

# Proletarian Era

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Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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## PRICE HIKE OF PETRO PRODUCTS

# BJP-led Government's Severe Onslaught on People

True to its anti-people and pro-capitalist policy the Central BJP-led government increased the prices of petro products on the plea of the increasing oil pool deficit on 29th September last. This is the second time hike in prices of the petro products within the span of one year. And the BJP-led government has done it at a time knowing fully well that the people of the country are gasping as a result of acute economic crisis. More than 50 per cent people are living below poverty level. They do not get two square meals a day, they have no roof over their head, they have no access to minimum health care and education. Reports of starvation deaths are coming from the drought hit Bolangir and Malkangiri districts of Orissa. Thousands of people are perishing in floods and drought. Besides an increasingly large number of people are committing suicide throughout the country because of unbearably acute poverty. In this situation one can well imagine what havoc the cascading effect of this price hike in petro products will cause in the life of the people. Kerosene is used by the poor and the LPG is used by the middle class and lower middle class people. The business men will take full advantage of the price rise in diesel to reap further profit. The price of all essential commodities will soar. The government has no control over the business community, rather it acts in collusion with them to increase the freight and fares.

The rise in prices in the international oil market no doubt makes the import costlier in terms of dollar, and as rupee currency is daily depreciating as against dollar the oil pool deficit is thus further inflated. Increasing the price of petro products is the easiest solution to this problem. And the government took this easiest course without considering any other alternative. Had the government been really serious and had it minimum concern for the people it would have adopted all such measures to control the

consumption of petro products, reduce the tax component considerably to keep the price stable and vigorously endeavour to increase the internal oil exploration. But what has the government done in these affairs? It is well known how the ministers, civilian and military officials and their family members misuse the government vehicles. The ministers and their party men use these vehicles for party works. All of them, the ministers, the administrative officers, the police

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## US-Zionist Design

# Attempts to Deny Just Claim of Palestinians

The Oslo Peace process, started 7 years back with the ostensible purpose of peaceful settlement of Palestinian Israel conflict to bring peace in West Asia is in a shamble. After the harrowing experience for 15 days in Camp David meet last summer calculated to force Palestine to agree to all illegal occupation of its territories by Israel in the name of negotiations, deep-set resentments of the Palestinian surfaced. Serious question arose as to the very worth of this exercise when the US imperialism, the worst enemy of world peace plays the role of arbiter of West Asian problem, backing whole-hog its proxy the Israeli-Zionist fascist rulers.

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## School of Politics in Patiala

The Punjab and Chandigarh units of SUCI jointly organised the School of Politics at Patiala in Punjab from Sept. 30 to Oct. 2. It created enthusiasm among the comrades. Comrade Ashutosh Banerji, member, Central Committee conducted the school in four sessions.

He told, while addressing the audience: You are involved in spontaneous struggles unconsciously in day-to-day life. Sometimes you are successful and sometimes not. If you want to change the world, you can change it through conscious struggles. Dialectical materialist methodology alone can guide us to know the world. It is the only comprehensive scientific world outlook and generalisation of the particular knowledges gathered by different branches of science. It was first developed and propounded by Marx and Engels. Lenin, the worthy disciple of Marx and Engels, developed and enriched Marxism in the light of growth of sciences at later period. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, following the teachings of his forerunners Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, concretised, elaborated, developed and enriched Marxism in the light of modern scientific development.

Comrade Banerji lucidly explained dialectical materialism and historical materialism separately as well as by blending them beautifully and discussed the concepts of communism. In the end Comrade Banerji advised that theory and practice go side by side. We should study by co-relating with the current situation. If we do not do so, we can become scholars but can never be revolutionaries.



Demonstration before the public meeting on November Revolution Day at Gandhi Park, East Fort, Tiruvananthapuram, Kerala. (News on page 8)

# US Peace Posture A Sham Show — Real Peace Brings Doom to Imperialism

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The 16-day violence that erupted was instigated by Ariel Sharon, leader of Israel's arch reactionary Likud Party. Launching of helicopter missile attacks, machine-gunning from tanks, keeping the Palestinian airport at Gaza closed, were the means adopted by Israel, instigated by the military advisers. The UN General Assembly, though maintaining a precarious existence, overwhelmingly voted in favour of Palestinian resolution condemning outright the vandalism of US-backed Israeli rulers (92 in favour, 6 against, 46 absentees). The resolution unequivocally demanded return of all territories of Palestine occupied illegally by Israel. And this can alone be the basis of peace efforts. The focus shifted to the problem of stopping violence that took a toll of lives exceeding 100, most of whom are Palestinian. The summit at Sharm-el-Sheikh, redfort resort in Egypt having failed, Mr. Arafat and Mr. Barak have been called in Washington by Mr. Clinton to devise means to stop violence and keep up the show of peace efforts.

## Crux of the issue

Brutalities were let loose on the Palestinians 52 years back in the West Asia war of 1948. It was a proxy war of the imperialists led by the British imperialists who enjoyed the so-called mandate over the region till the end of the 2nd World War. A war was going on between the Palestinian Arabs and the Jews for 100 years over the contentious Palestinian territories. By the UN resolution in 1947, division of the territory into two states — a Jewish and a Palestinian, was decided.

During 1948 war, lakhs of Palestinians were evicted on the plea of keeping demographic character of Jewish state of Israel. But the imperialist and the Zionist forces denied a Palestinian state as decided upon by the UN resolution. The refugees living in camps in neighbouring Arab states like Jordan, Syria, Lebanon etc. number no less than 2.6 million besides 3 million Palestinians in West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem.

The UN body accepted the demand, universally supported, of the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and compensation for their loss and sufferings. Israeli rulers stubbornly opposed the return of the refugees in defiance of the UN decision. In the confabulations in Camp David Israel proposed, instead, cash compensation of 140 billion dollar. Here too, it could not hide its mischievous motive. Backed by the imperialists headed by the US imperialism Israel not only refused to withdraw its illegal occupation from the Palestinian territories of West Bank and Gaza as also East Jerusalem but established also big colonies there to settle Jews numbering about 170,000 and providing them with facilities unimaginable for the Palestinian. In the Camp David proposal, cost of withdrawing the Jewish settlers from West Bank and Gaza was included in the amount of compensation offered to Palestinian refugees.

