

MAO ZEDONG MEMORIAL DAY OBSERVED

RELEASE STRUGGLE AGAINST NEW-REVISIONIST— IMPERIALIST GANG-UP : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

To observe 9th September, the Memorial Day of Comrade Mao Zedong, the architect of Chinese revolution and a great international communist leader, a meeting was held on that day in a most befitting and solemn manner at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatshila, Bihar where Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our party was the main speaker. Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, Central Committee of our party, presided over the meeting. The meeting started with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. A well decorated portrait of Comrade Mao Zedong with half-mast red flag was there on the dais.

After the brief speech of Comrade Tapas Dutta, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered his speech for nearly 3 hours. Giving a brief history of the October Revolution in Russia, Comrade Mukherjee said that the October Revolution had a deep and penetrating influence in China which was a backward semi-feudal and semi-colonial country ruled by the warlords and exploited by the foreign imperialist powers. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution attempted with the inspiration of the French Revolution under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen ended in failure. Mao analysed the causes of this failure and after analysing the class disposition of the Chinese society, chalked out a path of New Democratic Revolution at the Third National Congress of the CPC. Mao successfully applied Lenin's thesis on colonies and semi-colonies, that in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution the bourgeois class not only had lost its revolutionary character but had become reactionary and corrupt and so liberation struggle under the leadership of the bourgeois class could not reach the desired goal. And so Mao advocated an alliance of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, patriotic bourgeoisie and all sections of the people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party against the imperialists, the feudal lords and the comprador bourgeoisie for achieving New Democratic Revolution and made it a success.

In this context Comrade Mukherjee cited the example of the national liberation struggle of our country where too the impact of October Revolution was no less significant, but because of the absence of real Marxist-Leninist party, the leadership was usurped by the bourgeoisie and so the desired goal of people's liberation could not be achieved despite political independence and setting up of a sovereign bourgeois state. But the national democratic revolution ended in a half-baked and truncated way. It was because of this Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat had to take up the arduous task of building our party, the SUCI in 1948 with a handful of his compatriots on the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Comrade Ghosh realised that in order to accomplish anti-capitalist socialist revolution integrating therewith the unaccomplished task of bourgeois democratic revolution, three main conditions must be fulfilled: firstly, there must be a correct base political line, secondly, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party capable of implementing that line and thirdly, correct method of revolutionary struggle for advancing and achieving that historic task. At the 10th Congress of the CPC Mao brilliantly analysed and stressed that if the base political line was not correct, the party that controlled the state power, had the powerful military in its fold and enjoyed tremendous support of the people would ultimately fall like a house of cards, but if the base political line was correct the party

which was very small at one time would gain everything and attain ultimate victory.

Comrade Mukherjee stated that the capitalist imperialist camp got the opportunity to create confusion and had been propagating very shrewdly a blatant lie, an unrealistic and unhistorical proposition that there was no question of society progressing beyond capitalism by showing the recent tragic development in East European countries and more so the catastrophic development in the USSR, which in no way proved that the noble ideology of communism had become obsolete. Because, all these developments proved beyond any shade of doubt that modern revisionism in general and the counterrevolutionary scheme of Perestroika and Glasnost of Gorbachov restoring capitalism in these countries in particular had brought this catastrophe.

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COMRADE TAPAS DUTTA ATTENDS TU MEET IN CHINA

Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, Central Committee of the SUCI and General Secretary, UTUC(LS), attended the Asian Symposium on Trade Union and Issues of Development and Employment sponsored by All China Federation of Trade Unions held at Guangzhou City, from 26th August to 1st September last. Altogether 50 delegates from different Asian countries attended the Symposium. The delegates also visited different industries and industrial zones of China. The opening session was addressed by Comrade Ni Zhifu, Chairman of ACFTU. Comrade Tapas Dutta's speech showed a distinctly different line. Comrade Ni Zhifu and Comrade Tapas Dutta had a separate discussion on Trade Union movement in India.

The text of the speech delivered by Comrade Tapas Dutta is given below.

Respected President, Friends & Comrades,

It is a matter of great pleasure and honour, indeed, to visit the land of great leader of the proletariat comrade Mao Zedong and to participate in this symposium at a very critical juncture of international working class movement. Conveying warm revolutionary greetings to ACFTU on behalf of my organisation UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and working people of India for their cordial invitation, I like to pass over to the agenda and place our views in this regard.

The agenda before this symposium is 'Trade Union and Issues of Development and Employment' i.e. we are to discuss about the attitude and approach of the trade unions towards these vital issues and the role of the trade unions in promoting development and employment. The formulation of attitude, approach and role of trade unions, in my opinion, very much depends on the correct understanding of what we mean by development. The central point of development is welfare and gradual advancement of human being. To put the concept in concrete terms—fullest satisfaction of growing material and cultural needs of the entire population and for this purpose, fullest utilisation of manual and intellectual labour power, employment to all employable persons, uninterrupted industrialisation, modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture, utilisation of natural resources and utilisation of scientific discoveries and technological development for the service and uplift of human being—such are the main characteristics of present-day development. Keeping in view these characteristics, one is to discuss the agenda placed before the symposium.

Comrades and friends, I know that some responsible quarters, very often, suggest and try to

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Condemns US Barbarity

CALCUTTA, 14.9.91 :

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has strongly condemned the recently revealed news of killing eight thousand Iraqi soldiers by U. S. Army during the last Gulf war by issuing the following statement :

Words fail to express our indignation over the reported gruesome incident confirmed by the Pentagon, even of burying alive some eight thou-

sand Iraqi soldiers during the last Gulf War by the advancing US Army with the help of tanks fitted with ploughs. The ferocity of this crime far surpassed the barbarity of medieval age committed by the so-called votaries of democracy, the Bush administration in particular which should be declared 'war criminal' with immediate effect—a demand voiced by the well-meaning and peace-loving people the world over since long.

Republics, granted right of self determination with the right to secession, integrated to form the USSR

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Capitalism-imperialism everywhere, passing through the third phase of intense world-wide crisis and not being able to maintain even the semblance of equilibrium, had been frantically trying to create artificial stimuli through militarisation of their economy, more and more pushing the entire world to the brink of war on one hand and taking recourse to fascism, the arch enemy of mankind and tested in history to be the course of ruination of civilisation.

Comrade Mukherjee further stated that Marxism alone showed us the scientific course of the development of human society. By studying, integrating and coordinating all the branches of science Marx established Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism. As based on experimented truth Marxism is the only philosophy which for the first time showed the mankind to know truth in its entire perspective and apply the same to change his lot. Marx showed that we did live in a law governed society; the class division and the class struggle came into the society after the primitive clan communist society, and the intensification of class struggle had taken an extreme form in the capitalist society. This capitalist society came into being after passing through so many social, stages viz primitive clan communist society to slave society, from slave society to serfdom and feudalism. All these revolutionary changes brought one sort of repressive and oppressive system in place of another sort of repressive and oppressive system and were in the interest of the minority and subjected the majority to exploitation and oppression. Through the anti-capitalist socialist revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat would begin the transitional phase of socialism which in its wake would fulfil all the conditions required for switching over to communism, which alone is capable of putting an end to all sorts of exploitation and oppression of man by man, it would be possible to eliminate class division and class struggle from the realm of both material and spiritual sphere and abolish all sorts of inequalities from all spheres of the society. After reaching that stage the repressive state apparatus would also wither away and real freedom and democracy would be achieved, man would be in the real sense of the term the "*renaissance man*" and uninterrupted march of mankind for conquering the nature would go ahead. This was the only scientifically proved historical destiny of mankind and human civilisation. So the capitalist social order could never be the last word in the onmarch of human civilisation. This was the teaching of all the giant Marxist thinkers right from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Shirdas Ghosh. That was why Comrade Shirdas Ghosh, penetratingly advanced the idea thus: "In the annals of human society humanism is not the last word. It is undoubtedly the most lively air that the oppressive bourgeois thinking is capable of producing. But the march of progress of society does not stop there and hence the sense of moral values does not find its zenith in humanism. Communism begins where humanism ends."

