries, hunger stalks the working class households. How many children die in infancy, babies are stillborn and pregnant mothers meet premature death through malnutrition! The harrowing tales of the people's distress and misery do not find their way into the press and the other media controlled by the monopolists.

On the strifes between different sections of the people on the basis of religion, cast, language, race, etc, Comrade Nihar Mukherji said: Due to the weakness of the freedom struggle in our country led by the compromising bourgeoisie, historically inevitable under bourgeois leadership in this era when capitalism as a world force has become reactionary and decadent, India won freedom but democratisation of the society could not be brought about. As a result, divisions of the society on the basis of religion, caste, race, language, etc. still persist. Taking advantage of this and the lack of education and consciousness of the people, the ruling class through its subservient parties in power at the Centre and in the states, is fomenting religious, caste, racial and linguistic passions and embroiling the different sections of the people in fratricidal strifes on these grounds in order to destroy the people's unity and ensure that they cannot fight unitedly against their common enemy, the exploitative capitalist system.

Cautioning against the criminalisation of politics and the danger of fascism, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: The parliamentary parties, be they rightist or 'leftist', have all made it a regular practice to win elections through largescale use of black money, muscle power and rigging. The youth tormented by unemployment are being pushed into criminal, anti-social activities, unethical means of livelihood by these parties to use them as pawns in their petty interest at the time of elections and at other times too. This is part of the all-out fascist conspiracy to destroy the moral backbone of the nation. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that the deepening crisis of capitalism has reached such a stage that the ruling class in all capitalist countries, advanced or relatively backward, are at the present time taking recourse to fascism as the way out for lengthening the lease of life of crisis – ridden moribund capitalism. Fascism cannot be understood as naked dictatorship alone, nor is one party rule a must for clamping down fascism. It can come about even keeping the facade of two-party parliamentary system. It has

Resist 'Exit Policy' unleashing powerful protracted united movement

a dual character of repression and deception. On the one hand it represses mercilessly all voices of dissent while on the other it conceals the dictatorship of capital behind the facade of welfare state, deceives and misguides the people, especially the youth, through a cloak of radicalism, progressiveness and uses them in its favour.

Concerning the problem of education and literacy Comrade Mukherjee analysed : Even in the bourgeois democratic sense, education level of the people is a measure of the progress of the country. In our country, even after 45 years of independence, not to speak of proper education, bulk of the people are not even literate. This is not accidental. It is the policy of the ruling class to deny education to the people so that they suffer from lack of consciousness and cannot rise up against capitalist exploitation. It pains me to say that the state government in West Bengal led by the CPI(M), a party which calls itself leftist and Marxist, has been pursuing an anti-people language education policy designed to shut off the bulk of the students from secondary education even, ever since it came into power. Our party the SUCI, has had to lead a stubborn struggle against this policy for over a decade. Even now, this government is taking up some schemes at great cost to the public exchequer ostensibly for mass literacy which serve to confuse and deceive the masses with a show of concern for their education but in reality maintain and even aggravate the curtailment of education already clamped down. The real purpose of the CPI(M) is to attract the poorer rural classes by this to create a vote bank in its favour. Jyoti Basu can claim no originality in conceiving the anti-people education and language policy. At the behest of the ruling class, the Congress governments at the Centre started curtailment of education pursuing anti-people language policy in a planned way from the very beginning. But "credit" should be given to the "leftist" government of West Bengal for implementing this nefarious policy so thoroughly. Through the ages, the despotic rulers have always opposed spread of education because, as Lenin pointed out, education begets consciousness and consciousness begets revolution. The ruling class may not feel concerned at the lack of education and consciousness among the masses, but to those with the well-being of the people and country at heart, to the correct revolutionary working class party that strives for bringing about a revolutionary transformation of the society, the problem of imparting true education and consciousness, especially revolutionary consciousness to the people is of vital importance. As Comrade Shibdas Ghosh repeatedly stressed, the oppressed toiling masses have to understand the country, the society and its problems in their own interest; it is they who require knowledge and education to find out why the curse of poverty, unemployment and ignorance engulf their lives; it is they who need to study in detail the social sciences and history to learn about the process of development of society stage by stage from primitive communist society to the present oppressive capitalist society through class struggles and to understand that the historically determined course of further development of society is the overthrow of capitalism by the working class and onward march of civilization to the classless communist society through the transitional phase of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Setting out the tasks of the party, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said : Our prime task is to arouse