Backed by US imperialist in particular, Israel

went on perpetuating dastardly acts of aggression and annexation in two spells. It occupied West Jerusalem then under the control of Jordan in the war of 1948. The East Jerusalem under the control of Palestine, was snatched and annexed in the 6-day war of 1967. Amidst universal condemnation, the UN Security Council by its resolution 242 of November 1967 asked Israel to withdraw from "territorial occupation". It was defied arrogantly by Israel, enjoying the positive encouragement of US imperialism which reduced the UN merely to its rubber stamp.

So the Palestinian right of having an independent state has been persistently denied by the US-Israel combine. Their intransigence to accept the just demands like return of refugees to their homeland, withdrawal from occupied territories of Palestine in West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem is in flagrant violation of international law and UN resolution as also trampling the demand of world community. Though agreeing in principle to the right of the Palestinian people to have their own independent state, but after 52 years, what is offered is not even a fractured state.

## Vicious method of subjugation and exploitation

The US imperialism instigates the Israeli rulers not to ensure peace and freedom even in the place of residences of the Palestinians. So, even in West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem the Palestinians have no administrative and security control let alone economic resources, essential for an independent state. Israel has administrative-security control over West Bank to the extent of 50-75% and 35% in Gaza. Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem are encircled by Israeli settlements, guarded by police and military. Even for the places of worship, Palestinians are in abject dependence on Israeli approval. Besides Israel has absolute control over water resources both for drinking and agricultural purposes. In this context London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies commented: even if such Palestinian state contained all of the occupied territories for the Palestinian residents it would be little more than an archipelago of isolated enclaves with little prospect of developing connection and economic structure necessary to operate a sovereign entity (quoted from an article written by Jonathan Powers published in *The Statesman* dated 4.8.2000)

## Diabolical design of US imperialism

It is obvious from above that the US imperialism and its proxy Israel in West Asia have been wrecking effort of peaceful settlement of the Arab Israel relations. The US imperialism is today the menace to the world civilization, being the biggest obstacle to peace and social progress everywhere on the globe. It has arrogated the role of self-appointed guardian of the nations. It is inciting trouble and war-like tension everywhere to capitalise in its favour. Being the biggest war merchant and seller of arms it is fully aware that peace will bring its doom. In fact, imperialism

cannot live without war.

As a successor of British imperialism which had absolute sway over the Arab World to exploit its vast oil resources before the 2nd World War, the US imperialism is very much interested to keep the ordinary Arabs and Israelis at loggerheads and keep both under its control. Meanwhile, over the years, it has armed the fascist Zionist rulers of Israel to the teeth and vested upon the state the responsibility to defend US interest in West Asia. Israel now is a ruthless paw of US imperialism, working not only in the region but having gone outside as in Sri Lanka. Its oft-repeated resolve to fight terrorism actually means the contention of the challenges that it faces in different parts of the globe from the oppressed people as in the case of Palestinian militants. Under cover of fighting terrorism, it resorts to worst kind of terrorism against people all over the world who dare challenge the US hegemony. Mr. Jonathan Power reveals the US imperialist rulers' policy in West Asia by such words: Enforcement of a military containment strategy in West Asia which posits hostility towards the two most powerful Muslim states in the region, while supporting a number of weak client states susceptible to revolutionary change (*The Statesman*, November 10, 2000) The question as to who has given the imperialism the power and authority of world policeman remains in the absence of militant anti-imperialist movement over the globe, firmly grounded on working class objective and outlook.

This strategic stand of the US imperialism finds concrete expression in the Israeli political field, though not excluding contradiction. There are struggles within. From what have been reported in the press it is known that the dovish members of Mr. Ehud Barak's Labour coalition government are strongly opposed to induct Mr. Ariel Sharon, the arch reactionary pro-US Likud party leader to an emergency national government. It will mean according to them sabotaging the progress to the extent made, for a peaceful settlement with Palestine.

As a trusted agent of US imperialism this man, Sharon took an entirely different conciliatory approach when Mr. Menachem Begin, the Likud Party Prime Minister of Israel was negotiating with President Anwar Sadat of Egypt after his return from Camp David (in 1978) confabulation with the US President. Sharon persuaded Begin to give up Sinai valley as also the Jewish settlement there to open the way for the first peace treaty of Israel with an Arab state of importance.

It was a shrewd move of the US-Israel policy makers to wean away Egypt from the Arab solidarity. What led to the breakdown of pan-Arabic unity under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, what were the particular factors in the international arena, principally responsible for this sad turn of event, were thoroughly analysed and discussed in several articles published by us in the past. We hardly need repeating those.

At the present moment opinions in Israeli

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Yugoslavia is once again in the grip of crisis. In the last week of September, the international news media beamed images of what they called a "revolution" against the government of President Slobodan Milosevic. Tens of thousands of demonstrators were shown in the streets of Belgrade protesting against the declared results of the Yugoslav national elections and finally ransacking the Parliament building. The imperialist-controlled media were quick to call this a "triumph of democracy", so were Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and other European politicians who had recently presided over the bombardment of Yugoslavia. Indian newspapers too carried the versions of imperialist-controlled news agencies and syndicated columns on their news pages and followed the same line in their

editorial pages. At a time when the euphoria of the collapse of socialism has long since evaporated and has been replaced by concern over growing unemployment, economic recession and poverty in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, newspapers hailed the Yugoslav events as a continuation of the fall of the Berlin Wall. This was a clear attempt to spread confusion among the people and calumnies against socialism. In fact Yugoslavia under its leader Marshal Tito was expelled by the international Communist leadership, the Cominform, way back in 1948, for serious deviations from Marxism-Leninism. Yugoslavia went on to become one of the founder-members of the Non-Aligned Movement. Internal nationality conflicts and imperialist intrigue led to the break-up of the country. There is no way that Yugoslavia can be characterised as a socialist country, by any yardstick whatsoever, although the imperialists tried to paint it as such. In the face of so much disinformation, it is necessary to take a dispassionate view of what has happened and the role of imperialism in the events.

