On the Question Of Abrogation Of Treaty By Egypt With USSR

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ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Editor-in-Chief-Shibdas Ghosh

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In a major policy speech in the People's Assembly of Egypt, President Anwar Sadat called on the members of the Assembly to repeal the Five-year old treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, which was signed in 1971. President Sadat accused the Soviet Union of having broken promises to supply Egypt with weapons it badly needed during the 1973 War with Israel. He also was asking the members to repudiate a 15 year treaty that he himself negotiated and signed with President Podgorny of Soviet Union in Cairo. On 15th March last the Egyptian People's over-Assembly voted whelmingly in favour of terminating the pact.

Worsening relation since the War in 1973.

The relation between Egypt and Moscow has been worsening for some time past and President Sadat's action has brought a culminating point to the relationship between Cairo and Moscow which has been turning sour before and after the 1973 War with Israel. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that President Sadat summarily expelled 15,000 Soviet military advisers from Egypt in 1972, barely a year after the friendship treaty was signed. The gradual improvement in relation between Egypt and the USA and other western powers since then is part of the intiative on the part of President Sadat to reduce his dependence Moscow. President Sadat's accusations against Moscow and the turn of events in the Middle East politics show how correct we were in analysing the Middle East situation after the 1973 War in the Proletarian Era dated 15.11.73.

Soviet-American jointly sponsored UN Resolution was a severe blow to the Arab cause.

In the said issue it was pointed out, "...this humiliating ceasefire resolution imposed upon the Arab nations had given a strong blow to their unity against the US imperialismwhich was of late developing out of the twists and turns of the Middle East politics. For the present it not only damaged their unity but even threatened to break their backbone. For obvious reasons, many Arab countries expressed their strong indignation over the said cease fire resolution which jointly imposed by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and the US imperialists in utter violation of all norms of justice. Moreover, revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, by their actions, have not only back-stabbed the cause of the Arab people but also helped in weakening the militant anti US imperialist attitude prevalent among the countries of the third-world thereby creating not only a feeling of apprehension about but also of indignation among them against the activities of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union."

This analysis of ours may sound prophetic but this is not any astrological feat—but this reading was made after a study of the contradictions and a proper analysis of the concrete conditions obtaining in the Middle East after 1973 War.

The weakkneed revisionist policy of the Soviet leadership objectively helped US imperialists gaining ground in the Middle East politics

If the Middle East politics is reviewed since

Observe 28th Anniversary of our Party in a Solemn and Befitting Manner which the party had to pass from its very incepthese functions. tion testifying its invincible

The Twenty-eighth Anniversary of our beloved party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, born under the leadership of an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our revered leader, teacher and the General Secretary Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is near at hand. On this day i.e. 24th April the toiling millions of our country take their pledge anew to strengthen their beloved party the SUCI as the only hope before them which alone can lead them to emancipation freeing them from the grip and tentacles of capitalist exfighting ploitation bу against all sorts of antiworking class ideologies and the forces of compromise between labour and capital.

It is on this day that they draw their inspiration from the most difficult and tortuous struggle through

strength embodied in the correct base political line and the correct leadership of the party concretised and personified through no less a person Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

This year the party has decided to make reach the lessons of 24th April, is invaluable significance and the call of COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH to every nook and corner of the country to the teeming millions of our vast land, instead of holding a Central Rally for obvious reasons. The only way to involve more and more people in the month long programme adopted by the party is to give them the opportunity to observe 24th April at village locality level so that they themselves can participate in huge numbers and can come forward to organise

With this end in view the following programme are to be particularly stressed upon.

- 2. Series of group sittings at village and anchal levels in the countryside and ward & local 'para' level in the
- Massive circulation & campaign of emblemcoupon to the people and the fund collection.
- A systematic and continuous literature selling through mobile squad, book-stalls, door to door sale, individual push sale etc.
- 4. Attractive banner postering.
- 5. Solemn ceremonial Foundation Day Observance function on the morning of 24th April by hoisting of Red Flag and other befitting manner.

the creation of Israel it would be revealed that Israel was created by the imperialists to use it as springboard to wage war of aggression and intervention against the countries of the region. After the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Egypt, the imperialists attacked Egypt but this attack was thwarted by the then Soviet leadership within a few hours. The political support extended by the then Soviet leadership created a new situation in the Middle East politics. The imperialists were cornered and the countries of the Middle East found at that time a dependable ally who was constantly maintaining an eternal vigil to safeguard the sovereign ty and territorial in tegrity of their countries against imperialist intervention. revisionist But as the leadership gradually gained control of the Soviet Communist Party, a surreptitious shift in its outlook is observed. Instead of providing them political support in order to intensify contradiction between imperialism and resurgent nationalism, as was done by the then Soviet leadership after the aggression on Egypt by the

imperialist powers after nationalisation of the Suez canal, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union took the path of wooing the national bourgeois leadership of Egypt by appeasing them with material aid. While not denying the necessity of providing aid-both economic and military to the countries of the third world in order to bring them out of the influence of imperialist subjugation, it must be pointed out that a clear revolutionary perspective must be there in providing aid to these countries. But it is being

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ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTIEIGHTH ANNIVERSARY

ON THE EVE OF 24TH APRIL FROM THE PAGES OF THE PAST

The observance of anniversary of a working class party can never be a matter of ritual. It is on this day that the working class of a capitalist country, refreshes its pledge and takes the firm resolve to make a bold stride towards revolution for emancipating the people from the grip and tentacles of capitalist exploitation by laying, on the one hand, the widespread foundation of mass-base and establishing on the other, the real leadership over the masses-both ideological and organisational; it is on this day that the party places to the test of searching scrutiny by the rank and file members, supporters, sympathisers as well as people at large the analyses and stands of the party on various vital issues on the anvil of experience and the science of Marxism-Leninism; it is the day of recapitulating the past and resolving on the future by reiterating the lessons drawn from time to time.

It is known to all of us that the living soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete condition. It is only through the process of continuous concretisation of the very fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of specific but diverse contradictions that makes it more and more enriched. Only through such process, not only can concretisation of Marxism-Leninism take place, but also it helps in the enrichment, further development or elaboration of the science itself.

In our country, it is only our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India that has, to its credit, the inexhaustible fountain-source of the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism covering all aspects of life concretised, developed, enriched and elaborated in the concrete condition of India in the present international background by no less a person than Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present epoch, the leader, teacher, and the General Secretary of our Party.

