

# Shedding Tears Over Human Rights

**Geneva :** Once again there is much noise over Kashmir. The Pakistani government moved the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, charging in a resolution the Indian government with violation of human rights and freedom of the people in Kashmir and demanding a UN fact finding mission to Jammu & Kashmir to probe the violation. The Indian government traded a counter-charge that the terror unleashed by Pakistani agents in Kashmir had violated fundamental rights of all citizens there. With 43 member countries out of 53 in the Commission informing beforehand that they would abstain from voting on the resolution, and Iran and China in particular appealing to avoid voting on the resolution and to resolve the dispute through bilateral talks, the Pakistani government withdrew its resolution in the end and the Commission has reportedly decided to send a mission of Ambassadors from Islamic countries to assess the situation in Jammu & Kashmir.

Ostensibly, the noise stemmed from concern over the plight of the people of Kashmir — violation of their human rights. It is much like a play in which scenes are enacted periodically, and the principal casts, the Kashmiri people supposedly, are huddled into the background while the big characters, the Pakistani and the Indian governments, engage in shadow fights or real flexing of muscles. Still others who lurk behind the scene, the imperialist powers, weave intrigues and try to pull the strings. During the past four decades some such major scenes have

been witnessed. But the air is thick now with real life agony and blood is streaming out.

At a crucial historical juncture, following transfer of political power and partition of the British-ruled India, the people of Jammu & Kashmir, spurred by their desire for democratic life, values, norms and practices, had opted to join the newly independent Indian state through the Instrument of Accession in a special status guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. The subsequent history is a tale of cheating, perfidy and denial of democratic rights to these people by the Indian government and a constant bid by the Pakistani government to foment trouble and exploit the Kashmiri people as pawns in its gameplan. Continual subversion of democratic institutions and practices, even in bourgeois sense of the term, by the rulers of either country now leaves no semblance of democratic order in Kashmir. Economic and social distress, aggravated over the years, is on the point of crushing the people down. The bureaucracy and the military and para-military forces, under whom Kashmir has been placed in the continued spell of presidential rule, have laid a sort of siege on these people. They are terrorized, muzzled and disillusioned. The constitutionally guaranteed special status has turned a myth and, living under constant fear of losing their identity while hopes for normal activities of life are shattered, the Kashmiri people are drifting away into ever more alienation from the mainstream of the country, like many other sections of people in India are

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being forced to do today. Political organizations like the National Conference have lost their credibility as also relevance. Fundamentalist forces like Jamiat-e-Islami and Hizb-ul Mujahideen are exhorting with religious vehemence. The Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front is on the campaign for an independent Kashmir state. Yet the Kashmiri people have not fallen prey to fundamentalist and secessionist agitations. Whereas, despite all its profession, the Indian government has never taken steps to resolve the Kashmir issue from the point of political, social and economic interest of the people. Like it did in the case of Punjab and Assam under motivation of petty party interest, the Congress(I) government at the Centre is keener to hold elections in Kashmir under the presidential rule rather than initiate a political process in the Kashmiri people's

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### SUCI-CPI-CPI (M) jointly hold

## Biggest Ever Leftist Rally in Orissa

**Bhubaneswar 24.3.94 :** A massive Joint Rally of SUCI, CPI and CPI(M) was organised at Bhubaneswar today. The programme was first of its kind in the history of Orissa. The common people of the state responded to the joint call of the three parties to demonstrate at the state capital on the basis of 12-point demand protesting against the anti-people policies of the central Congress(I) government and the state Janata Dal government. About one lakh people rallied at PMG Square near the State Secretariat.

The three parties had organised joint propaganda programme at the grassroots level covering all districts of Orissa. Peasants and khetmazdoors, youth and women and workers came from far off districts like Koraput,

Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, besides from different areas of coastal districts. The number of participants, the colourful banners and discipline of the rally drew attention of all. The procession marched on the roads of Bhubaneswar before coming to the meeting place.

Central leaders and state leaders of the three parties addressed the rally from a well decorated dais. A presidium comprising the representatives of the three parties conducted the proceedings. Comrade Binapani Das was the SUCI representative on the Presidium. Comrade Pritish Chanda, member, Central Committee, SUCI, addressed the rally on behalf of the central leadership. Comrade Tapas Dutta, Central Committee member and Secretary,

Orissa State Committee, SUCI, addressed the rally on behalf of state leadership. Comrade Chaturanan Misra, member, Central Secretariat, CPI and Rajya Sabha member and Comrade Loknath Choudhury, Secretary, CPI, Orissa State Council, Comrade Harkishen Singh Surjeet, General Secretary, CPI(M) and Comrade Janardan Pati, State Secretary of CPI(M) also addressed the rally.

Addressing the rally Comrade Pritish Chanda strongly criticised the central government for its new economic and industrial policies in general and its acceptance of GATT proposals on the line of Dunkel text in particular. The objective situation, Comrade Chanda said, enjoined all left and democratic forces to close rank and develop united movement which was the only guarantee for a dignified existence till this exploitative system was overthrown.

Comrade Tapas Dutta, severely criticised the state Janata Dal government for its all-round failure. Comrade Dutta said that for all these years the SUCI has borne the brunt of police atrocities while conducting democratic movements in the state. Important party activists like Comrades Musa Patra, Ramai Soy, Durga Hembram and Shyamapada Rout had died the death of martyrs at the hand of police or the ruling party hoodlums during this period. Many comrades are behind bars on fabricated charges. Comrades Mayadhar Nayak and Shambhunath Nayak, Orissa State Committee members, also spoke.



**DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF KARL MARX****Attain true communist character, accelerate process of revolution : Nihar Mukherjee**

[ *Speech delivered by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee at the Study Centre of Marxism - Leninism, Shibdas Ghosh Thought, Ghatshila, Bihar, on the occasion of 111th anniversary of the demise of Karl Marx.* ]

At the outset, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said : Many a great man appeared in history before and after Karl Marx, in the world and in our country too, whose intellect and learning were not inferior to those of Marx. There have been many a system of philosophy in the world, and in our country too, right from the Vedic age. How is it then that among all these it is the philosophy of dialectical materialism of Marx that we study and practise, try to master and have accepted as the guiding philosophy of life ? Unless we can grasp this point thoroughly, our activities, struggles will lose bearing, will not succeed in attaining the cherished historical goal. We are adherents to the philosophy of Marx comprising dialectical and historical materialism because only this philosophy, built up by Marx through coordinating, generalizing and integrating the particular knowledges and truths culled by the different branches of natural and social sciences, emerged as the science of all sciences, not only correctly and scientifically explaining the development of the material world as well as the concrete course of historical development but also charting out the correct path to be taken by mankind to attain the next higher stage of social development leading to the eventual emancipation of man from all sorts of exploitation. That is why Marxism is a philosophy and a science at the same time, not an abstract philosophy but a philosophy that is the guide to action. Herein lies the significance of Marx's saying that the philosophers had hitherto merely interpreted the world; the point, however, was to change it. Hitherto, philosophy had been an academic exercise, an exclusive preserve of a handful of learned elite of the society. Marxism for the first time envisaged conscious, concerted action by the toiling masses to accelerate the process of historical development and thus brought philosophy from the close confines of academic dissertation by pundits to make its place among the workers, the peasantry, the middle class and other sections of the toiling masses. Instead of sterile deliberations about knowledge, philosophy, cultivation of knowledge for the first time became a concrete means of showing the correct course of action to man, to guide him along the historically determined correct course of changing the world for the better. So it is incumbent upon all of us to learn this philosophy, relating the same with our lives and the question of social progress.