Readers will recall that in mid-1999, Yugoslavia was subjected to an illegal 78-day bombardment by NATO forces. At that time, in the background of an internal nationality problem of Yugoslavia, NATO coloured their bombing attack as a war to protect the human rights of ethnic Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo. It led to the loss of hundreds of lives, the shattering of the economy and infrastructure of Yugoslavia and serious environmental problems due to the illegal use of depleted uranium shells. Under the final ceasefire terms, there is now a permanent imperialist troop presence under the flag of the UN in Kosovo. It is abundantly clear that the imperialists' aim was never to solve the Kosovar Albanian problem. Their real aim has been to break up Yugoslavia and install a puppet government in Belgrade to establish their control over the Balkans. Yugoslavia's strategic location in southeastern Europe and its rich mineral wealth are the real targets of imperialism. This was proved yet again recently when NATO forces took control of the public-sector nickel and cadmium smelter complexes at Trepka in Kosovo under the guise of fighting pollution. For a long time a tussle between German and American imperialism for control over the Balkans has been going on, and with the help of high tech military power and the use of NATO against Yugoslavia American imperialism has been able to establish their control in that area.

Throughout the bombing campaign, NATO made no secret of its objective of removing Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and his ruling Serbian Socialist Party from power. In the imperialist view, the main crime of Milosevic is his rejection of imperialist allurements and resistance to their pressures. The Western media has

portrayed Milosevic as a Serbian ultranationalist guilty of carrying out ethnic cleansing campaigns against other nationalities after the break-up of Yugoslavia in the nineties. As yet, no concrete evidence of Milosevic's guilt has been presented. Much fanfare has been made about the War Crime Tribunal at The Hague (Netherlands) indicting Milosevic as a war criminal. What is kept hidden is that this Tribunal was set up under United States pressure in 1993, it reports to the imperialist-ruled Security Council and depends on NATO forces for enforcement of its orders. It has no basis in international law and is not in any way related to the UN International Court of Justice, also located at The Hague. In fact, the establishment of the Tribunal was condemned by a number of law experts all over the world including some from India. In justification for the NATO war in Kosovo, Milosevic was accused of masterminding the genocide of Kosovar Albanians, and figures running into tens of thousands of victims were liberally quoted. The fact is that the investigations of the War Crimes Tribunal have themselves questioned the authenticity of these figures and at present this figure has been dramatically scaled down.

The imperialists' calculation had been that Milosevic would be ousted from power internally after the first wave of NATO bombing. Much to their disappointment, all the Yugoslav political parties rallied around the Government against the NATO attack and strengthened the position of Milosevic. Even after the ceasefire and having achieved the objective of placing their troops in Kosovo, the imperialist powers continued to pour venom on Milosevic and stepped up their financial support to opposition parties. This has come nakedly in the open when the US Congress voted a sum of 182 million US dollars in assistance to anti-Milosevic forces. Yugoslavia continued to be under an oil embargo and economic sanctions, and was denied assistance from the World Bank-IMF. There has been a string of political assassinations, particularly of leading members of Milosevic's Serbian Socialist Party, which are widely suspected to be the handiwork of the CIA.

The election-related events in Yugoslavia have to be viewed in the background of such blatant imperialist intervention. In their conspiracy to remove Milosevic from power the imperialists have painted him as a dictator though he seems to be merely a shrewd politician like bourgeois leaders around the world, with a firm grip over the administration and armed forces. While these same imperialists have themselves nurtured and pampered worst dictators like Mobutu in Zaire, Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia and Duvalier in Haiti, to name just a few in a long list. As long as their interests were being served, there was no hue and cry of democracy in peril.

Milosevic called for simultaneous elections to

# Political Turmoil In Yugoslavia And Imperialist Design

the Presidency, Yugoslav Parliament and local bodies as his own Presidential term was coming to an end. It has been reported that the Constitution was amended to allow Milosevic to contest for a second term. The President of the State of Montenegro complained of lack of consultation prior to the Constitutional amendment and called for a boycott of the elections. This was the first blow against Milosevic. The Montenegrin President is pro-Western in his approach and the imperialist strategy with respect to Montenegro has been to foment a revolt against Serbia. The second blow against Milosevic was that 18 disparate and perpetually squabbling opposition parties united under the banner of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) and under the leadership of Presidential candidate Vojislav Kostunica, an avowed anti-Communist reportedly with little political base of his own. Newspapers like the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* widely publicised the imperialist role in bringing the opposition together; arranging meetings of opposition leaders, and providing all help needed for elections, finance, propaganda, etc. In no sovereign democratic country in the world would such blatant foreign intervention in the electoral process have been tolerated. Yet Milosevic did not attempt to cancel elections. The third blow against Milosevic was that imperialist statesmen issued threats against his continuance throughout the campaign, the US Navy sent a fleet to the Adriatic Sea and carried out muscle-flexing exercises. Simultaneously, the European Union promised lifting of economic sanctions and a return to 'normalcy' in Yugoslavia if Milosevic were defeated in the elections. From all this it is clear that the Yugoslav elections can by no means be called free and fair.

Elections were held under the supervision of the Election Commission. The Government had expelled foreign journalists, but there was no dearth of informal international observers. According to Yugoslav law, a Presidential candidate would have to get more than 50% of votes cast for outright victory, otherwise the two candidates with the highest number of votes would have to contest a run-off election. Initially, both the ruling Serbian Socialist party and the DOS claimed outright victory even before the Election Commission announced results. Later, the Socialist Party admitted that it had less than 50% of the vote and predicted a run-off election while DOS also scaled down its vote percentage but still claimed outright victory. Even before the Commission announced its verdict, British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook and President Clinton were announcing a probable Kostunica victory and warned Milosevic not to tamper with the results. By then, DOS supporters had taken to the streets and unsubstantiated allegations began to fly that

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# BJP-led Government Considered No Alternative Measure Before Imposing Burden On People

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and the man in uniform lavishly consume fuel for marketing, excursion, and pleasure hunting. The ministers and officials use helicopters and aeroplanes in a most cavalier fashion. This is virtually looting of the exchequer. Has the government done anything to control this profligacy in consumption of fuel? If the government was really serious it would have taken all possible measures so as to reduce consumption to the maximum extent.