If Marxism is the coordination of all sciences Comrade Ghosh is a great Marxist in the sense that he has been able to coordinate a vast field of epistemology covering all aspects of life. This is no baseless boasting but a bare recognition of the reality which we cannot but state in all humility.

To the bourgeois politicians, the pseudo marxists, and some genuinely confused people of our country this very presentation of ours may smack as a cult of personality. This is, in fact, a constant accusation, if not a matter of continuous slanderous campaign hurled against our party by our enemies. But we are really very helpless in this matter. Because they 'Collective leadership' should understand that personified through an individual has not only nothing to do with cult of individual rather the former is alien to the latter. Moreover, when we find that the analyses of Comrade Ghosh made on various fundamental issues on a number occasions—be it on the question of international Communist movement, or on national situation, be it any organisational problem, or on any philosophical issue have repeatedly come true confirming his very analyses, we cannot but feel the urgent necessity of drawing correct lessons from those analyses and in so doing refer to his name again and again in order to show that these analyses, which deserve necessary are his recognition and call for, on our part, showing him his due reverence. This is no vainglory, not an iota of blindness or fanaticism is involved in it; rather it is a conscious appraisal of the reality

done with the object of continuously uplifting the level of consciousness of all concerned—which is the only way to fight out blindness and eradicate fanaticism.

It is a matter of great joy and pride that the common people of our country have not fallen prey and do not lend any ear to the slanderous campaign by the bourgeoisie and the pseudo-Marxists but, on the contrary, they are coming out in greater number to tell the truth that it is only the SUCI under the leadership of Comrade Ghosh that stands as the only hope before the masses, being the only genuine working class party in India.

We have learnt from our leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and in fact it is the very foundation of our party, that it is not merely the numerical strength but the correct base political line that matters. In fact, Lenin's teaching that "fewer better, but better fewer" formed the corner-stone of Comrade Ghosh's firm conviction in the matter of building up the party. It is high time to reflect on the past how, as far back as in 1948, a handful of dedicated revolutionary cadres under the leadership of Comrade Ghosh took upon themselves and started as an insignificant torce, the sacred task of building a genuine working class party braving all odds, empty-handed and became successful during this short span of twentyeight years to lay the strong foundation of a real working class party in SUCI showing the vitality of a steady mass backing and stable leadership when all the big left or so-called communist parties are suffering from severe disintegration. This bespeaks of only one thing, i.e. the correctness of the base political line of our party and nothing else. On the occasion of twentyeighth anniversary of our party, the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era, therefore, has decided to quote from the pages of past documents of the party as extracts on various vital issues which later events confirmed to be cent percent correct. We have chosen, only a few topics of immense importance for this purpose. We give below a portion only and we like to devote the next issue entirely on it. For any defect or error, it is the editorial board that will be held responsible and none else. We hope it will serve as a valuable guide to our readers and give them an ample opportunity to judge for themselves the correctness of the analyses of Comrade Ghosh for which they can be really proud. —Editor P. Era.

On deepening of crisis in world capitalist system:

"....Before the second world war the whole world with the solitary exception of the USSR was under either the direct rule or effective political and economic influence of the imperialist-capitalists.... After the second world war, a powerful world socialist system comprising the People's Democracries of Europe, Mongolia, North-Korea, North Vietnam headed by the USSR and China has come into being.

This has led to the birth

of a world socialist market parallel to the world capitalist market. As a result of the dropping out of the vast territory that now constitutes the world socialist market from the chain of capitalist system. the world capitalist market has contracted to a large extent. The existence and development of the world socialist market coupled with the continuously growing strength of the socialist camp has been able to corner the imperialists considerably in the post-war period. Intensification of the antiimperialist national liberation movements of

the peoples in colonies and the retreat of the imperialists in the face of mounting surge of these movements are important mile stones of the present era.

....The bourgeoisie of the newly independent former colonial countries in Asia and Africa is not only reconstructing the national economy of these countries which is further continuously contracting the market of the powerful capitalist countries but also in some cases coming out as competitors to the major capitalist countries in the already contracted world capitalist market. All these factors—the existence and development of world socialist market coupled with continuously growing strength of the socialist camp, the growing tide of national liberation struggle in colonies and semi-colonies, the loss of traditional market in the former colonies, the appearance of the bourgeoisie of the former colonies as new competitors in the arena of international trade—taken together have tremendously intensified the various forms of contradictions within the world imperialist-capitalist system and thereby are hastening the process of complete disintegration of the imperialist colonial system. In this connection it must be borne in mind that though capitalist economy entered the period of general crisis long ago yet during the period between the first and the second world war, in spite of world wide depression and tendency of decay and stagnation, capitalism as a whole was developing far more rapidly than before precisely because of the existence of relative stability which capitalist market then enjoyed. But under the new conditions, in which world capitalist economy is placed today the law of relative stability of capitalist world market is no more valid. In expending their respective economic and political influence the imperalists, therefore, are finding it still harder to reconcile

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between themselves, resulting in the contradictions between them taking naked shape. And the more acute the crisis is becoming, the more militarized the economy of the imperialist capitalist countries is becoming. Attempts are being made by the imperialist-capitalists to maintain at least temporarily, the boom of capitalist market through artificial stimulation by increasing military consumption.'

-[War and Peace, Peaceful Co-existence & Peaceful Transition to Socialism—Shibdas Ghosh Socialist Unity, October 1, 1962].

On Fascism:

"The powerful capitalist countries have taken to militarised economy and centralisation of capital to get out of their crisis of over-production, excess capital and market whereas the backward capitalist countries are after concentration of capital and planning in order to achieve rapid industrial catch up development, with the powerful capitalist countries and emerge as their strong competitors in the foreign market. But, all the same, both the advanced and the backward capitalist countries are, thereby, laying the economic base of fascism" [Call of the Hour-Com. Shibdas Ghosh-Socialist Unity Vol. I, No. 1, (New Series) July 1, 1962.

