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Remembering Mao Zedong

On the occasion of the 26th death anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong we reprint his article "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership". (June 1, 1943). We think the invaluable teachings in this article will help the communists greatly in further accelerating class and mass struggle.
— Ed. P. Era



— 9 September, 1976

Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership

1. There are two methods which we Communists must employ in whatever work we do. One is to combine the general with the particular; the other is to combine the leadership with the masses.

2. In any task, if no general and widespread call is issued, the broad masses cannot be mobilised for action. But if persons in leading positions confine themselves to a general call — if they do not personally, in some of the organizations, go deeply and concretely into the work called for, make a breakthrough at some single point, gain experience and use this experience for guiding other units — then they will have no way of testing the correctness or of enriching the content of their general call, and there is the danger that nothing may come of it. In the rectification movement of 1942, for example, there were achievements wherever the method of combining the general call with particular and specific guidance was used, but there were no achievements wherever this method was not used. In the rectification movement of 1943, each bureau and sub-bureau of the Central Committee and each area and prefectural Party committee, in addition to making a general call (a rectification plan for the whole year), must do the following things,

gaining experience in the process. Select two or three units (but not too many) from the organization itself and from other organizations, schools or army units in the vicinity. Make a thorough study of those units, acquire a detailed knowledge of the development of the rectification movement in them and a detailed knowledge of the political history, the ideological characteristics, the zeal in study and the strong and weak points in the work of some (again not too many) representative members of their personnel. Furthermore, give personal guidance to those in charge to find concrete solutions for the practical problems facing those units. The leaders in every organization, school or army unit must do likewise, as each of these has a number of subordinate units. Moreover, this is the method by which the leaders combine leading and learning. No one in a leading position is competent to give general guidance to all the units unless he derives concrete experience from particular individuals and events in particular subordinate units. This method must be promoted everywhere so that leading cadres at all levels learn to apply it.

3. Experience in the 1942 rectification movement also proves it
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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Condemns Compulsory Military Service

The statement of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI on 25th August, 2001 :

"We strongly protest against and express serious concern over the recent proposal of the Parliamentary Committee that the government should take effective steps to implement compulsory military service at least for two years for anyone joining government service — at the Centre, in the states or with public sector undertakings on the plea of shortfall of officers in the defence forces.

"This attempt at arbitrary and compulsory conscription of anyone joining government services is a dangerous portent reminiscent of Hitlerite Germany.

"We call upon all democratic minded people and trade unions to rise in protest to force the government to withdraw this proposal."

Railway Fare Hike

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's statement on 29th August, 2001 :

"The BJP-led NDA government's hike of railway fare by means of imposing cess to mop up a staggering Rs. 700 crore in the current fiscal year on the plea of railway safety is a cruel joke in the context of the rising incidence of devastating accidents as well as the crime on passengers and the criminal-police-administration nexus working behind it.

"This move, above all, is another blow on the overburdened people who will suffer a further price rise of essential commodities besides the fare hike.

"We demand of the central government to withdraw the hike immediately and appeal to the people to build up sustained resistance movement against it."

INDO-PAK SUMMIT

A Critical Appraisal

The Indo-Pak summit was held on July 14-15 last after an abrupt turn of events. It was seen immediately after the Kargil episode that the leaders of the two countries were engaged in verbal duel and a tense situation was prevailing between the two countries. Even a while ago the Government of India was maintaining that no talk could take place unless Pakistan stopped cross border terrorism and democracy was restored in Pakistan. Pervez Musharraf, the Pakistani ruler was however vociferous that he was ready to go anywhere to hold talk with India. But India scoffed off this overture by imposing those preconditions. Then we see a sudden u-turn when Vajpayee invited Pervez Musharraf to India for a summit talk and Musharraf readily accepted that invitation. Vajpayee even congratulated Musharraf as the

President of Pakistan even before the formal announcement to that effect was made from Islamabad. What is this due to? This is due to behind the scene role of the US imperialists. It is not accidental that the date of the summit meeting was disclosed beforehand, neither in New Delhi nor in Islamabad, but in Washington by a spokesman of the Bush administration. Musharraf during his meeting with the editors on June 29 last agreed with a journalist on the role of the US behind the summit. Although Indian rulers did not fail to reiterate that it would not allow any third party intervention, it is evidently clear that 'third party' i.e. US is seriously involved covertly since Kargil war. The US took this initiative for the Indo-Pak summit for its own geopolitical design and also for its own business interest in
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Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership

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is essential for the success of the rectification that a leading group should be formed in each unit in the course of the movement, made up of a small number of activists and with the heads of the given unit as its nucleus, and that this leading group should link itself closely with the masses taking part in the movement. However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level. The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements. A leading group that is genuinely united and linked with the masses can be formed only gradually in the process of mass struggle, and not in isolation from it. In the process of a great struggle, the composition of the leading group in most cases should not and cannot remain entirely unchanged throughout the initial, middle and final stages; the activists who come forward in the course of the struggle must constantly be promoted to replace those original members of the leading group who are inferior by comparison or who have degenerated. One fundamental reason why the work in many places and many organizations cannot be pushed ahead is the lack of a leading group which is united, linked with the masses and kept constantly healthy. A school of a hundred people certainly cannot be run well if it does not have a leading group of several people, or a dozen or more, which is formed in accordance with the actual circumstances (and not thrown together artificially) and is composed of the most active, upright and alert of the teachers, the other staff and the students. In every organization, school, army unit, factory or village, whether large or small, we should give effect to the ninth of Stalin's twelve conditions for the bolshevization of the Party, namely, that on the establishment of a nucleus of leadership.¹ The criteria for such a leading group should be the four which Dimitrov enumerated

in his discussion of cadres policy — absolute devotion to the cause, contact with the masses, ability independently to find one's bearings and observance of discipline.² Whether in carrying out the central tasks — war, production, education (including rectification) — or in checking-up on work, examining the cadres' histories, or in other activities, it is necessary to adopt the method of linking the leading group with the masses, in addition to that of linking the general call with particular guidance.

4. In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily "from the masses, to the masses". This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold-fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge.