Comrade Mukherjee continued that it was in Russia that capitalism was first overthrown in the October Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and the first socialist state in the world was established there. After the demise of Lenin, Stalin, the able lieutenant of Lenin and the continuator and defender of Marxism-Leninism not only consolidated and developed backward Soviet Russia to a new peak by giving defeat to both left and right deviations but by ensuring fullest development of language, culture and national characteristic of the

different ethnic groups which were oppressed and humiliated by the Tsarist Russia, united and integrated them to form the USSR with the noble ideology of communism and proletarian internationalism and these Republics were granted the right of self-determination with the right to secession. To thwart the Nazi invasion, the people of all these Republics fought with exemplary self sacrifice, valour, determination and patriotism and ensured the victory of the USSR over the fascist aggression in the Second World War and saved the mankind from the extreme catastrophe. After the end of the Second World War the devastated Soviet Union was quickly rebuilt under the able leadership of Stalin and it became a very powerful state. Imperialism could not destroy the Soviet Union even when it was in the nascent stage by encirclement combinedly by the 14 imperialist countries and all sections of the people belonging to different ethnic groups fought like one man to save the Soviet Union. But what could not be done by outside intervention was brought about by the enemy from within. The defeat of Ravana would not have been possible had there been no Vibhisana and had there been no Mir Zafar, Jagat Seth, Raja Rajballav and Umichand the British could not have succeeded in defeating Siraj-ud-daula and establishing the colonial rule in India. Similarly socialism was endangered from within after the usurpation of leadership of the state and the CPSU by the Khrushchev revisionist clique and the dangerous consequences were seen by all. The counterrevolutionary blueprint of Perestroika and Glasnost ultimately disintegrated the Soviet Union and dismantled socialism in East European countries.

Comrade Mukherjee stated that Marxism faced attacks from within right from the time of Marx and communist movement sometimes received temporary setbacks. But we must take into cognizance the gravest blow that international communist movement suffered now. Revisionism caused serious damage and restoration of capitalism had started since the time of Khrushchev. But through counterrevolutionary plan of Perestroika and Glasnost counterrevolution was engineered and capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union. After this, beggary, prostitution, crime and all the decadent bourgeois culture—all of which were things of the past had been again appearing in the society along with deep economic, social, moral—in a word all pervasive crises which was reflected in the policy statement of the 8-man Committee which attempted to remove Gorbachev and his clique. But the method adopted by them was not in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist method of bringing about a basic or radical change.

In this context Comrade Mukherjee mentioned that during the brief absence of Gorbachev, Yeltsin exercised sweeping dictatorial power by declaring himself as the supreme head of the armed forces, banning the activities of the communist party, closing the newspapers, taking sweeping decisions on the questions of the independence of the Republics and the like, giving further fillip to the secessionist movement. Yeltsin had incited Russian chauvinism to a new height and created such a frenzy among the people that the condition had been created where the statue of Great Lenin even could be dismantled. It was also reported in the press that they were contemplating about removing the body of Lenin from mausoleum as was done to Stalin by Khrushchev. These steps of Yeltsin were described as 'democratic' coup within the Soviet Union!

After Gorbachev's return, Gorbachev-Yeltsin combine had been taking sweeping measures like

banning of the CPSU, removing 80 per cent officers of the military, reducing the strength of the army by 50 per cent, banning political commissar and Communist Party cell within the army and moreover transforming the Red Army into a professional army just like a mercenary army of a capitalist country, forcing the *Pravda*, the newspaper founded by Lenin and five other newspapers to reappear by changing its previous character with new editorial boards; they had been arresting and killing many people who were opposing Perestroika and Glasnost and keeping all these heinous acts secret to the outside world. All the measures pushed the Soviet Union to the convulsion of a mighty secessionist movement and three Republics had already seceded and two more were on the verge of secession. Now in their frantic bid to remain in power anyhow they were attempting for a loose type of confederation with 10 Republics, by changing the Constitution with the provision of two Houses and even restricting those powers which a bourgeois state enjoys in matters like currency, defence, foreign affairs etc. It was clear that such a loose type of confederation would constantly create conflict of interest thus making it vulnerable to the intrigues of the imperialists and would be used as the playground of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. The role of the western imperialists and particularly the US imperialists behind all these events was clear. So all sections of the well-meaning and progressive people and the communists the world over must not allow these and must oppose the imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and the toiling millions of the Soviet people, the Red Army, having a glorious tradition and the genuine communists there would have to carry out arduous, relentless and sustained struggle on the correct base political line to bring about a revolutionary upsurge to defeat the entire scheme of Perestroika and Glasnost and re-establish socialism and uphold the noble banner of proletarian internationalism.

Comrade Mukherjee pointed out that in the changed international situation after the counter-revolution, the US imperialists which had completely lost their halo after the Vietnam war were again on the offensive and had taken a threatening posture to entire world and dictating to the Soviet Union even in its internal affairs. The US imperialists had been threatening China with aid cut if the sphere of market economy was not enlarged there. The British Prime Minister went to China to see how China was maintaining human rights there. Again the US imperialists were sending a Congressional delegation to oversee the condition of human rights within China.

Side by side Comrade Mukherjee pointed out the sharpening of contradiction between USA, Japan, Germany, Britain, France and others centring round the capture of market. This contradiction might further aggravate and take a new dimension very shortly.

Recalling the teachings of Comrade Mao about the internal struggle of the party Comrade Mukherjee said that Mao stated in the Central Committee meeting after the advent of Khrushchev that what they would do if they found revisionism in the Central Committee. Mao asserted that no one was infallible and so he invited sharpest possible criticism against him if any one found any fault in him. Seeing the ugly head of revisionism in the USSR, Mao released the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which was a new, broader and deeper stage of the continuing revolution and aimed at creating a new man by transforming his mental outlook and creating new values. Mao stressed that as cultural revolution was to precede technical revolution so

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MAO LAID GREATEST STRESS ON ETHICAL AND CULTURAL UPLIFT

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also to consolidate and advance socialism cultural revolution was very much essential and 20 or 30 such cultural revolutions would precede the achievement of the goal of communism.

Pointing to the anti-communist tirade let loose by the imperialist camp and different reactionary forces all over the world at the setback of the international communist movement, Comrade Mukherjee reminded that by this they might create confusion to a section of people for some time but they would not be able to hoodwink all the people for all the time because all these were far from truth, unreal and unhistoric. At this moribund stage, capitalism-imperialism, without exception, taking recourse to fascism with its dual character of suppression and deception would not survive because they were constantly giving birth to their antithesis, creating objective condition more and more ripe for a basic and radical transformation of this savage exploitative and oppressive system. The class struggle was not the discovery of Marx, but its existence had been admitted by the bourgeoisie. Marx only showed how the class struggle would be resolved. The dictatorship of the proletariat was the only form of state in the intervening period from capitalism to communism. Stalin in his penetrating analysis in *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* showed the socialist economic law where money circulation would gradually cease, market economy would cease to operate and the character of commodity production would change; it would be replaced by product exchange and in its wake create abundance in all sphere so that stage of 'each according to his ability' would pass over to the stage of 'each according to his need.' Khrushchev completely failed to grasp the socialist economic law and stressed anyhow to increase production