Continuing, Comrade Mukherjee said: Marx showed that the material world as well as history are law-governed. Not only that. In this material world nothing is static, stagnant or unchangeable. Everything is undergoing a process of constant change. That is to say that everything is not only law-governed but is dynamic. This dynamism is governed by law. In dialectical materialism these changes have been explained by three principles: (i) Quantitative change to qualitative change and *vice versa*; (ii)

Unity of opposites and (iii) Negation of negation. Comrades, you have heard, discussed and read on a number of occasions in the past about these three principles of dialectics. I would urge you all to try to grasp these principles as clearly as you can. But today I prefer not to elaborate on these aspects.

But one point should be noted that all these principles got established and confirmed by the scientific discoveries not only of Marx's time but even by later discoveries of science. On the question of development of society, Karl Marx showed that like the material world, history and progress of civilization too, is governed by dialectics. At each stage of history, with growth of productive forces, the contradiction between the productive forces and the existing production relation got intensified till the nodal point was reached when this contradiction became irreconcilable and the objective condition for a qualitative change was prepared. Only then the existing production relation was torn asunder to make way for new production relation forming the basis of the next higher order of civilization. In a class-divided society, this contradiction gives rise to the basic contradiction between the classes, to class struggle. And it is this class struggle that has been the locomotive of history through the ages, dispossessing the erstwhile ruling class and ushering in a new civilization based on a new production relation through revolutionary transformations of society, qualitative changes at the nodal points. In the present capitalist society, the contradiction between the productive forces and the capitalist production relation is reflected in the contradiction, the class struggle, now in the open and now veiled, between capital and labour, between the ruling capitalist class and the proletariat. The historically determined path of social progress lies in the proletariat intensifying the class struggle to capture state power through anti-capitalist socialist revolution to establish socialism and in moving towards the classless communist society through the transitional phase of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the context of the present setback in the world communist movement, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: The party workers, supporters and sympathizers all have to thoroughly learn and grasp the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. Those of us who were denied the opportunity of formal education in school or college, must study and grasp these through party schools, study circles and discussions in the party. But learn these they must, for those who are confused and unnerved at the present setback in communist movement, are so because of their lack of adequate comprehension of and the resultant deviation from the basic teachings of dialectical and historical materialism, Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh. It is because of this that their confidence is shaken. What is the real source of our strength and confidence? Does it lie merely in what Marx said? No, comrades, our strength and confidence are based upon

truth, Marxism-Leninism is invincible because it is all the time corroborated by realities of life. No amount of bourgeois propaganda, no temporary reverse in the movement can conceal or slur over the basic contradiction endemic to capitalism — the contradiction between productive forces and the capitalist production relation, between capital and labour. Capitalism is not the last word in human civilization. Capitalism itself continually generates within it the force that will destroy it — negate it historically. By revolutionary transformation of capitalist society through intensification of class struggle, human society will march towards the cherished goal of communism. Despite the glee of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys at the supposed "downfall" of socialism through the recent happenings in the Soviet Union and East Europe and despite the fanfare launched by bourgeois economists and ideologues about the technological miracles brought about by market economy, as the capitalist economy is now euphemistically termed, capitalism faces mankind with the glaring riddle that while the development of productive forces makes feasible today the creation of plenty for all, in actual fact growing unemployment, lack of education and health care, malnutrition, hunger, homelessness and destitution stalk the people of even the rich imperialist countries like the USA while their giant monopolist multinational combines reap super-profits through neo-colonialist policy towards the relatively developed countries of the world. And the less is said about the condition of the people in these capitalist countries the better. Why is this so ? This is because under this market economy, maximisation of profit, that is, reaping of not merely profit but super-profit, is the aim of production. On the one hand, character of production is becoming more and more social owing to technology-based largescale concentration of productive force which enables a small number of very large factories to produce the total requirement of a particular commodity for the whole society of a country and even for export, while on the other the ownership of productive force remains individual with profit-making and not fulfilment of social needs as the object of production. Production is done only to that extent which allows commodities to be sold at prices which maximise profit but which are beyond the reach of bulk of the people whose purchasing power is getting more and more contracted due to crisis of capitalist economy. This is the inherent contradiction between productive force and capitalist production relation, the irreconcilable contradiction that cannot be resolved within the framework of capitalist production. It is capitalist production, capitalism that bars the path to social progress. The inexorable march of history will sweep it aside.

Stressing the cardinal necessity of the struggle for cultural remoulding and to attain communist character, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: Crisis-ridden and historically moribund though it is, capitalism will not

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## Grasp principles of Dialectical Materialism, combat present setback

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collapse automatically. That can come about only through concerted action by the classes and masses on the basis of correct understanding of truth. For this, we have to attain true communist character. There is many a hurdle on the way. Capitalism is today pushing the whole society towards all-round decadence. The decadent bourgeois culture casts its shadow, directly or indirectly, even on the lives of those who have come forward to play a role in revolutionary activity. Many a comrade, especially the old aged comrades, tend to have a feeling that they are advanced in age, their constitution cannot stand up to stress any more, want and privations in their families thwart them. These are very real problems. But whereas these problems make one feel helpless and lethargic, the very same problems make another old comrade determined to stand up against all sorts of feelings of helplessness and lethargy. Why is this so ? It is the correct understanding of truth that provides the strength in the latter case. The thoughts and feelings about the country and the society that crop up in my mind — wherefrom do they come ? These are thoughts of which class ? We live in a class-divided society. If we cannot free ourselves from decadent bourgeois culture and thought then we shall miss the essential point in the struggle to attain true communist character, however much we may study and deliberate upon Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism, the three principles of dialectics, etc., The key to the struggle to attain communist character is that we should find out, know the truth not on the basis of any wistful or self-concocted concept or thought of ours, neither should we accept anything as truth just because the leader has said so. Even if the topmost leader has said something, the truth or otherwise of the same is to be determined dialectically. The relationship between the leaders and the party workers should be dialectical, governed by the principle of unity-struggle-unity. We have come into the Party united by an ideology. But a process of struggle is inherent in it — the continual struggle for knowing the truth, the struggle for development of each one of us, the struggle between right and wrong. We are working towards a goal on the basis of a noble ideology. But even then, if a leader attains correct understanding of truth in every sphere, will that do for me ? No, I cannot rest till I lift my understanding of truth to a level at least nearer to that of the leader. Otherwise, how can I function creatively ? The key to ensure continual uplift of understanding of truth, consciousness is to keep alive conscious struggle within the Party all the time for its attainment. ... I notice often a shortcoming among the comrades. It is an attitude of indifference to society, social problems, to the painstaking routine work that is so indispensable. I do not blame the comrades for this. Coming from this capitalist society, we carry within us this blemish acquired from the society. The comrades should be conscious about this and understand this clearly. Whatever tasks we perform to serve the cause of revolution there is no task as minor, unimportant. For example, the tasks which the resident comrades here perform for running this Institute — are these mass movements or