"The distinguishing features of fascism, namely economic centralisation, maximum concentration of political power in the state, administrative rigid firmness, cultural regimentation and identification of the state with the interests of the monopolists and thereby making the state subservient to the interests of monopolists are discernible, no doubt, in varying degrees, in all the capitalist countries of the world, not excluding the backward countries in Asia and Africa..... Fascism always and everywhere adopts a duel policy of suppression and pursuasion. In the beginning, in its attempt to

From The Pages Of The Past

entrench in the national life firmly.....its aim is not so much to ruthlessly suppress the mass force as to win it over to its side as volunteers, willing to carry out fascist plans and programmes for national reconstruction. Without a cooperating mass force at its back, fascism can hardly hold its sway. Fascism, therefore, adopts social democratic planning, programme, grants minor economic concessions to the people, tries to control anarchy in capitalist economy and insecurity in life flowing there-from like unemployment etc. in its drive to save the aggregate interest of the capitalist class, it even imposes restrictions on individual capitalists and their freedom of anarchical producton. In short, a fascist state takes the position of so-called bourgeois well-fare state. Along with these sc-called well-fare measures, it carries relentless ideological battles to wipe out revolutionary ideas. And when the u n c o n s c ious masses take this so-called radical measures as anticapitalist, pro-people measures and lend the fascists enthusiastic support in the carrying out of their plans and programmes, the fascists concentrate all their powers to exterminate communism spiritually and the communists physically. In its crusde against communism, fascism, advo-

loathing mysticism......

Fascism is a peculiar fusion of spiritualism with science......

cates its own fascistic

culture, a queer admixture

of social democratism,

national jingoism and self-

[Call of the Hour-Com. Shibdas Ghosh—Socialist Unity Vol. 1, No 1 (New Series) July, 1962]

".... Fascism is much more dangerous than that of any kind of naked dictatorship, even than military dictatorship, in so far as it strives to achieve national unity in favour of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletariat under the cover of pseudo-

radical slogans and that fascism in most of the cases appears is a most deceptive way."

[From an article—Com. Shibdas Ghosh—Socialist Unity Vol. 1 No. 9, 1st Sept., '51]

Shift in the US Imperialist policy from war manoeuvre to peace manoeuvre :

[Long before the secret mission of Kissinger, the US Secretary of State, to Peking to arrange for the visit of President Nixon there, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of our Party, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era predicted the probable shift in the US imperialist policy from 'War manoeuvre to peace manoeuvre' and analysed the background of this probable shift at the extended C. C. Metting of the Party held immediately after the celebration of the 23rd anniversary in April 1971first quoted in an article captioned "On US President Nixon's visit to China" Proletarian Era, Vol. 5, No. 1, 15th August, '71.—Editor, P. Era.]

"We are, therefore, observing a phase, though a very temporary phase, when the US imperialist rulers are trying to switch over from war manoeuvres to peace manoeuvres, the two being the two edges of the same American imperialist policy. This imperialist policy is sometimes expressed in the form of war manoeuvres and at other times in the form of peace manoeuvres. The phase of war manoeuvres is marked by continous indulgence in localised wars while the phase of peace manoeuvres is marked by attempts to come out of war impasse and gain a temporary respite from the effects of open war..... (it also indicates) a defeat of the US imperialist policy of containing China before the consistent and tough anti-imperialist foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people against the US imperialists, abysmal depth of US economy leading to loss of international prestige of dollar and last but not the least the anti-war movement by the American people inside the country."

"Once fascism came out of the womb of social democracy, now socialdemocracy is the last prop of fascism."

(Com. Shibdas Ghosh's article in Ganadabi-1949.)

"Just like all other religious moral values, bourgeois humanist moral values also to-day have become exhausted and obsolete. Therefore, unlike in the past, the bourgeois humanist moral values, to-day, can no more imbue people with an uncompromising spirit to fight resolutely against injustice and develop scientific and revolutionary bend of mind which alone can act as a lever for bringing about a fundamental social transtowards formation progress. But in its place, the higher ethical and moral values based on the scientific and revolutionary ideology of communism have not yet developed and spread enough in the society so as to provide our people with a 'guide to action'. This unmistakably shows the weakness in the ideological-cultural struggle of the communist movement. As a result the vacuum that persists in the fields of morality and ethics within social life has been the principal cause for the steady decline in our moral standards and the overall crisis in culture, as can be easily noticed in every walk of life in our society as we are witnessing to-day."

[Free translation from a Bengali article of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, published in the autumn Annual of Bengali weekly 'Darpan' 1966 under the caption 'Sanskritir Sankat-O-Fascibad (Crisis in culture and Fascism]

"It should be borne in mind in this connection that among the social-Democratic Parties affiliated to the Second International who were more liberal in their approach could not bring fascism because of looseness in their organisational structure; rather it was those Social Democratic Parties who subsequently turned into revision ist and national chauvinist and who were of more militant in character and fostered fanaticism and blindness in their ranks that gave birth to fascism, internationally.

"Social Democracy after committing suicide in Europe and after having been thoroughly discredited and isolated as an organised political force from proletarian revolutionary movement, no doubt, is still continuing as a powerful political trend in the world communist movement. And modern revisionism is nothing but an outcome of this trend. In our time, those Communist Parties within the international communist movement who have already degenerated to revisionist parties and reduced themselves to the position of national communist parties (or in other words, who are communist in name only, but social democratic parties in pratice) do have every possibility of turning themselves into fascist parties, if these parties while waving the red banner and moving under the cover of Maxism, can combine blindness and fanaticism with their sc-called militant character."

(From Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's "Why SUCI is the only Communist Party in Indian Soil" (Bengali) p. p. 16-17)

"I struck a note of caution to those in the leftist movement who shutting all doors of discussions and political debates on ideology and policy matters take recourse to crude tactics of physical coercion, and indulge in lying and making all sorts of concocted stories to malign others in their short-sighted calculation of anyhow gaining in number to swell superficially their strength. As they are for the present, speaking, numerically bigger parties, these most harmful coercive tactics

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Failure of Soviet Revisionist Leadership in grasping the nature of contradiction between resurgent Nationalism and Imperialism

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observed that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Communist Party is totally lacking this perspective. Instead of having the objective of sharpening contradiction between the resurgent nationalism and imperialism and thereby mounting anti-imperialist movement throughout the world and subsequently cornering the imperialism to the advantage of the national liberation struggles and revolutionary movements of the different countries of the world, the Soviet revisionist leadership is providing aid to these countries with a view to extend its sphere of influence in this region of the world under the cover of extending support to the countries of the third world. With this aim in view the Soviet revisionist leadership are attaching such terms and conditions to these aids as are completely humiliating to the recipient countries. Although Egypt had no alternative than to accept the Soviet aid along with the terms and conditions under the circumstances, but these terms as dictated by the Soviet Union injured their national feeling and created in them a sense of national humiliation.

