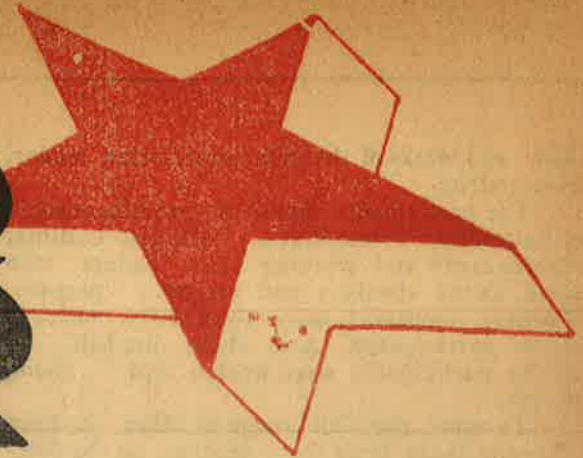


RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES



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A CALL TO PEOPLE

Narasimha Rao government has signed the infamous imperialist GATT Treaty incorporating the heinous Dunkel proposals on April 15 at Marakesh despite overwhelming opposition from various sections of people manifested through a mighty people's upsurge with the observation of All India Black Day, and bandhs and various other forms of protests all over the country.

Now according to the provisions of this Treaty, GATT is going to be replaced by World Trade Organisation (WTO) by next January 1. With this the IMF-World Bank-WTO trio alongwith MNCs will take neocolonial plunder and imperialist hegemony over Asian-African-Latin American countries to new heights.

In this situation various sections of ruling class parties like BJP, Janatha Dal, and CPI (M) led Left Front, foreign funded agencies etc are engaged in deviating people's movements against GATT and WTO from anti-imperialist

path to reformist positions. We should be vigilant against the vascillating and opportunist positions of these parliamentary opposition forces. Their declarations about future movements against GATT and WTO are nothing but part of their parliamentary games like their so-called opposition to policies of Rao government even while allowing it to survive its minority days.

We call upon all patriotic and democratic forces to continue and intensify countrywide struggles in the coming days unitedly to throw out the imperialist GATT Treaty and to resist the surrender of our country to the WTO.

Let us move heaven and earth to develop a mighty people's offensive all over the country to resist the demons and monsters enslaving the country and their hated lackeys so as to make it impossible for them to enslave us to GATT and its successor WTO.

5-5-1994.

CPI (M L) Red Flag.

International Seminar on Mao Tsetung Thought

Jose Maria Sison (Chairman Center for Social Studies)

On behalf of the Center for Social Studies, the Workers' Education Center and the Joint Coordinating Group of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations, I am happy to announce the successful holding of the International Seminar on Mao zedong Thought on 6 and 7 November, 1993 in Geisenkirchen, Germany, to celebrate in advance the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong.

It is the common view of the three sponsors that the main and essential purpose of the seminar, which is to celebrate the Mao centenary and invigorate the study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has been achieved.

Nine hundred thirty men and women (930) from thirty-three countries participated in the seminar. This large participation proves that there is widespread interest in the revolutionary

ideas and works of the great proletarian leader, Mao Zedong.

The participants included prominent social scientists, researchers, Marxist-Leninist theoreticians and working class leaders who acted as the speakers and resource persons. Workers comprised more than fifty percent of the participants. Also about one half of all the participants were women and young people.

To cover the full range of Mao Zedong Thought, there were four sessions on the following subjects: the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and construction, the struggle against modern revisionism and the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, and the world significance, relevance and influence of Mao Zedong Thought.

The focus of the seminar was on the integration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and concrete revolutionary practice in China and other countries. The discussions were comprehensible not only to those with a high degree of knowledge in Marxist theory but also to the participants who had an initial interest in the subject of social revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

All the four sessions of the seminar were lively, enlightening and fruitful. Written and oral contributions in the form of statements and inquiries were received from the participants. These were entered into the record of the proceedings, were ventilated and responded to by the speakers and resource persons. The proceedings were done in English, German, French and Spanish through simultaneous translation.

At the concluding session, the General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought was read and signed by participants. The declaration sums up the great theoretical and practical achievements of Mao Zedong and urges the proletariat and people to study and apply Mao Zedong Thought.

The main substance of the proceedings shall be published in book form as well as in video cassettes in several languages. The video cassettes shall present the highlights of the seminar as well as the comments of the broad range of participants.

During the seminar, thirty three long papers contributed to the Center of Social Studies in commemoration of the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong, were made available to the seminar participants in several languages by the Center for Social Studies and by the Verlag Neuer Weg. A selection of these papers

shall be published in one or two volumes.

To ensure the free and orderly conduct of the seminar, the three sponsors of the seminar created the Presidium, which included the undersigned as chairman of the Center for Social Studies, Stefan Engel as representative of the Joint Coordinating Group of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations and as chairman of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD), and Wolf Dieter Rochlitz, chairman of the Workers' Education Center, and two other members from the MLPD and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

We wish to thank all the participants and all the technical personnel for all the contributions and assistance they have made in order to make the International Seminar on Mao Zedong Thought a resounding success.

We hope that the seminar will go a long way in inspiring a far greater number of people to study and apply Mao Zedong Thought because this great development of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat exposes the evils of monopoly capitalism, modern revisionism and neocolonialism and illumines the road to socialism and communism.

Com. Arun Sanyamath

Com. Arun Sanaymath, secretary, RWAIA, W. Bengal and joint secretary of AILRC passed away on 20th March 1994 at Culcutta of heart attack.

Com. Sanyamath was well known as a revolutionary poet, critic and playwright. A devoted revolutionary cultural activist, he was active from the time of the undivided Communist movement and after Naxalbari became a staunch votary of Marxism-Leninism Mao Testung Thought. He was the founder member of the Revolutionary Writers Artists and Intellectuals Association of W. Bengal. With com. Arun Sanyamath's untimely demise the revolutionary cultural movement in India loses one of its vanguards.

Com. K. A. Mohan Das and com. P. K. Venugopal president and secretary of Janakeeya Kala Sahitya Vedi, Kerala and EC members of AILRC have condoled the unexpected departure of com. Sanyamath.

Com. Varavara Rao, general secretary, AILRC in a message dated 31-3-'94 issued at Hyderabad has paid homage to the departed colleague.

Red Star deeply condoles the demise of Com. Arun. Sanyamath.

Revisionism is Bourgeois, Counter Revolutionary Ideology

2

The resolution adopted by the *All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries* on February 8, 1969 "It is time to form the Party" said: "Revisionism is bourgeois, counter-revolutionary ideology. The inner party struggle between revolutionary ideology and counter-revolutionary ideology will continue as long as classes exist. It is through an uncompromising struggle against revisionism and other alien trends that the Party shall grow and develop."

The history of the International Communist Movement (ICM) from the time of First International till today clearly shows that revisionism is the main danger in the philosophical, ideological, political fields within the revolutionary movement, which is aiding and abetting the capitalist imperialist system, and obstructing the growth of proletarian revolutionary movement through all sorts of heinous and pernicious methods. Today when the ICM has suffered severe setbacks, when imperialist system and its propagandists have launched most vicious attacks on concepts of socialism and communism through lies and slanders, and when all brands of revisionists openly degenerating to imperialist or comprador ruling class positions are working overtime to destroy the proletarian revolutionary ideology for ever, that the present problems confronting the revolutionary movement can be resolved, and the ICM and its contingents in all countries can be rebuilt only by uncompromisingly fighting against all manifestations of revisionism is repeatedly proved. But unfortunately the significance of this struggle is often forgotten by the revolutionary forces. It leads them to grievous mistakes. It obliterates the line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism, and leads the movement astray. Presently when the imperialist plunder over the country has reached new zeniths, and all social contradictions are intensifying fast, it is seen that many revolutionary sections are abandoning this struggle against revisionism. As a result CPI (M) revisionists are manipulating them. On this context it has become necessary to once again recall our past experience to point out the paramount importance of anti-revisionist struggle.

Similar to the experience of the ICM, even a glance through the history of the Indian Communist movement even from the time of Second World War shows that it is the repeated manifestations of revisionist thought and practice which obstructed the growth of the revolutionary movement. Though Stalin and Comintern had repeatedly asserted from 1925 that "the section of the Indian bourgeoisie which is big and powerful had already deserted to the camp of imperialism and had formed a bloc with them," and Mao Tsetung correctly called this section of the bourgeoisie comprador, the leadership of the undivided Communist Party of India refused to accept this evaluation. Further contrary to what they professed, they were under the pernicious influence of *Browderism* and *Titoism* which had surfaced during Second World War and immediate post-War years which advocated compromising with imperialism. As a result instead of utilising the excellent situation both internationally and in India in the immediate post-War years to take initiative and give proletarian leadership to the anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggles developing in the country, they became a tail of the Congress leadership. Leaders like P. C. Joshi became apologists to the conspiracy by the British imperialists with Congress and Muslim League leaderships to communally divide the country and transfer power to these compradors.

The Second Congress of the Party in 1948 witnessed a revolt of the ranks against this betrayal. But the Ranadive clique which came to leadership utilising the revolt rejected the "Andhra Document" calling for New Democratic Revolution based on the path followed by CPC under Mao's leadership and adopted the theory of accomplishing both democratic revolution and socialist revolution at one stroke. It diverted the Party from the tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution. Though this clique was soon exposed, the treacherous policy of deviating the Party from revolution was restored with the adoption of the 1951 Programme. Though the opportunist leadership claimed that it was adopted according to the advice of international leadership, it was only a slander. This Programme was against the positions taken

by Stalin and international leadership with regard to NDR in colonial/neocolonial countries.

With the ascendancy of Krushchovian revisionism to power in Soviet Union with its 'theories of three peacefuls and state of the whole people' abandoning Marxism-Leninism, the Dange clique abandoned revolutionary path and adopted the political line that feudalism does no longer exist in India and capitalism has developed in agriculture. Nehru was described as representative of progressive bourgeoisie. It argued that through 'Soviet aid' India can pursue a non-capitalist path of development and achieve peaceful transition to socialism. All anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggles were abandoned. The Party was enmeshed in parliamentarism and economism.