and awaken the masses, to imbue them with social consciousness. We have to educate the masses, not just formal education in schools and colleges but true education imparted through peasant movement, trade union movement, social movement — by meetings, study circles, sittings and discussions in the factories and fields, in the cities and villages, in the market places, and the hearths and homes of the toiling masses, developing all the movements as schools of communism. Basing ourselves on the advanced, all-round understanding of Marxism-Leninism developed in course of concretising Marxism-Leninism on Indian soil by the beloved departed leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we are to deeply implant the noble ideology of communism and social consciousness in the minds of the toiling masses, organizing them who are now groaning under capitalist oppression, unorganized, victims of self-centredness and helpless — and to transform this social consciousness into revolutionary consciousness. Along with thus working among all sections of the toiling masses, the party has to continually work for all-round epistemological advancement in the light of newer and newer developments and scientific discoveries. In the long and arduous struggle by us to acquire highest communist character by merging ourselves with the interest of the working class, party and revolution, the shining example set by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh will ever guide us, for he was not only the embodiment of complete identification with the working class, the party and revolution but he also released the struggle within our party to elevate the leaders and workers to that level.

Regarding the essential preparatory work for anti-capitalist socialist revolution, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said : Revolution would remain a far cry unless the three necessary pre-conditions for it are fulfilled. These are, correct revolutionary theory, correct revolutionary strategy — not only to determine the stage of revolution but to free mass mind from all superstition and blindness covering all aspects of epistemology, and correct united mass movements comprising widest sections of the toiling masses. Only if the mass movements are conducted on the edifice of higher proletarian morality, ethics and culture and gradually elevated to higher and higher stages through formation of a myriad dedicated volunteer corps and the people's committees as the instruments for struggle, can people's own political power emerge to pave the way for anti-capitalist socialist revolution. For this, besides organizing the masses by carrying the revolutionary ideology and the party to the grass root level among them, a two-fold struggle is to be conducted incessantly by the party. Along with conducting mass movements and struggles, another struggle is to be waged inside the party covering all aspects of life to build communist characters on the basis of higher proletarian ethics and culture which are to be continually steered in the mass and class struggles. Only in this way can the party evolve into the High Command of proletarian revolution.

Analysing the international situation, Comrade Mukherjee said : Till sometime back we had in the world two opposing camps. On one side was the imperialist camp headed by the USA while on the other was the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had a glorious record. After the Great November Revolution it consolidated the first working class state on the globe, built up socialism against all odds in the midst of

antagonistic capitalist encirclement and combined attacks upon it by a host of imperialist-capitalist countries and gave a crushing defeat to Hitlerite Germany pampered and instigated against it by world imperialism. Thus it protected not only itself but the whole mankind from the menace of fascism, the greatest enemy of civilization. Even after the Second World War, for long did the Soviet Union play a very strong, positive pro-people role acting as the bulwark of peace and guarantor of the security and the independence of the third world countries against machinations of imperialists headed by the USA. Even after the usurpation of power by the revisionist leadership after the demise of Stalin and despite many weaknesses and shortcomings the existence of Soviet Union itself acted as a deterrent against imperialist machinations. But what could not be achieved through frontal attacks by imperialists was brought about by internal weaknesses, by attacks of neo-revisionism from within. Through the ascendancy of neo-revisionism initiated by Khrushchev, the socialist structure was undermined and dismantled step by step over about thirty years till reversion to all-out capitalism by Gorbachov through his counterrevolutionary programmes of Glasnost and Perestroika and now the total disintegration of Soviet Union wrought by Yeltsin have been engineered with active imperialist support. As a result, the USA as the leader of world imperialism-capitalism now holds undisputed sway in the world. The USA is trying to dictate the affairs of all countries. They have launched attacks on Lebanon, then Iraq and now Lybia. They are trying to destroy socialist Cuba through blockade. They will never lack pretexts to launch such attacks. The world imperialist-capitalist economy is passing through the third intense general crisis and is in the vortex of continual endemic crises. The USA, doyen of the imperialist powers, is so powerful but cannot eradicate the curse of unemployment, poverty and hunger plaguing its people. In the vain attempt to mitigate capitalist market crisis, the leading imperialist-capitalist countries headed by USA have resorted to all-out militarisation of their economies in a bid to provide artificial stimulation to them. Crisis-ridden capitalism has been for long curtailment bourgeois democratic rights and civil liberty and moving increasingly towards fascism. Years back, even President Eisenhower was constrained to observe that in the USA, the civil society had become eroded and an industrial-bureaucratic-military complex wielded real power from behind the democratic institutions. Continuing Comrade Mukherjee said : With the intensification of market crisis, contradictions are on the increase among the imperialists. The USA is militarily all powerful, but Japan has not only matched them economically and industrially but made serious inroads into the US market. The economic might of united Germany is causing the USA grave worry. Other imperialist countries like Britain and France are also contender competitors. All of them need markets. As the market-crisis intensifies, contradiction among them intensifies too, corroborating Lenin's teaching that market-crisis generates contradictions among imperialists which in turn push the imperialists towards war. All strategic plannings of the USA are formulated with the goal of lengthening the lease of life of moribund capitalism and of enhancing global domination by the USA. Recently, a global strategic plan prepared by the Pentagon has been published in