The Pravda alleged that "Mr. Sadat resorted to gross distortions of the history of Soviet-Egyptian relations, Soviet Union's policy in regard to Egypt including the period of the so-called 1973 October War when as is universally known Soviet military aid had played a decisive role in strengthening Egypt's military potential."

But does the fact corroborate what has been alleged in the Pravda? In the article on West Asia in the Proletarian Era dated 15.11.73 it was discussed how the revisionist leadership not only failed to provide the necessary latest weaponry to combat the imperialist backed Israel but even backstabbed

the cause of Arab nationalism by co sponsoring the ceasefire resolution at UN with the US imperialists, which was totally unacceptable, humiliating and unfavourable to the Arab people. It was also shown how the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union through its impulsive moves helped, although indirectly, the US imperialists to gain military prestige instead of serving the cause of the Arab people. The Soviet Union not only failed to provide Egypt with necessary sinews of war to get back her territory from Israel which is armed to the teeth with all the latest lethal weapons by the US imperialists, but they, objectively helped the US imperialists to emerge stronger by their handling of the 1973 Middle East War. The futility of expecting Soviet military help dawned upon the national bourgeois leadership of Egypt after the 1973 war which indirectly pushed them on to the side of the US imperialists.

Failure of Soviet revisionist leadership in grasping the nature of contradiction between resurgent nationalism and imperialism.

During the 1973 War the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union like the USimperialists behaved as a "responsible big power" and a 'guardian' of international peace. The Soviet Union in league with the US imperialists co-sponsored a ceasefire resolution which was most humiliating and unfavourable to the Arab world. In co-sponsoring such an unfavourable and humiliating ceasefire resolution the Soviet Union even did not take into confidence those contries which are known for their sympathy to the cause of Arab nationalism. Thus the Soviet Union in league with the US imperialists thrust such a humiliating and totally unfavourable ceasefire on the Arab

people who found their cause battered and betrayed by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet union in their zeal to protect their self-interest and extend their sphere of influence in the Middle East. The imperialist intrigue and design in Middle East offered an excellent opportunity to corner the US imperialists putting effective pressure on them through all possible channel—diplomatic and others—by using the forums of the UNO to draw the attention of the world people and by opening the flood gate of antiimperialist tirades in different countries thereby giving a lift to the revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles of the different countries of the world. Far from discharging this essential international obligation, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union worked hand in glove with the US imperialists and thus back-stabbed the cause of anti-imperialist move= ment in general and Arab nationalism in particular. The soviet revisionist leadership pulled the string of military help to restrain Egypt from reaching its goal—that is to regain the lost territory of Sinai by giving defeat to the imperialist forces. While commenting on the West Asian War of 1973 it was observed in the Proletarian Era: ".....a thorough objective analysis of the role played by the Soviet leaders in the recent West Asian conflict would reveal to anyone that while the US imperialists are engaged in keeping the West Asian tension alive as long as possible in furtherance of their policy of interference and intrigue aimed advancing their hegemony, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union most surprisingly have entered into mutual collusion and contention for increasing their sphere of influence. The question of the pursu-

ance of the policy of inter-

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may pay some dividends for the time being, only to lead them in utter dismay in the future. These people, not only, do not pay any heed to other's logic and view-points but also do not allow others to freely express and propagate their thoughts and ideas.

What they intend to achieve by this attitude is to make their rank and file irritant and impatient in regard to other's viewpoints without caring a little bit that this process ultimately destroys the faculty of reasoning and logical and scientific bent

ference that is being raised against the present Soviet leadership also does not appear astonishing to us. For any learned reader might remember that while commenting on the US-Soviet detente, we already stated before that 'we firmly hold the view that the Soviet leadership not only utterly violated the basic principle of noninterference of any country into the internal affairs of any other country, on the contrary, they have given their stamp on the imperialist policy of continuous interference and aggression'.....(Proletarian Era.-15. 9. 73)." In the same issue of the Proletarian Era, it was also discussed how the Soviet revisionist leadership being afraid of US nuclear back mailing and thereby suffering from the fear-complex of global war owing to their lack of correct understanding of the policy of peaceful co existence, take recourse to peaceful capitulation and thereby give worst type of concession to the imperialists with the mistaken belief that by this it would be possible to avert impending war. By persuing such a policy, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union became instrumental in helping the US imperialist to emerge stronger after the 1973 war in the Middle East.

The Pravda also alleged "Mr. Sadat Justified the so-called 'Open door' policy now implemented by

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of mind of their rank and file and in their turn destroys those of other people as well. Do they know what incalculable harm they commit to the revolutionary movement and the society by resorting to such tactics?

When the logical and scientific bent of mind—an attitude of the mind to argue and counter argue dies out inside a country, all sorts of reactionary and obscurant ideas and thoughts get the golden opportunity to swamp the entire life of the society. Under circumstances, if the following three things i.e. (i) fanaticism based on nationalism (ii) tradie tionalism and spiritualism and (iii) most superficial ideas of socialism and some vague and deceitful slogans of revolution and progress can be blended together then that becomes the most fertile soil for the rise and growth of fascism. It should, therefore, always be remembered that the ruling bourgeoisie only succeed in blending these above-mentioned three things neatly by throwing the people and the intellegentsia into confusion when the logical bent of mind that argues and examines everything on the anvil of scientific reasoning has really disappeared from the society. This is a situation which provides the most congenial atmosphere for fascism to raise its ugly head. Therefore, a vigorous ideological political struggle has to be conducted constantly and consistently against any attempt whatsoever to pollute the logical bent of mind with irrationality, blindness and fanaticism in order to create an atmosphere for constant cult of knowledge and science, discussions and polemic amongst different ideas and thoughts and free exchange of respective view-points. Only in such an atmosphere can any possible conspiracy hatched by the fascists to entrench into social life be effectively resisted."

(Translated version from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Speech on SUCI Day, 24th April 1973.)

THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH LEAGUES

Issue]

The members of the League should use e v e r y spare hour to improve the vegetable gardens, or to organise the education of young people at some factory, and so on. We want to transform Russia from a poverty-stricken and wretched country into one that is wealth. The Young Communist League must combine its education, learning and training with the labour of the workers and peasants, so as not to confine itself to schools or to reading communist books and pamphlets. Only by working side by side with the workers and peasants can one become a genuine communist. It has to be generally realised that all members of the Youth League are literate people and at the same time are keen at their jobs. When every one sees that we have ousted the old drillground methods from the old schools and have replaced them with conscious discipline, that all young men and women take part in subbotniks, and utilise every suburban farm to help the population people will cease to regard labour in the old way.