class-struggles as such ? No, they are not. But the party is trying its utmost with its limited strength to hold aloft the noble banner of communism and proletarian internationalism in the face of the present setback in the world communist movement, nationally and internationally too, and is striving to build up mass movements and class struggles in the country and this Institute is a nerve centre of these activities. Not many people come here from abroad. But those who come here from different parts of the country for schools of politics or camps or for exchanges with the leadership in order to further their revolutionary activities — to maintain this Institute properly, to keep it clean, to look after those who come so that they are not inconvenienced in any way — are all essential work for the cause of revolution. Even keeping the room where we live clean is an important work. Formation of our revolutionary character is intimately related to performing each task properly. As put by Mao, an able continuator of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, if the room is not cleaned properly every day dirt accumulates in it and the room becomes unhygienic; similarly, if one does not clean one's face and body, disease will come in and one will fall sick; likewise, unless one cleans and illumines one's mind with the light of knowledge continually, wrong ideas, thoughts or fads will creep in. And it is far easier to fight an enemy outside than to combat the capitalistic, feudal thoughts and concepts that work within our minds without our knowledge. We can develop ourselves as true communists only through continually sharpening and keeping living the struggle to remould and rebuild ourselves, the struggle to free ourselves from all old thoughts and concepts by surrendering ourselves to the party unconditionally, voluntariness and happily.

Continuing, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: Marx had said that in order to change the world, the workers must change themselves first. Later on, Lenin has enunciated the three essential pre-conditions of revolution — correct revolutionary theory, correct revolutionary party and united movement. By correct revolutionary theory Lenin has not only meant correct strategy and tactics of revolution but also an all-out socialist movement covering all aspects of life to develop the party as the correct revolutionary party, the vanguard of revolutionary working class, radically transforming and remoulding the party workers through the movement so that they can effectively play the vanguard role in changing the world. The acid test is whether through the process of changing ourselves we have been able to attain that stage step by step through various tests and trials where the party has been able to build up a comprehensive category of knowledge, has been able to generate a correct understanding of truth, by applying dialectical materialist mode of analysis, about all subjects and topics as can answer the questions that confront man in the various branches of knowledge in the present-day society, the questions that haunt the people's mind, generate confusion and apprehension and distract them from the longing for revolution. As Lenin said, Marx through his life-long struggles laid the foundation of dialectical and historical materialism, a scientific world view, scientific socialism. We

who call ourselves Marxists, from country to country of the world, have to advance by developing Marxism in all directions in the context of the present times, comprehending the specific conditions of countries where we operate, in the light of the latest development of sciences. A shining example has been provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in our country when in the process of developing the SUCI as the genuine revolutionary working class party on the Indian soil, he concretised, elaborated and enriched Marxism, raising its understanding to a new height in the context of the present times. Marxism is the only philosophy that stands upon experimented scientific truth. It teaches us that if science and history conclusively prove an old concept or thought to be wrong, it is our duty to discard it although it might have been very dear to us. Unless we can do this, we cannot move with the changing times and world, cannot become true seekers of truth. To keep abreast with the times means not academic learning but to acquire the knowledge and ability to discern, grasp and assimilate the progressive thoughts, the elements and ingredients of further development of human civilization that are appearing with the passage of time, after analyzing the same exhaustively on the anvil of Marxian dialectics. This is not an academic learning. There are noted pundits who have studied many books, can quote from them and write up good articles, but due to neglecting this aspect they cannot respond to a truth because their conceit of learning stands in the way. To a Marxist, never ending quest for truth is the universal truth. And it is for searching out truth and moving along the path of truth that we need to cultivate knowledge, to carefully acquire the treasures that we find in the different branches of science and knowledge in order to further develop and enrich the treasure-house of Marxism so that we can effectively treat and counter the questions with which the imperialist-capitalists, the revisionists are trying to confuse the people taking advantage of the present setback in the movement.

In conclusion, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: There is this challenge internationally. Within this country, the Ramjanmabhoomi issue, BJP's communal politics and caste conflict are clouding the vision of the people, confusing them. All of us, even our ordinary party workers, have to take up the challenge and boldly provide answers to the confusing questions. We have to take lessons from history. History teaches us that among the many developments and happenings — which will stand the test of time and last and which will be swept aside and obliterated by the onward march of history, will depend on what is truth and what is untruth, what are historical and what are not historical but represent temporary aberrations from the course of history. If we can develop ourselves to attain true communist character, if we can bring about all-round development of Marxism only then can we effectively combat the current confusions and setbacks and reaccelerate the historically determined process of social development. Only if we firmly resolve to engage ourselves in this main task, then that would be the best revolutionary homage we would pay to Karl Marx, the fountainhead of scientific socialism, on this occasion of anniversary of his demise.

**BUDGET 1994-95****A ploy to flatten the coffers of monopolists at the cost of common man**

Like the previous ones the Central Budget 1994-95 has also been framed with the principal aim of more profit for the industrialists and businessmen, especially the monopoly houses on the one hand and on the other, more inflation and price rise, misery, retrenchment and destitution for the people. That is why our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, in a Press statement characterised it as out and out anti-people and pro-monopoly. He further said that this budget would push the common man towards more and more ruin. The Central Budget did not at the least, contrary to what is expected of a democratic government, reflect any concern for the common people who are groaning under the heavy burden of taxation, price rise and unemployment and who face a severe crisis of earning, making just a bare living in this disastrous economic situation where the rich are getting fattened with fabulous profits and the people turning pauper with each passing day.

That this Budget did not contain any proposal for directly hiking the prices does not at all prove the government's pro-people attitude. Because that job was performed a few days prior to the budget by raising the railway fare and freight, prices of rice, wheat, sugar, petrol, diesel, cooking gas and coal. Through this process the government, in brazen violation of democratic norms of bypassing Parliament, increased overnight by administrative fiat the prices of those essential commodities to pull the revenue to the tune of more than Rs.7,000 crore. And this has become nowadays the normal practice of the government to hike the prices before and after the Budget in order to befool the public posing how much lenient they are towards the people by not imposing any burden or fresh taxation or higher prices through the budget itself. So it is meaningless to judge the merits and demerits of the Budget from the angle as to whether it has brought any price and tax hike or not.