thus jeopardising the entire socialist economy. Observing all these and meticulously studying the entire process Mao stressed self reliance and self help and he wanted that instead of being simple experts, the experts must be red also, meaning thereby that the cadres should be imbued with the noble ideology of communism and their ideological, cultural and ethical standard should be constantly raised. Mao laid maximum stress on ethical, moral and cultural upliftment. But after Mao, Deng Xiaoping, usurping the leadership of the state and the party, throw his scheme of so-called four modernisations, open door policy and liberalisation, took recourse to get imperialist, more so the US imperialist help to establish industries and in its wake the incident that shook China was the happening of Tienanmen Square—direct impact of decadent culture of capitalism-imperialism and machination of the reactionary forces. After the jolt at the incident of Tienanmen Square, the recent events in the Soviet Union had worried the Chinese leadership as understood from the call of Mr. Chen Yun, the Chairman of the party's Central Advisory Commission to prevent the emergence of a Yeltsin like figure in China and he said that the party must draw the "right lesson" from the crumbling of communism in the Soviet Union and the ascendancy of the bourgeois liberal politicians. He indirectly criticised Mr. Deng Xiaoping for elevating many ideologically suspect cadres to the top including the former party general secretaries, Mr. Hu Yao Bang and Mr. Zhao Ziyang. It is reported that *People's Daily* published an article which had warned against elevating "so-called capable people whose moral qualities are not good." This was reported to be an oblique reference to Mr. Zhu Rongji, the former Mayor of Shanghai who was promoted to the post of Vice Premier in April 1990 at the order of Mr. Deng and who is known in the

West as the Gorbachev of China. As reported in the press the thought of shift from the Deng line was uppermost in the mind of the Chinese leadership. The Central Committee of our party stated that if restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union could open the eyes of those who had been practising revisionism and if the Chinese Communist Party could firmly stand on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and strictly adhere to Mao Zedong's teachings, resisting firmly all attacks and pressures from the imperialist countries, it would open a new vista for advancing the revolutionary struggle, to Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam and to the real communists all over the world.

In fine, Comrade Mukherjee concluded that by leading both the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and very swiftly consolidating and advancing socialism in a famine-stricken and backward country like China and extending help to the revolutionary movement of different countries of the world by upholding the banner of proletarian internationalism, Mao illumined the path. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Comrade Ghosh—all of them showed us the only scientifically proved and historically determined path and it devolved on all of us to make bold strides with vigour in our journey along that path to save the communist movement from the present gravest debacle by defeating ideologically, politically and organisationally all shades of modern revisionism in general and the counterrevolutionary scheme of Perestroika and Glasnost in particular and in its wake consolidating the genuine communists all over the world who would work as the core in advancing anti-capitalist socialist revolution and liberation struggles in different countries, thus ultimately overthrowing capitalism-imperialism-fascism from the surface of the globe. History bestowed this task to us and by fulfilling this task we could pay real homage to Mao Zedong, the giant communist leader.

The meeting ended with the "Internationale."

Demonstration Before US & USSR Consulates in Calcutta

Condemning severely the counterrevolutionary machinations of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin clique to foist capitalist exploitation on a country which first put an end to the exploitation of man by man, and strongly protesting against the US imperialists' intrigue and interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, the WB State Committee of the party on 5th September last took out a large demonstration in Calcutta from the statue of Comrade Lenin at Esplanade and led it to the Calcutta consulate offices of the USA and the USSR and submitted the memorandums addressed to the respective Consulates General. Comrade Provash Ghosh, member, Central Committee and Secretary, WB State Committee of the party and Comrade Manik Mukherjee, member, WB State Secretariat and Secretary, Calcutta District Committee of the party, led the protest demonstration and submitted the memorandums to the respective consulates.

Similarly, demonstrations were held and memorandums submitted in different state capitals under the auspices of the respective State Committees.

We give below the text of the memorandums.

MEMORANDUM

Submitted before the Consulate General of
The USA, Calcutta
on behalf of the
Socialist Unity Centre of India
West Bengal State Committee.

We voice the strong feeling of indignation of millions and millions of the Indian people and

reflect their long anti-imperialist tradition and aspiration which they cherish so deeply as we take this occasion to condemn forthrightly the blatant and arrogant acts of the U.S. administration in prying, dictating and interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union—all this with impunity.

The iron tentacles of this attack, violating the international canons, have spread to all spheres—political, economic, social, ethnic, any thing and every thing and what is more, they are coming in the form of diktats of a highly dictatorial manner. It is strange that the question of sovereignty of a country like the USSR has not been taken into account at all. The Bush Administration is now dictating practically everything, from A to Z—be it the question of declaration of independence of the Baltic states and other republics, the economic question or whatever else—in flagrant violation of all democratic norms and tradition.

We have noted seriously that when the Secretary General of the U.N.O. reportedly expressed a serious concern over the threat of disintegration of the USSR and expressed opinion in favour of a United Russia in the interest of international balance of power and a relatively easy solution to world problems, the manoeuvres of the Bush Administration are designed to the detriment of peace and sovereignty of all nations. We strongly feel, all these cannot go unchallenged and have to be resisted at all costs.

We demand :

1) Stop immediately interference into the internal affairs of the USSR.

2) Desist from machinations to push the Soviet Union into the blind alley of disintegration ;

3) Put a halt to the politics of neo-colonialism and overlordism as are being practised by the U. S. imperialists with immediate effect.

Provash Ghosh
Secretary,
West Bengal State Committee
SUCI.

MEMORANDUM

Submitted before the Consulate General of
The USSR, Calcutta
on behalf of the
Socialist Unity Centre of India
West Bengal State Committee

The counterrevolutionary machination of Glasnost and Perestroika led by the renegade Gorbachev clique that has restored capitalism in the USSR has now pushed the great country of the Soviet people into an all-pervasive political, economic, cultural and moral crisis, causing great hardship to the people at large. In the present capitalist setup the utterly reactionary and unholy alliance of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, who are incapable of solving even the fringe of any basic problem, has been moving in a way to expose the great people of the Soviet land to many-pronged attacks, particularly from the US imperialists, on the internal affairs of the country, with advantage

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TU meet in China

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convince that technological development and growth in production, always and everywhere advance the society and the people. Humbly, I beg to differ. Notwithstanding the recognition of the necessity of technological development, I must submit that technological development and growth in production do not automatically ensure socio-economic development of the people in a country irrespective of its socio-economic-political system and character. The experience of different countries will stand in favour of this contention. Let us, in this connection, have a glance at the USA, the leading industrially and technologically developed nation of today's world. According to *Sunday Observer* dated April 24, 1990, in the U.S.A. 43% is living below poverty level. In the Seventies, 12 million American citizens had to procure their meals from charity-kitchen. Now, the number of such citizens has reached 60 million; 25 million are homeless. Rate of child mortality is 10.7%; 20% are illiterate. The *Newsweek* dated 31.10.88 reports that 20 thousand of vagabond orphans are roaming about New York streets.