It is the task of the Young Communist League to organise assitance everywhere, in village or city block, in such matters as -and I shall take a small example—public hygiene or the distribution of food-How was this done in the capitalist society. Everybody worked only for himself nobody cared a straw for the aged and the sick, or whether house work was the concern only of the women, who, in consquence, were in a condition of oppression and servitude. Whose business is it to combat this? It is the business of the Youth Leagues, which must say, we shall change all this; we shall organise detachments of young people who will help to assure public hygiene or distribute food, who will conduct systematic houseto-house inspections, and work in an organised way

[Continued from Last for the benefit of the whole of society, distributing their forces properly and demonstrating that labour must be organised.

> The generation of people who are now at the age of fifty cannot expect to see a communist society. This generation will be gone before then. But the generation of those who are now fifteen will see a communist society, and will itself build this society. This generation should know that the entire purpose of their lives is to build a communist society. In the old society, each family worked separately and labour was not orga# nised by anybody except the landowners and capitalists, who oppressed the masses of the people. We must organise all labour, no matter how toilsome or messy it may be, in such a

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way that every worker and peasant will be able to say: I am part of the great army of free labour, and shall be able to build up my life without the landowners and capitalists, able to help establish a communist system. Young Communist League should teach all young people to engage in conscious and disciplined labour from an early age. In this way we can be confident that the problems now confronting us will be required for the electrification of the country, so that our impoverished land may profit from the latest achievements technology. And so, the generation of those who are now fifteen years old, and will be living in a communist society in ten or twelve years' time, should tackle all its educational tasks in such a way that every day, in every village or city, the young people shall engage in the practical solution of some problem of labour in common, even though the smallest or the simplest-The success of communist construction will be assured when this is done in

Statement of the Case Submitted by the Bihar Coal Miners' Union, Affiliated to the United Trade Union Congress (Lenin Sarani) Representing the Workmen

[The salient part of the text of the Statement submitted by Comrade Anil Sarkar, Secretary, Bihar Coal Miners' Union, affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) on the 9th of March '76 last before the Court of Inquiry, headed by Justice U. N. Shinha into Chasnala Colliery Disaster is given below.]

The United Trade Union Congress (Lenin Sarani) and the Bihar Coal Miners' Union which had been in the forefront in demanding the institution of Court of Inquiry now welcome the appointment of this court of Inquiry. Our organisations are vitally interested in the matter of safety of the mines and mine workers, and to find out the ways to eliminate the recurrence of such disaster.

We are keen to see that the causes and circumstances leading to the accident in the Chasnalla Colliery are ascertained, responsibility of the guilt fixed and punishment to the guilty ordered, remedial measures and precautions are recommended for the prevention of such accidents in the future.

This disaster has occurred before the sad memory of ghastly Jitpur disaster faded away. Occurrence of such disaster in a mine run and managed by the Government clearly shows that the ills, maladies and vices of mines' management in India are not only the matter of the past and dark legacies of the profit hunting private owners of the older days but also still

every village, as communist emulation develops, and the youth prove that they can unite their labour. Only by regarding your every step from the stand. point of the success of that construction, and only by asking ourselves whether we have done all we can to be united and politically. conscious working people will the Young Communist League succeed in uniting its half a million members into a single army of labour and win universal respect. (Stormy applause).

continuing today under Government management. This situation is mainly be cause of the socio-economic system prevailing in our country.

While in the past the private owners of coal mines, to satisfy their greed of profit, used to extract coal in most negligent and reckless way caring little to safeguard the human lives as well as national properties, it has been noticed even now that the top bosses of Coal Mining Industry in the Government owned mines are still following the foot-steps of the private owners and are indulging in negligent mining operation having least concern to safety provisions stipulated in Mines Act and in Regulations, and in so many subsequent valuable recommendations from various authorities and all these in the name of increased production which is nothing but lop-sided manner of extracting coal disregarding existing reality to the conditions of mining.

provisions should be considered as first priority and any productivity drive must not only be linked with but subservient to safety measures. But unfortunately, the bitter experiences of the mine workers are other mine since after nationalisation, to achieve which we alone fought, due to the craze for increased production and rampant corruption amongst the officials, safety provisions have become the first casuality. This observation of ours stands scrutiny from the facts that the rate of number of fatal accidents in coal mines under Government ownership have increased many-fold

It is imperative that safety

since after nationalisation of coal mines.

Now dealing with the circumstances and background of the Chasnalla Disaster, we understand that the cause of the accident was the sudden onrush of long-stacked water from an adjacent abandoned mine due to the blasting operation whithin the working mine on the side of the wall between the abandoned and the working mine. It is also learnt that the wall gave in as a result of blasting and water rushed immediately. The thickness of the wall between the working mine and the water-logged abandoned mine had been not as per requirement in the circumstances and was rather very thin. Besides, the ill-fated mine had no second outlet, From the above some of the following pertinent questions arise on which this Hon'ble Court is called up to probe into:-

- (a) whether, proper safety devices, as required by the Mines Act and Regulations and further improved by different recommendations made by Court of Inquiries on the past accidents, were rigidly and meticulously followed by the management of the ill-fated colliery:
- (b) whether, in reality the thickness of the wall between the abandoned water-logged mine and the working mine was maintained as per requirement of the existing geological conditions there and regulations in such cases:
- (c) whether, blasting operation for cutting coal was proper, permissible and justifiable from the safety point of view on the side of such a wall, the other side of which was waterlogged:
- (d) whether, the management of the mine maintained adequate care

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INDO-U.S. JOINT BUSINESS COUNCIL MEET

Since the Indo-U. S. Joint Commission between India and the USA was singed in October '74, for expansion of trade, 'industrial cooperation' in third countries (joint investment of capital) and investment of U. S. private capital in India, a climate of misunderstanding and bitterness between the two countries centring round the issue of U.S. arms supply to Pakistan, developed. It was further accentuated after the Emergency was proclaimed.

The recently held Indo-US business panel meet for three days in New Delhi from 2nd February, indicates not only a thaw in the mutual relations between the two countries but has brightened up the prospect of Indo-US good relations and mutual cooperation.