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The other side of 'freedom' and 'free democracy'

When the Soviet Union and the other East European socialist countries fell and capitalism became restored this became the subject matter of extensive and gleeful news reports while people's growing protest and demands for 'free democracy' received endless news coverage. However, after restoration of free market economy in those countries, news coverage has shrunk to a mere occasional trickle. Forever driving the point that socialism has failed and is dead, that communism is dead and hailing free market economy of capitalism as the ultimate achievement, the monopoly owned press in our country as well as in other capitalist imperialist countries is not at all eager to inform the people about the true life conditions and the real situation in those countries, about the growing disillusionment with and protest against 'free democracy'.

We feel that it is necessary for the people to know the truth about the real situation in those countries and are presenting below the picture slowly emerging from different fragments of news collected for some time.

The social — economic situation

Poland

Poland had played a leading role in bringing about restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. But, according to *Time*, (26.11.90) the real wages of the people have fallen by forty per cent under the impact of capitalism. More than one million people are unemployed as factories and industrial enterprises are closing down. Industrial production has declined by thirty per cent and prices are rising fast. "Under communism few grew rich but no one went hungry; in many cases, people enjoyed surprisingly high levels of prosperity". But now Poland has become a starving nation, begging the Western imperialists for ever greater assistance.

Hence a year later: "The first free parliamentary elections since World War II should have been the crowning triumph of Poland's decade-long march to democracy. Instead of celebrating however, Poles were in a sour and dejected mood last week. Almost 57% of the electorate, numbed by unfulfilled promises of postcommunist prosperity and buffeted by more than 70% inflation, stayed away from the polling booth altogether." (*Time*, 11.11.91)

Hungary

According to some reports in *Time*, (06.08.90, 26.11.90) *Economic Times* (25.03.91) and *Times of India* (03.10.91, 03.11.91) the people have received the right to vote six times in less than one year following the establishment of bourgeois democracy. But people's disaffection has grown so much that in one instant even after four rounds of polling in a bye-election the parliamentary seat in Komarom-Esztergom, remained vacant as the minimum 25% of the electorate required simply did not turn up to vote. "Voters say things were better under communism", said Bela Albert Szucs, county manager of Hungarian Democratic Forum.

The living standard of the people is falling fast. Already at the end of 1990 inflation and prices had increased above 35%. The price of petroleum has risen by 65%. The rate of production is steadily decreasing. Economists have predicted that by the end of '91 half the people of Hungary would sink below the poverty line. Unemployment too, which had been unknown in socialism, is sharply increasing. At one stroke capitalism has rendered innumerable people homeless, looking for shelter in the railway stations. The aged are foraging dustbins for food. The crime rate is increasing fast — all of which

evils had been unknown before. Anti-Semitism is rearing its ugly head as it is in Poland. In Budapest a member of the K.M.F. Association, Chris Mattheisen said: "There is crisis all around. People are poorer but a lot more insecure. They are afraid of what the future will bring. I can detect a certain nostalgia for the good old days when somebody would tell people what to do". Another Hungarian worker commented about this 'free economy': it is rotten — conditions have never been so bad before. Everybody is saying the same thing: socialism was much better.