Once again there was revolt in the Party. And once again the neo-revisionists comprising Ranadive, Jyothi Basu, EMS and others could seize the leadership of CPI (M) formed after splitting from the Dangeists in 1964. They described Indian bourgeoisie as having dual character and though talked about Peoples Democratic Revolution, adopted the very same parliamentarist economist line of Dangeists. They also described India as an independent country. In effect they toed Krushchovian line and attacked Mao Tsetung Thought, the lessons of great Cultural Revolution in China, and the *Great Debate* led by C P C against Krushchovian revisionism. Coming to power in W. Bengal and Kerala in collaboration with reactionary sections on an anti Congress platform they served well the interests of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism. And, in 1969 when Congress split and the whole ruling class politics was in great crisis on the one hand, and when the revolutionary struggles launched by CPI (M L) was challenging the reactionary Indian state on the other hand, the C P I-C P I (M) revisionists supported the minority Indira Gandhi government and openly served counter revolution. They supported the Indira governments despatch of its reactionary army to East Pakistan and hailed the formation of Bangladesh under Mujibur Rahman a 'liberation'. They supported the ruthless suppression of Communist Revolutionaries including the murder of Charu Majumdar in custody. They hailed Soviet Union as a great socialist country and leader of World revolution, even when it was colluding with U S imperialism against world people, and exporting revolution as in the case of Afghanistan.

During the years when Indira Gandhi dec-

clared internal emergency, while C P I joined the Congress in suppressing the people, C P I (M) took a passive stand refusing to mobilise people against this fascist onslaught. From the post emergency days both C P I and C P I (M) and their Left Front played the game of supporting or joining hands with either Congress or non-Congress ruling class parties or their fronts at centre true to the ruling class politics they had already degenerated to.

From 1980 to 1989 during both Indira and Rajiv governments' time when the country was being increasingly enslaved to neocolonial plunder under dictates of IMF-WB GATT and the MNCs, when the foreign debt was continuously mounting, when the state machinery was getting more and more fascicised to put down the various struggles developing all over the country, when due to price rise and unemployment people were getting increasingly pauperised, when Indira-Rajiv governments were antagonising the people of neighbouring countries by their policies of bullying and interference including the infamous role of Indian army in Sri Lanka.....during all these years the Left Front truly served as her/his majesty's opposition.

During 1989-91 period alongwith B J P, L F was propping up V P Singh government which was most loyally pursuing all the important foreign and domestic policies of earlier governments from Nehru to Rajiv. L F proved through this role and through their state governments in W Bengal, Kerala and Tripura that it is reduced to the status of a ruling class front irrevocably.

What happened after the 1991 general elections, when Narasimha Rao led a minority Congress government at centre erased even the iota of doubts left behind among the most simpletons about the leftist pretensions of CPI (M) and C P I. Without their covert and very often overt help Rao government could not carry on with the most notorious, anti-national policies surrendering the country totally to imperialist dictated globalisation and market system in all respects. The automation-liberalisation-privatisation / disinvestment policies which the LF claim to oppose were imposed with their help. Even the signing of the most infamous GATT Treaty could take place only because of their help. The latest debate and voting on disinvestment of 49 percent of shares of nationalised banks in Rajya Sabha where Rao is still in minority and in Lok Sabha clearly reveals the shameful role played by CPI

(M) and its LF allies alongwith B J P to help Rao to carry on with his anti-national policies.

To sum up, firstly on international questions CPI (M) still follows the counter revolutionary line of Krushchovian revisionism. Starting with becoming apologists of neocolonialism today it has become active collaborator in implementing neocolonial policies of imperialism. It has totally and absolutely abandoned all the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and has always stood against Mao Tsetung Thought. It still propagate the revisionist regimes of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam as socialist and help the imperialists in their anti-communist offensive. Projecting the reformist movements as revolutionary it works hard to mislead the people from revolutionary path. Thus instead of proletarian internationalism it advocates the shameless theory of surrendering to imperialism. That is, it has become an enemy of world revolution and compradors of the imperialist system.

Internally refusing to accept the comprador character of Indian ruling classes and the sham nature of the so-called Indian independence, starting with becoming apologists of the ruling classes, it alongwith its LF allies have become junior partners with other ruling class parties in running the governments within the ruling system. Not only about liberating the country from imperialist clutches and remnants of feudalism, but also in its approach to democracy, secularism, sovereignty, socialism etc it shares ruling class ideas. It is absolutely reduced to the role of a ruling class party like the ex-communist parties in Europe though it retains its name, flag and other forms to cheat the people. The fact that many of its followers are potential revolutionaries or allies of the democratic movement should not confuse us in correctly evaluating CPI (M) as a ruling class party. In effect alongwith CPI (M), CPI, Forward Bloc, RSP like LF partners, SUCI etc are also reduced to this condition. If it is not reversing its political line basically, very soon CPI (ML) Liberation also should be considered as part of these degenerated organisations.

3

This basic understanding about revisionism, and where revisionism leads to was forcefully put forward by the Communist Revolutionaries from early 1965 itself under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The Great Debate, the GPCR and

the theoretical offensive by Charu Majumdar and other comrades before and after Naxalbari were intended to teach Marxist-Leninists to hate revisionism. The setback to the ICM from the position it had reached by mid-fifties "when east wind of socialism looked like prevailing over the westwind of capitalism" to the present day realities should make the Marxist-Leninists a hundred times determined to uncompromisingly repudiate and hate all manifestations of revisionism. There can be no compromise with imperialist system, its globalisation and market theory, and its "most heinous and pernicious new phase, neo colonialism." Communists should unequivocally condemn and reject reformism, opportunism, unprincipled compromises, economism and parliamentarism. Only by putting the revolutionary ideology and politics of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in absolute leadership the present setbacks can be overcome. The ICM and its contingents can be built up in a revolutionary way, only in this way.

In present Indian political scene, especially when Communist Revolutionaries are trying to face up to the challenges confronting them, this basic understanding about revisionism is of cardinal importance. The ruling classes and their political representatives are well aware that the policies pursued by them from Nehru to Rao under the facade of an independent India have come home to roost, that India is exposed as a neo colony in all respects. They are well aware that with much more intensity that at any other time, the question *Reform or Revolution* is being debated among the people. To prevent revolution they have to spread the politics of reformism. As they very well know that ideas can become a material force, they are working hard to bring as many as possible under the sway of reformism before they are attracted to revolution.

CPI (M) through its role in governing states especially W. Bengal continuously for the last 17 years has proved that it can serve imperialism, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism, and the reactionary Indian state better than any other ruling class parties. When the Congress was out of power and V. P. Singh government had started crumbling the question of elevating Jyothi Basu to Delhi rule was seriously considered among the ruling classes and their media. Who also but CPI (M) or CPI (M) like forces can play the double role of hunting with the hunter and

running with the deer more efficiently?

4

The class character of CPI (M) and forces like it was explained in detail above as some revolutionary forces are now forgetting it or refusing to take it in to consideration in the name of a broad front. As Rao government has totally surrendered the country to imperialists and signed the infamous GATT Treaty also taking neocolonial plunder of the country to a new zenith, the consequences of these traitorous acts are compelling more and more sections of people to react against it. Even spontaneous people's resistance is coming up. The all India strikes and bandhs called by CPI (M) like forces attracted much more people's support than expected by any. It is not difficult to foresee that a mighty people's upsurge is in the making.

Not only the Congress government, but also BJP to CPI (M) like opposition parties are afraid of such an upsurge. Prospects of revolutionary upheavals frightens them. So while colluding with Rao government for enslaving the country to imperialist dictated globalisation and market system, BJP is coming forward with *Swadeshi Jagaran*, Socialists with *Swsadeshi Abhiyan*, VP Singh - Laloo - Mulayam - Kanshirams with *slogans of social justice*, and CPI(M) like forces with the *danger of recolonisation* as reformist ruling class alternatives within the ruling system. It is a clever game to divert the masses coming up against the present grave crisis to reformist, parliamentary paths.

In this parliamentarist game played by the different opposition parties, CPI (M) using its name, flag and pseudo revolutionary make-up could muster significant sections in its *platform of mass organisations* (PMO). Even some revolutionary organisations were attracted by it forgetting that CPI (M)'s PMO is intended to serve counter-revolutionary goals. So this heinous game played by it has to be exposed with out let up.

We do not mean to say that the slogans and fronts put up by BJP, the centrist forces, the casteist organisations, the voluntary organisations, and the CPI (M) like forces are of absolutely similar nature. While all of them serve the ruling system of course there are differences in their mass following, in the class character of the masses led by them. But none of them can give leadership to the patriotic democratic forces to throw out the neocolonial plunderers. As such joining the PMO led by CPI (M) in effect means abandoning all revolutionary initiative. The masses

following these opposition parties/fronts have to be brought to revolutionary front, no doubt. But it cannot be achieved by joining the PMO or National Alternative of voluntary agencies, or by dreaming about a broad front with all of them. Such steps without establishing revolutionary leadership at all India level, both ideologically and organisationally, in the anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggles will only lead to grave errors as repeatedly proved in the past.

As the reactionary nature of the ruling system is getting more and more exposed before the people, they are looking forward to the leadership by the revolutionary forces. The experience of April 15 all India agitation has proved the potentialities for developing this agitation further if only the revolutionary organisations reject CPI (M)-led and voluntary organisations led fronts and unite atleast based on immediate urgent issues like GATT/WTO. The history of the anti-revisionist struggle by Communist Revolutionaries demand the rejection of counter-revolutionary groupings led by CPI (M) and formation of a platform of revolutionary organisations based on issues to start with. They should realise its historical significance and take initiative to achieve it.