No longer, the mutual accusations.....are heard. Rather, Mr. Orville Freeman the leader of U. S. business delegation, composed of representatives of US finance capital, has hailed India's antiinflationary steps like change of attitude to wage policy and labour relation, various incentives to business and industry. The "emerging attitude in India to support business enterprise" has received loud applause from the representatives of finance capital of both the countries in their joint statement, after the conference.

Swing In Indo-US Relation:

For sometime, since the Emergency was proclaimed, the relation between the two countries-India and the USA was very much bitter. The American Press and Statesmen were highly critical about the measures. They were particularly sore over the government's denouncement of US policy of intervention in the background of Soviet's support to the measures and closer relation with India. Western capitalist countries like West Germany and the U.K. were also showing the same attitude basically because of their same misunderstanding about India's relation with the Soviet.

But Indian government was taking the painstaking efforts to allay their misgivings by reiterating again and again that what-

ever steps had been taken were all for reviving the confidence of industry and business in the midst of severe crisis in the economy and that they had no other relevance.

India's Foreign Minister, Mr. Chavan made a trip to the States to have frank discussion with Mr. Ford and others to make them understand the real purpose of the measures as also the content of 'nonalignment' that India has been steadfastly following. Indian monopoly houses and business community also moved through their own channels of communication. Gradually the clouds of misunderstanding and suspicion were being removed between the statesmen and captains of industry of both the countries to find the "fundamental unity" in their ideals and purpose.

The US business circle was taking the words in the right perspective and was feeling sure that India's 'non-alignment' was not a rhetoric but had for it a far more solid base in its economy, fundamental outlook and object of the Indian government.

Since then, Mr. Ford was very much cautious not to comment on Indian situation, that being "an internal affair" and according to press report, openly admitted the unfavourable reaction from Indian side to his earlier comments. Mr. Ford must understand business as in his world of crises, business is the only silver-lining.

A climate of understanding has therefore been restored between the two countries which is marked by absence of accusing words at each other but instead harping on good relations and mutual cooperations, prevails.

It might have caught on the wrong footing those political naives who fail to analyse a particular political situation on correct perspective from a base political approach to the character of the State, of the ruling class—its aims and aspiration, the nature of contradiction between more developed and less developed imperialist-capitalist states etc.

Indo-US Panel Meet:

For three days from 2nd February, the leading figures in business and industry of both the countries met together in New Delhi. From Indian side, fifty delegates were present both from private monopoly houses as well as public sector agencies and the U.S. was represented by thirty Chief-executives of leading companies and banks.

A background paper was prepared by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) for a fruitful dialogue.

In the background paper it was held that there was greater scope for American businessmen to enlarge the sphere of participation to India's development programme even though India was, at present, following a policy of selectivity for participation of foreign capital and technology.

The paper pointed out that it would be useful for the joint business council to identify different areas where both the countries could cooperate not only to promote two-way trade but also with third coutries on the basis of international division of labour and other natural advantages possessed by the two countries.

The paper noted that:
"Fruitful results can be achieved if India's technical competence to produce a whole variety of goods required by the U.S. for home consumption and also for sale in third countries comes to be accepted by American business houses."

According to the paper American in vest ment in India is meagre. In 1973, the book value of US investments in this county stood at \$ 351 million compared with the total American investment abroad of \$ 107.3 billion. In recent years, the share of US investment in I n d i a has gone down from 0.39 p.c. in 1972 to 0.35 p.c. in 1972 a n d 0.33 p.c. in 1973.

The paper, has emphasised that if due considerations are given to the very favourable business climate now obtaining, there should be possibilities for larger investment of U.S. capital in this country. The favourable factors for investment in India have been clearly stated in the Paper. They are the political stability, abundant natural resources, plentiful supply of skilled and managerial personnel, harmonious industrial relations, large markets, tax incentives, sound record of dividend and royalty remittances, well-developed infrastructure, technological competence and a wide industrial base.

The Economic Times (31.1.76) noted that "an interesting point that may be considered by the joint business council relates to facilities for Indian industries in raising funds in the U.S. It is well known that many leading business houses of this country have excellent contacts and enjoy good will among U.S. investors and the firms."

However, the back-ground Paper deplored that U.S. share in India's foreign trade had shown a persistent fall—it came down from 18.1 pc. in 1951-52 to 11.3 p.c. in 1974-75 for exports and from 30'2 p.c. to 16'2 p.c. so far as imports are concerned.

The paper therefore suggests to the US businessmen that India can be used as a "spring-board to manufacture a host of items, not only for exporting back to the U.S. but also to other countries in West and South east Asia.

The reason for this proposal was obvious when the representatives of US monopoly capital were reminded that according to a recent survey undertaken by Business International wage rate in India was cheapest in Asia and Australia. The same survey also holds that profitability in Indian Industry is "still remarkably high". (Quoted in the Economic Times Editorial comment 6.2.76).

An Indian delegate Mr. Raunaq Singh assured his counterparts in the US by reminding them that; "the return on US investment in manufacturing industries in India increased from 7.5% in 1967 to 15.8% in 1972, higher than in Canada, Europe, Latin America, the Philippines, Australia and Newzealand." (Quoted in Blitz editorial 14.2;76.)

So far as cooperation in third countries is concerned the Indian side showed in its Paper that the geographical location of the two countries was such that they were eminently suited to play a positive role as partners in economic development of West and South east Asian countries. With the considerable rise in shipping cost, it may be profitable to supply many items to these areas by India on a competitive basis against sub-contracting arrange-

Besides, the paper notes the possibility of collaboration of the two countries in the field of technology for areas of third countries. The particular fields located include civil construction works, supply of power plans, transmission towers and distribution system, laying of pipelines, railway lines as well as construction of airport and dams.

Reaction of US Delegation

The reaction of the US delegation has not been unusual. The spokesman of the delegation Mr. Freeman agreed with his Indian counterparts that all that had been done as anti-inflationary measures like wage deflation, changed industrial relations etc. were definitely to enhance the competitive strength of Indian industries to step

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up exports of goods abroad and particularly in US markets in view of the general preference given by the US government. He agreed with Indian delegation leader Mr. Mahindra that there was scope for further expanding the list of preferences granted by the US administration.