East Germany

One year after forsaking the path of socialism the high hopes and jubilation with which the East German people approached the merger with West Germany have turned into frustration and anger. People feel that they have been cheated and become second class citizens as conditions are becoming ever more dismal.

Taxes have been increased despite the Government's pre-election pledges. Price rise and inflation have risen higher than anticipated. The economic life in the former GDR has come to a standstill, or rather has collapsed. Agricultural co-operatives, once the symbol of socialist success are broken up, and the former enterprises are being dismantled and closed in the name of privatisation; a small number has been sold to Western owners at a throwaway price. Unemployment which had been unknown before, has reached the staggering figure of 30 per cent in just 6 months, according to *Time* (18.03.91) with the Government predicting that the rate will soon shoot up to 50 per cent, which is the inevitable result of the collapse of industrial production which has decreased 53 per cent from last year (i.e. '90) and is still dropping. Despite rosy promises from the Government prospects for the future are bleak not only for East Germany but other East European countries. "Most ominous is the fact that the collapse is occurring in the part of the former East bloc that was thought to have the best shot at success". "If East Germany cannot make it, with its ideal conditions of unity with West Germany and membership in the European Community, nobody else will make it", says Meinhard Miegcl, Director of the Institute for Economic and Social Research in Bonn. (*Time* 19.03.91)

Socialist East Germany had prided itself on its well developed and completely free public health care, but now that has become a thing of the past. While some of the well-equipped and well run hospitals are being closed down on the pretext of fund shortage, in others the hospital staff are simply not receiving their wages, resulting in an exodus to the West and great hardship for the people in East Germany. The price of essential

commodities including housing, utilities, transport and food, which had been kept at the same low level for the last forty years under socialism, had been well within the purchasing power of everyone. But now the prices are rising daily. (*Economic Times* 12.09.91, 17.09.91) As discontent by people in the West and bitterness in the East of Germany is increasing, a recent report by the OECD shows that "West German industry at least, has not done too badly out of the present situation. It was gaining the huge captive market of the East which saved Germany from the wave of recession now flooding the West". (*The Statesman* 30.11.91) while *The Economic Times* (21.03.91) comments: "The former East Germany has become the market for West German producers, as factories in the East are systematically being put out of existence".

Ugly manifestations of national chauvinism are on the rise. People from other countries who had settled in Germany two, three generations ago, are being savagely attacked as non-Germans, beaten up, stabbed, pulled out from public transport, their apartments stoned or even set ablaze, and bombs thrown. Along with non-resident Indians many others are victims of such attacks. In the meantime according to *The Statesman*, (11.11.91) 700 such incidents of racist violence took place, while the police turn a blind eye and the Government and administration in need to find a scapegoat, is encouraging them by making blatantly false and provocative statements.

The growing rate of crime and social degradation is alarming. Murder, pickpocket, aggression, vandalism and suicide all have jumped according to police reports. Taking Leipzig as an example of the present situation, *Financial Times* (*Economic Times* 28.05.91) commented: "But the worst aspect is the rapid social decay. Bands of punks and skinheads, wielding guns from the West and threatening the lives of anyone with a dark skin roam the streets of Leipzig at night, in a city which used to be among the safest anywhere. West German pimps have moved in to control the fast growing Leipzig prostitution scene."

A school teacher in Leipzig Mrs. Munsel had joined her voice in the demand for abolition of socialism and for merger with capitalist West Germany, along with thousands and thousands of Germans till 1989. Now face to face with the present conditions in Germany she feels 'taken for a ride' and remembering with nostalgia the bygone days she says that her teenage pupils on seeing the plight of the country have lost all eagerness and interest in attending school and studying. (*Economic Times*, 25.03.91)

Rumania

Now, in the present 'free democracy' oil and electrical power have become scarce, inflation and price of food products have doubled. The shops are almost empty. There is an acute food crisis; and the people have no money. In the meantime over one lakh of people have become unemployed, according to a report in *Time* (06.08.90) and more than 5 lakhs are threatened with unemployment. Already in February '90, 460 industries had closed down. Here too, anti-Semitism is rearing its head.