5. The concept of correct relationship between the leading group and the masses in an organization or in a struggle, the concept that correct ideas on the part of the leadership can only be "from the masses, to the masses", and the concept that the general call must be combined with particular guidance when the leadership's ideas are being put into practice — these concepts must be propagated everywhere during the present rectification movement in order to correct the mistaken viewpoints among our cadres on these questions. Many comrades do not see the importance of, or are not good at, drawing together the activists to form a nucleus of leadership, and they do not see the importance of, or are not good at, linking this nucleus of leadership closely with the masses, and so their leadership becomes bureaucratic and divorced from the masses. Many comrades do not see the importance of, or are not good at, summing up the experience of mass struggles, but fancying themselves clever, are fond of voicing their subjectivist ideas, and so their ideas become empty and impractical. Many comrades rest content with making a general call

with regard to a task and do not see the importance of, or are not good at, following it up immediately with particular and concrete guidance, and so their call remains on their lips, or on paper or in the conference room, and their leadership becomes bureaucratic. In the present rectification movement we must correct these defects and learn to use the methods of combining the leadership with the masses and the general with the particular in our study, in the check-up on work and in the examination of cadres' histories; and we must also apply these methods in all our future work.

6. Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership — such is the basic method of leadership. In the process of concentrating ideas and persevering in them, it is necessary to use the method of combining the general call with particular guidance, and this is a component part of the basic method. Formulate general ideas (general calls) out of the particular guidance given in a number of cases, and put them to the test in many different units (not only doing so yourself, but by telling others to do the same); then concentrate the new experience (sum it up) and draw up new directives for the guidance of the masses generally. Comrades should do this in the present rectification movement, and also in every other kind of work. Better leadership comes with greater skill in doing this.

7. In relating to subordinate units any task (whether it concerns the revolutionary war, production or education; the rectification movement, check-up on work or the examination of cadres' histories; propaganda work, organizational work or anti-espionage, or other work), a higher organization and its departments should in all cases go through the leader of the lower organization concerned, so that he may assume responsibility; in this way both division of labour and unified centralized leadership are achieved. A department at a higher level should not go solely to its counterpart at the lower level (for instance, a higher department concerned with organization, propaganda or anti-espionage should not go solely to the corresponding department at the lower level), leaving the person in over-all charge of the lower organization (such as the secretary, the chairman, the director or the school principal) in ignorance or without responsibility. Both the person in over-all charge

and the person with specific responsibility should be informed and given responsibility. This centralized method, combining division of labour with unified leadership, makes it possible, through the person with over-all responsibility, to mobilize a large number of cadres — on occasion even an organization's entire personnel — to carry out a particular task, and thus to overcome shortages of cadres in individual departments and turn a good number of people into active cadres for the work in hand. This, too, is a way of combining the leadership with the masses. Take, for instance, the examining of cadres' histories. If the job is done in isolation, if it is done only by the few people in the organization department in charge of such work, it certainly cannot be done well. But if it is done through the administrative head of a particular organization or school, who mobilizes many or even all of his staff, or many or even all of his students, to take part in the work, while at the same time the leading members of the organization department at the higher level give correct guidance, applying the principle of linking the leadership with masses, then undoubtedly the task of examining the cadres' histories will be satisfactorily accomplished.

8. In any given place there cannot be a number of central tasks at the same time. At any one time there can be only one central task, supplemented by other tasks of a second or third order of importance. Consequently, the person with over-all responsibility in the locality must take into account the history and circumstances of the struggle there and put the different tasks in their proper order; he should not act upon each instruction as it comes from the higher organization without any planning of his own, and thereby create a multitude of "central tasks" and a state of confusion and disorder. Nor should a higher organization simultaneously assign many tasks to a lower organization without indicating their relative importance and urgency or without specifying which is central, for that will lead to confusion in the steps to be taken by the lower organizations in their work and thus no definite results will be achieved. It is part of the art of leadership to take the whole situation into account and plan accordingly in the light of the historical conditions and existing circumstances of each locality.

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CAG Reveals a pervert rule in West Bengal

The Comptroller and Auditor General's latest report (31st March 1999) must be a cause of grave concern for all those who seek decency, discipline and accountability of the rulers in a social system they still consider not outmoded. The report sounds a note of alarm about West Bengal under 'Left Front' rule over decades : "Evidently the state was not on a sustainable fiscal course".

Common people are being systematically fleeced by fiscal debauchery of government that protects the capitalist system rotting at its root. This is over and above the grinding exploitation and oppression of the very system. The Report indicates a financial and economic collapse of this state, the gloomy picture in other states notwithstanding.

CAG Report — its relevance

Under Art. 151 of the Constitution, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India undertakes audit of the finances of the Union and the state governments. In the case of reports on state governments, the CAG submits them to the Governor. It then goes to the Public Accounts Committee of the Legislative Assembly for its consideration and rectificatory steps after the government's explanations. The auditing by a central agency like the CAG in our country was considered as an essential safeguard for public money handled by the government and a check against corruption, mismanagement and inefficiency of criminal nature. Transparency of conduct in public life and accountability to people for the money collected from them as well as their expenditure was once considered sacred by the administrators of public finance in a bourgeois democracy. Today, people of our country have for their regular experiences, swindling of their money or scams by politician-industrialist-bureaucratic nexus. The latest CAG report ending 1999 tabled in the West Bengal Assembly on 28th July 2000 speaks volume about the scant regard of the state government for enquiries about its gross irregularities by the auditing agency as also of its reports. The Left Front government either did not even respond to queries about irregularities amounting to criminal defaults despite repeated reminders or resorted to tricks indefensible by law. Some concrete instances from the report will prove how rampant corruption and arrogant defiance of minimum financial norms with impunity over the decades have led the state's economy on the brink of disaster.

Fiscal and Revenue Deficits

The alarming condition of the state's fiscal condition has been revealed. The fiscal deficit, representing excess of revenue and capital expenditure (including loans given) over the revenue receipts (including grants-in-aid received) increased from Rs. 1,965 crore in

1994 to a staggering height of Rs.7,109 crore in 1998-99 and the revenue deficit rose from Rs. 767 crore to Rs.4,856 crore. In 5 years, therefore, the revenue deficit increased by 533 per cent and the fiscal deficit by 262 per cent. The deficit on government account increased by 43 per cent.

Financial norms trampled underfoot

Commenting on the state's fiscal management as revealed by the CAG, a daily writes, "The diversion of public funds, non-utilization and misappropriation to sustain party cadres besides other wasteful expenditure and substantial loss of revenue... was more the rule than the exception."

In fact, the impression created was that public funds were both up for grabs and available for enlarging and consolidating the party's vote bank." (*The Statesman*, August 21, 2001)

Concrete instances are here to corroborate this observation. Whereas revenue expenditure constituted 95 per cent of the total expenditure of the state in 1998-99 and the government had to borrow Rs. 750.76 crore at an interest rate of 12.25 per cent from open market to meet revenue expenditure plus ways' and means advance (for 231 days) an overdraft (for 105 days) from RBI. Non-recovery of revenue collection is pathetic because of its most zealous support to monopoly houses, other vested interest and degraded political means to catch vote.