Rather the Budget has clearly revealed that the 'expert' finance minister has utterly failed to keep his commitment as in the case of the three previous budgets as well as the new economic policy. Under cover of complex economic and fiscal jugglery and a spate of fresh false assurances he has tried in vain to shield his utter failure in reducing the deficit, both budgetary and fiscal, stimulate industrial growth and check the price line. The widely circulated dailies which last year termed the assurance of the finance minister to curb the record deficit in the Budget 1993-94 as the success of the new economic and industrial policies to the credit of Dr. Manmohan Singh, this time termed the Budget, with a record deficit, as the 'prowess of a lion' or braving 'great risk', etc. The big bosses of commerce and industry and their foremost organizations like the FICCI and the Assocham have all commended highly this Budget because through this the central government has, in all possible ways, widened their path of loot, plunder and profit by shifting the entire burden of the deep malaise of the economy on to the shoulder of the common man already bent low by the unbearable economic burden.

The central government, which in its Economic Survey a few days prior to the

Budget day noted its concern for sharp upward trend of prices of food articles in a single year, did not even utter a word of assurance to arrest the price line nor did it take any steps towards alleviating the miserable conditions of the people faced with the problem of severe unemployment, retrenchment, lay-off and inflation. It is really a cruel joke to recite the Urdu verse during the course of the budget speech by the finance minister of a country where, as per official estimate, 34.2% of the total poor of the world live and where countless people are born and die on the streets, living a sub-human life without any minimum amenities whatsoever.

This is the fourth budget in succession after the introduction of the new economic policy by which the common people of our country have been the worst victim whereas the monopoly houses especially have amassed huge wealth. According to *The Economic Times* (Calcutta edition, 17.1.94), during the six-month period of the fiscal year 1993-94, the thirty-three top industrial houses, including the Tatas, Ambanis and the Birlas, have increased their profit by 29 to 38%. On the other hand the annual per capita income which was Rs.10,800 in 1990 has come down to Rs.9300 in 1992. (*Bartaman*, a Bengali daily, 31.12.93) This means that the monthly per capita income has decreased to Rs.775. Needless to say, it is an average estimate and as a matter of fact the amount of per capita income of the common man has fallen manifold whereas the profit of the industrialists and businessmen has risen by leaps and bounds. As a result of erosion of purchasing power of the people and side by side as a natural corollary to the rapid increase in the agricultural and industrial productive power the internal market has been squeezed continuously and products of these sectors are remaining unconsumed and stockpiled. That is why we see people going without food, clothing and medicine although there is no dearth of these. The ruling class is trying to depict these unused items as excess and for this they are taking every step to export them keeping our people unfed, unclad and untreated.

The government, in the two previous budgets, in an attempt to curb the deficit and check the spiraling inflation, in real terms cut the allotment for government investment and social welfare measures like health, education, housing and labour welfare, etc. Like in other capitalist countries, as the government itself is the largest purchaser in the squeezed market, hence with the reduction in the government allotment the purchase from the market is reduced resulting in the far more severe industrial recession. In fact, in the last year the rate of growth of manufacturing industries has touched a low of 1.6%, 0.6%. Again, the rate of growth in capital goods or heavy industry is only 0.6%. That is why we hear Dr. Manmohan Singh say that one of the principal aims of this Budget was to rejuvenate industry, especially the heavy industry. They have been repeating the same but in reality could not do anything tangible. Though in some particular industry in a particular period the government could bring marginal boom, or say it could increase export by using import oriented components to a large extent, it cannot in any way bring about an

uninterrupted industrialization and provide jobs to the vast army of unemployed keeping the capitalist system intact. The new economic and industrial policy too has miserably failed.

The question then naturally arises as to why the monopoly houses are so vociferously eulogizing the policy. The answer lies in the simple fact that in spite of a severe economic recession the government has taken every step to keep their highest rate of profit unaffected. And to do this the government has resorted to three means in the main: 1) Gradual lifting of all barriers to the unhindered entry of the foreign capital and further growth of indigenous monopoly capital. Through this the government has made every arrangement to increase the profit of the capitalists by bringing from abroad developed technology and know-how in order to cut the cost of production resulting thereby in large-scale retrenchment of existing workforce; 2) it has armed the industrialists with wide powers to implement unopposed their plan of retrenchment and run the industry with reduced workforce; and 3) more and more subsidy and subvention and exemption in duty and tax to the industrialists in order to help them reap more and more profit.

The present Budget has also given large exemption to the tune of Rs.6000 crore (Rs.4081 crore of customs, excise and other duties) the entire amount of which would be grabbed by the industrialists themselves. Keeping this huge tax exemption to the monopolists in mind the government has taken steps for pulling Rs.7000 crore of revenue by hiking the prices of rice, wheat, sugar, petrol, diesel, gas and coal and the railway fare and freight charges affecting severely the life of the people. But they are not even thinking of unearthing the black money which is virtually running a parallel economy. Nor are they taking any measures to realise the tax arrears unpaid by the industrialists and businessmen.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the minister of state for finance announced on the floor of Parliament last year that upto March, 1993 the total unpaid tax of the big industrial houses amounted to Rs.9962 crore. But without realising that huge amount (which must have risen in the meantime) the government has brought down fiscal savagery on the people. Over and above, to fill up the gap of unrealised debt from the banks (called bad debt) the government has allotted Rs.5700 crore. It must be pointed out here that the industrial houses enjoy the lion's share of this unpaid debt and the government is paying that amount with tax payers' money. It virtually means that the government is giving the industrialists and businessmen another amount of subsidy to the tune of Rs.5700 crore. But it will not give any tax exemption or subsidy to the people. It is worth mentioning here that last year the government tried to reduce the total subsidy to Rs.7000 crore in food and fertiliser. But ultimately the government was forced to increase it by Rs.3300 crore more. Without clearly stating the fact it is trying to make people believe that there has been hike in subsidy in food and fertiliser. In fact, the total central subsidy has been reduced from Rs.12121 crore (1990-91) to Rs.10300 crore (1993-94). Or

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## Budget : Massive burden on the people for wide relief to industrialists

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in other words, a subsidy of about Rs.2000 crore has been reduced. If we calculate the rate of price rise the actual value of the total subsidy comes to even less. On the other hand administrative expenditure has been rising alarmingly. Dr.Manmohan Singh in the name of austerity measure has been prescribing to curtail the subsidy to food and fertiliser. But there is no attempt at all to curtail the expenses of the luxurious tours of the central ministers. Only in two years the amount has been increased from Rs.8.5 crore to Rs.37.5 crore — an increase by four and a half times.

There is no attempt at all to check the squandering away of public money through governmental extravaganza. All these burdens are to be borne by the half-fed and half-clad people of our country who have been taxed heavily day after day and have gradually been denied the subsidy on essential items like food, agricultural output and fertilisers in the name of curtailing government expenditure. But the rich, especially the monopolists, have been blessed with not sharing this burden. Over and above, the government has provided them with various kinds of tax exemptions and subsidies, in order to help them amass huge wealth, the burden of which again is imposed on the shoulder of the common man in the name of ushering in growth of economy.