Baltimore Sun, an American journal, quoted economist Barbara Jones, who is reported to have said that during 25 years from 1960 to 1985, 65% of the workers had been retrenched in U.S.A. due to computerisation; employment opportunity to the extent of 70% has been decreased and it would not be a fact of surprise if more than 90% of the remaining workforce lose their employment within ten years to come. This picture proves that notwithstanding the industrial and technological development, the USA has failed miserably to eliminate poverty and unemployment, and satisfy the growing material and cultural needs of the entire population. And still, it is eulogised as the most developed nation! What sort of development is this? However, let us turn to Asia. Rizwanul Islam, Senior Development Economist, ILO, Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion (ARTEP), conducted a study of ten developing countries of Asia and summed up his experience in an article published in *International Labour Review* (Vol. 129, No. 6). While dealing with the question whether high economic and agricultural growth was a sufficient condition for poverty alleviation, he answers, "The experience of 1960's suggests that it is not, especially with respect to basic needs that cannot be satisfied merely by raising personal income (e.g. health service and education). This is clear from the experience of post-reform China, Pakistan and India. China made spectacular progress in rural poverty alleviation after 1979 in terms of the number of people below the poverty line, but not in other indicators of wellbeing—the death rate rose, life expectancy at birth declined (though moderately) and, in fact, mortality rose sharply after 1978. Although economic growth quickened, social progress slowed down, mainly because the direct support to health services given by the super-seceded commune system had ceased. Clearly, even high growth of personal income did not compensate for loss of social services". Appreciating the high rate of growth in agriculture in Indonesia, the writer comments, "Also, data on agricultural borrowers indicate that estates and large borrowers are the main beneficiaries of subsidised credit (World Bank, 1988 - B). Perhaps, therefore, farmers particularly small and marginal farmers did not reap the full benefit of the rapid growth that took place in agriculture...it is hard to explain how landless agricultural workers benefited especially as crop production has steadily become less labour intensive".

In another place the writer says, "The conclusion seems inescapable that while both Thailand

and Indonesia achieved high rates of growth in their manufacturing sectors, the macroeconomic policies that enabled them to do so did not generate a great deal of employment". The ILO study on ten developing Asian countries has been concluded with the following observations :

"Employment generation and alleviating poverty were considered only secondary, if at all. Consequently, the rural labour market is not getting the support it needs to boost the incomes of the rural poor. Industrialisation policies appear to have done little to alleviate rural poverty—except, probably in China".

The above study has dealt very little with India. It is claimed that India has made much progress in development. But real picture is very much frustrating. Besides high rate of inflation, constant price rise of essential commodities and heavy taxation on the poorer section of the people, unemployment problem has assumed alarming proportions. Even according to the official estimate, the number of registered unemployed is more than 30 million. But in fact, the number has reached to 120 million. Industrial sickness in our country at present, has assumed an epidemic proportion. More than 270 thousand of industrial units are sick throughout the country and they are either locked out/closed or awaiting closure. And its number is increasing, in fact, hourly. Nearly 70% of the total population is living below poverty line. The number of landless agricultural workers who have no job for more than 3 months in a year is on the increase. The entire nation is entangled in a debt-trap; of late currency has been devalued to the tune of 20%, 46.91 tonnes of gold had been mortgaged to foreign banks and 20 tonnes have been sold. The IMF is dictating our economic, industrial and trade policies.

We know that Japan is a developed nation and is developing faster. But sometime back, I had the opportunity to go through a press report of the deliberations of Japanese Trade Union delegation which visited Calcutta in last February. They commented that, with the second largest GNP in the world, the life of an average Japanese worker is never rich. He is highly paid for his overtime work but it is difficult to cope with the rising prices. About 800 workers die every year because of overwork. Such deaths occur in the ripe age between 30 to 40 years. They further described the Japanese worker as 'economic animal'. Added to this, they said, thousands of employees were being thrown out of employment as a result of computerisation.

From the discussion made above, it is clear that development in truest sense is very rare and nowhere impressive. Employment situation is of growing concern and invites agony. It appears that we are trying to solve a problem to beget another; one crisis is solved to be inevitably followed by a more critical crisis. There is development on one side to be followed by deterioration on the other. Different countries and economies are, in fact, arrested in a vicious circle. The urgent call of the hour is to come out of this circle of this deadly prison. Our struggle should not be aimed at achieving some better conditions remaining within the four walls of the prison but to come out of the prison.

If we so desire, we are to search dispassionately, why are such things happening? Why is there no development in the truest sense of the term? The basic question is—can we proceed along the road of the development, ignoring the question of socio-economic-political system? We cannot. We must face the truth very straight. It is surprising to me that even after the lapse of more than three hundred years of capitalism and even after being conclu-

sively proved that capitalism cannot solve the basic problems facing the people, some of us are still very much eager to remain absorbed in relentless research for reforming and re-reforming the same. By reforming, one can at best extend its lease of life for sometime more, but one cannot change its basic law governing its life pattern and style.

It is to be remembered, in this connection, once again that every particular social formation has its basic economic law. So has capitalism. What is the basic law of capitalism? Marx said, "The direct aim of capitalist production is not the production of goods, but the production of surplus value or of profit in its developed form: not the products, but the surplus product...It is the constant aim of capitalist production to produce the maximum surplus value (or of maximum profit in its developed form) or surplus product with the minimum of capital advanced..." (Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value Part II, The Capital, Vol. 4, p.552*). Upholding this lesson, Stalin said, "...monopoly capitalism demands not any sort of profit but precisely the maximum profit. That will be the basic economic law of modern capitalism". This being the basic economic law, exploitation of the masses of the people is inevitable in a capitalist society. The profit of the capitalists comes from the surplus value which is created by the labour of the workers. But the working class thus lose their real wages and hence their capacity to purchase. Hence demand falls in the market. And this brings crisis in capitalist production. To avoid this, the capitalists produce below capacity, retrench and lay off workers and there appear unemployment, recession, inflation and crisis again. Capitalism thus runs from crisis to crisis. It can neither provide employment to all employable persons nor ensure development in truest sense of the term.

In the above backdrop, the inevitable question arises: where lies the solution? The solution lies in socialism and in its onward march to communism. When asserting this scientific truth, I am fully conscious of the recent painful developments that took place in Russia and in some other East European countries. It is our considered view that the ills and deformities which finally led to the counter-revolution and restoration of capitalism in these countries, were not the products of correct pursuance and implementation of socialist economic law and normal socialist development but of their revisionist distortions. These are the products of long practice of revisionism and distortion of socialist principles in all fields of socio-economic-political-cultural life of the U S S R and East European countries in question. Trade Unions and the workers must not confuse the ills of revisionism and capitalism as ills of socialism and working class democracy. They must know that during the time when Russia had been on the right track and had not deviated, she had been able to satisfy the basic needs of the entire population and solved unemployment problem. Even her Asian part, which had clouded under feudal darkness, was illumined by revolutionary light and achieved surprising development.

Let us all listen to what an anti-Stalinist like Abel Aganbegyan, once the Chief Economic Adviser to Mr. Gorbachev, said, "Even in these difficult conditions (i.e. after the war) working people were guaranteed the social gain of the socialist revolution. Unemployment was abolished, free health and education was provided... A forty-hour working week was established..." (source—*Challenge: Economics of Perestroika*). However, it must be realised that anybody, who is of the opinion that socialism has failed and development in the truest sense of the term cannot be achieved in socialism, is wrong—absolutely wrong.

In this connection, I would request the trade unions and the workers to take a positive and vital

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'THE PACT THAT BLOCKED HITLER'

From Anna Louise Strong's *Stalin Era*

Outbreak of ethnic and nationality conflict even violent and now culminating in secession of several Republics from the USSR, is among the grievous and terrible harms wrought by the Gorbachev leadership in the life of the Soviet People. The imperialists and their cohorts, availing of the counterrevolutionary upsurge led by the Gorbachev clique, have started mounting fresh propaganda assaults that the Soviet state had coerced numerous nationalities into subjugation after revolution, annexing their territories. Anna Louise Strong, a US journalist who witnessed at first hand the socialist construction of the USSR in the twenties, thirties and forties, and who followed from close quarters some historical events on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, gave an account in her book *Stalin Era* to reveal the course of voluntary union of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania with the USSR and some other events of that period which bourgeois historians deliberately distort to lay blame on the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership. Reprinting this account, we thought, could help well-meaning and discerning people see the truth through the veil of confusion being deliberately created by the imperialist revisionist gang-up. (Editorial Board — P. Era)

"Warsaw, as the capital of the Polish State, no longer exists. No one knows the whereabouts of the Polish government. Poland has become a fertile field for any contingency that may create a menace for the Soviet Union."