Arrears of revenue collection under principal heads increased from Rs.361 crore in 1994-95 to Rs.1,635 crore in 1998-99. Synchronizing with declining revenue collection was the declining rate of tax revenue from 11 per cent in 1995-96 to 6 per cent in 1998-99. The most criminal part of deliberate non-realization of revenue collection is demonstrated by the West Bengal State Electricity Board (WBSEB)

The revenue arrears of the WBSEB increased from Rs.627.08 crore in 1994 to Rs.1,393.68 crore in 1998-99. This has since been

increased further for non-collection of dues of the CESC of the Goenkas and other big industrialists. It has created a record of sort by jacking up outstanding liabilities to Rs. 5394 crore while its revenue deficit rose from an estimated Rs.486.68 to Rs.857.64 crore. It had to incur additional expenditure of Rs.594.45 crore said to be because of its poor power generation at 32 to 38 per cent of capacity. No sensible person can accept it. And it declares its intention to hike the power tariff to bridge the deficit. Insolence should have a limit!

Fiscal Picture — a carbon copy of the Centre

The fiscal picture with bankruptcy writ large is but a carbon copy of what is obtaining at the Centre. Interest payments amounting to Rs.2,950 crore in 1998-99 constituted 21 per cent of revenue expenditure for that year. We are to remember the percentage has since been increased much more.

During the five years from 1994-95, the government's total liabilities had grown by 111 percent and the state governments' assets cover just 0.49% of its liabilities. Loans and advances from the union government had risen to 122 percent. No more the cry against the Centre for 'state motherly' attitude!

Diversion of Public Funds

The most offensive act of the government has been diversion of

public funds for specific projects to meet revenue expenditure. It is a fraud on the Constitution no doubt but far more it is a crime against the public.

CAG reports opening of Personal Ledger Accounts (PLA) numbering 638 in operation in West Bengal to divert funds for specific projects of the union government. In violation of rules, Rs.45.36 crore was transfer-credited to the PLA without a government order. National Programme on Nutritional Support to Primary Education was followed excluding 42 per cent of children in primary schools who number 91.74 lakh.

A glaring instance of misuse of Public money is about 24 anti-erosion projects undertaken by the government at a capital outlay of Rs.118.85 crore. Almost daily people come to know of villages going down the river in Murshidabad, Malda and Nadia districts particularly. What is the cause?

The report says that it is because of absence of any Master Plan and in disregard of the recommendations of the Expert Committee and Technical Advisory Committee. The works were of paliative nature in Ganga Farakka Project when monsoon was at its peak. As a result portions of permanent embankment collapsed. Similar is the case about so-called anti-erosion works on the Ganga-
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decide correctly on the centre of gravity and the sequence of the work for each period, steadfastly carry through the decision, and make sure that definite results are achieved. This is also a problem of method of leadership, and care must be taken to solve it when applying the principles of combining the leadership with the masses and the general with the particular.

9. Details concerning methods of leadership are not dealt with here; it is hoped that comrades in all localities will themselves do some hard thinking and give full play to their own creativeness on the basis of the principles here set forth. The harder the struggle the greater the need for Communists to link their leadership closely with the demands of the vast masses, and to combine general calls closely with particular guidance, so as to smash the subjectivist and bureaucratic methods of leadership completely.

All the leading comrades of our party must at all times counterpose scientific, Marxist methods of leadership to subjectivist, bureaucratic methods of leadership and use the former to overcome the latter. Subjectivists and bureaucrats do not understand the principles of combining the leadership with the masses and the general with the particular; they greatly impede the development of the work of the Party. To combat subjectivist and bureaucratic methods of leadership, we must promote scientific, Marxist methods of leadership both extensively and intensively. ...

1. See J.V.Stalin, "The Prospects of the Communist Party of Germany and the questions of Bolshevization", Works, Eng., ed., PLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, p.39.
2. See Georgi Dimitrov, "Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism", *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Eng. ed., Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1951, pp.138-39

US After New US-India Axis to Further its Global Hegemonistic Design

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this sub-continent. At the sametime the US wants to build up its image as the pioneer of 'peace maker' in the sub-continent.

The relation between India and Pakistan remains strained for so many years. The ruling classes of both the countries have whipped up jingoism among the people and kept alive war tension for their respective domestic compulsion. People of both the countries are subjected to ruthless capitalist exploitation which causes extreme discontent and resentment against their respective rulers. So to divert the attention of the people from the root cause of their miseries, the rulers of both the countries are interested in keeping the Kashmir problem unresolved, and animosity between the people of the two countries have been systematically created. The war tension whipped up by the ruling classes of both the countries also helps them to get public sanction for incurring huge military expenditure which is also necessary for propping up the extremely crisis-ridden capitalist economy of both the countries, by stimulating militarisation of the economy further.

But despite all the attempts to create animosity and hatred between the people of the two countries it is a reality that the industrialists and the businessmen of both the countries are eager to establish normal trade and commerce relation between India and Pakistan, Kashmir problem notwithstanding. The various chambers of commerce and industry of both the countries are exerting pressure on their respective government for that.

Again, a sancr section of the people of both the countries has been pining for an end of this endless confrontation between the two countries, resulting in loss of life of thousands of people, including young men in uniform. The unbearable cost of war is causing extreme hardship to the people of India and Pakistan. It is a most painful situation where on one hand thousands are being killed in the war field of Kashmir, and on the other millions of people of both India and Pakistan are dying without food and medicine, while millions go hungry, have no roof over their head; no access to minimum health care, education, employment and other essentials of life, not even minimum for bare existence, not to speak of a civilized living, as crores of rupees are diverted to fill the coffers of bourgeoning military expenditure

only for satisfying the greed of the exploiting capitalist class. So it is clear that the interest of the toiling people of India is diametrically opposed to the interest of the ruling class. The Indo-Pak summit should also be viewed from this class approach.

The common people of both Jammu & Kashmir and Pakistan occupied Kashmir, who are the worst victims of this grisly conflict are crying for peace and a legitimate solution of the problem. The people of PoK are held under the boot of the military rulers of Pakistan while the people of Jammu & Kashmir are brutally oppressed by the Indian rulers. The people of PoK and the people of J&K are daily subjected to worst sort of military repression, including custodial death, wanton killing, rape, torture and other violations of Human Rights. The air in Kashmir has become thick with gun power. The entire sky of Kashmir is rent with the wails of mothers and widows, with the cries of the violated women and with the sighs of the daily tortured people of Kashmir. The people of Kashmir desperately yearn for an end to this hellish situation and for restoration of peace in the land.