Mr. Freeman, however, did not forget to remind the Indian government that in the present capitalscarce situation investment would flow to sectors where returns were ensured. As such it would not be enough to have a climate for investment; it had to be better than in other countries which were also trying to attract foreign capital. The Joint Council of Indo-US capitalists, therefore, made their first joint venture by demanding of the government in their joint statement, that "tax rates in India which was high would have to be brought down", and dilution of Indian Foreign Exchange Regulations Act, in implementation of which "a package view" and "flexible approach" are to be taken as also enactment of a treaty between the two governments for avoidance of double taxation which would "clarify current policies and remove uncertainties".

Mr. Freeman was forthright in demanding the
entry of US multi-national
Corporations. He was of
the opinion that MNCs
were the best vehicles for
investment since they
worked across 'national
boundaries'—although he
knew the 'emotional element' against their
entries.

The joint statement released after the 3 daylong meetings noted:

"environment for business initiative in India is improving. Delegates viewed with optimism the encouraging attitude in India to support business enterprises. Recognising the very important role which business must play in India's economic development, participants concluded that efforts must be

Indo-US Joint Business Council Meet

made to further improve the present environment."

• • •

Mr. Freeman said that "after meeting with the Prime Minister and senior Indian officials the US side was convinced that efforts were being made to clear misunderstandings the about investment laws and to streamline cumbersome bureaucratic procedures. This showed that there was receptivity to investment and he himself was convinced that prospects for US investment were good." (Statesman-5.2.76.)

But after this, Mr. Freeman said that "he would have loved to have a policy statement from the Prime Minister to say that India wel-comes private foreign investment. Such a statement from the highest authority in the country would have had a dramatic effect on the business community in the US as a whole." (The Economic Times—5.2.76)

...

... ... The Economic Times in its editorial comment reminded the US delegation (6.2.76) of the Indian Prime Minister's assurance in 1966 when she spoke to the top US bankers and businessmen at the Economic club in New York: "we welcome private foreign investment not only for the capital it brings with it, but also for the transfer of modern technology and managerial and technical skills which it facilitates."

The Paper further recalled the Prime Minister's recent comment to a "Communist news agency" in New Delhi, "The significance of her ecent interview to the latter's editor in which she emphasised that in spite of differences with Washington on regional and global problems, India believed in cooperation with the U.S. on the basis of 'equality, mutual benefits and reciprocity', need not have gone unnoticed by the US Embassy at least." (The Economic Times —6.2.76)

Mr. Freeman was, however, tactful enough to neutralise to some extent by holding out that "the US firms—except for those with expensive, sophisticated technology—recognised that they could not have majority equity participation. All they expected was the profits—a member indicated that those should be around 15%—could be made and repatriated." (Statesman—5.2.76)

The Conference agreed to form task force to expand understanding of India's foreign investment regulations in the US and to explore areas of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The joint statement says that joint ventures in construction and manufacturing enterprises in third countries would be a productive way of combining the particular assets and skills of Indian and American business to their mutual benefit and with a positive impact on the economy of the host country. It also notes that India has considerable capacity for producing technical, managerial and other professional services as part of joint manufacturing and marketing programme.

Mutuality of Interests:

In order to have a concrete analysis of concrete situation from a scientific approach which is therefore, necessarily a class approach, in class divided society, we are to take into a ccount the concrete materials.

The general background in to-day's capitalist world has been set by the third phase of general crisis where the relative stability of market has completely disappeared. The entire capitalist world, moreover, has been passing through severe recession. The crisis of market, has sharply intensified.

In the background of this intense competition for market between the different capitalist countries and groups of countries within the camp of imperialism-capitalism, the occasional and sometimes more frequent, collisions and collaborations between the capitalist countries are but sysmptomatic of the growing stress and strains in the crisis-ridden capitalist economies, with mutuality as well as conflicting nature of their interests.

In the background Paper, prepared by the Organisation of the Indian monopoly houses, the particular problems of the Indian monopoly capital have been detailed out. Let us see the otherside. The June 1975 mid-year survey of US Department of Commerce, reveals some significant aspects of foreign investments by US affiliate companies. As the Economic Times reports it (17.2.76): "Between 1970 and 1975 the total overseeas spending by US Companies increased by over 91 P. c. from \$ 14.1 billion to \$ 27 billion.

The total investment

in the industrialised countries continues to be large in absolute terms, but there are definite indications of increased attention to developing countries by US foreign affiliates. During the last five years their capital spending in the industrialised countries rose by 79 p. c. and in the developing countries by 118 p. c. What is significant is that the greater part of the increase was recorded only in the last two years with a growth rate of 36.6 P. c. and 20 P. c. respectively in 1974 and 1975. In contrast, there was a sudden fall in the share of the industrialised countries from about a 25 P. c. increase in 1975. While overall investment in these countries is expected to increase during the current financial year by 13.2 P.c., it will still remain considerably lower than that in the developing countries where an increase of over 12 p. c. is being targeted. Obviously, the scope for US private investment in the industrialised countries is shrinking because of growing resistance to investments from outside Europe in the E.E.C. countries."

So, the Paper recommends: "In taking advantage of the present investment mood of US foreign affiliates, it would seem to be necessary to bear in mind the existing pattern of their capital spending, so that we could possibly negotiate for more expenditure on trade and manufactures which would be of greater be nefit to us."

Remember the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, our beloved General Secretary of the Party, leader and teacher has time and again reminded us to concretely examine the character, class motive and aspiration of the Indian bourgeoisie and its monopoly capital from the scientific approach handed down to us by Lenin and more paticularly, on the basis of the five fundamental characteristic features of 'imperialism capital' or finance enunciated bу Lenin. Concretely applying this Marxist Leninist approach Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has placed before us this valuable guideline;

"The increasing akinness (of Indian bourgeoisie) to imperialism as such is no indication of its being a satellite to foreign imperialists powers, as its growing antagonism with foreign imperialists for economic reasons is no sign of its progressiveness. These two are different expressions of the same complex contradiction between a developing imperialist country and traditional imperialist countries. (Quoted in Proletarin Era November Special Issue Nov. 7, '70)

Statement of the Case Submitted by the Bihar Coal Miners' Union

(Contd. from Page 5) and followed safety provisions in these respects:

- (e) whether, the Directorate of Mines Safety conducted proper periodical supervisions as per Regulations and whether they permitted blasting operations on such a weak wall, if so, why?
- (f) whether, second outlet, which is required to be maintained in every mine for quick withdrawal of all men from underground under similar circumstances was main tained in this colliery, if not, why?
- (g) (i) whether, the DGMS before permitting the present working of the Chasnalla mine checked and verified the geological report and the plan submitted by the then management at the time of a b a n d o n m e n t of the working of the mine in 1949:
- (ii) whether, permission was given by the then Chief Inspector of Mines for the working of this mine on the basis of the Project Report submitted by the management in the year 1968-69 and whether that contained certain restrictions and conditions, and whether, the management diligently observed those; and
- (iii) whether, the DGMS subsequently amended any of these earlier restrictions and conditions at the instance of the management, if so, why?
- (h) whether, the work undertaken by M/s International Construction Company (ICC) for planning, co-ordination and the execution of the coal development project of Chasnalla Colliery under advice and approval from World Bank (who financed the project) was prematurely stopped and cancelled by the then owners of the mine for consideration of cost and thereby, the suitable safety measure required under the parti-

cular peculiar condition of mining operation in this colliery were ignored, and whether that has become one of the major factors of the present accident;

- (i) Whether, any joint survey in the Chasnalla Colliery was conducted by the DGMS and the mines management since after the working of the mine started, particularly, in view of specific recommendation by the "Sen Commission" after the accident by inundation in the 'Newton Chicklee' Colliery in Madhya Pradesh, where in it was directed that "every mine shall be surveyed by the Mines Department at least once in a year."
- (j) Whether, casuality figure of 375 killed in the accident declared and circulated by the management and other official sources is correct, whereas, there is reason to believe that number killed was by far more.

We submit that this accident could have been avoided if there were no element of negligence.

For the purpose, the Union humbly submits that this Hon'ble Court be pleased to consider the following suggestions in respect of the above:

- (a) the Mines owners, occupiers, agents, and other responsible officers found responsible and guilty of serious violations of provisions of Mines Act Regulations by-laws and particularly of safety provisions shall be seriously dealt with under law and punished with rigorous imprisonment for longer term and permanently removed from mining and allied industries and establishments:
- (b) The officers of the Directorate of Mines Safety, individually and jointly, shall be answerable and legally responsible for strict observance and compliance of Mines Regulations and safety provisions in the mines.

Sarat Centenary In Delhi

Delhi, 14th March: Birth Centenary of the great Indian litterateur, Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay was celebrated at the MPs' club here under the auspices of Delhi Sarat Centenary Committee and the presidentship of the renowned litterateur Sri Umasankar Joshi with remarkable enthusiasm and due regard. Speakers from different corners of the country urged upon the re-evaluation of the life and works of Sarat Chandra for, they said motivated rumours and confusions from different circles are being spread and created among the people a bout Sarat Chandra to malign him and his ideals.

'Historically and scientifically speaking, no li-

tterateur can go above the era of his time and therefore, he should be judged in the background of his time and the exact prevailing social condition in the country. By this it will be possible to understand to what extent the writer successfully depicted the social reality of his age and whether his creations or works played a progressive role or otherwise. Many so-called critics, specially the pseudo Marxists colour him as a 'writer for the house wives'. But he was just the opposite for it was Sarat Chandra who most steadfastly and artistically held high the then lofty values of secular humanism, its uncompromising tone in the Indian renaissance movement' said Krishna Chakraborty while delivering his speech as the main speaker.

Sri Bishunpravakar, the renowned poet, said, Sarat Chandra never viewed the society from an ivory tower of seclusion but wrote with the living experience of joys, sorrows and sufferings of the common people.

Another speaker, Sri K. N. Subramanium, the well known Tamil writer told that Tamil literature has greatly been influenced by the writings of Sarat Chandra and his novels are immensely popular among the Tamil readers.

Sri D. Prempati Secretary of the Delhi Sarat Centenary Committee anounced that apart from holding this centenary celebration function, the committee will arrange for seminars on different aspects of the life and works of Sarat Chandra.

Abrogation of Treaty by Egypt with USSR

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the present Egyptian leadership which envisages the broad attraction into the country of foreign private capital, the granting of all kinds of privileges to western investors and a departure from the social and political gains of the Egyptian revolution."

The type of comment clearly reveals that the Soviet revisionist leadership have completely failed to grasp the dual character of the resurgent nationalism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the leader and teacher of our Party and one of the foremost Marxist thinker of the age has taught us that the newly independent resurgent nationalist countries who are under the jack boot of imperialism want to build up their own capitalist economy, but this they cannot do if they do not try to come out from the imperialist subjugation. It is the duty of a socialist country to sharpen this contradiction between the imperialists and the resurgent nationalist countries by taking advantage of the antiimperialist role of these resurgent nationalist countries. But while handling the contradiction between imperialism and resurgent nationalism, it must be remembered that though contradiction between them is sharpening in the economic field owing to the accentuation of crisis in the world capitalist market, the contradiction in the political field is getting lessened as the bourgeoisie of the resurgent nationalist countries are mortally afraid of proletarian revolution in the era of moribund capitalism and proletarian revolution. It is for this reason that Comrade Ghosh has pointed out that the increasing akeeness of the resurgent nationalism to imperialism as such is no indication of it being a satellite of imperialism, so its growing antagonism with foreign imperialist power for economic reasons is no sign of its progressiveness. These are varied expressions of the same complex contradiction between developing capitalist countries and the already developed traditional imperialist countries. But the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union completely failed to understand the nature of this contradiction and this dual character of the resurgent nationalism and this is why while they were in good terms with Egypt, they eulogised the national

leadership of

bourgeois

Egypt and certified them as progressive in spite of the fact that this leadership resorted to most brutal measures in suppressing the progressive movements within the country, but when the relation turned sour owing to the failure of the Soviet revisionist leadership hurled abuses against the Egyptian leadership of acting against their national interest and branded them as reactionary.

Similarly, it is because of the interest of the Egyptian capital that the national bourgeois leadership of Egypt sought the friendship of the Soviet Union and when it was found that the interest of the Egyptian capital can no longer be served with the friendship of the Soviet Union and as the US imperialists who have emerged stronger in the Middle East after the 1973 war and who may eventually concede to some of the demands of Egypt, the Egyptian leadership broke off their relation with Moscow inorder to improve its ties with the US-imperialists to the advantage of national bourgeoisie.

From this it is crystal clear that the policy of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union has objectively helped to strengthen the cause of the imperialists in the Middle East and so it once again proves the teaching of Comrade Ghosh that modern revisionism is the main danger in the present international communist movement.