In these words, V.M. Molotov announced on September 17, 1939, first by note to the Polish ambassador and then by radio to the world, that the Soviet Army was marching into Poland.

The British saw the meaning of that march better than did the Americans. Americans still speak of Stalin as "Hitler's accomplice" in cynically dividing Poland. But Winston Churchill said in a radio broadcast, October 1: "The Soviets have stopped the Nazis in Eastern Poland; I only wish they were doing it as our allies." Bernard Shaw, in the *London Times*, gave "three cheers for Stalin," who had given Hitler "his first set-back." Even Prime Minister Chamberlain sourly told the House of Commons, October 26: "It has been necessary for the Red Army to occupy part of Poland as protection against Germany." The Polish government-in-exile, which was in flight through Romania at the time but reached London some weeks later, never ventured to declare that Soviet march an act of war.

The population of the area did not oppose the Russian troops but welcomed them with joy. Most were not Poles but Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians. US Ambassador Biddle reported that the people accepted the Russians "as doing a policing job." Despatches told of Russian troops marching side by side with retiring Polish troops, of Ukrainian girls hanging garlands on Russian tanks. The Polish commander of the Lvov garrison, who for several days had been fighting against German attack on three sides, quickly surrendered to the Red Army when it appeared on the fourth side, saying: "There is no Polish government left to give me orders and I have no orders to fight the Bolsheviks." That there was some opposition but only from small bands was shown by the casualty figures later released by the Red Army—737 dead and 1,862 wounded. Many of these occurred in the taking of Vilna by a small motorized force which was ordered to "reach Vilna by midnight" from seventy miles away.

The American view that Stalin and Hitler had partitioned Poland in advance is not borne out by the way the partitioning occurred. The boundary

between Germans and Russians changed three times before it was fixed at a conference, September 28. It is unlikely that German troops drove all the way to Lvov and attacked it for several days in order to give that city to the USSR. Nor is it likely that the Russians would have incurred casualties by rushing to Vilna, if the city had been allocated to them in advance. It seems probable that some statement of Russia's interest in the non-Polish areas of Poland had been made, but that the march as it took place was not agreed in advance.

The view in East Europe was that Hitler planned not only to take Poland, but to drive southeast into Balkans, and perhaps northeast into the Baltic states as far as he could go, using Lvov as the capital for a Nazi-Ukraine. German strategy indicated this, for after cracking the Polish front, the Germans did not wait to mop up Poland, but drove clear across the country, southeast to Lvov, and northeast to Vilna. Wide uprisings were said to have been planned by the Iron Guard in Romania to meet the German troops. Corroboration was seen in the assassination of Premier Calinescu as the Germans approached, and in an uprising that actually came off in a Romanian town in the Polish border but which fizzled out when it was seen that the troops across the river were Russians, not Germans.

"The action of the Soviets has checked whatever designs Hitler had on Romania," was the London view, as cabled to the *NY Times*, September 28. "Respect of Russia has greatly increased; the peasants unquestionably prefer Russians to Germans along their border," read an *AP* cable from East Europe, September 27.

The march into eastern Poland, thus, seems not a connivance with Hitler but the first great check the Soviets gave to Hitler under the Non-Aggression Pact. It seems to have been timed to the split second. Half a day earlier, a Polish government might have been found somewhere in Poland, functioning enough to declare the Russian march an act of war, thus putting Russia into war with Britain, Poland's ally. Half a day later, the Russians might have found the Germans already slipping into Romania in the south and the Baltic states in the north. The Red Army marched on the precise half-day when the Polish government had fled into the unknown, but before the Germans took the strategic cities, Lvov and Vilna.

From that time on, Russia used the breathing-space granted by the Pact; not only to prepare for defense but to block Hitler's penetration of East Europe through measures short of war. Hitler revealed this later in his declaration of war against the USSR and bitterly listed the Russian acts that blocked him.

Moscow's first move was to build a wide buffer belt along her western border by alliances. Having prepared for friendly intercourse by giving Lithuania her ancient capital, Vilna, which the Poles had seized twenty years earlier in defiance of the League of Nations, Moscow invited Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia to send foreign ministers to Moscow to discuss an alliance. One by one, they went and signed on the dotted line. By October 10, 1939, less than a month after the Soviets marched into Poland, they had secured military alliances with these three Baltic states, which in the past had been highways for invasion. A powerful chain of naval bases, originally built by Peter the Great, thus came under Soviet control. While most American comment denounced the action, Walter Lippmann got the point, saying: "Every day it becomes clearer that Russia is constructing a great defense area from the Baltic to the Black Sea". The Baltic States, them-

selves, resented the term "vassal" applied to them by the Anglo-American press. They thought themselves not badly off. Their internal organization was not at the time affected; they merely gave bases to the USSR in return for help in their defense.

The dramatic expulsion of half a million Germans from the Baltic States followed. How bitterly Hitler resented this was shown in his declaration of war when he told how "far more than 500,000 men and women... were forced to leave their homeland.... To all this I remained silent, because I had to". These are not words of a complacent victor. The Baltic Germans were the upper class in the Baltic States, some had been there as landed barons for centuries. It was they who, at the time of the Russian Revolution, brought in the German troops to overthrow local red governments. Their expulsion scattered what was for the USSR the most dangerous fifth-column in Europe.

Having secured the southern Baltic against surprise attack, Moscow approached Finland, which holds the gateway of the north. Though Finland's independence was a free gift from the Russian Revolution, Finland was known as the most hostile of the Baltic States. That early democratic Finland had been bloodily overthrown by Baron Mannerheim, ex-Tsarist general, with the aid of the Kaiser's troops. Finland had become a base for international actions against the USSR. The Mannerheim Line—a system of forts well devised to shield a large force in an attack on Leningrad—was built under British direction. Later, Finland's airfields were built by the Nazis. Made to accommodate 2,000 planes, when Finland had 150, they were clearly designed for use by a major power.

Moscow knew that Finland would not welcome an alliance. But the Soviets had something to offer. Finland's foreign trade was ruined by the Anglo-German war, which closed the Baltic. Finland, gripped by a depression, wanted trade with the USSR and the use of the Leningrad-Murmansk Railway for access to the world. So when Moscow, on October 5, 1939, invited Finland to send a plenipotentiary to discuss "pending questions", the result was a surprise. The Finnish government, before replying, declared partial mobilization, sent large armed forces to the border, closed the Stock Exchange, asked women and children to leave the capital Helsinki and appealed to America for "moral support". The Soviet press expressed ironic irritation at the "inspired panic".

The Finnish delegation came to Moscow, October 11. The Soviets proposed an alliance, but dropped it since the Finns were unwilling. Then they proposed an exchange of territory to protect Leningrad. They asked that the border be moved back enough to take Leningrad out of gun-shot and that some small islands, guarding the sea approach, be given to the USSR. They offered in return twice as much territory, equally good but less strategic. They also asked a 30-year lease of Hangoe or some other point at the entrance to the Gulf of Finland—that long thin waterway that leads to Leningrad—as a naval base. President Cajander, of Finland, broadcast the statement that the terms did not affect Finland's integrity.

A month of bargaining went on in which Moscow raised her offers. Finland stood to get nearly three to one in the territorial trade; and Hangoe base would be held, not thirty years, but only during the Anglo-German war and would then come to Finland fully equipped. Many Finns were boasting of the "smart bargain" their diplomats were getting. Then, suddenly the Finnish negotiators broke off discussions with the cryptic remark that circumstances would decide when and by whom they would be renewed. The *NY Times* reported that "diplomatic quarters in Washington" thought the Finns were influenced by hope of loans from the U.S.A. Since the Finnish parliament had

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The Pact That Blocked Hitler

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not even been summoned, Moscow took it as clear that the Finnish cabinet acted on secret pressures from those forces in the West that wanted to "switch the war".