In a country where even after almost 50 years of independence the common people are denied any medical facility, not to speak of modern method of treatment (which again is being enjoyed by the affluent), for which they have to depend on the cheaper form of treatment like homeopathy or ayurved, the government this time has imposed 10 per cent excise duties on these varieties of medicines. Even the rubber chappals, the only footwear used by the poor, especially of the rural areas, have been struck with the tax-knife of the finance minister.

What a predicament is waiting for the common people of the country can be easily imagined from these facts. Apart from this, the Budget has also hit hard the small scale sectors to feed the big ones. The small have been hammered while the bigger players have been given duty concessions without even extracting guarantees that these would be passed on to the consumers. For instance, this Budget has given the Reliance and other big yarn manufacturers a benefit of Rs. 210 crore while the yarn weavers and spinners have been taxed with a burden of Rs. 300 crore. On the other hand Bombay Dyeing has gained substantially from reduction of import duties on paraxylene.

In case of foreign investment the treatment is the same while the NRIs have to pay a capital gains tax at the rate of 20% the foreign institutional investors (FIIs) have to pay only at the rate of 10%.

The basic fallacy of this Budget arises from its underlying assumption that making capital goods cheaper through duty cuts and tax concession to the capitalists would create larger investment and stimulate the economy. Last year the finance minister did the same thing ostensibly to stimulate the economy but these did not at all rejuvenate the economy. On the contrary, every symptom is indicating that the industrial output in the fiscal year 1993-94

would perhaps fall far below that in 1990-91. Private investment decisions depend essentially on the growth of demand, for which expansion of public investment, higher purchasing power of the people and increase in agricultural growth rate are the key factors. In the absence of such an increase in the size of domestic market, putting more money in the hands of the capitalists would simply result in their pocketing it, or using it for speculative purposes. The government in the name of restructuring the economy has done everything to fatten more the capitalists, especially the monopolists, who in spite of the very bad shape of the economy have been swelling their funds at the cost of common people of our country.

So, with the aim of encouraging investors the rate of interest of the bank loan has been slashed by 1%. But what will be its fallout? The net result will be the rapid upward thrust of inflation. So when the 'wise' and 'expert' finance minister implements the new economic policy the result will be : any step to curb inflation will generate economic recession and any step to curb recession artificially will further accentuate inflation. Nobody, even Dr Singh, however big an economic expert he may be, except to mislead the people with only hoax, cannot rid the economy of its inherent malaise by any sort of prescription whatsoever. That there is every possibility of further inflationary trend in the economy could not be denied even by the industrial houses. In reality, the rate of inflation is soaring high. As a result, even a bit higher allotment for rural development, employment generation and infrastructure development and raising some income tax exemption limit, etc., claimed to be done to increase the purchasing power of the people and to alleviate their sufferings, cannot bring any real relief to them. Because, the prices of essential commodities will go up further under the impact of unprecedented inflation and bring disaster to the life of the people.

The highest credit claimed by the finance minister in the Budget is for the unprecedented growth of foreign exchange reserve. In the Budget speech he said: The export has increased whereas import has come down. So the deficit in the foreign trade has also diminished. Hence whereas the foreign exchange reserve in June 1991, was a meagre \$100 crore at present it has reached a figure of \$1300 crore. Generally it may seem that growth in foreign exchange reserve is the reflection of healthy economic development especially when Dr.Singh has announced that the government is thinking of the repayment of the yearly instalment of IMF loan before schedule. No finance minister was ever heard of announcing the repayment of debt prior to schedule of a country entangled in debt trap. The newspapers have also given wide publicity to this. But the factors leading to the growth of foreign exchange reserve are being tactfully shielded. Facts speak otherwise. If we take it for granted that what the finance minister has told is true and there is a real growth of the economy then the inevitable question that cannot but follow is why then the economic condition of the common people is deteriorating further day by day? To get the answer one has to understand clearly that in all capitalist countries what the ruling class is claiming as

national interest is nothing but the interest of the ruling capitalist class. Our country is no exception. So when we hear of healthy economy under capitalist system it invariably means unhindered profit-making of the capitalist class. Generally speaking, it has nothing to do with economic uplift of the common man. So the question is: Can the finance minister categorically say what benefit the growth of foreign exchange reserve will bring in the life of people? He cannot. He said: India could increase her exports from 2% to 21% to those countries where she could fetch dollars and hence this growth of reserve and it is a great success. Our question is: Through it the Indian exporters have gained much but has the hardship of the people been eased a whit? That was not to be. Rather, the average real per capita income, even in money terms, has gone down. Dr.Singh has again said that as a result of the policy of liberalisation the import has substantially declined this year proving baseless the apprehension of rapid increase in imports. He wanted to paint it as an achievement. But there is an inner story which he himself revealed elsewhere in his Budget speech. He said that the government has earned Rs.5227 crore less from import duty than in last year because import fell far short of estimated amount. This speaks itself that they had no plan to curb the import. So the question of achievement or success cannot arise at all. Why has he taken resort to this double standard? The fact is that the main cause of 1.3% decline in dollar terms is the severe recession in industry, especially the heavy ones. The decline in industrial production leads to decline in import of industrial components. The recession has brought in its wake joblessness, loss of wages for the common people and decline in imports has naturally increased foreign exchange reserve. Again, the gap in export earning and import expenditure has not solely contributed to the \$ 1300 crore reserve. This reserve constitutes \$ 300 crore foreign capital apart from crores of dollars accrued from the non-resident Indians who deposited in the Indian banks, apart from IMF and World Bank loans and the sale proceeds of the shares in foreign markets by the Indian companies. These are not at all the income of the government but either investment or deposits for which the government has to pay interest or dividend. So it is clear that this vast amount, which is nothing but capital, if not channelised in any gainful investment may cause disaster to the economy. Because if the capital remains idle and does not beget any money the government has to pay doubly creating a heavy depletion in the reserve. That is why some economic experts have sounded a note of caution by saying: It should be contemplated if this vast amount of foreign exchange reserve is healthy for the economy or not.

As there is no way open before the finance minister for the gainful investment of this vast amount, because of severe shrinkage of market, he is trying to kill two birds with one stone by paying the yearly IMF loan instalment of Rs.140 crore before schedule. This would on the one hand save the interest burden and on the other will give a political mileage to the government. Even then the serious question that haunts the mind of the economists is : can the

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## USA the worst violator of human rights

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interest. Patently, the Congress(I) plans to manage the polls and foist its own political choice on the Kashmiri people to further its ends. On every burning issue confronting the Kashmiri people our party has provided critical analyses to expose the games of the rulers of either country and show the people the path they needed to follow. Today the situation has turned explosive, with the Kashmiri people scething in discontent and despair.