All these factors had been exerting pressure on governments of both the countries and these compulsions were also there behind the Agra Summit.

After the installation of the NDA Government, Vajpayee initiated the Lahore Bus diplomacy which resulted in the Lahore Declaration. But the Lahore bonhomie was immediately followed by Kargil interregnum. It is undeniable that the Kargil episode took place with the prior knowledge of the US imperialists. So long India has been maintaining that no third party mediation would be allowed in resolving bilateral issues including Kashmir. But the US imperialists have been trying although to get an opportunity to meddle in so-called Kashmir settlement talks. The Kargil episode provided an opportunity to them. Having been put in a militarily disadvantageous position, Vajpayee frantically sought the US help despite his assertion of not allowing any third party mediation. The US did bail him out as has been revealed by the statement of Bill Clinton, the former US President, that he asked Nawaz Sharif, the then Pakistani prime minister to withdraw forces from Kargil by respecting the sanctity of the Line of Control (LoC) as per the provision of the Shimla

Agreement, when Sharif met Clinton on July 4, 1999. Pakistan complied with this advice of Clinton.

But the US imperialists believe in providing no free service. The US bailed out Vajpayee on Kargil and so it is now his pay back time. So, Vajpayee accepted the advice of the US and extended invitation to Musharraf for the Agra Summit. Pakistan too, was under US pressure. Despite Pakistan's criticism of the National Missile Defence Programme (NMD) of the US and voting against the US in the UN Human Rights Commission, Pakistan cannot go against the US because of its dire economic condition. Pakistani economy would collapse unless propped up by loans from the IMF and the World Bank, the imperialist controlled financial institutions headed by the USA. But these institutions impose conditionalities detrimental to the interest of Pakistan.

It is to be recalled that earlier in the 'cold war' period when the Indian ruling class pursued the policy of non-alignment between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp in its own interest, the USA helped Pakistan militarily and nurtured it as the frontal state to protect its imperialist interests. At the same time the US took anti-Indian stand on Kashmir and backed Pakistani aggression in Kashmir and its brutal suppression of Bangladesh liberation struggle.

But in the post-'cold war' situation Pakistan lost that importance to the US imperialists who are after a new strategic equation to further their global hegemonistic design. The US imperialists see in China a potential competitor. Again in the face of growing competition among the imperialists for division and re-division of the world market, Japan which has so long been moving in close collaboration with the US cannot be relied upon any longer. So to contain China, to maintain its stranglehold over oil-rich Middle East and to counter Arab nationalism on the one hand, and to fill in the vacuum in the event of rupture of the US-Japan ties, on the other, the US imperialists are after developing a new US-India axis to maintain their hegemony over this part of the globe. The present strained relation with the European Union (EU) on the question of trade and the NMD has given added importance for developing this new axis. Addressing the US-India Business Council, Mr Grossman, the

US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs clarified his view on South Asia as being "India first" — a policy of the Bush administration. He said that the US regarded India, "as a major power on the world stage, trading views on regional and global issues in the same fashion we do with other major players."

The *Washington Post* reports in a front page lead story that the Bush administration will start working with Congress next month to lift sanction against India, making way for greater military planning, joint operations and eventual sharing of the weapons technology. Mr Richard Armitage, the US Deputy Secretary of State commented that relation with India would improve at a speed visible to the naked eyes. The move would seek to strengthen ties between the two countries and accelerate their evolving military cooperation in various areas, including joint exercises, officer exchanges and coordinated efforts to combat piracy and protect navigation in the Indian ocean. The US officials say, Washington and New Delhi share a particular interest in ensuring free navigation in the Indian ocean sea lanes. An increasing proportion of Persian Gulf oil passes along through these lanes, as does much of India's trade. This year, the US plans to spend a substantial amount for bringing Indians to the US for military education and training.

India has already moved closer to the US in the post-Soviet period with the aspiration to become a global player through growing partnership with the US. During war against Iraq, India allowed re-fuelling facility to the US war planes from Mumbai airbase. After the installation of the BJP-led Government the relation between India and the US is rapidly developing in all dimensions. India entered into a defence deal with the US. The F.B.I., the US spy agency has been allowed to open an office in New Delhi. India allowed access to the US military experts to the Counter Insurgency Training Institute in the North East. On the card is a centre for counter terrorism to be set up in India with US assistance. India and the US are already participating in joint military and naval exercises. Brajesh Mishra and Sonia Gandhi will participate in a series of meetings on Capitol Hill and White House for finalisation of mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, purported mainly to counter

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More On Observance of 5th August

The reports as received from various states on the observance of 5th August, the memorial day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, were published in the last issue of *Proletarian Era*. More reports on the observance of 5th August have been received since then. We are giving below the reports of the observance of the day as received.

Everywhere the portrait of Comrade Ghosh was garlanded, the song on Comrade Ghosh was sung and the meetings ended with the *Internationale*.

Delhi

On 7th August the Delhi State Organising Committee organised a mass meeting at the Gandhi Peace Foundation Hall. Comrade J. Sinha was the president while Comrade Ashutosh Banerji, member, Central Committee was the main speaker. Before the meeting on 7th a Quotation Exhibition was held on the thoughts of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and Shibdas Ghosh on 5th August.

Comrade Banerji in his speech, inter alia, discussed how to develop communist character waging continuous struggle covering all aspects of life, the process of building up Communist Party on Leninist principle, class character of Indian state, endemic crisis of Indian capitalism and world imperialism-capitalism.

Haryana

The Haryana State Organising Committee of the Party observed Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day through a mass meeting held at Rohtak. Comrade Satyawan, Secretary, State Organising Committee presided over the meeting and Comrade Ashutosh Banerji, member, Central Committee, was the main speaker.

Tripura

The memorial day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was observed at Agartala on 5th August. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Central Committee member was the main speaker in the memorial meeting held at the Agartala Music College. Comrade Malin Dev Sharma presided over the meeting and Comrade Shibani Datta gave an inaugural address.

In his speech Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya highlighted the unique struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on Indian soil to built up the SUCI as the real working class party in the country. He also gave an exposure of the non-Marxist and social democratic character of the CPI(M) and the CPI.

Ahmedabad

Gujarat State Organising Committee observed the Day in Ahmedabad on 9th August. The memorial meeting was held at Mehandi Nawab Jung Hall, Paldi at 6 p.m. The meeting was presided by Comrade Kanubhai Khadadiya, member, State Organising

Committee. Comrade Bhatat Mehta gave the introductory speech.