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The other side of 'freedom' and 'free democracy'

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Czechoslovakia

The situation is not much different in Czechoslovakia. There too, free market economy of capitalism has brought on acute inflation and unemployment problem according to *Time* (06.08.90). Besides, ethnic ill feelings and national chauvinism are continuously increasing. (*Time*, 26.11.90) A citizen by name of Andrzej Misiok commented : In reality we are not more free than under socialism.

Soviet Union

The Soviet Union which before the working class revolution had been a most backward country, developed under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin into a most powerful, modern nation, to whom the exploited people all over the world came to look upon for help and inspiration in their struggle against colonial and capitalist-imperialist exploitation. Cruelty and terror, as some revisionists, like the imperialists, so unrealistically and viciously propagate, could never have brought about this spectacular success. It was the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism applied by Lenin and Stalin which had cemented the one hundred different nationalities together with feelings of brotherhood and friendship into a single Union (of 15 union republics and 38 subordinate autonomous units), and enthused the creative power and dedication of the people.

After Stalin's death, however, Krushchev usurped power and began to lead the country along the path of revisionism, gradually undoing the great achievements of the past; and which in course of time has culminated in deep crisis of socialism, growing resentment among the people and finally restoration of capitalism through the counterrevolutionary programme of Gorbachev resulting in the break up of the Union, ever growing national chauvinism, ethnic strifes and even civil war, unthinkable a few years back.

Now, according to *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times* (22.10.91) Soviet State is engulfed in an all-out crisis. The rate of inflation in one year has surpassed 300 per cent. Due to absence of funds employers cannot pay the workers their monthly wages. There is an acute food crisis.

Some shops selling food open at eight in the morning, and since the entire food is sold out in no time these are all closed by noon. Government shops have been indefinitely closed down on the pretext of renovation. According to *Bartaman*, (07.02.92) on some days people queue up at night just to get one kilo of potatoes in Moscow in the morning.

This year a record has been reached in the amount of agricultural food produced in Soviet Russia. But on the way to the godowns things vanish since blackmarketing is flourishing as a result of free market economy and is in control of the entire open market in Moscow. Scarcity is being created in order to artificially induce a price rise while Western capitalist countries have to be approached for food assistance. According to the economic commission's report, there will be more than 5 million jobless people by the end of the year. (*Time* 03.12.91)

The price of milk, bread, meat, sugar, petrol, room heater, electricity, transport, airfares, even

medicines and essential articles for baby care have increased three to five times. One kilo of potatoes is twenty rubbles. The economists are apprehensive that inflation will rise skyhigh. Probably 60 to 80% of the 15 crores Russian people will be pushed at one stroke below poverty level. (*Bartaman* 07.01.92)

Though there is no doubt that the fall of socialist countries did draw some popular support from the people, or a section of people, to ascribe it entirely as a result of people's upsurge in demand for freedom, the way it is being portrayed in the bourgeois press, is a complete travesty of truth. Without the powerful counterrevolutionary forces at work this debacle could never have happened. A report based on revelations of high American officials and published in *Time* has confirmed this : The American President Reagan and the Pope met in 1982 and agreed to collaborate in a clandestine campaign to hasten the end of the "communist empire". ... Both the Pope and the President were convinced that Poland could be broken out of the Soviet orbit "if the Vatican and the U.S. committed their resources to destabilizing the Polish government and keeping the outlawed Solidarity movement alive after the declaration of material law in 1981".

"Until Solidarity's legal status was restored in 1989 it flourished underground, supplied, nurtured and advised largely by the network established under the auspices of Reagan and John Paul II. Tons of equipment — fax machines (the first in Poland), printing presses, transmitters, telephones, shortwave radios, video cameras, photocopiers, telex machines, computers, word processors — were smuggled into Poland via channels established by priests and American agents and representatives of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO)" among others.

At the same time America evolved such strategy and manoeuvres "aimed at bringing about the collapse of the Soviet economy, fraying the ties that bound the U.S.S.R. to its client states in the Warsaw Pact and forcing reform inside the Soviet Union." But finally, it was the reforms initiated by Gorbachev through this glasnost and perestroika that "unleashed powerful forces that spun out of his control" and crowned the combined efforts of America and the Vatican with success. (*Time* 24.02.92)

With their dreams and hopes shattered the people in the former socialist countries are today experiencing the cruel plight brought on by the free market economy of capitalism. They are beginning to realise that the kind of life they had enjoyed under socialism in spite of the many defects, was far superior and secure even though it lacked deceptive glamour of capitalist appearance in the West. Feeling cheated they have started to rally in ever growing numbers in protest.