Further the government is encouraging personal transportation instead of mass transportation. The affluent section which constitutes a small percentage of the total population consumes the maximum amount of petrol. The government does not impose any restriction on the consumption of petrol by this section. Rather the government encourages the small car sector by allowing them lavish consumption of fuel. Nor has the government taken any measure to control the consumption of fuel by the ministers, administrative, police and military officers, and instead of controlling the consumption of petrol by the affluent section, the government is encouraging the small car sector. Thus the government has not taken any measure to reduce the import of petro products, and shifted the entire burden of the oil pool deficit on to the shoulders of the common people by hiking the prices. This is nothing but criminal apathy to the plight of the common people.

The most inhuman attitude and criminal apathy of the government to the plight of the common people are more glaringly exposed when it is seen that the government while hiking the price of the petro products to cover the oil pool deficit because of rise in international price of petroleum has also made provision for increased revenue collection through taxation. Whenever the price of petro products is hiked the customs duty, excise duty and sales tax are imposed on the increased price and so the government revenue soars. It is seen that central revenue alone soars from Rs. 24,493 crore in 1994-95 to Rs.40,000 crore in 1998-99 (source: Oil and Natural Gas Ministry, Government of India) The government spends this money for the military, ministers' and bureaucrats' luxury, nuclear tests, missiles, the top heavy administration and subventions to the corporate houses, and not for relieving the distress of the people. When the government is curtailing the social welfare measures and trying to eliminate the subsidy on essential commodities like kerosene, diesel, LPG and food on the plea of paucity of fund, it does not hesitate to increase the military budget by a hopping 40 per cent. The Finance Minister in his last budget speech promised that the fund would not stand in the way if the requirement of the military establishment is more. As a matter of fact fund is no problem for nuclear tests, for missiles and for military purposes. It is argued that these are essential expenditure for the defence of the country. But the country is not a mere land mass, the people constitute the nation. When the people are dying of starvation, when the majority of the people live

below poverty level, what should the defence of the country really mean? In such a situation the defence of the country really means saving the people from death from hunger and starvation. Any government having a minimum commitment to the people must have this as the first priority. But it is futile to expect such a priority from the most antipeople BJP led NDA government. Had the BJP-led government at the centre felt any concern for the plight of the common people it would have at least rationalised the duty structure to give some relief to the people. In order to hoodwink the people it reduced by a token 5 per cent the customs duty on petro products and 4 per cent the excise duty on diesel. This token reduction is sheer deception. If the government had minimum concern for the people it would have drastically cut the tax components for providing relief to the people. The price of petro products is so high not for high price in international market alone; this price is so high because of high dose of taxations on the imported crude. It is because of this reason that price of diesel is much higher in India than in its neighbouring countries. Even Mr. Jagdish Shettigar, a prominent BJP man advocated the restructuring of this high duty structure. If we go through the writing of Mr. Jagdish Shettigar, member of prime minister's Economic Advisory Council and Convener, BJP Economic Cell, published in an article in *The Statesman* dated 22.4.2000, it would be apparent that the government had scope to drastically reduce the duty structure to give relief to the people. Mr. Shettigar writes, "... the government may also think of rationalising the duty structure on petroleum products. For instance, diesel is subjected to a very high rate of duty in our country - 25 per cent customs duty, 16 per cent excise duty and sales tax going up to 33 per cent in some states. In Mumbai, the duty component in the retail price of diesel is as much as 55 per cent while in Chennai it is 49 per cent. In fact, because of the high duty structure, the retail price of diesel in India is higher than in neighbouring countries.

"Therefore, the government should seriously consider cutting down customs duty on the import of crude oil and petroleum products. Similarly, the state governments should consider reducing sales tax on petroleum products."

This advice of Mr. Shettigar went unheeded as the BJP led central government wants to prove to the capitalist class that it can serve it better than the Congress. Let alone restructuring of the duty structure the government has not withdrawn even now the Gulf cess of Rs.1.50 per litre of diesel, imposed during the Gulf War for long detour in transshipment of the crude. As a matter of fact all the parliamentary parties are serving the interest of the capitalist class. So while subsidy to kerosene, LPG, diesel and food is withdrawn, the government does not take any effective step for the realisation of Rs. 57000 crore of NPA (non performing asset) of the banks, staggering amount of unpaid income tax, huge amount of black money that runs parallel to the economy and the

amount involved in so many financial scams. On the contrary the government is allowing tax holiday for corporate houses, legalising black money by means of concessional measures like Voluntary Disclosure Scheme etc. In the last fiscal the NDA government waived revenue to the tune of Rs.32,000 crore in export promotion.

When the government is so liberal in providing such concessions to the capitalists and when it spends crores of rupees in nuclear tests, missile tests and military purposes, oil pool deficit of Rs.23,600 crore calculated on the basis of 30 dollar per barrel of crude caused so much headache to the government. Now this oil pool account is a mechanism to keep the price of the petro products stable in the internal market despite fluctuations in prices in the international market. So this account may show deficit or surplus depending upon the prevailing price of crude in the international market. This oil pool account showed steady surplus till 1988-89. Even in March 1999 the price of crude (Dubai bench mark) was as low as 10.50 dollar per barrel. But when oil pool account showed surplus the government mopped up the surplus amount and then there was no question of reducing the price in the internal market. So the plea of increasing deficit in oil pool account is only a ploy of the government in implementing its overall policy of totally withdrawing subsidy from all articles consumed by the people. The report submitted by the Sundar Rajan Committee recommended total deregulation in the business of mineral oil. In accordance with the report of this Committee the government decided to do away with the administered price regime in the field of petro products within March 2002. In the intervening period the government will withdraw subsidy on kerosene, LPG and diesel and after March 2002 the prices of these products will be determined by market mechanism. In pursuing this policy the government is bent upon privatising the profit making oil PSUs.