K. N. Ramachandran

To Our Readers

Red Star is facing serious financial difficulties. We request our readers to co-operate with us by sending generous contributions, sending Rs. 35/- as yearly subscription, enrolling friends as subscribers, and by clearing subscription/agency dues. We have reached such a stage that without your immediate and generous help Red Star cannot be brought out regularly, and its contents and form cannot be developed further. Send your contributions/subscriptions/dues to:-

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The Real Nehru

Even today it is a fashion among the 'establishment left' as well as so-called left intellectuals to present Jawaharlal Nehru as a progressive, a socialist, an anti-imperialist and what not. It was the leadership of the undivided Communist movement from early fifties, later leaders of CPI and CPI (M), and their brand of intellectuals who played a big role in distorting history and presenting Nehru as a people's hero. Now so much records of that period has come out to prove that Nehru was an anti-communist all through and his sympathies always were with the US led imperialist camp. But his talks and writings always conveyed a different image, the image of a leftist. That is why while assigning Chester Bowles as ambassador to India in 1951, then US president Truman had instructed him as follows. "The first thing you have got to do is to find out if Nehru is a communist. He sat right on that chair (during his visit to US in 1949) and he talked just like a communist". Bowles soon found out the truth that in spite of his rhetoric Nehru was a close friend of US and disliked Soviet Union which was on socialist path then.

Dr. S. Gopal who edited *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* and Howard B. Schaffer in his recent book 'Chester Bowles: New Dealer in the Cold War' have brought out enough records to disprove the falsehood still propagated by the so-called left even today. On February 6, 1950 Nehru wrote in a note on foreign policy: "If there is a world war there is no possibility of India lining up with Soviet Union whatever else she may do. It is obvious that our relations with United States as with the United Kingdom in political and economic matters are far closer than with other countries. We have practically no such relations with the Soviets, nor is it likely that they will develop to any great extent for obvious reasons" ("Gopal. J. Nehru, Vol.2, Page-64)

Nehru said that "more and more" the Soviet Union was following a "nationalistic expansionist policy" (Times of India, April 27, 1950). Remember the time. It was when US imperialism had launched a world wide anti-Communist onslaught Nehru made this statement. In continuation to this Nehru supported and helped US in its aggression against Korea. Extracts from Bowles talk with Nehru on 6 November 1951 will reveal his real approach to international issues.

"He disturbed over disagreements and irritations of past two years and said he hoped that together we could make progress in creating different atmosphere. He particularly anxious for me to understand his personal attitude and that of GOI towards Soviet Union and China. For sometime he hoped Soviet Union would develop along different lines but in recent years he had become convinced that USSR was aggressor nation with old Russian imperialistic pattern with assistance of new Soviet controlled force world Communism... He thoroughly understood our conviction that Red Army must be balanced in Europe by comparable force....

"Emphasised his total opposition to commie (slang word for communism) idea which he said was diametrically opposed to his own philosophic beliefs and those of Indian people. He said he would continue to meet Communism head-on here in India.... In his opinion China was much more complicated problem than most westerners believe and even though we disagreed with him there should be no misunderstanding about what he thought on the subject. He then made following points: Present Chinese government is dominated by commies who are trained in Russia. Some of these Commie leaders would certainly put cause of Communism under leadership of USSR before interests of China itself, but perhaps an equal number would not.....

"Stated that his China views were very different from Panikkar's. He said Panikkar usually succumbed to whatever situation he was in..... Had been sent to China not as leftist ambassador to new Communist regime but as man Nehru believed would get along with Chiang Kaishek. When Commies took over Panikkar's views as in past had changed abruptly, and today tended to dangerously idealise Chinese scene. For this reason Panikkar was being sent to Paris where he would have opportunity to talk with others and perhaps absorb some of our own fears of Soviet expansionism. Prime Minister jokingly said that after two months in Paris Panikkar might change in to ardent opponent of Commie viewpoint.

"Prime Minister emphasised that he did not accept Panikkar's present views about Chinese nor was he in anyway blind to potential dangers which might be developing in China. In his China in next 10 or 15 years could go either

—Michel Chossudovsky—

Debt And Structural Adjustment-The Real Causes of Somali Famine

Drought, desertification and civil war were the 'official' causes of the Somali famine. 'Operation Restore Hope' the 'solution'. What are the origins of this crisis?

Somalia was a pastoral economy based on the 'exchange' between nomadic herdsman and small agriculturalists. Nomadic pastoralists accounted for 50% of the population. In the 1970s, resettlement programmes led to the development of a sizeable sector of commercial pastoralism. Livestock contributed to 80% of export earnings until 1983. Despite recurrent droughts, Somalia remained virtually self-sufficient in food until the 1970s.

The IMF-World Bank intervention in the early 1980s contributed to exacerbating the crisis of Somali agriculture. The economic reforms undermined the fragile exchange relationship between the 'nomadic economy' and the 'sedentary economy', that is, between pastoralists and small farmers characterised by money transactions as well as traditional barter.

A very tight austerity programme was imposed on the government largely to release the funds required to service Somalia's debt servicing obligations to the Paris Club. In fact, a large share of the external debt was held by the Washington-based financial institutions. According to an ILO mission report: 'The fund alone among Somalia's major recipients of debt service payments, refuses to reschedule.... De facto it is helping to finance an adjustment programme, one of whose major goals is to repay the IMF itself....'

The structural adjustment programme reinforced Somalia's dependence on imported grain. From the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, food aid increased 15-fold, at the rate of 31% per annum. Combined with increased commercial imports, this influx of cheap surplus wheat and rice sold in the domestic market led to the displacement of domestic producers, as well as a major shift in food consumption patterns to the detriment of traditional crops (maize and sorghum).

way. He earnestly believed, however, *best hope was an attempt to divide Russia and China* or if this is not possible at least modify Chinese viewpoint through outside contacts, and thus convince Chinese did not need depend entirely on Russia.

"He said, however, that there was at least good chance that future development of China would be guided in to different channels and that he earnestly believed that best interests of India, US and entire free world (he used the word 'free') lay in a policy keeping China door open. In his opinion world had nothing to lose and much to gain in any effort to split China and Russia, or if that impossible at least modify China's willingness to swallow Soviet line completely..... Nehru said he understood fully our fears of Russian aggression which he had expressed to me earlier in conversation and that *he shared our fears completely*".

What Bowles had recorded are well substantiated in S. Gopal's Nehru biography graphically. Nehru's policies on the economic and

political fronts dovetailed with the neo-colonial policies initiated by US while presenting an anti-imperialist, progressive, non-aligned face before the people with the help of the local 'Commies' whom he despised so much, he served the imperialist cause well befriending Krushchov immediately after he started deviating Soviet Union from socialist path, working overtime to split Russia and China, and always attacking Communist ideology. The non-alignment was intended to block any more country from going socialist. All through his 17 years tenure as India's Prime Minister, Nehru served well the imperialist cause maintaining and strengthening the comprador state at home, and serving imperialism at global level.

Even after all these historical evidences it is too much to expect from the leaders of CPI or CPI (M) a self-criticism for the amount of disservice they have done to the Communist movement in India by eulogising Nehru and Indira and behaving like trusted apologists of neo-colonialism

The devaluation of the Somali Shilling imposed by the IMF in June 1981, was followed by periodic devaluations, leading to hikes in the prices of fuel, fertiliser and farm inputs. The impact on agriculturalists was immediate particularly in rain-fed agriculture but also in the areas of irrigated farming. Urban purchasing power declined dramatically, government extension programmes were curtailed, infrastructure collapsed, the deregulation of the grain market and the influx of 'food aid' led to the impoverishment of farming communities.

Also, during this period, much of the best agricultural land was appropriated by bureaucrats, army officers and merchants with connections to the government. Rather than promoting food production for the domestic market, the donors were encouraging the development of so-called 'high value added' fruits, vegetables, oilseeds and cotton for export on the best irrigated farmland.

As of the early 1980s, prices for imported livestock drugs increased as a result of the depreciation of the currency. The World Bank encouraged the exaction of user fees for veterinarian services to the nomadic herdsmen including the vaccination of animals. A private market for veterinary drugs was promoted.

The privatisation of animal health was combined with the absence of emergency animal feed during periods of drought, the commercialisation of water and the neglect of water and rangeland conservation. The results were predictable: the herds were decimated and so were the pastoralists who represent 50% of the country's population. The 'hidden objective' of this programme was to eliminate the nomadic herdsmen involved in the traditional economy exchange. According to the World Bank, 'adjustments in the size of the herds are in any event beneficial because nomadic pastoralists in Sub-Saharan Africa are narrowly viewed as a cause of environmental degradation.

The collapse in veterinarian services also served indirectly the interests of the rich countries: in 1984, Somali cattle exports to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries plummeted as Saudi beef imports were redirected to suppliers from Australia and the European Community. The ban on Somali livestock imposed by Saudi Arabia was not, however, removed once the rinderpest disease epidemic had been eliminated.

The restructuring of government expendit-

ure under the supervision of the Bretton Woods institutions also played a crucial role in destroying food agriculture.

Moreover, the donors increasingly provided 'aid' not in the form of imports of capital and equipment but in the form of 'food aid'. The latter would in turn be sold by the government on the local market and the proceeds of these sales (the so-called 'counterpart funds') would be used to cover the domestic costs of development projects. As of the early 1980s, 'the sale of food aid' became the principal source of revenue for the State thereby enabling donors to take control of the entire budgetary process.

The economic reforms were marked by the disintegration of health and educational programmes.

The IMF-World Bank programme has led the Somali economy into a vicious circle: the decimation of the herds pushed the nomadic pastoralists into starvation which in turn backlashed on grain producers who sold or bartered their grain for cattle. The entire social fabric of the pastoralist economy was undone. The collapse in foreign exchange earning from declining cattle exports and remittances (from Somali workers in the Gulf countries) backlashed on the balance of payments and the State's public finances, leading to the breakdown of the government's economic and social programmes.

Small farmers were displaced as a result of the dumping of subsidised US grain on the domestic market combined with the hike in the price of farm inputs. The impoverishment of the urban population also led to a contraction of food consumption. In turn, State support in the irrigated areas was frozen and production in the State farms declined. The latter were to be closed down or privatised under World Bank supervision.

In the face of impending disaster, no attempt was made by the international donor community to rehabilitate the country's economic and social infrastructure, to restore levels of purchasing power and to rebuild the civil service: the macroeconomic adjustment measures proposed by the creditors in the year prior to the collapse of the government of General Siyad Barre in January 1991 called for a further tightening over public spending, the restructuring of the Central Bank, the liberalisation of credit (which virtually thwarted the private sector) and the liquidation and divestiture of most of the State enterprises.