The Picture of Protest

East Germany (Now merged with West Germany)

Protesting against the economic standstill or collapse and untold hardship, unemployment and social crisis, and against the attacks of the neo-fascists on foreigners, tens of thousands of people took to the streets on 3rd October last year.

And at rallies on 9th November people demonstrated in towns throughout Germany : in Berlin about 50,000 people took part, in Saarbrücken 20,000, in Munich 10,000, Bremen 8,000, etc. In Frankfurt people formed a human chain to voice their protest. (*The Statesman* 06.10.91, 12.11.91)

Last August on the first anniversary of reunification of Germany huge protest meetings were organized according to *Economic Times*.

Hungary

In Hungary the agitated motorists blocked streets and bridges in protest against the steep price rise of petrol. The Government was forced to retreat and has given an assurance to sit down with the Union conducting the movement for negotiations according to *Time* (26.11.90). In the capital of Budapest massive resentment and protest against the staggering price rise and unemployment is building up. (*Times of India* 03.10.91)

Rumania

In a Transilvanian town hundreds and hundreds of workers came out in protest against food crisis and price rise in a procession, carrying banners proclaiming among others : The Government is ruining us. We want social security. Down with President Iliescu etc. (*Economic Times* : 23.03.91, *Time* 18.12.91)

On the 16th December, last, twenty thousand people organized a procession with the demand that the president step down. (*Anandabazar Patrika* 18.12.91)

Russia

Resentment against the government centring round the unsettled political situation and crisis ridden economy is constantly growing among the people, which at times even leads to riots. Recently, in St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) hungry people stormed a government godown, looted the stored food items and distributed the same among themselves. Protests, strikes, demonstrations are on the rise with growing exasperation and anger of the people.

Some time ago in an industrial area in Perm the workers had started a strike in a factory demanding higher wages. When Yeltsin himself went there to persuade the workers to lift their strike the workers raised the slogan : 'Go back Yeltsin' and pelted him with rotten eggs and potatoes, forcing him to leave the place.

On the 17th November '91 a procession of almost thirty thousand people marched to the Red Square in Moscow with portraits of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The processionists organized by the Moscow Town Citizens' Forum and the Workers' Committee voiced their dual demands for careful preservation of the statues of Marx-Lenin among others and for preserving and keeping the body of Lenin in the Mausoleum, according to *The Independent* (18.11.91).

And there are more : countless protest movements are growing in all the different countries. The crisis of capitalist economy is bound to impel the people to take to the streets in protest. Just as the crisis is bound to become more acute so also the protest movements of people are bound to grow and become more militant.

Temper yourselves as true Communist taking lessons from current setback

(Continued from page 5)

the US press and excerpts from the same reproduced in an Indian journal. It plans control of the whole world and its resources by the major imperialist powers under US hegemony and lays down that no other power in any region of the world will be allowed to exercise influence as a major regional power — and envisages use of force to ensure these objectives. The plan has been chalked out area by area on the globe — countries of the erstwhile Soviet Union, the oil-rich middle east, the Indian sub-continent, etc. About India it says, "We should discourage Indian hegemonic aspirations over the other states in south Asia and on the Indian ocean." In this document, a veiled threat is directed against the other strong imperialist powers who are allies of the USA in President Bush's new world order, ".... the US must show the leadership necessary to establish and protect a new order that holds the promise of convincing potential competitors that they need not aspire to a greater role or pursue a more aggressive posture to protect their legitimate interests". The third world countries are sought to be held in economic bondage through imperialist financial institutions like the IMF and the World Bank. And now, through the conspiracy of the Dunkel proposal at the GATT forum, the advanced imperialist countries and particularly the USA seek to lay an iron stranglehold on material and spiritual production in third world countries.