The main speaker of the meeting Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Central Committee, SUCI, in his speech, inter alia, said that just speaking of revolution is not enough; we have to build up a revolutionary party on the basis of correct revolutionary theory based on higher ethical consciousness.

Comrade Dwarikanath Rath, Secretary of Gujarat State Organising Committee, also spoke.

Chhattisgarh

On this occasion a bookstall of party literature was organised at Durg on 5th August.

On 7th August a meeting was held at Adityanagar. Comrade Badsha Khan, the veteran leader of the party, discussed the life struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and its significance.

Maharashtra

The Memorial Day was observed at the Krishi Bhavan of Yatmal town in Vidharva region. Comrade Dipankar Roy, West Bengal State Committee member was the main speaker. Others who spoke in the meeting include Comrades Debashish Roy, Promode Kumble, a prominent teachers' leader and Sandesh Dhole. Comrade Sri Krishna Mirzapur gave the inaugural address. Comrade Debananda Yadav, youth organiser, conducted the meeting. Comrade Sanjay Bhole Rao, student leader,

presided, comrades Binay Mirase and Mnish Ishakar presented mass songs.

On 8th August the memorial day was observed in Nagpur at the Rashtra Bhasa Prachar Samiti Hall. Comrade Dipankar Roy was the main speaker. Others who spoke include Comrades Madhav Bhonde, in-charge of Nagpur, Rabindra Sakhre and Satyabrata Banerjee. Comrade Ramdas Godbole conducted the meeting. Comrade Lakshman Papkar, the veteran teacher, presided over the meeting.

On 10th August the memorial day was observed in Mumbai at the Fitwala Hall near Elphinstone Road. Comrade Kulashresta conducted the meeting. Comrade Umashankar Mourya presided over the meeting. Here also Comrade Dipankar Roy was the main speaker.

M.P.

In Jabalpur, a meeting was held at the Pandit Mahanlal Chaturbedi Bhavan to observe the memorial day. Comrade Bhabani Ghosh, District Secretary, presided over the meeting while Comrade U.P. Biswas of M.P. State Organising Committee was the main speaker. Comrade Binode Kher conducted the meeting.

At the Chetna Adhyan Centre at Yadav Colony the Sagar District Organising Committee organised a group reading on 5th August. Comrade Ram Abhatar Sharma, the District Secretary, garlanded the portrait of Comrade Ghosh before the start of the group reading.

UP

In UP death anniversary of Frederick Engels and Shibdas Ghosh was observed.

Badlapur (Jaunpur), U.P.

Jaunpur District Committee of SUCI observed death anniversary of

the great leaders on 5th August 2001 in the campus of Sultanat Bahadur Inter College Badlapur. On that occasion a mass meeting was organised. Comrade Jagdish Chandra Asthana, Secretary, Jaunpur District Committee, presided over the meeting. Comrade V.N. Singh, Secretary, UP State Committee, was main speaker of the meeting.

The meeting was also addressed by Comrades Jagannath Verma, Motilal and Dinesh Kant Dubey.

Kalikaganj (Sultanapur), U.P.

Sultanpur District Committee of SUCI celebrated death Anniversary of the Great leaders on 7th August 2001 in the campus of Kalikaganj Primary School. On that occasion a mass meeting was organised. Comrade Jagannath Verma, Secretary, Sultanpur District Committee, presided over the meeting. Comrade V. N. Singh, Secretary, UP State Committee, was the main speaker.

Patti (Pratapgarh) UP.

Pratapgarh District Committee of SUCI observed the death anniversary of the great leaders in a mass meeting on 8th August in Patti Town. Comrade Bechan Ali, Secretary, Pratapgarh District Committee of SUCI, presided over the meeting. The main speaker of the meeting was Comrade V.N. Singh.

J. P. Nagar, UP

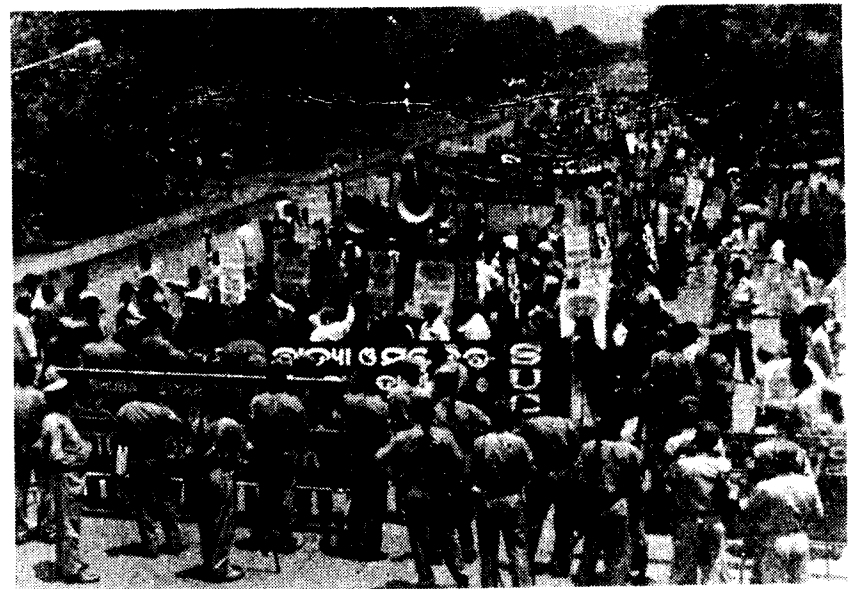
'Memorial Day' of the great leaders was observed at Nagar Panchayat Hall Joya, J.P. Nagar, U.P. on 12.8.2001. President and main speaker of the meeting was Comrade Vijaya Pal Singh, District Secretary, SUCI. Other speakers were Comrades Madhukar, Veer Singh, Indar Pal Singh, Pavan Kumar.

SUCI, TN Calls for Judicial Inquiry

The Tamilnadu State Organising Committee of SUCI issued the following statement on 13.8.2001 :

The SUCI calls for an immediate judicial inquiry into the violence that erupted during the protest rally taken by the DMK on August 12, 2001. Whoever is found guilty for the violence, deaths and injuries caused should be handed out exemplary punishment.

The SUCI also strongly condemns the undemocratic attack on press persons by the police.



Orissa SUCI organised massive demonstration in Bhubaneswar on August 21 against criminal callousness of government in the face of drought, flood and cyclone and a memorandum was submitted to the Panchyat-Raj Minister in absence of the Chief Minister.