When the international price of crude is rising, internal exploration and augmentation of internal production would have gone a long way in relieving the pressure on import, and this would have given much relief to the people. But since the adoption of the policy of privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation since early nineties, the government has drastically curtailed investment in internal exploration and internal production of crude. In 1980-81 the internal production of crude was 1.5 crore ton whereas the total requirement was 3 crore tonne. That means 50 per cent of our requirement was met from internal production. This internal production was further augmented. Our requirement also increased rapidly. But despite that in 1989-90, 63 per cent of our requirement was met from internal production. Then since early nineties the production has been dwindling as the government pursued the new economic policy. The government investment sharply declined in this field, and as a result only 32 per cent of our requirement can now be met from internal

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# Common People of Palestine and Israel Must Unite to Defeat US-Zionist Clique

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politics are sharply divided. Mr. Shimon Peres, a leading figure blows hot and cold. In his talk to BBC he said Israel was ready to have a cease fire to renew peace negotiation. He warns the Palestinians now seething in rage, and crying justice with stern words at the same time : Palestinians too have to understand that they are playing with fire. For it is not only them vis-a-vis Israel, it's them vis-a-vis the world". (*The Statesman*, October 16, 2000)

By 'world' he surely means the US-NATO gangsters. He threatens that they are behind Israel; otherwise the overwhelming support of world community is for the Palestinian cause, and the Arab people in general. It is also seen from a UN report published in *The Statesman* dated 12.11.2000 that the Organisation of Islamic Conference has called on Muslim nations to sever all diplomatic and commercial relations with Israel, accusing the Ehud Barak government of "serious war crime" against innocent Palestinians.

## Conflicts, uncertainty of life, loss and sufferings

The Palestinian people certainly have a bigger share of woes and oppression.

The Zionists cannot be unconcerned about the growing impatience of Israeli common people to have peace instead of rhetorics about 'so-called security problem of their state that disturbs security of Arab people around them. The Zionist jingoism is losing impact on suffering common people in Israel.

So also is the case of the most oppressed Palestinians, living over decades in refugee camps and denied of normal requirement of drinking water in places of residence even in West Bank and Gaza. They have become very much impatient for a state of their own. Enraged by the perfidy of US-Israel clique in the name of peace coupled with the weak-kneed policy of Mr Arafat

and corrupt rule of his cabinet, Hamas, the militant Palestinian group termed the Sarm-el Sheikh summit as "totally unacceptable". This summit is useless, nothing will be accomplished and its main aim is to have the uprising against Israeli occupation aborted" - it holds.

Despite the image of Arafat largely diminished because of ideological dilution, age and the corrupt elite surrounding him, he is still the central figure in the Palestine Liberation struggle. But pressurized from grassroots level and emboldened by the General Assembly resolution Arafat declared that the Palestinians would not stop "till the liberation of occupied territories". The Arafat cabinet statement reiterated the Palestinian intention of applying to the Security Council for despatching international peace forces to the Palestinian territories. USA and Israel came out promptly to oppose the move. They fear Russia, France and China entering into peace process.

## India Government's role

We cannot but mention the role of Indian government in West Asian crisis. India, for long, supported the Palestinian cause. This apparent anti-imperialist, pro-peace stance of Indian state helped building up a pro-Arab image. Indian government led by Congress could very well utilise Arab support behind it on Kashmir issue at that time. The Indian government led by the BJP, has , of late forged closer tie with Israel. As if apologizing for the long estrangement between the two even after giving diplomatic recognition to Israel by India, Mr. Jaswant Singh the minister of external affairs in his speech at a Conference in Jerusalem on July 2 last, ascribed the reason to the "Indian politicians having strong urge to continue in office" and for which Muslim votes "could not be avoided"! He was truly reflecting the communal mindset of BJP, he was representing. This does never mean that the

Congress party had refrained from exploiting communal sentiments for parliamentary benefits. But the real reason has been explained by our party time and again. India's previous anti-imperialist pseudo-progressive stance, thanks to the support of the social-democratic parties helped consolidating the capitalist rule. But ever since the Indian bourgeois state acquired more and more imperialist features, it tilted towards imperialist camp in general and the US imperialism, in particular. Under the BJP rule, closeness of India with the US imperialism that was already growing, stabilized in partnership not only in regional sphere but also on international plane. Simultaneously, closeness with Israel is clear and vivid for advancement in nuclear weaponisation, in particular.

The ambivalence of the Indian government therefore, could not be concealed when it supported the UN majority in support of Palestine but advised restraint on both sides for restoring peace process. It never mentioned that the real enemy of peace in West Asia is the US-Israel clique, proved by concrete facts.

## Our appeal

We appeal to the common working people of both Arab countries and Israel to come in stout defence of a just peace. We see already Arab solidarity is growing in support of Palestine. It would be worth remembering by the people of West Asia that the US imperialist's continued sway over this oil-rich region is not merely on the strength of its military power but also due to the role of capitalist rulers in West Asia. They roll in wealth and profligacy in Western capitals but common working people of their countries languish in dire poverty and destitution.

In this context the common working people of Palestine and Israel must unite in a united protracted struggle against US imperialism and Israeli Zionist forces — their common enemy.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

# Iraq no longer an outcast for the world

President Saddam Hussein celebrated Iraq's diplomatic resurrection yesterday when thousands of foreign politicians, businessmen and journalists descended on Baghdad, making a mockery of the country's supposed decade-long isolation.

Despite UN sanctions, it would have been hard to tell that the country was a pariah as it hosted the largest international event of its kind since August 1990, when it invaded Kuwait.

Saddam International Airport, which is meant to be closed to international commercial traffic, has been choked with foreign flights this week, with eight airliners arriving on Tuesday. Regular domestic flights are due to resume on Sunday and a scheduled international service to Moscow may

begin this month. Yesterday, the Iraqis also hosted the first visit by an Arab leader since the Gulf War, when Ali Abu al-Ragheb, Jordan's Prime Minister, arrived with a large delegation. He joined 14 ministers from Arab countries and trade representatives from 45 nations, including Russia, China and EU countries such as France, Germany and Belgium.

Iraq's stunning transformation from an outcast to ally is because of an extraordinary combination of factors ranging from the high price of oil to Israel-Palestinian conflict and the erosion of international support for the UN embargo.

The countries that felt most isolated yesterday were the USA and Britain, whose warplanes

bombed an Iraqi anti-aircraft target near the northern city of Mosul, but whose efforts to contain the Iraqi President lay in tatters.

"The embargo has started fizzling. God willing, with all the excuses for keeping it in place falling away," said Taha Yassin Ramadan, the beaming Iraqi Vice-President.

Most of the major foreign trade delegations were drawn to Iraq by lucrative contracts on offer for rebuilding the country's infrastructure. Iraq is pumping more than 2.3 million barrels of oil a day and has granted billions of pounds worth of contracts to France, China and Russia, all permanent members of the UN security council.