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Budget for 1994-95: Along the Track Chartered by the New GATT Treaty

(contd. from May issue)

However, the most conspicuous feature of the 1994/95 Manmohan budget is the incorporation into it of the proposed GATT treaty's 'market access' provisions that demand almost the total demolition of India's economic borders through unprecedented reductions in customs duties and import tariffs thereby facilitating MNCs to dump Indian market with their obsolete capital items and luxurious consumption goods. The reductions in customs duties by 20% and import tariffs on capital goods by 10% in addition to the unprecedented cuts already allowed in these areas through previous enactments will spell doom for all kinds of domestic industries. (In tune with the GATT diktat, due to the biggest reduction in customs duty, the 1994/95 budget shows an absolute decline in revenue from this item amounting to Rs. 2527 crores. That is, in 1993/94 budget, estimated revenue from customs duty was Rs. 27727 crores which has been brought down to Rs. 25200 crores in 1994/95 budget estimate). Post budget reports indicate that this abject surrender to MNCs and the consequent large scale import of consumer goods- TVs, VCRs, VCPs, Washing machines, audio systems, home appliances etc.-by them into India has sounded death knell of domestic consumer electronics industry having a turnover of Rs. 4000 crores in India. Thousands of workers employed directly and indirectly, mostly within ancillary and small-scale sector associated with this industry are being thrown to the streets. This alarming trend is rapidly spreading to other industries and areas. This is taking place at a time when these indu-

stries are already suffering from huge idle capacities. For instance, in the colour television segment alone, while sales are around a million sets, the installed capacity is close to 15 million sets. Similar tendencies are visible in other industries. Along with the surrender of Indian durable consumer goods markets to MNCs, in accordance with the new GATT conditionalities, the gambling activities of foreign speculative capital (eg. their operations in stock exchanges) are given utmost encouragement by lowering the capital gains tax and making it much below than the tax on productive activities. In the case of corporate taxes, while the concessions to Indian companies are 5.75% for MNCs the same is 10%. No doubt, all these are in tune with the commitments given to the GATT headquarters at Geneva and United States Trade Representative at Washington. Meanwhile, as demanded by the new GATT treaty, decisions and legal enactments regarding the re-structuring of key areas such as banking, insurance, labour market, infrastructures like transport and telecommunication etc. are proposed to be taken after the budget session of the parliament. Ofcourse, the parliament has no right to veto or sanction the GATT conditionalities imposed by US-led imperialists.

The budget for 1994/95 as well as various post-budget reviews and discussions led by governmental experts and bureaucrats take a lot of credit for the foreign exchange reserves reaching above \$13 billion. It is common knowledge that this much foreign exchange reserves are stockpiled through huge borrowings from Fund-Bank combine and other bilateral and multilateral imperialist agencies by mortgaging the country and its people. Part of this money which belongs to foreign speculators including such traitorous sections as NRIs is now with the government of India only because the Fund-Bank combine is acting as a guarantor for such loans. To be precise, this highly 'Volatile' foreign speculative capital may disappear at any time the moment IMF and world Bank withdraws their guarantee to these loans. In fact, the imperialist machinations that led to the advent of Rao government are a clear testimony to this. During that period, various international thugs

Somalia's experience shows how a country can be devastated by macro-economic policy, there are many Somalias in the developing world and the economic reform package implemented in Somalia is similar to that applied in more than 80 developing countries. But there is another significant dimension: Somalia is a nomadic pastoralist economy, and throughout Africa the nomadic livestock economy is being undermined by the IMF-World Bank programme in much the same way as in Somalia.

Politics of Nuclear-Non-Proliferation

That Narasimha Rao's visit to US to pay obeisance to the neo-colonial masters in Washington following the signing of GATT Treaty at Marrakesh could be turned into an occasion for a debate on Nuclear Non-proliferation shows the capability of the government and its collaboration with media to divert people's attention from the most vital issues confronting them. It is not suggested that nuclear non-proliferation and connected issues are not important. What is pointed out is that it was focussed so much to cover-up the real issues involved in the visit and Rao government's further surrender of the vital sectors to imperialist interests. And even on the much debated nuclear and rocketry issue itself, following the secret negotiations with US officials at London, there were vasculations leading to accomodating many US positions as demonstrated by the postponement of testing of 'Prithvi' missile and Indian government's preparedness to attend the non-proliferation conferences as observers. In this context a brief review of the nuclear policy of the imperialist as well as neo-colonial governments will be useful to expose the hollowness of the non-proliferation concern shown by them.

led by Fund-Bank combine succeeded in fully depleting India's foreign exchange reserves there by creating an unprecedented balance-of-payments crisis in the country's international transactions. The immediate cause for the Fund-Bank-led structural adjustment programme has been this acute balance-of-payments crisis imposed on India by imperialists themselves. The 'huge foreign reserve' which is not the result of any rise in exports and upon which the Rao government wields no sovereign power is only an indication of the grim reality that India is still confronting the very same balance of payments problems faced by it three years back. On the other hand, three years' Fund-Bank shock-therapy has totally devastated the country and its people. The next stage for this biggest-ever fraud on the Indian people is set by the new GATT treaty and the resulting synchronised onslaught of Fund-Bank-WTO on us. The Rao government's fourth budget is only a prelude to this.

In 1945, at a time when Japan was ready to surrender to the allied powers US imperialism dropped nuclear bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki only to show its supremacy in the new field, to blackmail the world people. It was to stop this blackmail socialist Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership developed nuclear devices for defensive purposes with the declaration that it will not use it as an offensive weapon. But with the degeneration of SU to capitalist path, the two superpowers US and SU in their contention and collusion game for world hegemony, utilised their nuclear superiority to blackmail world people. The disarmament and test-ban talks conducted by these superpowers were only to cover-up their accelerating armament race and to hoodwink people. But irrespective of their wishes more and more countries started acquiring nuclear arsenals and delivery systems. It prompted the superpowers to seek measures for preventing nuclear proliferation. As a result they could arrive at a *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)* in 1968 dividing the countries *nuclear haves* and *nuclear have nots* reiterating their hegemony over nuclear field. Conditions were imposed over the *have nots* to prevent them from developing nuclear devices. NPT came into force in 1970 which has 162 signatories at present.

But countries like India, Israel, Argentina Brazil and Pakistan which had taken up nuclear programmes of their own refused to sign NPT. And North Korea and Iraq though signatories are suspected of violating the rules by the members of the nuclear-club.

Right from the beginning the progressive forces have criticised NPT. It refuse to answer the question of freeing the world from nuclear menace. On the contrary it aimed only at maintaining the hegemony of *nuclear haves* especially the superpowers.

With the disintegration of Soviet Union once again US imperialism as the leader of the *New World Order* started talking about step by step reduction and finally elimination of nuclear arms. We were told that an agreement is arrived at in this direction by US and Russia. But it is no more talked about now. Including US, Russia and other *nuclear haves* none are ready to part with their nuclear possessions. Atleast

US and some others are engaged in covert and overt means to develop them further. The much publicised *end of Cold War* and emergence of so-called *unipolar world* have not reduced armament build up. On the contrary increased armament sales by US and other imperialist powers are playing a direct role in the civil wars and border wars involving 43 countries at present resulting in many thousands of killings everyday.

It is in this background the questions of nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation etc. should be examined. It is proved time and again that US and other imperialist powers possessing nuclear devices and its delivery system are not interested either in a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) or a plan for total nuclear disarmament. The talks about imperialists turning in to Budhas are nothing but mere illusions. They are actually engaged in preserving their hegemony by advocating further proliferation. NPT is also utilised to impose imperialist dictates over neo-colonial countries in trade related matters irrespective of the multilateralism claimed by GATT Treaty. In such a situation for any country to sign on the dotted lines of NPT is nothing but surrendering to yet another imperialist dictate. The progressive forces should consistently stand for *total and unconditional nuclear disarmament*. The US and other imperialist powers should be unequivocally condemned for their continued nuclear blackmail of world people.

But Narasimha Rao government's opposition to signing NPT has nothing in common with this stand of the progressive forces all over the world. It is no secret that for quite some time India is in possession of nuclear devices however few their numbers may be. At considerable expense attempts to develop a delivery system, necessary sophisticated missile, are also continuing. It is clear as daylight that this nuclear-missile programme neither can challenge US nor is aimed at it. It is not even aimed at China as its nuclear capabilities are far ahead of India's. It is limited to our sub continental necessities, that is solely aimed at Pakistan as Pakistan's nuclear aspirations are solely aimed at India.

It is no secret that both India and Pakistan developed their nuclear capabilities not without the knowledge of US imperialism. From British imperialism's conscious inciting of communal

hatred and division of the subcontinent to India and Pakistan, to US imperialism's continuous efforts to widen differences between these two countries to increase its armament sales and to project its role as world policeman and referee at the same time, imperialism's neo-colonial objectives are not difficult to understand. It is the same game played all over the world with minor variations. So US anxiety over India and Pakistan becoming nuclear is not from the perspective of world peace or for helping these countries to resolve their differences. It is to prevent them from getting out of its hegemony and to continue its plunder over them. And if they do not fall in line, violation of NPT will be used to discipline them. Neither Narasimha Rao nor the opposition ranging from B J P to C P I (M) who wanted Rao to take a firm stand during his US trip with regard to NPT are raising their criticism of US from this stand. On the contrary though these opposition parties are critical of Rao for his 'new' economic, industrial trade policies, in effect their opposition is nothing but a superficial exercise with an eye on election. Even while showing one-upmanship in their anti-US utterances, all of them are sharing the state power and serving the interests of imperialists and their native lackeys.

Similarly all these ruling class parties ranging from Congress to B J P and C P I (M) are for India going nuclear like their counterparts in Pakistan. While Congress like Benazir's PPP is vigorously pursuing the policy of acquiring as many nuclear devices as possible, here B J P and in Pakistan Muslim League are impatiently demanding speeding up of nuclear programme. For all of them opposition to NPT is for going nuclear so as to threaten each other with it. Huge amounts are earmarked for this purpose resulting in further pauperisation of the masses. Both the countries remain in perpetual enmity concentrating large forces on the border and increasing defence expenditure continuously.