The Pakistani government is exploiting this situation. Whipping up an anti-India hysteria has ever been a facile means to Pakistan's ruling clique both to divert the Pakistani people's attention from the all-pervasive domestic crises and to bargain with the imperialist bloc for military hardware. No doubt, this compulsion weighs all the greater now with Benazir Bhutto's government locked in a power struggle with Nawaz Shariff's Opposition. It is too well-known to the international community how the Pakistani government is trampling upon the democratic rights of its own people in Sind-Baluchistan and the North Western Frontier Province or, for that matter, is strangling dissidence within Benazir Bhutto's own Pakistan People's Party. It is no surprise, therefore, that the member countries of the United Nations Human Rights Commission could not afford to be impressed by the rhetorics and shedding of tears by both the Pakistani and the Indian governments when the two traded charges over violation of human rights in Kashmir.

What are these human rights ? Human Rights Organizations in different countries define their objective as one to protect individual freedom and civil liberty which they find being trampled upon by the governments or their agencies in so many countries. In those societies or at that stage of social development where individual freedom was identified with the cause of social progress against absolutism, obscurantism and bigotries of all kinds, 'human rights' were the democratic rights of people as instrument to advance and protect people's cause. But today, when the rulers of all the parliamentary systems of the developed and relatively underdeveloped countries are brazenly curtailing the democratic rights of the people and subverting the democratic institutions, individual liberty is both a privilege and a victim in their hands. The democratic rights of people are the primary target of assault by the rulers of these countries, while 'human rights' are the alibi to which they resort most shamelessly.

Take the instance of US imperialism, that bulwark of the imperialist power today. The US rulers are shedding tears over violation of human rights and warning Cuba, China, Iraq, Iran, Myanmar, Sudan, Bosnia, Zaire and Haiti as the offenders in this respect. What is it that is happening to the underprivileged sections back in home, especially to the black Americans ? Has the horror of Rodney King episode disappeared into oblivion ? What about the US role to sabotage democracy and crush people's resistance in Nicaragua, Panama, Grenada, Libya and Iraq ? These are imperialist onslaughts which serve to illustrate the way the capitalist-imperialist rulers across the world conduct themselves taking recourse to the

fascist means to curtail democratic rights at home and subvert democratic institutions and crush people's resistance at home and abroad. And they would mount the international fora as champions of 'human rights' to castigate others for violation of these rights !

Consider also the present US role or the role of the European community vis-a-vis the Kashmir issue in this background. This role is no different from what they played five or more years back, but of necessity they have changed the manoeuvres since the erstwhile Soviet Union has disappeared from the scene. A few months back the Clinton Administration started bullying the Indian government that Kashmir's integration into India through the Instrument of Accession was not beyond question or dispute. Side by side the Clinton Administration also put on record that it was considering whether to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, questioning the latter's role in Kashmir. In Geneva, at the hearings before the Human Rights Panel, the US Administration condemned whomsoever it sought to label 'offenders' but carefully avoided mentioning India and Pakistan. Immediately after the conclusion of the hearings, the US Assistant Secretary of State, Ms. Rabin Raphel, undertook a tour of India to impress upon the Government of India the US interest in a mediatory role in the Kashmir issue. Concurrently, the US Administration undertook to finalize arrangements to deliver Pakistan fearsome sophisticated weapons.

What is the object of this US manoeuvre ? It is well-known since long that the US Administration has keen interest in Kashmir because of its strategic advantage of the Valley being in physical contiguity of the erstwhile Soviet Union and China. Keeping the Kashmir issue alive with one of the two warring parties, namely the Pakistani government, on its side and carving out an independent Kashmir state at an opportune moment to secure a foothold there to carry out espionage and sabotage in China, Russia, India and other south-Asian countries could only mean winning a big political and military leverage by the US imperialist rulers in this part of the globe. So, the US Administration avoids taking sides at an open fora lest one of the two sides felt let down and it prefers to work behind the scene. Issuing threats at times and then assuaging the feelings of each, it is both pressuring and assuring the Pakistani as also the Indian Governments to whisper into their ears that the USA remains with each to look after the interest of either. This was what Ms Raphel sought to convey when she laboured to explain that 'frankness should not be confused with hostility', that is questioning Kashmir's integration into India was frankness, not a threat.

In the Sixties the US Administration had earned for itself the notorious title of 'International gendarmes'. Today, in the changed international context, the US administration is after a role of international arbiter on every issue, brokering deals to warring sides to entice and trap them into its gameplan and thereby to extend its hegemony all over the world. Obviously, the Kashmir issue is engaging its attention at present as a means to implement its gameplan to curb China and the aspirant regional Asian powers like India and also to ensure a greater share for it in the Asian

market. It is for this, to forestall the portentous US move, that China and Iran left no stone unturned to prevail upon the Pakistani government to withdraw its resolution and seek instead bilateral negotiations with the Indian government to resolve the Kashmir issue. The Pakistani government's withdrawal of the resolution was, therefore, no victory for the India government, nor a defeat for itself.

The crux of the issue is that the peoples of Pakistan and India, including the Kashmiri people, are being deceived and forced to play pawns in the gameplans of the ruling cliques of either country and the imperialist intrigues from behind. It is adding to their sufferings and miseries. It is futile to expect the Government of India or of Pakistan to take measures in the true interest of the Kashmiri people. It should also be borne that whatever will happen to the Kashmiri people would not spare the masses in India and Pakistan in the long run. So, not only must they realize the gameplans of their governments and of the imperialist bloc, but pressure must be brought to bear on these governments. That will be possible only when popular movements will be built up to force the Pakistan and the Indian governments to negotiate among themselves to resolve the Kashmir issue allowing for initiation of the normal political activities in Kashmir and the cause of the Kashmiri people being upheld.

## Remembering Comrade Durga Hembram

**Udala, 22.03.94:** Exactly one year ago the authorities of Udala jail in Mayurbhanj district of Orissa killed Comrade Durga Hembram, an outstanding organiser of the party, in custody. The crime of Comrade Hembram was that, armed with the revolutionary ideals of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, he was organising the poor and downtrodden people — mostly tribals against the vested interests in Udaia-Kaptipada area. Now, after one year the people of the area showed that the revolutionary flame, that was kindled by Comrade Hembram is burning still brighter. The people defied the terror tactics of police, administrative and vested interests and organised a vast memorial meeting in Udala on 22.3.94.

In the face of thousands of common people who were determined to pay homage to their slain leader, the vested interests were forced to allow permission for the meeting which was initially denied. Such was the enthusiasm that people from as far away as Brahmanipal in Keonjhar district, more than 100 km from Udala, marched on foot for several days to reach the venue of the meeting.

Comrade Binapani Das, State Secretariat member of the SUCI presided over the meeting. Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, Central Committee and Secretary of Orissa State Committee, SUCI, the main speaker, severely castigated the Biju Patnaik government for not publishing the findings of the judicial enquiry, set up to probe into Comrade Hembram's death and apprehended that the government might tamper with the findings and save the culprits.

Comrade Dutta in course of his speech said that the British imperialists killed the valiant tribal leader and freedom fighter Birsu Munda in Ranchi jail custody by poisoning, hundred

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## Budget a hoax for people, hope for exploiters

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finance minister keep the foreign reserve of \$1300 crore unaffected after paying the yearly installment of \$800 core of foreign debt from next year?