Mr. Hussein is also preparing to use his wealth to prop up the ailing euro. Iraq has insisted that it wants its future oil sales, controlled by the UN, to be made in the European currency and has threatened to convert its current account holdings, worth 7 billion pounds, into euros and out of the "enemy currency".

The move would help to cement Mr. Hussein renewed friendship with Paris, Brussels and Berlin. (*The Statesman*, 3.11.2000)

# Imperialist Intrigue In Yugoslavia

(Contd. from page 3)

the Election Commission was packed with Milosevic supporters and that DOS votes from certain booths had been 'stolen' and recorded in Milosevic's favour. In this period of confusion, conservative and reactionary elements like the powerful Orthodox Church and the ultra-nationalist Serbian Radical Party threw their weight behind Kostunica and DOS. The street demonstrations grew stronger when the Election Commission announced that Milosevic had secured a little over 38% and Kostunica a little over 48% of the vote, thereby requiring a run-off. DOS rejected the result and called it a ploy by Milosevic to manipulate the run-off election and remain in power. Then began the attack on Parliament and the Government TV station that finally resulted in Kostunica taking over as President. It is clear that the bureaucracy, the police and the military switched support to DOS, negating the impression earlier created that Milosevic had an iron grip on the administrative apparatus and would use it to protect his position. The final role played by the Constitution Court, the highest court, and also the target of DOS accusations that it was a pro-Milosevic body, is unclear. Initial reports said that the Court cancelled the results of the first round election due to irregularities in the electoral process. But after the take-over of Kostunica as President, it was reported that the Court upheld Kostunica's election. This shows the role of disinformation and media manipulation once again.

What is now becoming clear is that whereas Western camera crews exaggerated the spread of the demonstrations, they were in fact confined to urban centres like Belgrade, Nis and Novi Sad. Tens of thousands of demonstrators in Belgrade were not local residents but coal miners mobilised from the opposition stronghold of Cacak. Nor were they a spontaneous mass. The symbolic attack on Parliament and the important capture of Government media indicate that it was a well-planned move. At this point, the normally belligerent imperialist leaders like Tony Blair and Bill Clinton announced that what was happening

in Yugoslavia was entirely its internal affair and there would be no intervention. This gave the erroneous impression that there was no connection between the imperialists and DOS, an important point to enable further mass support behind DOS which had been criticised by the Serbian Socialist Party all along of being a NATO stooge in a country where anti-NATO feeling is very strong. There were also a number of students and young people in the crowd who assumed that a change in political regime would result in a return to economic normalcy. If anything, this underlines the role played by long years of economic sanctions in influencing public opinion.

The role of Russia needs special mention. It was Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov's visit to Belgrade and his recognition of Kostunica as President that finally caused Milosevic to step down, having earlier rejected Russian mediation. Russia's actions are those of a severely circumscribed imperialist power that is itself economically weak, militarily threatened by NATO's eastward expansion and desperate to hang on to its sphere of influence. During the NATO action on Yugoslavia last year, it was finally Russia that brokered a ceasefire that deprived Yugoslavia of its sovereign control over Kosovo. Thereafter, Russian troops entered into a confrontation with NATO to obtain a military presence in Kosovo. Russia is now backing Kostunica in the hope that it will continue to have an influence over the internal affairs of Yugoslavia to counter NATO control.

It will not be wrong to summarise that the political change in Yugoslavia was not a democratic one, it was accomplished by mob violence and deals struck with the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In his initial speeches Kostunica took an anti-NATO stance in order to gain public support: no NATO intervention, no extradition of Milosevic. The Serbian Socialist party continues to have a strong presence in Parliament and local bodies, but the Presidency was most symbolic anti-NATO pillar. The visiting French Foreign Minister as well as the EU have promised lifting of sanctions and have offered economic aid for

reconstruction. But as reported in the international media, the US State Secretary, Madeleine Albright is now saying that sanctions will not be lifted until every demand of the US is fulfilled. Will this imperialist policy of allurements and threats not result in more political turmoil? Will the current political change not result in a weakening of anti-imperialist sentiments and increasing imperialist control over Yugoslavia? These are the questions arising before the worldwide anti-imperialist movement. But of more sinister import is the news that in offices, factories and universities, purges of supporters of the Serbian Socialist Party are taking place. These purges have a deceptive appearance as shopfloor workers, lower level office staff and teachers are moving against senior office and factory managers, and higher level university officials suspected of links with the Serbian Socialist Party. The new Yugoslav Government is not preventing these activities though they are plainly unlawful. But this is no legitimate working class movement, though the confusion is being spread that this constitutes legitimate democratic workers movement. Rather, it is a movement with the covert backing of the imperialists that has the objective of casting Yugoslav society on fascist lines. We had pointed out earlier that the movement to capture Government media and Parliament was not a spontaneous one but was well-planned in advance. The Yugoslav state apparatus adopted an anti-Milosevic stance at the crucial moment and sided with the demonstrators. The pertinent question is: who is the organising political force? It is hard to believe that the disparate 18-party DOS could be the organiser. This leads us to conclude that it is imperialism working through its secret agencies and utilising the Yugoslav state apparatus that is behind the ongoing attempt to mould Yugoslav society on fascist lines. This further means that imperialism in Yugoslavia is now trying to reach a position through military attacks and interference in democratic processes in a sovereign country, from where it can bring about the re-organisation of society itself, in their own interest. The worldwide anti-imperialist movement is faced with the responsibility to give a correct and befitting reply to this imperialist attack.

## School of Politics at Badlapur, Jaunpur (U.P.)

The State Organising Committee of U.P. organised a School of Politics on 27, 28 and 29 Oct. 2000 at Sultanat Bahadur Inter College, Badlapur, Jaunpur. Delegates from different parts of U.P. took part in it. Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Central Staff, SUCI, conducted the School of Politics.

The Secretary of U.P. State Organising Committee, SUCI Comrade V. N. Singh inaugurated the School of Politics.

Comrade Ranjit Dhar discussed on different philosophies and showed that Marxism is the only philosophy which can show the path for solution of the problems in our life. Comrade Dhar discussed on Dialectical Materialism and traced the path of development of human society. He also discussed the national and international situation, and highlighted the history of the foundation of SUCI and the struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.