Compulsions of Domestic Politics of both Countries Led to Disagreement on Joint Declaration

(Contd. from page 4)

terrorism. It is noteworthy when most of the countries of the world expressed their opposition or reservation against the NMD programme of the US, India hailed the programme. Not only economic cooperation but military cooperation and collaboration are increasing manifold between the two countries in their mutual interests. Recently, India has purchased huge quantity of sophisticated weapons from Israel, the outpost of the US imperialists in the Middle East to counter Arab nationalism. Immediately after the Indo-Pak summit, top ranking military and civil officials of the Bush administration are making a bee line for New Delhi.

Apart from its geo-political considerations the US has strong business interest in this subcontinent. The US has keen interest in 480 crore dollar gas pipeline project which will supply Iranian energy to India via Pakistan. The pipeline will run through Pakistan for which Pakistan will get a hefty royalty in exchange. When Bill Clinton visited India during his tenure as the President of the USA he had a prolonged talk with Dhirubhai Ambani, the chief of the Reliance Industries on this project. The US knows that once the leaders of both Indian and Pakistan are politically comfortable the project will be executed without any difficulty by an Indo-US joint venture. Besides, India is interested to establish its hegemony over a large market in countries like Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka for further benefit of the Indian corporate sector.

From all these considerations the US took initiative so that India and Pakistan sit together in a summit. This does not mean any departure from the US policy of engineering war tension between India and Pakistan. What the US wants is a reduction in tension for the time being for its geo-political and business interests as discussed above.

But though Vajpayee and Musharraf sat together at the Agra Summit at the initiative of the US imperialists, both of them could not ignore the pressing domestic political consideration. When Musharraf was speaking of Kashmir as the core issue, he was actually addressing the audience at home, where any sign of conciliatory attitude by Musharraf would be interpreted differently and the jihadi groups would create problem for him. Again, Vajpayee cannot create an impression by

which the opposition would charge him of sale out of Indian interest, and he would be put to the dock by the Sangh Parivar.

But both Vajpayee and Musharraf wanted to show to their respective people that they were victorious in pushing their stand in the summit. But a joint declaration which can serve this interest of both Vajpayee and Musharraf could not be drafted to that end as Musharraf insisted on Kashmir as the core issue and India insisted on cross border terrorism. India's insistence on cross border terrorism has pleased the Hindutva force which hopes to gain by that in the communal politics. Thus the summit was held because of the compulsion behind it and the summit ended without any agreement on the joint declaration because of the compulsions of the domestic politics of both the countries. Curiously, just after the summit an official spokesman of the US claimed that the summit was not a failure as it opened the dialogue process between the two countries. The foreign minister of India and Pakistan issued statement in the same vein from New Delhi and Islamabad after the summit though the leaders of both the countries have been accusing each other for the failure of the summit. And finally the Indian Prime Minister agreed to sit with Pakistan's President again in New York.

The summit bogged down on Kashmir issue. But the question is whether the leaders of India and Pakistan are at all interested in addressing the real problem confronting the life of the people of both sides of Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah once repulsed the attack of Pakistan and sought Indian help to protect them from Pakistani dominance and accepted whole-heartedly the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to Indian Union. Then how is it that the same people have been today so much alienated from the state and central government? Surely such a change has not occurred overnight. To grasp the present situation we have to turn over a few pages of history. Earlier when Kashmir was a princely state, the Kashmiri people were separately engaged in anti-feudal and anti-British struggle under the leadership of Sk. Abdullah in the platform of the National Conference and so they were not in the mainstream of Indian nationalist movement, despite the fact that this movement influenced and inspired their struggle to a great extent. As a

consequence of that a separate Kashmiri national identity distinct from Indian national identity already developed. In recognition of this, the India Government, the then Maharaja and the National Conference headed by Sk. Abdullah agreed to the incorporation of Article 370 in the Indian Constitution which provides Kashmir government all rights excepting defence, foreign affairs, currency and communication. So after accession to the Indian Union Article 370 of the Constitution provided the means to the people of Kashmir to protect their special identity. But the successive central governments led by the various bourgeois parties like Congress, Congress(I), BJP and also the CPI(M)-supported governments worked motivatedly to demolish the special status of Jammu and Kashmir depriving Kashmir all the rights guaranteed by Article 370 and this created much resentment and distrust among the Kashmiri people. The problems that we are witnessing today in Jammu and Kashmir are the inevitable result of the allout attempt of the monopoly capital to establish centralised rule by hook or by crook. In this attempt to establish centralised rule the various provisions of Art. 370 of the Constitution were violated. The naked intervention of the central government has dealt a blow on psyche of the Kashmiri people and they were alienated from the state and the central governments despite provision of free ration and free education in Kashmir. The Pakistan backed fundamentalist forces have taken full advantage of the situation. Systematic attacks on the provisions of Article 370 of the Constitution, repeated arrests of Sk. Abdullah, installation of puppet governments through out and out rigged elections and continuous brutal oppression and repression on the people of Kashmir by the armed forces have completely alienated the intellectuals, and the professional people of the state from both the State and the Central Governments and a considerable section of them are sympathetic to one or the other anti-government militant group. Besides the government failed to adopt and implement any longterm development measure in Jammu and Kashmir to address the burning problems faced by the people there. Again the naked competition between the Congress(I) and the BJP in Jammu region particularly aggravated the aggrieved psyche of the people of Kashmir. In the booklet *Kashmir Problem Reexamined*

published by our party it is shown : "The barrier of nationalist politics against the ascendancy of communal politics, erected by Sheikh was dismantled ruthlessly by Indira Gandhi, with the BJP closely following her. Massive injection of Hindu communal politics gave a strong fillip to the so long subdued communal politics practised by the Islamic clerics. The provocative campaign against Article 370 on communal line, posing the regenerated Islamic communal politics as endangering the integrity of India, planned attempt to use Kashmir as the supposed symbol of vicious Muslim communalism throughout India, advocating strong military actions against both the valley people and Pakistan, and above all the demolition of Babri Masjid, organising of frequent communal riots in India, and the menacing growth of the communal forces and last but not least using Governor Jagmohan to launch ruthless attacks on the valley people to help reduce the pundits of the valley to refugees — all these nefarious activities of the BJP dangerously alienated the valley people. Side by side the activities of the Congress (I) like compelling Farooq Abdulla to agree to a coalition with the Congress(I) and then proceeding to rig the elections thereby depriving the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly of any voice of opposition resulted in further disillusionment of even the secular minded youth, intelligentsia and non-communal people of Kashmir in general. Thus, the Kashmir valley people have been virtually pushed to the wall. All democratic options and means, permitted under the democratic framework to ventilate ideas, policies and solutions pertaining to ever aspect of Jammu and Kashmir body politic were ruthlessly snatched away by the Congress(I), the National Conference coalition government and Governor Jagmohan backed by the Central government."