Progressive forces should condemn this militarisation and nuclear programmes. Refusal to toe the dictates of US imperialism, does not mean taking up a nuclear programme as the reactionary governments in India and Pakistan are doing. Pakistan goes nuclear should not be a pretext to support such a programme in India as C P I (M) like forces are doing.

(contd P. 13)

Naxalbari Day Observed

27th anniversary of great Naxalbari struggle was observed on May 25 all over the country by Communist revolutionaries. The significance of Naxalbari Day this year was that it was observed at a time when the Marxist-Leninist have come to the centre-stage of countrywide agitations. The success of the *All India Black Day* and *Kerala Bandh* calls by CPI (ML) Red Flag on April 15 proved the possibilities of developing all India agitations by the revolutionary forces effectively challenging the comprador rulers and their imperialist masters provided they are ready to forge atleast issue based unity.

The events after Naxalbari days have clearly proved the correctness of the evaluation made by Communist revolutionaries about the principal contradiction at international level, about the degeneration of Soviet Union, and other former socialist countries about the class character of the ruling classes and state in India, about the stage and enemies and friends of revolution etc. In all respects India is exposed as a neo-colony. The signing of GATT Treaty by Rao government and the stranglehold of IMF-World Bank-GATT/WTO and MNCs have taken the neo-colonial plunder to a new zenith.

Even then all the rightist, centrist, and leftist variations of the parliamentary opposition parties who are sharing state power with Congress (I) in many states, inspite of their hollow phrase-mongering about *Swadeshi*, danger of economic colonialism, *recolonisation* etc. are continuing their conspirational steps to help the continuation of Rao government in power.

The parliamentarist left is excelling itself in this double game. The degeneration of CPI (M), its leader, as an out and out ruling class party

In short, it is the task of the progressive forces to demand total, unconditional and immediate nuclear disarmament all over the world. As part of the anti-imperialist movement an anti-nuclear movement should be developed. The nuclear blackmail by nuclear haves, especially U S like imperialist powers with nuclear devices should be severely condemned and resisted. As a part of this progressive forces should campaign against U S intentions behind N P T. Alongwith this we should uncompro-

faithfully serving imperialism and its lackeys is complete. As pointed out by Charu Majumdar, without fighting against CPI (M) and other revisionist trends as the main danger in the ideological field, and as equally dangerous like any other ruling class party in the political field, the Communist revolutionaries cannot carry forward the task of uniting the worker-peasant masses and other forces of revolution for New Democratic Revolution. This is one of the important teachings of Naxalbari proved repeatedly correct by recent developments.

Inspite of it the Dengist *Three World Theory* as a continuation of Krushchovian revisionism influencing many a revolutionary group in India still is pushing them to toe the ideological and political rubbish put forward by CPI (M). As a result pursuing the 'lesser-evil' theory some revolutionary groups have joined the Platform of Mass Organisations (PMO) dominated by CPI (M). It is a reversal of the lessons of Naxalbari. This Naxalbari Day pointed out the significance of fighting against this deviation. It also pointed out the importance of struggling against tendencies dragging some revolutionary groups to imperialist-promoted ideologies of voluntary organisations, and against the tendency of projecting opportunist ruling class leaders like George Fernandes and imperialist lackeys like Agnivesh prevalent among them.

Today the people demand the leadership of the revolutionary forces in the struggle to liberate the country from neo-colonial slavery imposed through IMF-WB-GATT/WTO and MNCs. The Naxalbari Day this year reminded the revolutionary forces the need to fight against both right and left deviations, and to dare to take up leadership in the struggle for New Democracy.

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misgivingly oppose the nuclear programme of Indian government which is only pauperising the people further and intensifying the enmity with our neighbouring countries. The conspiracy by Rao government and the parliamentary opposition to divert attention of the people from the total enslavement of the country to neo-colonial plunder by utilising the N P T debate should be thoroughly exposed. Like in all other issues, in the question of N P T also they are only serving imperialist interests. ●

P. J. James

Alternatives to GATT: CPI (M)'s Degeneration Further Exposed

The CPI (M) Publication 'Chintha' Weekly (Malayalam) dated April 8, 1994 has come out with a revealing alternative to Rao government's signing the new GATT treaty. Together with the usual anti-imperialist rhetoric, in that article, the CPI (M) intellectuals have put forward the so called economic advancement of the East Asian Countries as an effective alternative to the Fund-Bank-GATT policies currently in vogue in India. Quite interesting is the attempt at making a clear demarcation between the Fund-Bank policies on the one hand and the much trumpeted export-oriented industrialisation (EOI) strategy pursued by these countries (especially, South Korea, Hongkong, Taiwan, Thailand, Singapore etc.) on the other after characterising the latter as an anti-imperialist strategy. Accordingly, as claimed by the above mentioned article, the huge foreign capital inflow resulting on higher export-oriented growth rate has helped these countries to reduce their dependence on imperialism. As such, it is argued that a policy mix facilitating an export-oriented development path based on liberal inflow of foreign capital is an ideal alternative to Rao government's 'surrender' at Marrakesh.

Now, a brief note on this much eulogised EOI would be in order to expose the ideological and political bankruptcy inherent in this novel alternative by CPI (M). In fact, the CPI (M) is trying to convey an impression that, the EOI is an indigenous effort by rulers in these countries. Even the World Bank and other imperialist agencies are also presenting things in such a manner. However, this is far from truth. In reality the EOI in many third world countries including the rise of the so called 'four little dragons' of Asia (South Korea, HongKong, Taiwan, Singapore) were part of the overall attempt by international capital (MNCs) to re-organise global production and market with a view to alleviate the unprecedented crisis faced by it since the 60s. Taking advantage of the developments in technology which made it possible to decompose complex production process into several stages or elementary units so that even unskilled labourers could be eas-

ily trained to perform otherwise complex operations, MNCs had begun to re-locate industrial production to several third world countries since the sixties. As a result, steps were initiated by international capital to tap the abundant supply of cheap labour in third world countries by bringing this labourforce in various assembling and processing industries. The rise and growth of various export processing zones (including the contract processing zones in East European Countries and Special Economic Zones in China) and export-oriented industries all over the third world countries, sponsored by both the World Bank and UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Development Organisation) were manifestations of this EOI. To be precise, contrary to the CPI (M) thesis, EOI was directly emanating out of the logic of imperialism, ie, in accordance with the laws of motion of global capital.

The claim that this EOI has been a gain to these countries is also purely academic. It is stated that between 1971 and 1990 the average annual economic growth rate of Asia's 'Super-exporters' (ie, the four little dragons) was 6.8 percent compared with world average of 3.4 percent during the same period. The fact of the matter is that these statistics being measured and doled out by imperialists and their running dogs are not at all experienced by the vast majority of the common people in these countries. For, a major part of the calculated GNP of these countries included the vast income in the form of profits, royalties, dividends, technical fees, interest etc. accruing to foreign finance capital which are repatriated abroad. The CPI (M) which has fully accepted the bourgeois national income accounting method cannot comprehend the reality that while the comprador sections have a share in this neo-colonial plunder, vast majority of people in these so called 'Asian tigers' has not only no share in this 'neocolonial development' but being pushed more and more into the periphery of the economy is condemned to a life of destitution and prostitution, ie, in a state of all round socio-economic degeneration. During the 70s these countries were mere 'satellites' of

US finance capital, in the 80s the trend is more towards dependence on Japanese MNCs. For instance, in the East Asian countries during the last 10 years in the area of electronics alone investment by US MNCs rose by 140 percent, the same by Japanese MNCs increased by almost 200 percent. Even today half a lakh US troops are stationed in South Korea alone to safe guard American capital's interest there.

Of course, in India, the CPI (M) has been upholding this very same strategy of EOI. Led by the World Bank, UNIDO and other imperialist agencies, when the EOI depended on foreign capital and imported technology gathered momentum in India in the 80s, at least in those Indian states ruled by the CPI (M), it was whole heartedly carrying out this strategy there. At that time, the two Marxist chief ministers of West Bengal and Kerala could be seen visiting imperialist head quarters with much fanfare soliciting MNCs and NRIs to come over to their respective states to enact the EOI strategy. It was in this context that the famous appeal made by EMS, the internationally acclaimed revisionist theoretician to industrialists and businessmen to treat organised labour in Kerala (and, of course, in West Bengal) as an asset rather than a liability caught newspaper headlines. No doubt, through their words and deeds the revisionists were performing the role of an accomplice in imperialism's global expansion plan based on third World's inexhaustible cheap labour.

CPI(M)'s appeal to Rao-Manmohan clique to emulate the East Asian model is to be viewed in another context also. At present, the world imperialist crisis assuming an unprecedented dimension, the MNCs have begun to re-organise global production as manifested through the formation of various protectionist blocs (eg. NAFTA) under imperialist supervision as well as through the new GATT conditionalities. Various imperialist countries are experiencing staggering levels of unemployment leading to declining real wages and reduction in the share of wage bill in total national income. This situation calls for a re-location of employment generating real capital investment to their own highly protected economic areas from the 'export sectors' of neo colonies. On the other hand, capital export to the neocolonies is increasingly assuming the form of highly 'volatile' portfolio investments which can easily be repatriated abroad. The recent accelerated

inflow of finance capital into stock markets and financial services in neocolonies is a manifestation of this. To be precise, while the imperialists are being engaged in reorganisation of global production, simply by upholding an 'old model' the CPI (M) is just tailing behind them.

The upshot of the argument is to bring out the grotesqueness of the CPI (M) which lacks a correct political orientation resorting to taking rather very strange positions. Ever since the intensification of neocolonial plunder in India with the advent of Rao government, the CPI (M) which is already on the beaten track of neocolonial pattern of 'development' has put forward several piecemeal and economic alternatives ranging from the Alternative Policy Document of the West Bengal government in 1991 to the so called Citizen's Budget (prepared and presented jointly by the imperialist-funded voluntary agencies and CPI (M)) released on the occasion of Manmohan's fourth Fund-Bank-GATT Budget. In the so called Citizen's Assembly organised on the occasion of presenting this 'Citizen's Budget', almost all politbureau members including the general secretary of CPI (M) had no hesitation in sharing common platforms with the leading imperialist funded voluntary actionists and theoreticians of 'non-party political formations' like Rajni Kothari whom the CPI (M) itself characterised imperialist agents just a decade back. Of course, in the garb of 'grass root actions' and 'people oriented approaches', while the neocolonial plunder is aggravating, an intensified effort to mislead people's opposition to them to reformist channels and to lead the masses to the path of compromise and surrender, the leading voluntary actionists in India have joined together to devise what they call 'an alternative paradigm of development'. Now the CPI (M), which has already shed its leftist mask by implementing all the neocolonial policies of imperialism, has also merged fully with these apolitical 'alternatives' devised by agents of imperialism in India.

By differentiating the politics of imperialism from its economics, the CPI (M) is spreading the illusion of an alternative which does not depend on the Fund-Bank-GATT trio within the existing frame work. With this perspective, top CPI (M) theoreticians have propagated the idea of condition-free Fund-Bank loans (incidentally, it was V. P. Singh who

South Africa: A Black President in Old Power Structure

Nelson Mandela took over as the President of South Africa on May 10 following the election during April last week with blacks getting the right to Vote after 350 years of *apartheid* rule. All over the world the imperialist media hailed it as shining moment. Not only the rulers in the neo-colonies like India, but also the revisionists of all colours also hailed this event. This transfer of power from a white president to a black president with ex-white president serving as one of the new two vice-presidents with the state structure which enforced *apartheid* so ruthlessly for so long continuing without any change is depicted by imperialists as well as their apologists as a new dawn to hoodwink the people. What has really happened is that a minority black section have joined the white rulers and the system shall basically remain the same.

In the decades immediately following Second World War imperialists adopting neo-colonial tactics had *decolonised* the colonial/semicolonial countries in to neo-colonies ruled by comprador classes. What happened to these countries

including India with this type of *independence* and *dawn of democracy*, and especially to the toiling masses there is now clear as daylight. Decolonisation has only led to a more heinous and pernicious new form of imperialist domination in all fields.

South Africa cannot be different in any way. The industries, the mines, the real estates, and most important almost all fertile land shall continue to remain with the whites. Mandela has guaranteed their safety. Under globalisation and market system accepted by all, South African economy will be integrated with and brought under total control of IMF-WB-GATT/WTO and MNCs, that is new forms of imperialist domination. The masses of blacks shall continue to be deprived, pauperised and subject to state terror.

So whatever Mandela and the imperialists and their lackeys may propagate today, the dawn of Azania, New Democracy is far away. What has happened is a change of presidents only, not the system.

first mooted the idea of 'conditionality-free IMF loans') together with the proposal for a democratisation of neocolonial institutions like Fund-Bank and the proposed WTO. Opposition to Fund-Bank-GATT policies in India and respect for decaying international capital is the hallmark of all CPI(M) positions in recent years. That is why it upholds globalisation accomplished in the Chinese or Vietnamese way which it calls 'socialist market economy'. That is, CPI(M)'s criticism is not against globalisation but doing it in the 'Indian way' which it characterises as 'recolonisation'.

It is a pity that nowadays a few break-away groups from the M-L movement are also parroting this new theme recolonisation which is an outrightly ahistoric categorisation. It is quite easy to understand that a critique of imperialism's new policies in India by the exponents of recolonisation prognosis purely belongs to the realm of academic economics. Their true aim is to whitewash the comprador and traitorous character of the Indian state

and the Indian ruling classes. For them, Indian State's surrender at the GATT or similar other sellouts could be rectified by a mere change of government ie, by simply remaining within the framework of ruling class politics. It is this illusion that has to be exposed and defeated.

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The Foreign Domination of Peru

Peru has a foreign debt of more than \$ 23 billion [1]. Its total budget for 1994 is \$ 5.9 billion. Of this, 20% (\$ 1.28 billion) is set aside to pay the interest on the foreign debt. But that isn't enough. Peru owes more than \$ 3 billion in interest in 1994 alone, and has to take out additional foreign loans *just to pay back the interest* [2]. Some financial analysts estimate that Peru's foreign debt will reach \$ 50 billion by the year 2000.

In 1986 the international Monetary Fund (IMF) suspended all loans to Peru. When Fujimori came into office in 1990 he made agreements with the IMF to restructure the economy of the country in order to again qualify for international loans. Within a year the minimum wage fell by 52%. 13 million Peruvians had an income of \$ 15.50 per month or less. Those with full-time work made an average of \$ 50 a month. When Fujimori took office 54% of the people could meet basic consumer needs. A year later only 5% could. And all of this in a country where prices for consumer goods are almost as high as in the US [3].

After taking office, Fujimori began paying the interest on loans from the world Bank at the rate of \$ 45 million each month (1/6th of the country's gross revenues). And as a reward, in 1993 the US and Japan gave Fujimori a *loan* of \$930 million to pay back interest to the IMF [4]. The IMF again allowed Peru to borrow money. In return the IMF dictates over Peru's economy. For example, the IMF has decided that Peru can spend only \$ 450 million of all of the money it receives from the privatisation scheme for all of its poverty related social programs, while it has to pay \$ 550 million in interest to foreign commercial banks (5). Peru projects that it will spend \$9 billion on road improvements so foreign investors can get their plunder out of the country [6]. Peru's poor, who own no motorised transportation, will be unable to even get their products to market.

Peru is incredibly rich in natural resources. It currently is the world's 2nd largest producer of silver and zinc, the 4th of lead, and the 5th largest producer of copper. It has some of the world's largest deposits of gold, and vast deposits of oil. In order to pay off the foreign debt, the government of Peru is selling off all its state-

owned companies, including its mines, its rights to oil exploration, its fishing industry (including its docks and ports). Its airlines, telecommunications, etc [7] 20 million acres of land is being offered to foreign investors (much of it to foreign agribusinesses) and even the rights to water are being sold.

To attract investors Fujimori has created new investment laws. Licensing requirements have been removed. Profits are subject to limited taxation, or are exempt from taxes altogether. [8].

New Wave of Military Suppression in Peru

Fujimori regime in Peru in exalting itself as the most trusted agent of US imperialism by unleashing a new wave of savage military suppression against the struggling people of Peru. Even imperialist media is compelled to report about torturing and killing of civilians, raping women and children, burning homes, and bombing villages from helicopter gunships on a large scale.

The interior areas and jungles where indigenous people have joined the revolutionary struggles led by CPP (Communist Party of Peru) are selected for most criminal attacks. No news are allowed to come out from these "emergency zones". Even then many human rights groups, Reuters Associated Press (AP), and United Press (UP) have brought out many instances of mass killings and rapings by the military. The US-Fujimori regime has been caught with blood still dropping from their hands.

Fujimori regime is in a hurry to suppress CPP by any means utilising the upperhand it could get by arresting its chairman, com. Gonzalo one and half years back. US imperialists are giving all necessary help in this genocide. Revolutionary forces all over the world should condemn this demand the release of com. Gonzalo, and support the revolutionary struggle in Peru.

For example, in order to attract foreign oil investors laws were changed to allow oil companies to dispose of the oil they extracted in any way they wished, taxes on the export of oil were removed, and restrictions preventing offshore drilling were set aside [9]. Environmental laws were also relaxed.

But while foreign investors have been exempted from paying taxes, the IMF has ordered an overall increase in Peru's tax revenues. When Fujimori came into office, tax revenues amounted to 4.4% of the gross domestic product (GDP). Since becoming President, Fujimori raised that amount to 9.5%. This has resulted in a drastic fall in actual income for workers. But now the IMF has ordered that in order to qualify for further loans, Peru must raise its tax revenues to 13%. Since taxes that foreign investors and their Peruvian counterparts have to pay have been either reduced or eliminated, the burden of raising these taxes will almost entirely fall on the poor of Peru. New taxes on food are already in place and increased taxes on other consumer goods are expected.

So far approximately 30 state-owned companies have been sold at fire-sale prices. If all of their companies are sold, Peru expects to receive between dollar 3- 4 billion [10]. In other words, even if Peru sells all of its state-owned holdings at the highest projected prices, it will not even receive enough to pay its foreign debt interest for two years. And Peru's precious resources will be gone. However, the head of Peru's privatisation acknowledges that many of the companies have been sold at prices far lower than what was expected, and the first 16 companies sold for a total of dollar 450 million [11]

One way the foreign investors have cut costs in their new companies, has been to lay off workers. On average, companies sold to foreign investors have laid off 52% of the company's former workers. In some cases, the government laid off employees before the company was sold. For example, before Cerro Verde Copper Mine was put up for sale, the government cut the payroll from 1,300 to 785 workers [12]. And this is happening in a country that already has a rate of underemployment and unemployment of 90%!

Peru's New Constitution which went into effect in December 1993 creates new laws favouring foreign investment by, among other things,

removing regulations on exports, exempting foreign investors from taxes, and allowing currency to move in and out of the country unimpeded by government regulations. It also adds provisions to guarantee debt repayment. But it also anticipates massive unrest as a result of the new economic policies. Fujimori's hooded military tribunals are 'legalised', and rights to defense are all but eliminated. The president is given dictatorial rights and can suspend the Constitution at any time. The death penalty for political prisoners was reinstated. Military personnel are not subject to civilian law. Laws protecting worker's rights such as the right to strike and the right to belong to a union are weakened. Guarantees of rights of peasants and indigenous peoples are remarkably absent. Free education is restricted. [13].

For the vast majority of Peru's people, increased foreign domination means greater misery and poverty, continued repression and genocide. For workers it means higher unemployment and lower wages. For peasants it means loss of land and livelihood. For the indigenous people it means the penetration of jungle areas by oil and gold explorers and loss of historic hunting areas. And for all Peruvians it means loss of dignity as a people, and increased foreign domination over every aspect of their lives (which the Peruvian people have vigorously resisted for centuries, and are continuing to fight against).

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K. N. Ramachandran

Ambedkarism: Ideology For a New Ruling Class Alternative

The rise of what are called *dalitism* and numerous brands of *Ambedkarism* has become the most hotly discussed and debated subject in Indian political scene today. This is especially so after the electoral victory of Mulayam Singh's *Samajvadi Party* and Kansiram's *BSP* in UP in last November. Not only these two but so many others before and after the SP-BSP electoral victory have put forward dalit-backward-minority combination as the new catalytic force of social change. These forces have started projecting their own different brands of *Ambedkarism* as the ideological basis for this combination also. Many from the ruling class ideologues and media have become the propagators of the *theory* that future of Indian politics is going to be determined by caste, by Ambedkarism, by dalit-backward-minority combination. Pettibourgeois sections are also greatly influenced by this possibility.

As a consequence all the ruling class parties constituting the rightist as well as centrist spectrum including the *Hindu Parivarist* BJP are competing with each other to project themselves as the advocates of dalit backward-minority interests. Congress (I) has increased the reservation quota in the *Panchayatiraj Act*. It has also taken majority of ministers from these sections in MP cabinet. Many more promises are made. As for BJP it has started exhibiting its new found love for Dr. Ambedkar and to dalit-backward sections. If it alongwith Congress spearheaded the agitation against VP Singh government's adoption of Mandal Report in 1990, today it is competing with Congress to champion Mandal. The centrist parties like Janatha Dal are much dismayed by this hijacking of their pet theme by others. JD is trying to beat it by VP Singh's insistence on a dalit or backward being put as its chief. In spite of all these, all of them are afraid of a new ruling class alternative based on caste emerging replacing them as in UP.

The parliamentary left like CPI, CPI (M) and CPI (ML) Liberation-IPF are also much in disarray. In the total absence of revolutionary politics, when CPI tried to survive in electoral politics by competing with JD in Hindi belt projecting themselves as equally energetic champions of dalit-backward-minority politics,

it has led to the desertion of their majority forces in UP and Bihar to SP or JD or BSP. Even its ideologue Bardhan's new theorisation elevating Budha, Phule and Ambedkar to the pedestal alongwith Marx, Engels and Lenin has not helped it from the threat of severe disintegration. As far as CPI (M) is concerned, its support to *creamy layer theory* in the name of helping the backward among the backwards and projecting itself as the champion of oppressed sections have not helped it in preventing dissensions and splits within its ranks as symbolised by Gowriamma's exit in Kerala. CPI (ML) Liberation-IPF has also suffered severely with the defection of majority of its MLAs in Bihar to JD fold.

Even the revolutionary left sections who were enamoured by Ambedkarism and who were in a hurry to embrace it are also paying heavily for their dilution of revolutionary theory. Not only ex-PWG leaders like Satyamurthy many more from PWG ranks are reported to be swelling BSP ranks in AP. Both MCC and PU in Bihar have often reduced class struggle to sectarian caste politics. Others like CPI (ML) Janasakthi are also severely affected by Ambedkarism.

This situation calls for a serious study and evaluation of Dr. Ambedkar and the present brands of Ambedkarism in relation to the tasks of anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggles and completion of New Democratic Revolution in our country.

How to evaluate Ambedkar

The numerous brands of Ambedkarites, neo-Ambedkarites and 'revolutionary' Ambedkarites have put forward their own subjective evaluations of Dr. Ambedkar. All of them are ahistorical and partial. So any study of present harvest of Ambedkarites should start with an objective evaluation of Dr. Ambedkar. There are both positive as well as negative aspects in his contributions.

Eventhough Dr. Ambedkar's activities were mainly limited to one section of dalits-Mahars-his most important positive contribution

is that he tried to bring to the central stage the social oppression of dalits based on caste-system. Influenced by western liberal bourgeois thoughts he struggled for reforms for the social upliftment and for increasing self-respect among dalit sections. In a situation where the fundamentalist Hindu orthodoxy was perpetuating a most savage social oppression of vast sections through the hated caste-system, this itself was a really significant contribution. Alongwith this his views on economic reconstruction was more radical compared to those of Gandhi's version of a mixture of reformed feudalism and capitalism based on co-socianship. His constitutional state capitalist economic thoughts were influenced by Keynesian concepts. He advocated nationalisation of land and its distribution among peasants for collective cultivation and nationalisation of key industries backed by welfare state measures. For him the abolition of caste system and realisation of welfare state measures were to be achieved through constitutional means. He was never for a revolutionary alternative to Gandhian and Congress approach. All negative aspects of his thinking originated from this.

Approach to imperialism

Any historical analysis of Dr. Ambedkar's contributions calls for an evaluation of his approach towards imperialism which had colonised our sub continent. The worst sufferers during the two century long British colonial rule were undoubtedly the dalits and others in the lower level of caste system. The British land settlements creating *Zamindari system* caused savage exploitation of the landless land poor peasants who were mostly dalits and backwards. The millions who perished in continuous famines as a result were none other than them. Then, like the Blacks from Africa, millions of dalits were shipped to other British colonies as slaves to toil in British plantations. It was British imperialism which protected Indian feudalism and alongwith it the caste system. Apart from some cosmic reformist attempts, imperialists never did anything to basically tamper with the caste system. They were not for antagonising the upper castes who were imperialist props and compradors. In such a situation the liberation of dalits and abolition of caste system were integrally linked with the success of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles. Ambedkar not only refused to accept this,

but also considered the presence of British rule a positive thing till a solution to caste domination was found. He never participated in the anti-imperialist struggles.

As a result when British imperialism transferred power to the comprador classes in India, Ambedkar was glad to become part of Nehru government. He served in Nehru government till differences broke out with regard to *Hindu Code Bill*. Until then he was part of a government which savagely put down Telengana struggle, a revolutionary agrarian struggle of predominantly dalits and adivasis, and numerous other peasants and workers struggles. During his entire political life, he was never ready to accept the fact that caste system can be abolished only through a Democratic Revolution overthrowing the Indian state serving the interests of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism.

Constitutional approach

On the contrary he was for further centralising and strengthening the Indian state which was built up during 200 years of British rule and handed over to the comprador classes in 1947. He always firmly stood for constitutional reforms within this state structure to bring relief to the downtrodden and rejected any extra-constitutional movements for social transformation. So the Indian ruling classes and its then foremost representative Nehru were only too glad to put Ambedkar as the head of constitution-drafting body for post-1947 India. The job was well done is proved by the number of statues of Ambedkar with the Indian Constitution in hand erected by the ruling classes all over India in gratitude. Depicting Dr. Ambedkar as the father of Indian Constitution served and is serving a lot in creating illusions among the oppressed about bringing about changes constitutionally. What is concealed is that this Constitution is nothing but an expanded form of the *Government of India Act of 1935* put forward by the colonial rulers, and that it has served well in the neocolonisation enslaving the country in new forms.

Approach to agrarian revolution

Caste system oppresses dalit sections both socially and economically. Dalits are predom-

Ambedkarism: Ideology For a New Ruling Class Alternative

inantly agricultural workers and landless and poor peasants classwise. In the semi-feudal and predominantly agrarian society in India, the basic resolution of social and economic backwardness of dalits are integrally linked with agrarian revolution. Dalits have to be organised in a revolutionary way in class organisations to demolish caste barriers and to solve the land question. It is through this they can get rid of centuries old social and economic conditions of deprivation and slavery. Only by becoming leaders of agrarian revolution in the rural areas as a class, and integrate within the urban working class in leading the struggle for overthrowing the existing ruling system a new society where economic and social backwardness of dalits can be totally erased can be created.

Though Dr. Ambedkar called for land nationalisation constitutionally during his long tenure with Congress two things were abundantly clear. One, that the Congress is not for even nominal land reforms leave alone land nationalisation. Though Zamindari system was abolished not even government lands were distributed to the landless, mostly dalits. Not even housing plots were legally transferred to them in most of the states. Moreover the Congress govt in which he served long as law minister not only suppressed the Telengana struggle savagely and snatched back lakhs of acres of land occupied by dalits and adivasis, but also came down heavily wherever landless and poor peasants participated even in peaceful struggles for land reforms. Two, that feudalism served imperialism and imperialism protected feudalism. So land nationalisation or even nominal land reforms will remain an illusion so long as the present state structure remains. But Ambedkar refused to recognise this reality. He never tried to organise the dalits who constitute vast majority of the landless for land struggles. Thus he burdened the dalits with reformist illusions within the constitutional framework he helped to create.

Approach to organised religions

Though Dr. Ambedkar opposed caste system and Manu's and other scripts supporting it, he did not denounce or renounce Hinduism in

the beginning. Some of his views bordered on rationalism. But he did not take them to their natural conclusion. Similarly as he did not take an anti-imperialist position, he did not try to understand the new tactics of imperialism to continue their plunder of world people in the post Second World War period including utilisation of all organised religions by it to divide and maim people. For it religion was a neo-colonial tool to divert people from the path of democratic and socialist revolutions. Ambedkar's refusal to go in to these realities led him to embrace Buddhism during his last days, call to his followers to follow suit, and his building of the Republican Party. That he was not ready to delink religion from politics showed the weakness of even his liberal democratic positions. His interpretation of secularism did not differ from that of Nehru's. Even he advocated Buddhism as a tool for social and political change. This was the limit to which he was ready to go after coming out of Congress cabinet opposing Hindu Code Bill.

The fundamental issue confronting Ambedkar like numerous others like him all over the world and in India during those tumultuous days when imperialism was trying to create reformist illusions through decolonisation, constitutional changes and welfare state concepts was 'Reform or Revolution'. He undoubtedly opted for the former. As he did not take a consistent stand for secularism and total abolition of caste system, due to many of the historical limitations and other reasons, his efforts never went beyond reformism. So the resolution of the problems touched upon and struggled for by him today demands going beyond the positions then Ambedkar could take. This should be the task in front of all who respect Dr. Ambedkar as a social reformer in spite of all the basic weaknesses in his political, ideological positions. But unfortunately all those who claim to put forward newer and newer brands of *Ambedkarism* are today doing exactly the opposite.

Contemporary Ambedkarite trends

Most fundamental approaches of all Ambedkarite trends from the various factions of Republican Party to Kanshiram's B S P and

the new crop of numerous Ambedkarite organisations are that instead of evaluating Dr. Ambedkar historically and considering him as part of the movement for social transformation, all of them eulogise him as the last word. Some of them have gone to the extent of burning incense before him raising him to the level of a God like the self claimed followers of Narayana Guru in Kerala are doing. As a result instead of carrying forward his anti-caste positions and becoming part of a revolutionary movement which only can abolish the conditions for the existence of caste system and in that way abolish it, they highlight his reformist positions and refuse to go anywhere beyond it while making revolutionary like utterances.

One example will suffice to explain this. All these organisations are staunchest supporters of reservation. All of them call for vigorous implementation of Mandal Commission recommendations. But what happened when anti-reservation, anti-Mandal reservations broke out in North India in 1990? Did any of them come forward to face this challenge? Even if we forget it, what is happening now is exposing them thoroughly. According to IMF-World Bank-GATT dictates the government is implementing policies like privatisation and reduction in government expenditure. All social welfare measures like rationing, free hospital treatment, educational facilities, subsidised housing-transportation-drinking water-electricity etc have started disappearing. which sections of the society are going to be affected to the maximum extent as a result? Recruitments to the central and state governments have almost come to a standstill already or it is soon going to happen. Privatisation is speeded up. As a result all public sector undertakings are privatised. In such a situation reservation is left with no value even of the paper in which it is written. Dalits are deprived of its benefits except the promotion benefits a few fortunate who are already inside may enjoy. So today the struggle for reservation and struggle for basic social amenities cannot be waged without opposing the imperialist dictated policies taken to a new zenith with the signing of GATT Treaty by Rao govt on April 15. But as far as we know not a single Ambedkarite organisation has criticised Rao govt's policies taking neo-colonial plunder to a new height. They only see the *Brahmin-Bania* alliance in front of them and refuse to see its master, the imperialism, behind. B S P never voted against Rao's

industrial-economic policy decisions in parliament. Dr. Ambedkar's weakness in taking an anti-imperialist stand is taken to ludicrous levels by these forces. Some of them do not see anything wrong even in taking imperialist funds in opposing Brahminism!

They have taken the constitutionality to vulgar levels. Like the ruling classes they also erect Ambedkar's statues with the *Indian Constitution* in hand Kanshiram has declared that he will come to power and abolish the caste system using this constitution. It is a very subjective approach. To argue that the constitution and the state which served imperialism, the comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie and feudalism (the latter two includes the Brahmin-Bania sections) so far can now serve the dalits also, once BSP comes to power is nothing but an absurd argument. This outright constitutional position of Ambedkarites will only serve the enemies whom they claim to oppose.

Post-1947 experience vividly shows that it is imperialism which protects feudalism. So long as imperialism and feudalism cannot be overthrown the social and economic emancipation of the dalits are impossible. Agrarian revolution is an important factor in abolishing caste system. But inspite of militant rhetorics the Ambedkarites refuse to take up land struggles and confine to parliamentarism. They shy away from anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggles.

As a matter of fact the new alliance of dalit-backward-advansi-minority advanced by all brands of Ambedkarites is nothing but a ruling class alternative as is well proved already in UP and Bihar. All the Ambedkarites all over India are nothing but a part and parcel of ruling class politics. They are overtly or covertly in alliance with ruling class parties everywhere.

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not take any serious measures to re-open the factory. The majority independence Union led by a Congress (I) MLA and the minority INTUC and CITU Unions did not lead any serious struggles either jointly or separately to save the workers.

As the stalemate was continuing and the workers' condition was deteriorating, on 28.1.1994 Viyalla Coats Transferred the ownership of the Company to a benami Company, Vaiga Threads, and retrenched all the workers. The state government's claim that it did not know about this transfer when the unit is functioning in the 88 acres of land given on lease for 99 years by the Government is false, as without knowledge and consent of Government Departments such a transfer is impossible. Though according to labour disputes act the State Government issued an order on 4-2-1994 banning the lockout, it did not take any steps to prosecute the Coats Management. Even a notice was not issued against its Managing Director M. M. J. Shah. Thus the State Government is protecting the MNC Management against the workers.

The Viyella Coats Management is bent upon imposing anti worker policies. It is arrogantly penalising the workers as the Government machinery working under dictates from IMF-World Bank-GATT is serving their interests. It is not a secret that the ownership was transferred and the workers were retrenched with the knowledge and connivance of the Government and TU leaders of Congress (I) including KPCC (I) President Vayalar Ravi who is president of INTUC Union. Management's refusal to re-open the factory even after banning the lockout is due to collusion of the Government with the MNC. Now after leaving the whole issue to adjudication Government has washed off its hands and sitting idle.

In this situation the workers' interests can be protected only if powerful people's support is mobilised behind and the struggle is developed so as to compel the Government to take immediate action. As the established Unions have refused to take up this task TUCI has tried continuously to intervene to carry forward the struggle. Now at this critical juncture in continuation to earlier efforts and in order to develop the struggle Thrissur District President of TUCI, Com. M. K. Thankappan himself a worker in Koratty Unit, started an indefinite fast from May 15 at Thrissur Town, demanding Government take over the Factory, employment to all workers, and prosecution of the Management. Focussing on it large number of workers

from other industrial units are also mobilised to intensify the struggle. Workers marches, rasta-roko etc. are continuously organised. On 27 May, the 12th day of fast, Police arrested Com. Thankappan. Even then comrade continued the fast in the Hospital,

Prominent democratic individuals have issued a statement condemning the Management's arrogant anti-worker stand and asking Government to take necessary steps immediately to protect workers interests. A state level struggle committee is formed on 28 May uniting revolutionary sections and patriotic democratic forces. Necessary steps to develop the struggle at state level linking lockout of Coats with similar issues in the industrial field in other districts also are taken,

In this situation TUCI and the struggle committee have appealed to workers in other units of Vayala Coats all over India and revolutionary forces to help to develop the struggle to all units and offices of this MNC in TamilNadu, Bangalore, Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and other places as early as possible. In continuation to these decisions the state level struggle committee appealed to Com. Thankappan to stop the 13 day long fast. Accordingly the indefinite fast is called off on 28 May.

Following the liberalisation-privatisation-globalisation-automation policies pursued by Rao Government in the interest of MNCs intensifying imperialist plunder in India, what is witnessed under Vayala Coats is repeated by other MNCs also. An all out struggle is called for against this. By developing the struggle of the workers of Koratty Unit of Coats to all units of coats we can serve notice on the MNCs that the workers are not going to surrender to their whims any longer. They are going to struggle for their just demands uncompromisingly. At a time when the established unions are found incapable of carrying forward such struggles and are abandoning the workers surrendering before the Management, the decision to spread the struggle to all units of such companies/corporations is significant.

A State level convention is held on 16 June at Thrissur for intensifying the struggle. Workers of all similar closed units are mobilised. Signing a mass petition by workers and other sections of people and a secretariat March at Thiruvananthapuram is also planned. Meanwhile the struggle at the factory gate at Koratty will continue. The struggle committee has called for developing solidarity actions at all India level in front of Coats Units by last week of June.

Message to AIFTU First Conference

On behalf of Trade Union Centre of India (TUCI) thank you very much for extending invitation to participate in the First Conference of AIFTU. The Central Committee of TUCI extends its most warm greetings to your Conference. We regret that we cannot send a fraternal delegation to participate in it due to technical reasons.

As the First Conference of AIFTU is taking place at a critical time in the history of our country when the real nature of the transfer of power in 1947 and the sham nature of independence claimed by the comprador ruling classes and their apologists in the post-1947 period are exposed more than ever, and when the neo-colonial plunder over our country has reached a new zenith with the signing of imperialist GATT Treaty by Rao Government, we hope your Conference will take note of these developments and chalk out programmes to combat it.

As you are aware, the Congress (I) Government led by Narasimha Rao could totally surrender our country to IMF-World Bank GATT/WTO and MNCs and take the neo-colonisation initiated by Nehru to its pinnacle only with the support of all parliamentary opposition ranging from BJP to CPI (M) as it was a minority Government for long. Even now this collusion is continuing as they helped Rao Government to easily pass the bill for privatising 49 percent of shares in nationalised banks and many such measures in both houses. Even while pretending to oppose GATT Treaty they have not compelled the Govt. for a decisive debate on it so far.

In this situation we should not maintain any illusion that Rao Govt's imperialist dictated

policies can be opposed by becoming part of the Platform of Mass Organisations (PMO) led by CPI (M), or by joining hands with imperialist funded voluntary agencies. People expect an anti-imperialist initiative from revolutionary forces. The appeal issued by TUCI in early February to all revolutionary class/mass organisations to unitedly observe April 15, the day of signing GATT Treaty at Marrakesh, as All India Black Day and to develop struggles to general strikes and bandhs wherever possible should be seen in this context. Now it is proved that none of the parliamentary opposition including CPI (M) was serious in launching any struggle on April 15, and that the resistance to signing this imperialist treaty on April 15 could be taken to wider and higher scales if only the revolutionary forces had unitedly campaigned based on the Central slogan "Throw out imperialist GATT Treaty".

Now according to this treaty GATT is going to be replaced by WTO on coming January 1. All round attacks on the working class and all other toiling masses are intensified. Communal and casteist forces are used as neo-colonial tools to divide and weaken the people. In this context TUCI is once again appealing to all revolutionary class/mass organisations to develop countrywide struggle with the central slogan "Throw out imperialist GATT Treaty, Unite to resist WTO". We hope your Conference will seriously discuss this appeal.

Once again we extend most warm greetings to First Conference of AIFTU and wish it all success.

25-05-1994

M. M. Somasekharan
General Secretary TUCI

Protest The Suppression of Workers Rights by Viyella Coats Support the Struggling Workers of Koratty Coats Unit

Koratty Unit of Madura Coats in Kerala, subsidiary of the MNC, Viyella Coats which had 2500 workers was locked out on 14.02.1993 contrary to existing laws while negotiations were going on at ministerial level over the demands of the management that a good number of workers have to be retrenched and workload

should be increased. These anti-worker demands were raised by the management after Viyella Coats secured majority of shares in the Company utilising the amendment of FERA Act by Rao Government. While the lockout threw a good number of workers to starvation the Congress (I) led UDF Government in Kerala did

(contd P.23)