Protest demonstration by the SUCI activists at Gulbarga against hike in prices of petro products on October 2 last



# No NDA Partner Can Shirk Responsibility For Anti-People Measure of Government

(Contd. from page 4)

production. The government is inviting the private players; but they are still shy in entering this field because of the administered price regime. They want total control in determining the prices so as to loot the country. And in fulfilling their wishes the government is most shamelessly withdrawing subsidy by stages and shifting the burden on to the shoulders of the common people.

Centering round this price hike we also witness pressure politics among the NDA partners. Smt. Mamata Banerjee, the Trinamul Congress leader and Railway Minister submitted her resignation letter to the Prime Minister after the announcement of this hike in prices of the petro products. The Prime Minister quickly assured her of further consideration over this matter after his US tour and knee operation. Smt. Banerjee also withdrew her resignation though she maintained the threat to resign if her demands were not met.

In this connection it is noted that Smt. Mamata Banerjee is not pointing to the unjustified and anti-people move of the NDA government. Her posture is that she has not been consulted prior to the announcement of the hike, and that as Kerosene is used by the poor of the state some mercy should be shown to them. Smt. Mamata feels that if she does not protest it will have adverse effect on the people prior to the ensuing Assembly election in West Bengal. She wants to take preemptive move so as to blunt the edge of

criticism of the Left Front against her on this issue. In the interest of parliamentary politics Smt. Mamata Banerjee wants to project herself before the people as pro-poor. Despite this image building exercise of Smt. Banerjee it is a hard reality that as a partner of the NDA government the Trinamul Congress cannot shirk its responsibility in the pursuance of the policy of privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation, as a result of which the prices of petro products have been hiked. Smt. Mamata Banerjee is a party to all the anti-people decisions of the NDA government. Her compulsion in parliamentary politics is understandable; but it has no connection with the real interest of the people. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Mr. Nitish Sengupta, MP belonging to the Trinamul Congress is heading the Committee which is examining the disinvestment of Indo-Burma Petroleum.

Again the BJP-led NDA government hastily sanctioned subsidy on diesel to be used in agricultural sector in Punjab and Haryana. The kulaks or the rich farmers use tractors and heavy machinery in agriculture in Punjab and Haryana. So subsidy in diesel in agricultural sector will go to the benefit of the rich farmers and the common peasants will get no benefit of this subsidy. The kulak lobby in Punjab and Haryana is very powerful and is the support base of all the parliamentary parties in these states. So the BJP-led government keeps them satisfied while at the same time the Akali Dal, the partner of the NDA is kept in good humour. Thus by granting

subsidy to the rural capitalists and reducing subsidy on kerosene, LPG and diesel the most anti-people and shameless character of the BJP-led government at the centre is nakedly exposed.

The havoc caused by the gradual withdrawal of subsidy has been glaring. It is seen from a report published in the *Economic Times* dated 11.2.99 that while the total subsidy in 1990-91 was 2.3 per cent of GDP, it came down to 1.4 per cent of GDP in 1997-98. What is the result of such reduction? It is seen from a recent report of the ILO that India is now included in the list of those nine countries where more than 50 per cent people live below poverty line. In a report published in *The Statesman* dated 7.9.99 it is seen that 52.5 per cent people in India are below poverty line. And what is the picture on the other side? The total assets of Tatas which was Rs.505.36 crore in 1969 rose to 37510.80 in 1997. In the same period total assets of Birlas grew from Rs.436.40 crore to 22592.84 crore, and Goenka from 65.34 crore to 9664.12 crore (source: *Business Today*, 22.8.97). This is no doubt the picture in white money. If the unaccounted money is added the figures become astronomical.

In this situation the people will have to realise that unless they are organised, the ruling class will fleece them more and more and they will be back to the wall. So it is high time that they organise themselves throughout the country under correct leadership to resist these onslaughts.

## An Appeal by All India Save Education Committee

Attempts are afoot today to convert the entire education into a costly commodity, to distort its object from man making. The government denies any responsibility to impart education upon the people. In accordance with the currently dominant trend of market economy and 'globalization' education is no more cultivation of knowledge. The ruling capitalist class makes all-out endeavour to convert it into a business subject to the laws of market. Thus the traditional institutions are being deprived of grants. The general colleges and universities are being advised to make up the deficit by increasing the fees and that is being done with manifold enthusiasm. Fees in the colleges and universities are skyrocketing. In keeping with the law of maximum profit, Institutions like private limited companies are sprouting everywhere. Macdowell or Pepsi Cola are being invited to establish universities! Entire Education is fast receding out of reach of 95% of the population who are have-nots. And since the very primary level, through courses of study in the DPEP schools, designed and funded (as loans) by World Bank, students are made to believe that education is solely the responsibility of the parents and not of the government.

Laws of market not only make education costly but also distort its content. For poorer students there will be only the primary schools

under the DPEP scheme, where through the so-called 'Child Centered Approach' the fundamental knowledge of 3R's (Reading-Writing-Arithmetic) is completely destroyed. Those who have money enough should go for higher education. Vocational courses are the only option for the rest. But in spite of all the sermons of vocationalisation or job-orientation, there is no reason to believe that the government will take the responsibility of providing jobs. The students must go for Self-employment. But in the name of job orientation, vocationalisation or market orientation the entire education will be reduced to merely some technical training, the drilling of lifeless information alone, detrimental to the process of development of the faculty of reasoning and rational bent of mind.

Furthermore, in the name of "Indianisation, Nationalisation and Spiritualisation" of education or "Value education" the BJP led Central government is trying to impose an unscientific, myth-based, communally biased view of history, ingrain religious fanaticism and blindness in the immature minds of the students since their childhood.

In order to ensure the unhindered implementation of these policies, the BJP led Central government did encroach upon the academic freedom in a fascistic way and replaced

all the fore ranking academicians and historians by the yesmen of the Sang Parivar, with obscure academic background, in the key academic bodies like ICHR, ICSSR, NCERT etc. Recently, NCERT the principal body to frame up the school textbooks throughout the country has forwarded a discussion document, which presents the glimpses of the ominous contours of the educational policy of BJP-RSS. Beneath the garb of some subtle expressions and high sounding phrases, it attempts to destroy the last vestiges of secular, scientific and democratic education long cherished by the doyens of Renaissance movement and freedom movement of our country.