So when Finnish artillery shot over the border in late November and killed Red Army men, Moscow sharply protested, and, when Finland disregarded the protest, Soviet troops marched into Finland on November 30, 1939. Finland declared war and appealed for foreign aid. The League of Nations expelled the USSR for "aggression". Few acts of the USSR have alienated more friends than the Soviet-Finnish War. Nor were the Russians proud of it; nobody is proud of preventive war. Russians considered it a preventive war for defense of Leningrad.

To understand the Soviet-Finnish War, we must see it in the setting of the Second World War, of which it was a part. In late 1939, the Second World War was not yet total. Hitler was consolidating gains in Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Russian advance had blocked whatever further plans he had in the east. Neither Hitler nor the West had yet attacked each other seriously. The Western Front was in what was called "the phony war"; both sides sat in their fortifications. Hitler was not yet prepared for an all-out assault westward; this took time to organize. And Hitler was also aware that he had friends in the British and French upper class who might yield to his demands. Important voices in the press of Britain, France and America urged that "the wrong war" had started, that the war should be switched against the USSR as the greater enemy.

This press campaign was not caused by the war in Finland. It began even when Hitler was marching through Poland; it was the continuation of the Chamberlain line. So when Finland broke negotiations, Moscow assumed that the Finns planned to keep the border boiling with winter incidents, leading up to intervention by stronger powers in the spring. "The idea of coming to the aid of Finland", explained Swedish Foreign Minister Guenther defending Sweden's neutral policy after the war was over, "opened new vistas to the allied powers. The deadlock on the Western Front was not popular and the press of France spoke of the hunt for new battlefields."

For the rest of the winter, the war in the West was off the front pages. The world's eyes were fixed on the war in Finland, and on the attempts in the West to make it a joint attack against the USSR. Moscow's aim was to get it over before the major powers could intervene. The Russians made both military and political mistakes in this war but not as many as American commentators assume.

The military campaign had four phases. The objective in the first phase was to move the border back from Leningrad and to take Finland's Arctic port so that world war would not pour through Finland against the USSR. This objective was attained in two weeks; the land frontier was pushed back forty miles from Leningrad, and Petsamo, Finland's Arctic port, was taken. The second period was one of relative passivity because the coldest winter for decades had set in. Third phase consisted of air-bombardment of Finland's military establishments—war industries, railways, ports, airfields. Civilian casualties were few; Finland reported only 640 civilian deaths from air-bombing during the entire war.

The fourth phase was the cracking of the Mannerheim Line, a system of forts "in some respects stronger than the Maginot Line."* Considered impregnable, it was cracked in a month by a shrewd plan. The first time a line of such strength had ever been taken by assault. Heavy artillery

pounded the earth around the fortifications until their guns were thrown out of line. After that the line was assaulted. With the smashing of the Mannerheim Line, Finland's resistance collapsed. The peace treaty was signed in Moscow, March 12, 1940.

London and Paris tried hard to prevent that signing. Britain refused to transmit Finland's appeal, so Sweden served as intermediary. The French premier, Daladier, told Finland that an Anglo-French expedition was ready to sail to her aid and unless Finland asked for it, the Allies would not even guarantee her continued existence after the war. Chamberlain and Daladier pressured Sweden to let this expeditionary force pass through to Finland, though it would have involved Sweden in the war. On March 10, Chamberlain told the House of Commons that he was considering ways to break Sweden's neutrality and compel continuance of the Finnish war. "London is buzzing with rumors of war on a much wider front and perhaps war with Russia," cabled the *N.Y. Times* London correspondent, March 11.

The buzzing came too late. The attempt to "switch the war" into a world line-up against the USSR broke on Sweden's insistent neutrality and on General Mannerheim's underestimation of Soviet strength. Mannerheim had told the Anglo-French allies that he would not need help till May; by that time Chamberlain expected to force Sweden to let the troops pass. Neither the Finns nor the British dreamed that the Mannerheim Line could be cracked in a winter assault. Two months before the time Mannerheim set for the reinforcements, the Finns had sued for peace and the Soviet-Finnish war was over.

In the peace terms, the Soviets took the Mannerheim Line and the naval base at Hangoe, protecting both land and sea approaches to Leningrad. But they returned Petsamo and its nickel mines; they asked no indemnities but agreed to supply a starving Finland with food. As terms go, these were not excessive. Sir Stafford Cripps, British ambassador to Moscow in 1940, told me, as I sat at tea in his embassy, that the Russians might some day be sorry they had not taken more when they could. He was thinking of Petsamo, which was soon to be a Nazi base against Allied shipping on the Murmansk run. But Sir Stafford was wrong; Stalin's political sense was better than Sir Stafford's. The Soviets were well advised to make easy terms. Had their demands gone beyond the obvious needs of Leningrad's security, Sweden's neutrality might have been shaken. Then the world front that finally crystallized against Hitler, might have crystallized a year sooner—against the USSR.

The Finnish war had victories outside Finland. The sequence of Soviet acts, from the march into Poland to the treaty with Finland, had convinced East Europe that the USSR was strong and knew what she wanted and was serious about it to the point of war, but that her demands had reasons and limits. One thing she clearly wanted in 1940 was a broad buffer belt from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

So Romania knew that the time had come to give back Bessarabia, which she seized from the young Soviet power in its days of weakness, in 1918. Its people were not Romanians; they had made 153 uprisings against Romania in six years. The USSR had never recognized the seizure but never thought it worth a war. The Soviets had waited twenty years for the right moment. When Hitler was busy with the conquest of France; Moscow asked Romania for Bessarabia and got it without war. Russian ships again sailed up the Danube, a branch of whose delta became the Soviet frontier.

So the long buffer belt across Europe was completed—from Hangoe on the Baltic to the Danube mouth on the Black Sea—when Hitler, from his ravaging of Western Europe, turned east.

According to Hitler, Russia's advance into Bessarabia saved Britain from a German invasion. Hitler was bragging a bit, and piling up a case to justify his Russian invasion, but there was a basis of fact in his declaration. To understand this, we must turn back to the war on the Western Front.

While the Finnish war lasted, Hitler made no serious attack against the West for reasons given above. But in spring of 1940, the Germans launched a rapid, successful blitz against the West; they seized Denmark, Norway, crashed through Holland and Belgium, smashed the French army in eleven days. They occupied the Atlantic coast of Europe, all set for invasion of Britain. The British army, disorganized by defeat in France, had abandoned its best equipment on the beach at Dunkirk. I passed through Berlin that summer on my way to Moscow and found them bragging that they would be in London in early fall. Military experts of all lands expected the invasion; and most said the British defenses were inadequate. The British gold reserve was evacuated to Canada, columnists discussed the possible evacuation of the government.

Suddenly Hitler withdrew his main forces from the Atlantic Coast and threw them across Europe, southeast into the Balkans. The reason he later gave was that he could not expend the tremendous strength needed for an invasion of Britain while the Russians were picking up territory in his rear. Bessarabia was rich in grain; its fall to the USSR both disturbed Hitler's economic base and stirred the anti-Nazi forces in the Balkans. He must clean up the Balkans first.**

The war in the Balkans was not expected by Hitler to be a long campaign. He had everything to lose by a long war in an area on which he relied for food and oil. It was to his interest to control it by economic penetration or seize it in a rapid blitz that would not destroy the harvests and industries. His aim was to consolidate the Balkan Peninsula against the USSR, smash the British-Greek armies in Greece and then take the eastern Mediterranean and Suez by a simultaneous advance through Turkey and Africa. American aid was increasing to Britain, the conflict was likely to be long, so Hitler needed the Near East oil.