It is needless to say that by all these measures the condition has been created for emergence of various armed groups in Kashmir valley to be exploited by Pakistani rulers.

Even now after the recent unfortunate, pathetic and senseless killings in Jammu the BJP-led government is taking the same hawkish posturing which all the previous central governments led by the Congress and all others including the CPI(M)-supported ones have

(Contd. on page 8)

CAG Report on West Bengal Government

(Contd. from page 3)

Padma rivers. Can there be any shade of doubt that the real intention of the government was not to save the people from natural adversity but to feather the nest of 'Contractor Raj' ruling roost in the state? Apart from the contractors who share the spoils with the leaders, the mercenaries of the ruling parties especially the CPI(M), are being fed people's money in this corrupt rule.

Further examples of diversion of public funds have been disclosed by the CAG, West Bengal. It shows that West Bengal Infrastructure Development Finance Corporation (WBIDFC) collected loans to the tune of Rs.1567 crore 93 lakh for the development of infrastructure which is posing a serious problem to industrial development. People hear daily about this. But how the money has been spent? The interest liability has been thrust on the people and so they have the right to ask this question. CAG, West Bengal reports that 70% of the borrowed amount, i.e., Rs.1101 crore has been transferred to Deposit Account in the Pay and Accounts Office (Calcutta Treasury) to meet revenue

and bills of contractors, etc. Similarly, by issuance of bonds the WBIDFC collected Rs.1360 crore 73 lakh and took loans from bank to the extent of Rs.207 crore 20 lakh. Those were shown to be spent for specific projects but the money collected found the same way of Deposit Account and for the same purpose not shown when bonds were issued and loans were taken. In its desperation the state government did not hesitate to divert the central assistance of Rs.117 crore 29 lakh for the benefit of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes to term deposit in bank obviously to meet revenue expenditure. Instances galore but no use cataloguing those.

Bankrupt Rule — Bankrupt Economy

As an inevitable consequence of 'living by borrowings', the government's economic deficits rose menacingly between the year 1998-99 to 1999-2000. Revenue deficit rose by 91 per cent from Rs.4,856 crore to Rs.9,227 crore. This tells the story of sliding down to bottom just in a year. Revenue deficit got a leap by six-and-a-half times within five years!

The rate of increase in economic deficit is still more alarming. Within the same five years, it jumped to Rs.11,666 crore from Rs.2,696 crore. The queer economics of the government shows while the revenue

income (tax income, non-tax income and union government's economic assistance) grew by 7.69% its revenue expenditure rose by 25.21%. The steady rise of non-plan expenditure shows how the ruling clique has become so much heavily dependent on such non-productive expenditure to buy its political sustainability despite the warning of the CAG that "...continuous borrowing to meet revenue expenditure would not be sustainable in the long run." In utter disregard of minimum prudence, the non-plan expenditure rose by 136% when the rise of plan expenditure was by 68%. The government's oft repeated slogan of industrialization and job creation sounds hollow as the expenditure on wealth generation by the government nose-dived to only 5 per cent in 1997-98 from 12 per cent in the previous year.

This will be further corroborated when the declining figures of capital outlays as also executions of central projects for job creation are taken into account. West Bengal's Auditor General observed that although the government claims to have spent Rs.1,101 crore 93 lakh but fact shows the claim is not tenable. The

economy is proved beyond doubt when it is to seek ways and means advances for 336 days which still remains unrepaid.

Corrupt Rules Hollow Slogans

The 'Left Front' faced the electorate in its 6th round of ascending to governmental power with the twin slogans of industrialization and employment generation. The slogans are not new. Mr Jyoti Basu took those up nearly two decades back. What is the real picture? CAG reports stated that the share of capital expenditure came down to 10 per cent in 1998-1999 from 33 per cent in 1994-95. Capital outlays only accounted for 0.3% of capital receipts during the four years to 1998-99. In today's perspective of globalization when the industries are closing down because of the twin blades of severe contraction of market due to squeezing of purchasing power further accelerated by downsizing of staff at a massive scale in particular and uneven competition from foreign MNCs, the talk of industrialization is nothing but a hoax to the people. Closure of Dunlop and other big industrial units, as also Jessop and Braithweight languishing because of want of order for wagons from the railways mock at the slogan of industrialization. The much vaunted Haldia Petro-chemical daily loses Rs.2 crore. Next comes the question

of employment generation. We are to remind our reader as *The Economic Times* of 20th June, 2001 reports under the caption; "How is employment measured in India?" That the CDS (Current Daily Status) approach attempts to clarify employment by person days rather than by persons. A person is considered to be working (employed) for the entire day if he/she has worked 4 hours or more during the day. So, by the Rural Employment Generation programme which the state executes is not meant for generation of regular employment throughout the years of service with future social safety net but only creation of man-days. Even in such a programme, the CAG points out funds released by the state government in 1998-99 fell short by Rs.224.43 crore as against the provision for the period 1990-91. The targeted generation of such employment was Rs. 44.51 crore worth man-days, but actual generation on record was Rs. 38.74 crore worth man-days. And Rs.35.63 crore was utilised for purposes other than employment generation. May be, for the fortification of mercenary soldiers!

Corruption Most Filthy to Stay in Government

During 1997-99, that checks in 3 districts as to how the public distribution system (PDS) is working reveals that Rs.745.17 crore worth food articles were distributed against Rs.1.15 lakh bogus ration cards. The actual number for the whole state will be at least 10 times if not more. These false cards help inflating voters' list with bogus voters to help the ruling parties by false voting. Similarly, revision of record of rights of the bargadars is just 53 per cent in the past 25 years. It is not an administrative lapse but a calculated move with sinister design playing with the fate of thousands of poor peasants by forcing them to vote in favour of the parties in power under pain of losing their livelihood.

Many others things remain outside the discussion. We need to mention two important issues. First, at least 698 inspection reports had been issued by the Accountant General upto December 1998 against gross irregularities in four departments. Those related to theft, defaultions, infructuous expenditure, non-recovery of dues and loss of money involving Rs.827.69 crore and other miscellaneous irregularities involving Rs.18.28 crore. These issues had not been settled despite repeated reminders till June 1999. It

may be mentioned from the press report (*The Statesman*, 25.8.01) that Mr Gautam Dev, the State Housing Minister has complained that the sub-heading: "Improper selection of joint ventures" as published was not in the draft of the CAG. The CAG gave 6 weeks time to answer but the government could not answer because of this absence. Mr Dev has therefore sought the state advocate general's advice about the legal action against the Comptroller and Auditor General. Mr Dev however assures that steps will be taken against guilty officers who failed to reply to the CAG draft. It is to be noted that 205 inspection reports of CAG had not been settled for 10 years. One can read the real state of affairs despite the minister's fuming. These are before the Public Accounts Committee headed now by Mr Subrata Mukherjee, the Mayor and the Trinamul Congress MLA. It is to be seen how the 'Left Front' government manages to brush all the charges under the carpet. People must demand disclosure of full reports and their right to prosecute the government in the Court of Law for any instance of swindling their money.