The Budget speaks of a huge amount of foreign loan and it will go on increasing. The break-up figure of the Budget outlay says that 25% of the total income of the government will come from loan and 26% of the expenditure will go after repaying the interest alone. The Budget has also earmarked Rs.46,000 crore as interest payment for the internal loan. It is necessary to mention here that a couple of years back this amount was Rs.31,035 crore which means that let alone curtailing, the government has gradually increased debt amount. Another dangerous portent this Budget has brought is the fiscal deficit of Rs.54,915 crore which is an estimated amount, but in revised estimate it is bound to gallop further as the inevitable outcome of inflation. If the fiscal deficit of last year's budget is any indication in which the actual deficit reached a fabulous amount of Rs.58,551 crore where the budgeted amount was Rs.36,959 crore, it can be easily imagined where the actual deficit will reach this time. Dr. Manmohan Singh has also said that he will proceed towards discarding the system of taking loans from the RBI to meet the budget deficit. The Reserve Bank does it by printing extra paper currency violating the fiscal discipline and which inevitably gives further inflationary thrust to the economy. Then what novel way he would resort to in order to meet the deficit? The finance minister did not provide any answer in the Budget but everyone knows that the only alternative open before the men at the helm of affairs is to accumulate more loans from the

market and meet the deficit. This entails more interest and leads to more and more deficit and again more and more loans. This is a vicious circle in which the 'learned' and 'expert' finance minister has entangled the whole economy to the detriment of common people's interest and to the delight of the profiteers and looters. Because, however severe economic crisis may be, all the burden has to be borne by the people — a situation of untold misery to which they will be inevitably pushed.

Lastly, this Budget has been claimed to be growth oriented. But if we analyse briefly we will see that non-plan expenditure has far outstripped the plan expenditure. The Budget has allotted only 16% of the total budget outlay to the Central Plan and 11% to the state and union territory plan whereas the total non-plan expenditure has been estimated at (including the state's share of 14%) 73%. In a country where more than 60% of the people live below the poverty line, where the people does not even get drinking water in the summer time, not to speak of food, cloth and minimum amenities of life, to spend only 16% of the budgeted amount after the plan enterprise is a sadistic humour. But the ruling class and its reliable finance minister wants to befool the people by branding it a growth-oriented budget. Growth no doubt, but not for the people but for the industrialists and businessmen, especially the monopolists whose profit will be swelled manifold bringing a total disaster to the life of the people. This is the Budget of the Congress(I) government and to get rid of this fiscal savagery the only way left before the people is to get organized through powerful united democratic movement and force the government to change its policies.

## CPI(M) disrupts united movement in West Bengal

As per the decisions taken at the meeting of National Platform of Mass Organizations in New Delhi on 7th January last various forms of programmes are being held in different states against the new economic and industrial policies and acceptance of Dunkel Draft agreements by the Narasimha Rao government at the Centre.

As a first step the Committee decided to culminate these programmes in a joint demonstration before Parliament on 5th April as well as in all the state capitals. It may be mentioned here that our party has all along been striving to build up a united platform against the anti-people policies of the Centre and this time also appealed to all left and democratic parties in this respect. Our West Bengal State Committee also in the state proceeded in this direction and as a result the ruling Left Front invited SUCI and the CPI-ML (Liberation) to the joint meeting to chalk out a programme of massive demonstration (*Maha Michhil*) on 5th April. Later on, in case of West Bengal the date was finalized to be 4th April in a meeting. In the previous meeting our party proposed to include other constituents of the 10-party combination and it was accepted.

But on 21st March the CPI-ML(Liberation) leaders in a meeting criticized the anti-people policies of the CPI(M)-led Left Front. This enraged the CPI(M) and its West Bengal State Secretary, Saiten Dasgupta, also chairman of the

Left Front, on 24th March declared to exclude the CPI-ML (Liberation) from this joint programme. This narrow and sectarian attitude of the CPI(M) not only disrupted the unity of all the left and democratic forces of the state but at the same time is an attack on the right of political parties even in the joint movement to criticize others from their own platform. Our party has all along been adhering to this vital principle on which we cannot compromise.

The 10-party combine including the SUCI and others on 25th March last issued the following statement:

"The way the CPI(M) State Secretary Saiten Dasgupta has decided and declared in the Press the exclusion of a certain party from the proposed *Maha Michhil* is against the interest of left movement. There is of course difference of opinion among different political parties and they have the right to ventilate their criticism from their own platform. But in no case the united movement against the Centre can be disrupted on the plea of criticism. We strongly protest against this sectarian attitude and are dissociating from the proposed demonstration on 4th April.

"The 10-party combination has decided to stage protest demonstration on 6th April against the new economic and industrial policies of the Centre as also against the Dunkel Agreement. The demonstration would start from Square, Calcutta at 2pm and culminate in a rally before the US Information Centre, Esplanade, after handing over a memorandum to the Governor.

## Anti-fare hike stir in WB

When the people are gasping under the burden of abnormal price-rise as the direct off-shoot of various economic policies, especially the new economic policy, adopted by the Central Congress(I) government, the CPI(M)-led Left Front government in West Bengal inflicted another savage blow on the life of the people by hiking the fares of bus, minibus, tram and taxi on the plea of hike in prices of diesel and petrol by the Centre. The Left Front government this time most cunningly implemented the fare-rise from the very day it announced its decision on 18th March on the floor of the Assembly. And that too unilaterally without caring for any democratic procedure of placing this matter of vital public interest as the subject of discussion in the House. The CPI(M) which criticizes the Centre for raising the prices of daily necessities by administrative fiats has itself indulged in this case in such practice as amounts to administered fare hike. On the other hand, in order to frustrate the public resistance it chose time when the Secondary Examination is going on in full swing. In 1992 also it indulged in the same practice of hiking the fare during the festive occasion of Durga Puja.

This is the 8th occasion that the Left Front government has increased fares which is also six times higher than original fare for the same distance when it came to power in 1977. And in a fascistic manner it crushed the resistance movement through severe lathicharge, indiscriminate firing and killing and largescale arrest by police and even by deploying the CPI(M) workers. Still fresh in the minds of the people are the movements of 1983 and 1990 in which apart from numerous injured 3 of our comrades and a member of the public were killed by police. And as a result of public pressure the Left Front Government was forced to bring down the fares to some extent almost at all stages. The 1983 heroic movement was a month-long protracted struggle launched singlehandedly by our Party.

This time also on the 18th of March when the CPI(M) transport minister was announcing this anti-people decision our comrades staged a peaceful protest dharna in front of the Assembly. The police of the Left Front government, like rabid animals, pounced on the peaceful demonstrators and severely injured 70 of our party workers including 10 female comrades. On 29th March when the workers of the 10-Party combine staged a road-block at Esplanade, Calcutta, the police without any provocation resorted to severe lathicharge and injured several of them besides taking into custody 12 others.