"From that time on," declared Von Ribbentrop later, "Soviet Russia's anti-German policy became more apparent." He thus described the fact that the USSR undermined and slowed the German Balkan campaign. It was done by diplomatic notes: a protest to Bulgaria for yielding, a non-aggression pact with Yugoslavia, a statement to Turkey that if she should resist the passage of German troops this would be "sympathetically understood". Von Ribbentrop charged that the Soviets "secretly assisted Yugoslavia in arming." It was common knowledge among correspondents in Moscow that

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* James Aldrich, *N.Y. Times*, March 14, 1940.

** Hitler's words, in his declaration of war against the USSR were: "While our soldiers, from May 5, 1940, had been breaking Franco-British power in the West, Russian military was continued to a more and more menacing extent From August 1940 on, I therefore considered it to be in the interests of the Reich no longer to permit our eastern provinces to remain unprotected.... Thus there resulted British-Soviet cooperation..... tying up such powerful forces in the east that the radical conclusion of the war in the West could no longer be vouched for by the German High command."

The Pact That Blocked Hitler

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autumn that the Soviets were sending food both to Greece and Yugoslavia. If they sent arms, that was within their rights as a neutral nation and within the terms of the Non-Aggression Pact. The USSR had promised not to take part in aggression against Germany; but help to Hitler's victims could not be defined as aggression.

Meantime, a swift internal struggle was on for control of the three small Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania. They had military alliances with the USSR to whom they had given naval bases; but their governments were semi-fascist dictatorships, some what pro-Nazi. Hitler's eastward march encouraged pro-Nazi groups in these states. The USSR demanded the right to send larger forces of troops into these countries "in view of the increasingly disturbed conditions of Europe." On June 15, 1940, technically as allies, considerable forces of the Red Army marched in. The local pro-German officials fled.

"Stalin beat Hitler into the Baltic by about twenty-four hours," said a correspondent in Vilna. Most Lithuanians I met agreed.

I had the luck to be passing through from Berlin to Moscow learning what was happening in Lithuania. I remained and saw the amazing picture of a take-over from within. It was very constitutional and very happy. When the pro-German president fled, this brought the vice-president to power. He appointed a new premier and then resigned. This brought to power Justas Paletskis, a progressive journalist. Political prisoners were let out of jails; trade unions began to organize freely; all kinds of organizations came alive. Day and night, the singing did not cease in the streets of Kaunas, the capital. New elections were held for a "people's government". There was a tremendous turnout to vote. The new assembly met, declared Lithuania a Soviet Republic, and applied for admission to the USSR. All this time, the jubilant workers and farmers, glad of the collapse of the pro-Nazi dictatorship, thought they were only expressing their own desire. The Red Army did not mix in the politics, except as it exchanged balls and theatrical performances with the Lithuanian army, on a basis of "fraternal equality."

Only once did I hear the role of Moscow mentioned. Some Kaunas intellectuals thought that everything went too fast. They wanted slower elections, to organize political parties and debate. The workers and farmers weren't worried; they put up states through the unions and voted. But westernized intellectuals wanted more time.

"A lot of us think it's too speedy," said the chief of the Telegraph Agency to a woman who complained, "I understand Paletskis wanted six months to take us into the Soviet Union but Molotov said there wasn't time."

A gasp arose from the group. The woman who had objected spoke, "You mean that Hitler may get us? Then let the Russians take up quick."

On July 21, 1940, Lithuania applied for admission to the USSR. I went with their delegation by special train to Moscow; it was greeted by garlands and delegations along the way. By early August, the Supreme Soviet in Moscow received three new

constituent republics—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania. Paletskis was saying: "Our path to socialism is the easiest ever known... We have done it by the will of the Lithuanian people through constitutional forms... There are no boundaries any more from Kaunas to Vladivostok, from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean."

It was a masterpiece of political planning by Moscow, accomplished by the will of the Lithuanian people, which Moscow had known how to arouse.

The USSR stood solidly now on the Baltic, ready for any future test.

* * * * *

The German campaign dragged out in the Balkans. German troops crushed the Greeks and drove the British into the sea from southern Greece. They terrorized Romania and Bulgaria into submission and devastated Yugoslavia, which resisted. They reached the borders of Turkey and experts predicted that their next move would be through the Dardanelles. But Moscow's pressure on Turkey, added to British pressure, worked. Experts predicted the fall of Suez, and Hitler's troops were rumored already in Syria. But they had gone in the other direction—to the borders of the USSR.

Hitler saw that the USSR, as a neutral, was the immediate barrier in his path to world rule. In the twenty-two months of the Non-Aggression Pact,

the USSR had three times blocked the Nazi advance. The Soviet march into Poland had checked for a year Hitler's advance to the East; the Soviet return to Bessarabia had pulled him back from invading Britain; and Moscow's power politics in the Balkans and Baltic had delayed him at the Dardanelles.

Hitler saw that the lone neutral hand of the Soviets had checked him more than he had been checked by all Europe's armed forces combined—Poles, Danes, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, French, Greeks, Yugoslavs and British. He therefore turned and struck at the Soviet Union in the mightiest assault in human history.

STUDENT MOVEMENTS

Bangalore

The AIDSO led a powerful movement against the Bangalore University authority for the high irregularities in degree results this year. Upholding the cause of the affected students a protest demonstration was held on 22nd July, 91 in front of the city office of the Vice Chancellor. Hundreds of students of various colleges joined the demonstration. After the demonstration Bangalore University Students' Struggle Committee (BUSSC) was formed with Com. K. Uma, Secretary, Karnataka State Committee, AIDSO, as its Convenor. At the pressure of the movement the VC had to agree to the demand of re-tallying of marks. But, as the authority kept delaying the matter the BUSSC stepped up movement culminating in a state level convention held on 14th August '91 at ADA Raga-mandir. At last, under the pressure of the movement the University took up the task of re-tallying the marks. It also had to appoint a committee to probe the erratic evaluation.

Although organisations like the SFI and the AISF virtually remained aloof and ABVP conspired to distract the students from movement, the students could not be fooled and they finally achieved vital demands.

In West Bengal, memorial day of Mao Zedong was also observed on 9.9.91 on behalf of the Darjeeling District Committee of the SUCI. It was held at Shiliguri Dinabandhu Mancha. Com. Sukomal Dasgupta, member, Central Committee, was the speaker while Com. Subroto Chowdhury, member WB State Secretariat, was in the chair.

The memorial meeting held in Calcutta at University Institute Hall on 9th September to commemorate the teachings of Mao Zedong was addressed by Com. Provash Ghosh, member, Central Committee and WB State Secretary, SUCI. Com. Manik Mukherjee, member, WB State Secretariat, was the President.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, as a result of the unscientific syllabuses as also criminal negligence of the Higher Secondary Council in examining answer script and

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AIDSO Condemns TN Govt's Anti-people Language Policy

The Tamilnadu state government has recently announced its decision to make Tamil as the compulsory language for all the students studying in Tamilnadu. This has raised anger and indignation among the democratic minded people. Every citizen of a country has the fundamental right to love his own mother tongue. In a multilingual country like ours all citizens have to be assured of the right to study their own mother tongue. In our country in every state people of other states, speaking different languages are living in considerable numbers. Taking this into account a democratic approach should be followed by the different State Governments.

Instead of that if any state govt. attempts to impose any language on the other linguistic mi-

norities that will be highly undemocratic and will also lead to the growth of linguistic fanaticism in different parts of the country.