Stand Up Against Most Degraded Rule of Capital

Second, we are to remember this dismal picture of squandering public money is not a feature of West Bengal alone. *The Economic Times* of 10th August, 2001 quotes the authority of the RBI to inform that 17 states including UP, Maharashtra and Rajasthan are also in dire trouble even to meet the commitment of paying salaries to their employees. The figure of aggregate outstanding bank guarantees of all these states is astounding. It reaches Rs.99,306 crore. The figure rose to Rs.1,05,739 crore for 18 major states in March, 2000. This is equal to 50 per cent of the expenditure target in Ninth Five Year Plan! Further, the industrial production of the country has dwindled to just 2 per cent against the target of 6.5 per cent!

This is India where 61 million tons of food articles rot in government godowns but thousands die of starvation. Food, health, education, services everywhere people are denied of their rights when 2000 new cars join the fleet per month in Delhi alone. The hypocrisy of soothing talks of defenders of capitalism must be answered. This can only be done by powerful democratic movement to strengthen mass and class struggles. Here lies the ray of life, the only hope.

All India Protest Day Against Saffronization of Education

AIDSO observed All India Protest Day on 17th August against distortion of textual history; introduction of religious education including vedic astrology, Vastusastra, Purohitya, curtailment of grants by UGC, fee hike and privatisation-commercialisation of education, etc. by the BJP-led NDA government.

UP

Protest rally was held in front of the District Magistrate Office, Allahabad. A memorandum was submitted to the Governor, through the DM. Later a students' meeting was held at Allahabad University 'Chhatra Sangha Bhawan Hall'. The programmes were attended by large number of students.

Tamil Nadu

The AIDSO Chennai District Organising Committee held a students' protest meeting on the day. The leadets called upon to develop

sustained movement against saffronization and commercialization of education.

Karnataka

Bangalore : A students dharna was held near Mysore Bank Circle. Eminent educationists addressed the students besides the AIDSO leaders.

Mysore : Students demonstrated in front of the K. R. Circle at the heart of the city. An effigy symbolising saffronization and communalisation of education was burnt.

Gulbarga : Students Dharna was organised in front of the District Collectorate office, Gulbarga. A memorandum was submitted to the DC.

Tumkur : A protest march and a demonstration were held in the city.

Programmes were held in Bellary, Raichur, Devangere and Dharwad.

West Bengal

A protest demonstration was held

before the Eastern Regional Office of UGC, Calcutta. A memorandum to the Chairman, UGC was submitted.

Programmes were also organised in other districts.

Delhi

A massive students demonstration was held before UGC office. It was addressed by student leaders.

Rajasthan

Kota : A protest march was held that started at Government College, Kota and culminated at the

Collectorate office. The effigies of central HRD minister and state education minister were burnt.

Tripura

Students' protest meeting was held in front of Raj Bhawan, Agartala.

Jharkhand

Singbhum : AIDSO held dharna at Jonachakkar, Sakchi, Jamshedpur. Effigies of Murlimanohar Joshi and UGC Chairman Dr. Hari Goutam were burnt.

INDO-PAK SUMMIT

(Contd from page 6)

taken by ignoring the larger political contour of the problems. The BJP-led government's response was to extend the Armed Force (J&K) Special Powers Act, 1999 to four remaining districts in Jammu & Kashmir besides blessing them under the Disturbed Areas Act. All the previous central governments considered the Kashmir problem as a mere law and order issue and the BJP-led government is trading the same path. The recent proposal of Advani to take away the vital check of accountability from the security forces is tantamount to arming them with licence to do whatever they like within or outside the law. Advani also hinted at the introduction of TADA type act, which he proposes to extend throughout the country. It is now known how the TADA used against democratic mass movements and to muzzle the voice of opposition. The latest package of sweeping power for the Armed Forces would aggravate the situation in Kashmir and result in further accentuation of state terrorism in the name of countering terrorist activities, alienating people of Kashmir further accelerating terrorist activities and helping in strengthening Pakistan's design.

So it goes to the credit of Indian capitalist class and the ruling parties serving its interest that the very people of Kashmir who once invited India to save them from Pakistani aggression are now raising their voice against Indian government and the Indian army and this resentment and distrust of the Kashmiri people is being exploited by the Pakistani-backed terrorists. So it is clear that neither any summit nor any so-called friendly mediation by the US imperialists will solve the basic problem of Kashmir. The solution of Kashmir problem lies mainly in the change of attitude of Government of India. If it sticks to the gun, incidents like murder of innocent youth, rape of women continue in the name of countering terrorism and

draconian acts are imposed one after another, then the situation will continue to deteriorate alarmingly and Pakistan will continue to fish in troubled water.

It cannot be forgotten for a moment that Kashmir is an integral part of India with special status. To gloss over this most urgent point held firmly by our party will, only prove disastrous and stand detriment to the real solution of Kashmir problem. The present situation in Kashmir demands that the military should be sent back to the barracks and the civil rule be restored in full. Secondly, Article 370, as it existed at the time of accession must at once be restored for granting full autonomy to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. But the government is in no mood to accede to these demands by changing its hawkish mood. So, to compel the government to accept these legitimate demands, the working class and the toiling people of India must develop struggle against the Indian ruling class and the ruling parties on the one hand and on the other must support every legitimate and democratic demand of the Kashmiri people, condemn all oppression and state-sponsored terrorism let loose in Kashmir and draw the people of the valley in the mainstream of class struggle and democratic movement against the Indian capitalist class.

Simultaneously we appeal to the democratic minded people of Pakistan to develop movement against their ruling class for stopping all oppression in occupied Kashmir, for vacating occupation and thereby stopping all jingoism.

It is the urgent need of the hour that the democratic and secular minded people of both India and Pakistan should unite and cooperate with each other in their struggle against their respective government to put an end to this injustice perpetrated on the people by the ruling capitalist class of their respective country.



All India Protest against Saffronization of education on 17th August
(Above) Hyderabad, (Middle) Patna, (Below) Bangalore

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