This is the way the CPI(M) is running the government mouthing anti-Congress(I) slogans. Even it did not care for instituting an unofficial enquiry commission comprising prominent citizens, representatives of different passengers' committees and the experts to find out whether the logic advanced by the state transport department and the bus owners is true or not, as demanded by our party. And it unilaterally raised the fares of transport, not excluding the tram which is run on electricity. Strangely enough, the same CPI(M) which gives a show of movement against fare hike in other states is itself resorting to the utterly anti-people, unjust, arbitrary and unnecessary fare hike in West Bengal. We call upon the people to resist this menace by forcing the state government to withdraw the fare hike.

## Hebron Massacre Exposes Israeli Design

The shooting of eight unarmed Palestinians in the Gaza Strip by the Israeli soldiers on March 28 last, i.e. barely a month after the Hebron massacre, when an Israeli settler gunned down 50 Palestinians, is indeed stunning. This shooting and the Hebron massacre must be condemned by one and all.

The massacre of 50 Palestinians in a mosque in the West Bank town of Hebron on February 25 last cannot but send shockwaves throughout the world. On the 25th day of the Muslim fasting month, on Friday, when the Muslims were praying in the mosque, an Israeli doctor in the uniform of an Israeli soldier was allowed by the Israeli army to enter the mosque and open fire on the praying congregation. The massacre in the Israeli occupied Hebron is stunning even in the background of long drawn conflict between the Arabs and Israelis, and it can be said that the negotiation between the PLO and Israel would not be the same after the incident adding fuel to the deep rooted suspicion and mistrust of the Palestinians against Israel. Immediately after the massacre, riots broke out in Hebron, Gaza and other parts of Israeli occupied territories.

This massacre is the result of the policy of the Israeli government of setting up settlements in occupied regions by armed Jewish settlers by giving them the right to fire on the Palestinians. This incident occurred at a time when discussions were going on between the PLO and Israel in Egypt to resolve differences in implementing the Peace Accord of September 1993, which stipulated conferring autonomous status on the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town Jerico. Immediately after the conclusion of the Peace Accord in September last there was loud jubilation in many countries of the world. But soon after it was observed that Israel created one obstacle after another in the implementation of even this Accord, having the stipulation of very limited autonomy. According to this Accord the Israeli occupation troops were to be withdrawn by December 13, 1993; but this date is being deferred under once pretext or another. Israelis demanding the right to oversee the border of Jerico and Gaza Strip. Violent incidents have been systematically organized by planting agent provocateurs and these are providing pleas to Israel in favour of the decision to defer the withdrawal of the occupied army. Again, although Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, tried to project the Hebron incident as an act of a deranged individual, the role of the USA in the final adoption of the UN condemnation resolution of the incident and the startling revelations that came out in the testimony before an official enquiry into the incident that the army was under orders never to shoot a Jewish settler who fired on Palestinians, are sufficient indications to come to the conclusion that the Zionist clique in Israel backed by the US imperialists are after imposing their brand of peace in the region.

This Peace Accord is indeed very fragile, and does not promise any guarantee of sovereignty to the region in any foreseeable future date, though the United Nations had passed a resolution for the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State. This Accord gives

the PLO police powers and municipal functions, and there is no mention of the return of those who were rendered refugees because of the occupation of the territories by the Zionists with the active support of the imperialists. Leave alone guarantee, this accord will not even facilitate a transition to full Palestinian statehood which would confer full political and civil rights on people turned into refugees in 1948. Is it for this the Palestinian people had suffered so much and for so long?

But Mr Arafat succumbed and had to accept the humiliating terms of the Accord in the background of the changed world situation particularly after the fall the Soviet Union. In the changed international situation, the imperialists headed by the USA are in a position to determine the course of events of the Middle East in their favour, particularly after the defeat of Iraq. But one of the greatest hurdles before the imperialists is the protracted liberation struggle of the Palestinians. If this protracted liberation struggle is not contained, the control of the petroleum resources of the Middle East would be in jeopardy. Again the Zionist state of Israel which has been created as an advanced outpost of the imperialists, has been finding that it is not in a position to crush the Intifada, the popular uprising, which is no longer a war between the Arab armies and Israel, but a wide and large popular uprising of the Palestinian people. In such a situation, the US imperialists have been attempting for a rapport between the PLO and Israel which is supposedly willing to concede some sort of limited self-rule to the Palestinians. In this situation, Mr Arafat found no other alternative than to accept this humiliating offer of self-rule. But this Accord is being opposed both by a section of the Palestinians and by the right extremists within Israel.

The present development in West Asia proved to the hilt our observation on the Palestinian Liberation struggle in the *Proletarian Era* dated September 15, 1982, where it was stated: "The Israeli Zionists have already started setting up Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Clearly, as we pointed out, in our previous analysis of the Israeli gangsterism, the US imperialists and the Zionist ruling clique of Israel are moving with a design to deprive the Palestinian people of even the Camp David Plan which provided for a truncated state for the Palestinian people in the

West Bank and Gaza Strip. The US imperialists and the Zionists are in a conspiracy to push the Palestinian people to a position where they will have to remain content with a semi-autonomous authority instead of an independent sovereign Palestinian State."

The fall of the Soviet Union, and the role of the ruling national bourgeoisie of the Arab countries contributed much to the weakening of the militant anti-imperialist fervour of the Arab people. We witnessed during the Gulf War how the imperialists headed by the USA successfully created division between the Arab countries. The ruling bourgeoisie of most of the Arab countries rallied behind the US imperialists in the interest of the ruling class of their respective countries, abandoning the cause of the Palestinians and the Arab people. When the unity of the Arab world is shattered and the US imperialists are in a position to negotiate bilaterally, which they had been striving to achieve and achieved a first major success in the Camp David, it is but natural that they would impose their design on the Palestinian people without much hurdle. But the people of the Arab countries in general and the Palestinian people in particular, will have to remember that the imperialists would go on demanding more and more price, and there is actually no limit to this. A long, arduous and death-defying struggle of the Palestinians for regaining their legitimate demand of homeland must not go in vain. While the Palestinians along with their Arab brethren must sharpen their struggle all the socialist countries including the entire peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces of the world must stand by the Palestinian people in their just struggle for homeland.

## Comrade Durga Hembram

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years back, and today in the so-called largest democratic country Comrade Durga Hembram was killed with similar design and purpose inside the jail custody. At the time of Birs Munda, the struggle was for freedom from the clutches of British imperialists. Finally Comrade Dutta urged the people to get more and more organised and build up movements against such heinous attack.

Comrades Balaram Sahoo, Shambhunath Naik and Binapani Das, all State Committee members, also addressed the meeting.

The meeting ended with a song dedicated to the memory of Comrade Durga Hembram.



Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, Central Committee, SUCI, addressing the memorial meeting of Comrade Durga Hembram at Udala, Mayurbhanj, on 22nd March.

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