Referring to the set back in the communist movement caused by the recent developments in erstwhile Soviet Union and East Europe, Comrade Mukherjee said : From Marx's time, there have been attacks on the movement again and again. Just as this is true, that there is no reason to view the present setback to be on a par with the earlier ones, it is also true that very painful and damaging though the present setback is, there is no reason to be despondent. Our party has analysed all aspects of the present setback in the light of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts which is the present day most advanced understanding of Marxism-Leninism, of truth. Only those who have correct understanding of truth can carry forward the noble banner of communism in the face of the present all-out anti-communist tirade. Marx said that communists are thorough, communists are sure about the future. On what basis Marx said this ? He said this because Marxism is not based upon utopian theories. It emerged by co-ordinating, integrating and generalising the particular truths derived by all the sciences and the different streams of epistemologies - as a philosophy and science at the same time, as the science of all sciences charting out the path of social progress in consonance with history and reality.

After Marx, giant leaders of international communist movement like Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong have further developed the understanding of Marxism and enriched it. In historical continuity with them, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had elevated the comprehensive understanding of Marxism to a new height. Right at the time when Khrushchev started devaluing Stalin, Comrade Ghosh cautioned the communist movement that in the name of fighting Stalin personality cult, Khrushchev was hitting at the very roots of Marxism-Leninism and opening the flood gates of revisionism. By attacking Stalin, he was actually launching attack upon Lenin and Leninism.

History has proved this penetrating analysis correct. By repeated analysis on the developments in Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, China, etc., Comrade Ghosh showed that the failure to conduct appropriate struggle to raise the level of ideological-cultural consciousness of the masses by the communist parties was providing breeding ground for ascendancy of revisionism which would in the long run make for restoration of capitalism. This is what has actually come to pass. Imperialism-capitalism could not overthrow socialism in Soviet Union and East Europe through their attacks, the setback came through attack of revisionism from within, thriving upon internal weaknesses of the movement. The setback has not come through historically determined process of social development but through distortion of it. And so the remedy lies in the communist parties removing the shortcomings and mistakes through painstaking ideological-cultural work on the basis of advanced understanding of Marxism-Leninism so that the historical process can re-assert itself. What do you find ? Gorbachev who was so much eulogised by the imperialists and awarded the Nobel prize, is already thrown into the dustbin of history. Now the imperialists are carefully nurturing Yeltsin, trying to protect him from mass wrath. The CPSU has been banned, the open air of Glasnost allows entry to all corrupt, decadent culture from the capitalist West but not the noble ideal of communism and the people are being intoxicated with all sorts of obscurantist, reactionary, religious ideas like even the Krishna-consciousness cult. And yet thousands and thousands of people have come out on the streets. They are holding aloft the red banner and portraits of Lenin and Stalin, defying all repression by the state. Historically we are in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution depicted by Lenin. As Marx said, capitalism is continually generating its own grave-diggers. All that is needed is to sharpen the tools for this grave digging through correct and advanced understanding of dialectical and historical materialism, Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is invincible !

On the immediate tasks of the international communist movement, Comrade Mukherjee said : The immediate task is for genuine communists all over the world to have an international forum in order to create public opinion against neo-colonial attacks by the US imperialists and to develop solidarity with the people's subjected to such attacks, to develop solidarity with peoples of countries like Libya, Iraq and Cuba which the US imperialism is trying to crush, to take initiative in arranging despatch of essential commodities like foodstuff, baby food, medicines, etc., from different countries to the Cuban people waging life and death struggle against the US-imposed embargo and to create strong public opinion and organise broadest possible united struggle comprising all right-thinking, democratic-minded and peace-loving people from country to country against the US bid to dominate the world as the largest nuclear power, its nuclear blackmailing and star war threat.

In conclusion, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee gave the stirring call : We are striving to build up the mass and class struggles, conducting the two fold struggle to the best of our ability based on Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thought continually assessing and analysing our progress and weaknesses. We appeal to the workers and supporters of the leftist parties, who cherish Marxism-Leninism not to be swayed by the blind animosity towards us instilled in them by their leaderships but to study the profound analyses of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh dispassionately, to grasp the truth and correct understanding embodied therein and to force their leaderships to retrace steps and join hands with us in the anti-capitalist struggle. We appeal to the people to come forward and protect our party like the apple of the eye, in the same way in which a father protects his child. Only thus can evolve the intimate organic relationship between the party and the people Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to speak about.

Long Live Revolution !
Red Salute, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh !
Long Live SUCI !
Hold aloft the Noble Banner of Communism,
Proletarian Internationalism !



A portion of the massive gathering at Sahced Minar Maidan, Calcutta on SUCI Day, the 24th April

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