So we strongly condemn the decision of the Tamil Nadu state government headed by Ms. Jayalalitha to make Tamil as the compulsory language for all those living in Tamilnadu. The State Committee of AIDSO reiterates that two language policy (i.e. Mother tongue and English) is to be strictly adhered and that the linguistic minorities are to be given the right to study their own language of

choice. Hence we call upon the State Government to rescind the orders making Tamil the compulsory language for all.

TU meet in China

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lesson from the painful development of the USSR which has a direct bearing upon the agenda we are discussing. Development and employment cannot be achieved by attempting to increase production anyhow, disregarding the scientific laws of development of production. The slogan—'increase the production anyhow' was raised by Khrushchevite leadership in the USSR. Workers were offered material incentive with a view to boosting up production. But what is the result? The result is pathetic and tragic; inevitability of decline not only in socialist production but also in art, science and level of technological advancement. Viewing this danger, the beloved departed President of our organisation, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who also visited China in the Fifties, forewarned in 1968 that "Due to a superficial knowledge of socialism and also due to the influence of revisionism, a group of socialists think that the main object of socialism is to anyhow increase production. These so-called Marxists, in utter disregard of the inherent internal contradiction and the fundamental economic laws of socialist system even advocate introduction of policy of material incentive to gear up production. As a result, the rate of production may be boosted up temporarily but in no time it may put at stake the socialist economy and endanger the socialist system by generating in all branches of production a speculative trend and by bringing about 'anarchy' in production...according to them, socialism will have no meaning to the working class if it cannot provide them with more 'material benefits' in comparison to the advanced capitalist countries. Under cover of this queer explanation of socialism, the old sense of bourgeois individual freedom and right makes its debut in a socialist society..." Exactly, this is what had happened in the USSR. I think, this analysis will help us grasp the issues. To be more precise, it means that even after anti-capitalist socialist revolution being achieved and socialist and economic base consolidated, it is urgent that to ensure real development of the workers in a socialist society the tendency of giving material incentive to anyhow boost up production in utter disre-

gard of the socialist economic law on the one hand and failure to raise their cultural level on the other freeing them from the pernicious effects of typical self-centred attitude as the object of their life born of a kind of individualism, which Comrade Ghosh explained as socialist individualism inimical to the interest of overall progress of socialism—may, in the long run, hinder the progress of socialism and, if not checked in time, help revert the process altogether.

Comrades and friends : A few words more. In the light of the above discussions, I would appeal to the Trade Unions and working millions to strive for socialism decisively and undertake the following tasks:

- 1) Tear off all confusions prevailing in the ideological arena and fight against all sorts of revisionism and economism.
- 2) Hold aloft the banner of class struggle, Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism.
- 3) Increase mutual exchanges of opinions and experiences and develop united struggle on the basis of minimum agreed common programme against capitalism-imperialism.
- 4) Develop anti-war militant peace movement free from pacifist illusions.
- 5) Resist anti-developmental and employment-squeezing policies and schemes.
- 6) Resist all sorts of attacks on legitimate trade union rights and movements.
- 7) Stand against capitalist conspiracy of arresting trade union movements and making the workers the partners of exploitative capitalist system through adoption of schemes like participation of workers in management in capitalist countries.
- 8) Workers of the socialist countries remain on constant vigil against the capitalist infiltration and intensify class struggle.

Comrades and friends, with this appeal on behalf of our organisation U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani), I conclude.

Thank you all.

Long live revolution!

Workers of the world, unite!

TAPAS DUTTA
General Secretary
U T U C (Lenin Sarani)

Demonstrations Against Budget and other Anti-people Policies of the Centre

At the call of the SUCI, demonstrations and squattings were organised throughout Haryana on 16th and 26th August '91

On 16th August sit-in-dharnas were organised at different railway stations at district headquarters against train fare and freight hike and memorandums were submitted to railway minister through station superintendents.

On 26th August massive protest demonstrations were organised at Rohtak, Hisar, Bhiwani, Kuerukshetra, Narwana (Jind), Kaithal, Rewari, Narnaul and Sonapat. Despite inclement weather people in hundreds participated and memorandums addressed to the Prime Minister were submitted to the Deputy Commissioners. The memorandums demanded, inter alia, withdrawal of the new industrial policy, all-out state trading of both wholesale and retail trade of essential commodities, reduction in defence and heavy administrative expenditure and condemned devaluation of rupee. BJP was severely criticised for supporting the anti-people budget policies of the Congress (I) Government.

Student Movements

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publishing results, more than 1,00,000 H. S. examinees out of about 1,70,000 got plucked this year. Against this and against the CPI(M) led state government's policy of abolition of English and automatic promotion at the primary level, the student community led by the AIDSO burst into movements. At College Street, Calcutta, the nerve centre of students movement of West Bengal, students led by the AIDSO, put up road blockades on 12.8.91, overwhelmingly supported by common people. The police of 'Left Front' govt. as usual did not spare the agitators, and the lathicharge that followed left many students, including girls, severely injured. But this was just the beginning. The AIDSO took up various programmes of movement including massive civil disobedience in almost all the districts of West Bengal. Everywhere, particularly in Midnapore, Purulia and Birbhum there was brutal lathicharge, tear gas shelling; and in Midnapore was added indiscriminate police firing. Including the AIDSO State Secretary Com. Swapan Chatterjee, many organisers, students and travel-

Demonstration before Calcutta Consulate of- fice of USA and USSR

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being taken of the present situation. We do register our strongest voice of protest against the sinister moves of Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

Like other despotic rulers the Gorbachev-Yeltsin and Co. have failed to take the lesson of history that no problem can be solved today by treading the capitalist path and keeping capitalism intact. In this context we note with serious concern that in the aftermath of the failed attempt by the 8-member Committee to take over power some development of serious consequences have been taking place in Russia.

Taking advantage of his position as the President of the Russian Federation and usurping authority beyond limit Yeltsin has, on the one hand, taken recourse to fanning up the frenzy of great Russian chauvinism to a high pitch and on the other has issued streams of decrees for the entire country which was not within his jurisdiction. Although the Gorbachevs and the Yeltsins are taking a public posture against any revengeful attitude towards the political opponents, in point of fact they have unleashed a kind of witch-hunting against anyone critical of Glasnost and Perestroika. The scale of arrest, removal of some 80% of the officers of the Red Army by the Gorbachev Government and the reign of white terror let loose clearly testify to the terrible truth there. In fact, for all practical purpose, Glasnost has come to mean unfettered rights for all reactionary, counterrevolutionary and even obscurantist forces and ideas to thrive and carry out their activities—even if one is the camp-follower or descendant of the Czar—while the party bearing the nomenclature of communism is being erased out and has no place in that country under the aegis of Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

We express our solidarity with all sections of the Soviet people and working class and appeal to the revolutionary forces and the Red Army with so great a heritage and tradition to close their ranks in this hour of tests and tribulations. In conclusion, we put forth the following as demands :

1) It is high time to take necessary measures to prevent the imperialist interference, particularly the US. interference along with that of Japan, in the internal affairs of the USSR.

2) The indiscriminate arrest of well-meaning, progressive and democratic minded innocent people opposed to Glasnost and Perestroika must be stopped.

3) Effective steps must be taken to put an end to the anti-communist hysteria being created among the people which now finds its ugly reflection in the maligning of the nobility of communism in general and in tarnishing the ennobling image of great Lenin in particular on the very soil of the great Soviet Union.

Provash Ghosh
Secretary
West Bengal State Committee
SUCI.

lers even were seriously injured and arrested. Those arrested in Purulia were remanded for over two weeks. In Midnapore the AIDSO called a 12. hour bandh, and it was a grand success.

The AIDSO is now mobilising support to give the state wide education movement a protracted massive form.

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