The AISEC has not only exposed the danger lurking in this vile design but also in the thick of struggle against it. Renaissance movement against the curtailment and distortion of education by the Central Government and different state governments is rapidly gaining momentum. Save Education Committees have been developed in many states and districts during the recent months. Massive signature campaign against the commoditisation and saffronisation of education is going on all over the country with great enthusiasm and overwhelming support of the academic community and people at large. 26th September last, the birth anniversary of Iswar

(Contd. on page 8)

## November Revolution Day Observed in Tiruvananthapuram, Kerala

On behalf of the Kerala State Committee of SUCI the 83rd anniversary of the great November revolution was observed in a solemn and befitting manner. On 7th November a State level rally and public meeting was organized at Gandhi Park, Tiruvananthapuram. Comrade Krishna Chakrabarty, member, Central Committee of the Party, was the main speaker. Comrade C.K. Lucose, Secretary, Kerala State Committee presided over the meeting. Comrade Venugopal, Member State Secretariat of the party also spoke.

Before the meeting a colourful and spirited demonstration was held in the city in which hundreds of comrades participated. The demonstrators held aloft portraits of great leaders of the world communist leaders. Com Chakrabarty in his speech said that the only path before the toiling masses of the world, who are struggling for emancipation, is the path shown by November Revolution. The temporary setback suffered by socialism due to counter-revolution in Russia and East Europe doesn't invalidate the significance of this epoch making revolution. So long the era remains as era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the lessons of November revolution remains valid. Lenin, the architect of Socialist Revolution in Russia brought the understanding of science of Marxism to a new height. Leninism which is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, is the beacon for all revolutionary movements the world over today.

Referring to the declaration of the recently held

special conference of the CPI (M) Comrade Chakrabarty said that CPI (M) which was masquerading as a Marxist Leninist Party so long, has now openly rejected the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism. Rejecting the Leninist thesis that capitalism is moribund they are trying to create illusion among the people about imperialism. These are nothing but theoretical exercises of the CPI (M) to justify their social democratic politics. They are doing great disservice to the people by this politics and the role played by them as implementing agencies of imperialist schemes such as World Bank sponsored DPEP. The CPI (M)-led governments in West Bengal and Kerala are implementing schemes of globalization just like the governments led by bourgeois parties like Congress, Janata Dal, and BJP. Comrade Chakrabarty appealed to the people not to get confused by the words and deeds of CPI (M), which have nothing to do with the noble ideology of Communism, which our party SUCI alone is practicing on Indian soil.

Refuting the false claim of Sang Parivar ideologues about 'Hindutva' and their slanderous campaign against Communism, Comrade Chakrabarty appealed to the people to build up democratic movement to resist the menace of fascism posed by BJP and Sang Parivar. He appealed to the people who gathered in large numbers to rally behind the banner of Communism which alone can free society from all-out crisis, which is plaguing the whole capitalist world.

## An Appeal by All India Save Education Committee

(Contd. from page 7)

Chandra Vidyasagar, the great pioneer of the establishment of secular, scientific and democratic education system, is observed with due solemnity as All India Save Education Day, throughout the country. All these programmes are going to culminate into a massive Dharna in front of the Parliament House in New Delhi on 24th November 12, 2000, followed by an All India Save Education Convention in Sadbhavana Bhawan, Daulatram College Hall, New Delhi on 25 November. For this Dharna and Convention, the leading intellectuals, educationists, teachers and men of all walks of life will assemble to stipulate the demands and chalk out the future course of movement.

When education is destroyed, the process of man making is destroyed too. The fate of the entire country as a result is destined to darkness. Amid this deep darkness engulfing the county, the rising surge of Save Education movement is the only ray of hope. It is a historic behest upon all of us. Your all round cooperation in the form of signature, financial support and active participation in these programmes to fulfil this behest is the need of the hour.

DIPANKAR ROY  
Secretary

V.R. KRISHNA IYER  
President

## Bhagat Singh Birth Anniversary

On the occasion of Martyr Bhagat Singh's birth anniversary (28 September), in remembrance of the most glorious trend of revolutionary movement in the Indian National struggle, a four day programme 'shan-e-vatan' was organised under the aegis of 'sammukh' — the main cultural and literary organisation of Allahabad. On this occasion, an exhibition of 57 pencil portraits of revolutionaries by Jayant Ghosh, an artist of Allahabad, was organised and meetings were held. In the exhibition along with the portraits of the revolutionaries their bio-data, letters, their statements in courts, messages given before being hanged etc. were also displayed.

The history of this trend of revolutionary movement is the history of unparalleled valour, courage, self-respect and supreme sacrifice. But the kind of independence that these revolutionaries wanted, the dreams that they had cherished for the people of this nation were trampled ruthlessly and the people of the country were subtly led to forget the revolutionaries. Remembrance of these martyrs and discussions on their beliefs, wishes and dreams are the need of the hour and our duty too. Because in this era of widespread confusion and deviation these things can act as a beacon and help in reviewing the true state of our country, realising our responsibilities and deciding the direction of our struggle.

From Chapekar brothers to Subhash Chandra Bose, the 57 portraits, shaded with pencil, visualise before us an era containing the feelings, sentiments and life styles of that era.

Along with this, in these four days, meetings were held in different sessions on the different dimensions of the revolutionary stream. The main topics of the discussion held in three different sessions were consequently — The real significance of revolutionary movement in the national struggle; The dreams of revolutionaries and the India of today; The characterisation of independence and Hindi literature. Dr. Pranay Krishna, Dr. Rajendra Kumar, Dr. Sudhanshu Kumar Malaviya read articles on the above mentioned subjects on which people of different organisations present in the meeting carried on a serious discussion. Among the participants were Dr. Narendra Sharma, famous writer Shekhar Joshi, the editor of 'Itihas Bodh' - Dr. Lal Bahadur Verma, Dr. Akil Rizvi, Dr. Ali Ahmed Fatmi, the editor of Vartman Sahitya - Harish Chandra Agarwal, poet Harish Chandra Pandey, Pushpendra, N.K. Sharma, Uma Shankar Tewari, Hinashu Ranjan, Surendra Rahi, Dr. Jagdish Gupta, Dr. Anumpan Anand and others.



(Above) Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Central Staff conducting School of Politics at Ballapur, UP.

(Below) A Section of gathering. (News on page 6)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE