

RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

Vol. 5

No. 11

November 1996

Struggle against Adivasi land Alienation in Kerala

The agrarian struggle in Kerala has a long history. In 1930s and 1940s the anti-feudal struggle led by undivided CPI reverberated all through Kerala. In this process CPI organised the most exploited landless and poor peasants, tenants and share-croppers, who belonged predominantly to dalit, adivasi and backward sections. With its base among workers and these most exploited agrarian classes Communist movement became very powerful all over the state by early 1950s. But surrender to parliamentary cretinism from 1957 with the formation of the first ministry led by EMS Namboodiripad in the background of the ascendance of revisionism within the international communist movement and within CPI from mid-fifties started changing the scenario. The class-basis of CPI and then CPI (M) started changing as they embraced the path of reformism increasingly. The agenda of agrarian revolution was transformed to superfluous Land reforms under Indian constitutional provisions. As a result the adivasis went on getting alienated from their ancestral lands by the crooked machinations of unscrupulous rich settlers, and dalits had to satisfy with the 10 cents of land or a small plot for their huts. As the ruling political spectrum started getting polarised by second half of 1960s in to Congress led UDF and CPI (M) led LDF both come under the influence of neo-rich and middle classes with minor variations.

It was in this context the 1967 Naxalbari uprising and later formation of CPI (ML) were

warmly welcomed by these most downtrodden sections in the state as in other parts of India. Soon Com: Varghese, a CPI (ML) leader of north Kerala became a symbol of adivasi revolt in Wynad to get back their alienated land. He was loving mentioned as 'Peruman' or leader by them. Sensing the danger, first the CPI (M) led LDF government of 1967-69 period and then the CPI-Congress UF government led by Achutha Menon launched brutal police repression against communist revolutionaries. Com: Varghese was murdered in a take encounter on February 18, 1970. Though the movement soon suffered serious setbacks due to the repression and the left sectarian mistakes, the sparks created by Naxalbari movement could not be destroyed. They went on inspiring dreams of liberation among the exploited sections. The adivasis were becoming more and more aware of their rights.

It was in this situation, during emergency period the Kerala Assembly unanimously passed an Adivasi Land Protection Bill in 1975 which soon became an act. But immediately following it the machinations to scuttle its implementation was started by the rich settlers strongly supported by the Christian church and leaders of the ruling as well as opposition parties. So inspite of nine reminders from the Kerala High Court none of the governments during last 21 years took any action to implement. Not a single acre of land was returned to adivasis.

Red Star

Vol. 5 No. 11 1996 November

**Message of October
Revolution****CONTENTS**

* All India Cultural Camp at Jabalpur	3
* Towards Making of a Popular Culture Task of The Hour	5
* Imperialist Crisis and Transition from Keynesianism to Monetarism	7
* Joint Convention at Hyderabad Calls for United Offensive	20
* Jungle Raj in Orissa	21
* International Scene	23
* News from States	24
* Poem	26

Red Star

Yearly subscription Rs 35

Five yearly subscription Rs 150

Send cheques/DDs/MOs to

P. J. Baby

Red Star, Thaikkattussery-680 322
Thrissur, Kerala.

Meanwhile through heinous means powerful vested interests went on cornering more and more adivasi land. They were left to extinction through increasing poverty and mortal diseases like sickle-cell anemia.

Once again it was the communist revolutionaries led by CPI (ML) Red Flag who launched a statewide agitation starting with Mananthawadi Convention attended by hundreds of adivasi families in 1994 for the return of the alienated land by implementing the 1975 Act. This Convention was organised when both ruling Congress-led UDF parties and opposition CPI (M) led LDF parties were trying to scuttle the Act claiming that it will go against the thousands of settler families. The Convention exposed this sinister move to divide the adivasis and poor settlers, and to make them fight each other. Most of the adivasi land is still in the hands of plantaters and rich settlers. It

(contd. page 26)

In these years when imperialism headed by US imperialism has launched a worldwide aggression in all fields declaring capitalist-imperialist system as the last truth, the message of October Revolution and the socialist path of development it inaugurated have special significance for the working classes and all toiling masses all over the world.

The First World War itself had exposed the true colour of the imperialist system. While reaching this era, capitalism had lost all its liberating character and compromised with all pre-capitalist forces. Soon it was beseted with a series of general crises. Fascist forces emerged from its womb. In these critical decades it was Soviet Union which gave leadership to a new world outlook, built up socialism in its soil, gave unflinching support to the national liberation struggles in the countries under colonisation, and played the leading and critical role in defeating the fascist forces in Second World War. Today, even four decades after Stalin's death the world reaction aided by revisionists of all hues are engaged in distorting this great history through packs of lies.

During the post Second World War years imperialism launched a new counter-revolutionary offensive to bring Afro Asian Latin American countries under neocolonisation. In recognising it and in developing its theory and practice to combat it, though the ICM failed leading to present setbacks, the general crisis faced by imperialist system from late 1960s and the increasing speculative character of the imperialist capital resulting in the intensification of the contradictions between imperialism led by US imperialism and the people of neocolonies, and between the monopoly forces and the proletariat and other toiling masses in the imperialist countries are reemphasising once again with more vehemence that socialism inaugurated by October Revolution and later taken to higher level in China is the only alternative as far as the world people are concerned.

Presently, when imperialist forces and their lackeys have launched the fiercest attack on socialist path, and capitalist roaders are trying frantically to degenerate the world proletarian socialist movement from inside, it is the responsibility of the proletarian forces

(contd. Page 27)

All India Cultural Camp at Jabalpur: A Positive Step To Build Up A Peoples' Cultural Movement

The All India Cultural Camp held at Jabalpur Madhya Pradesh from 10 to 12 at October 1996 called upon all the democratic, progressive and revolutionary cultural activists and organisations in India to fight resolutely and unitedly against the imperialist feudal forces and the cultural manifestations of their anti-people rule and to ally with people in their struggle for emancipation.

The cultural camp attended by progressive and revolutionary writers, poets, intellectuals and cultural activists from various parts of India was hosted by 'Vikalp', the progressive Hindi Journal.

The camp was inaugurated by Mr. Akhilesh Mishra, writer, poet and the editor of 'Swathanthra Math' at the afternoon of 10th October at the Hiralal Art gallery Hall. Com: Ravindra Shukla, editor of Vikalp presided over the inaugural session. Com: Samar Sengupta welcomed all the participants. Inaugurating the camp Mr. Akhilesh Mishra opined that the colonial system of education introduced by British colonialists was intended to alienate the educated from humanity and fellow beings. The present day imperialists are also following the same methods and they are trying to reorganise each and every realm of human life according to their interests. The new methods of suppression employed by the present day imperialists are aimed to bring the people to mental slavery and submission.

Akhilesh Mishra pointed out that it is the duty of the progressive minded cultural activists and intellectuals to initiate a movement to conscientise the vast masses of people to fight the imperialist forces in the field of culture also.

The Veteran communist and freedom fighter Com: Srishti Dhar Mukherji talked next and said that the present day rulers of our country are the compradors who are interested only in running the state according to the interests of their imperialist masters. He has cited a lot of examples to substantiate the point and pointed to the dangers of religious fundamentalism both of majority and other varieties which actually serve the interests of imperialism. Eventhough what the imperialism brings is sheer slavery, and the ideology of that is widely propagated through all kinds of media, it is not being recognised even by the youth. Com. Srishtidhar reminisced of the yester years of struggles under the leadership of Shahid Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, Sukh Dev and others. He has urged the audience to internalise the spirit of struggles waged in the cultural field by the progressive writers like Gajanan Madhav Mukthi Bodh, Shamsher, Amritha Roy and others.

The progressive writer and intellectual from Delhi Com: Vishnu Chandra Sharma spoke next. Explaining the anti capitalist view points of the Hindi poet Gajanan Madhav Mukthi

Bodh he pointed out the tasks before the progressive writers in the present day cultural environment. Quoting the words of Lenin Com: Sharma reiterated the fact that the very source of all revolutions is the vast masses of people. The decisive role of the relationship in between progressive cultural activists and the people was also pointed out by him. Com: Sharma said that one of the prime duties of ours is to expose the culture and politics of imperialism.

Com: G. P. Mishra, veteran Trade Union leader and one of the editors of the 'Real Wealth' spoke next. Com: Mishra explained the history of ideological and political measures of suppression employed by the imperialist forces against communists and revolutionaries. He insisted on the necessity to draw a line of demarcation in between the cultures propagated by the revolutionary and reactionary forces. A struggle is going on in between the youthful culture of people and the decadent culture of imperialism and other reactionary forces. He pointed to the experiences of Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) and the present day plight of that organisation. He expressed hope that initiative shown by 'Vikalp' will become a beginning to build up a really progressive cultural movement.

Com: Shanmughan Pulappatta, poet and State Committee member of Janakeeya Kala sabithya

Vedi Kerala said in his speech that there are numerous instances to show that the American imperialism is the enemy of world people. It is the same in the field of culture and ideology. He urged the participants to fight resolutely for a people's culture against the degenerated culture of imperialism and other reactionary forces.

sive socio-economical-political-cultural system. Com: K. N. Ramachandran continued. If we fail to understand the dialectical relationship in between the base and super structure we will definitely be led to metaphysical and idealistic illusions. When we study the history of the great cultural revolution of China we can see that it was not merely cultural but with a political content. Similarly the Naxalbari struggle also was not merely political struggle but it had a very strong cultural content also.

while Premchand started the publication of 'Hans' he was having a thorough knowledge of the agrarian situation of India. He stressed on the need to expose the decadent imperialist culture and to build up a progressive people's cultural movement.

The cultural meet of the second day was presided over by Com: K. A. Mohandas, president of Janakeeya Kala Sahithya Vedi Kerala. The session marked with serious and important discussions was inaugurated by Com: K. N. Ramachandran, All India Secretary of CPI (ML) Red Flag. Com: K. N. invited the attention of all the participants of the camp to the contemporary cultural realities of our society. Even the very basic tastes and sensibilities of the masses of people are being formulated, reconstructed or controlled by the interests of imperialism and MNCs. All the revivalist, fundamentalist and communal forces which try to pose themselves distinct and separate are close allies of these imperialist forces. The longterm strategies of sending forces of aggression to Iraq, of holding Miss Universe competition in India and of promoting voluntary non-governmental organisation are highly interconnected. It is the prime duty of ours to expose the theoretical basis on which the political content of these things rests. History is not a continuity of repetitions as argued by some post modernists. We have to study history including that of IPTA and other progressive and revolutionary cultural movements. Only through an historical analysis we can identify the friends and foes of the people and people's movements.

Com: K. N. urged the participants to strive hard to coordinate all progressive streams of cultural activities of our country and to develop it into a new stage to challenge effectively the onslaught of imperialism and other reactionary forces in the cultural front.

Com: Shanmughan Pulappatta presented his paper on "imperialist onslaught on the cultural front".

Com: G. P. Mishra reiterated the need of addressing the masses of people in their own language and of evaluating the experiences of struggles in the cultural field.

Com: K.A. Mohandas presented his paper 'Towards Making of a Popular Culture: Task of the Hour' in which he expressed his wish to widen the fraternity and frontiers of our activity and put forward some points for discussion on the question of building up of a real, broadbased people's cultural movement.

Com: V.S. Warkhande, editor of 'Nipthara' in Marathi talked on the importance of ideological struggle against the revivalist and fundamentalist forces. Citing extensive experiences of struggles waged by the people of tribal areas he emphasised the relevance of a revolutionary cultural movement. He said that it is necessary to create newer myths, concepts, and sensibilities to counter the reactionary cultural onslaughts effectively.

Com: Vishnu Chandra Sharma spoke in detail of the materialistic streams of Indian philosophy exposing the claims of reactionary forces that the Indian philosophy is solely that of spiritualism. He strongly refuted the efforts of imperialists to negate the validity and ever increasing relevance of Marxism. Com: Sharma firmly insisted on the necessity of understanding the material reality of the society in order to launch a progressive and revolutionary cultural movement. He pointed to the fact that

The paper sent by com: Rana Pratap from Bihar was presented by Com: Samar. Com: Rana Pratap seriously evaluated the cultural functions of the present day system of education which is deliberately formulated to cultivate a sense of colonial slavery among students. Each and everytime curriculum is revised it is to propagate the imperialist value system and to make cultural vulgarity internalised. The ideologies propagated through newer varieties of philosophies like postmodernism are also to serve the same purpose. It contributes much to abandon creative and original thoughts and to lure the people

(Contd. P. 17)

TOWARDS MAKING OF A POPULAR CULTURE TASK OF THE HOUR

The contemporary cultural scenario in India convinces those concerned that the left cultural hegemony in the life and thoughts of the people is hopelessly on the wane. The glorious legacy of the cultural activism of the progressive forces in India of yore that struggled to transform the power relation of the existing system by inverting its socio-economic and thereby the cultural hierarchy, is fast fleeing our of currency. A major chunk of the intelligentsia who once championed the cause of the people's liberation and resisted the minority dominant culture of the ruling classes is now turning apologists for imperialist triumphalism. Even while the material conditions for their existence and survival are turning precarious day by day the most advanced class in history is subjectively lacking the stamina for being the agency for changing their conditions. The cherished values of universal freedom, equality and justice for which the common man in India, as elsewhere on earth, has been fighting through centuries are yielding place to new value system of 'survival of the fittest'; propounded and sponsored by world capitalism. Even the most vociferous advocates of revolutionary culture in the country, in their enthusiasm to prove their unorthodoxy, today throw to dogs the guiding light of revolutionary ideology itself and embrace the wildest eclectic thoughts and movements, generated by the brain tanks of imperialism. This might be catering to the expedient needs of their pragmatistic politics, but

certainly at the cost of the long term interests of genuine emancipatory political and cultural movement of the people. The New Social Movements (NSMs) that arose in India abundantly since the eighties with their seemingly anti-systemic posture and radical terminology posited themselves as substitutes to the organised political and cultural movements which they dub as totalitarian and hence abominable. These NSMs, in a way, realise in practice the Post Modernist ideology of fragmentation by dismissing any attempt of collective resistance to the total exploitative system as "the grand narrative" and claiming to be taking the battle

Viz (I) a homogenous India ever existed in time and space and (II) a single cultural heritage was bequeathed to the present from time immemorial, pristine and unperturbed. This orientalist conceptualisation of Indian life and culture that sprang up in the 19th century and suited well with the colonial interests, has attained new currency in India recently, for it synchronises well with certain aspects of the Post-Modernist thoughts aggressively propagated by neo-colonial scholars here and their masters abroad. The rejection of the material basis of culture is inherent in this view which tends to attribute 'culture' a glorious realm, untouched by the day to day hazards of common man's life.

K. A. Mohandas

to particular realms of exploitation within the system without any reference to its class structure. Consequently these movements provide fictitious alternatives to genuine struggles of the people for democracy and socialism and thus serve the imperialist system of repression economically, politically and culturally.

II

Quite often the culture of India is euphemistically referred to as "anadi" (Something without beginning) by a certain school of thought thus divorcing it from anything that is living and present. According to this idealist view culture is a baggage from this past, a legacy of the dead or an imaginary construct. This view inherently tends to put forth two propositions.

'Cultural Reductionism' of this type chooses to hide the deep structural inequalities of a society beneath its projected cultural manifestation. In a class divided society the dominant class or classes will naturally dominate the cultural field also but without pronouncedly reflecting the power relations underlying it. The asymmetry between social production and its cultural reproduction and in between dominant culture and dominated culture is latent in the received cultures of the present day world. This follows that every culture that is referred to be representing the whole body of a distinct people hides within it the oppression oppressed relations ruling their material production. In other words, any culture in any area of history, however glorious and timeless it would claim to be,

would bear the mute inprint of the class struggles within the given socio-political system. That is why Kosambi wrote of the dycotomy of Indian culture thus:

'The subtle mystic philosophy, tortuous religions, ornate literature, monuments teeming with intricate and delicate music of India-all derive from the same historic process that produced, farnished apathy of the villages, senseless opportunism and termite greed of the cultured strata, sullen uncoordinated discontent among the workers, the demoralisation, misery, squalor and degrading superstition. The one is a result of the other..... expression of the other'.

Thus what is known as Indian culture has also been a living process determined by the production relations of the respective age, the value system of the exploiting classess dominating the whole cultural life silencing that of the toiling masses who could be able to express culturally only through their struggles.

III

The Power relations existing in India today which is dominated by imperialism joining hands with native feudalism reproduce the most degenerate cultural elements that ensure the perpetuation of these relations. The neocolonial process in India is nigh complete and on every field of people's life socio-economic, political, cultural and intellectual - colonial exploitation has pressed its Venemous fangs. It turns every citizen in this country a prey of the globalized market, the most brutal mechanism of profiteering. It modulates the food habits, the mode of dressing, transportation, communication, familial and social relations, sexuality, physiognomy, art, music, and aesthetics - in short

it shapes the popular consciousness in every way defencelessly prone to the consumerist market. It commodifies everything; even the most indigeneous cultural expressions get hierarchised through the mediation of market. A mass popular culture, quite unrelated to the national conditions, is aggressively marketed. New cultural norms - the merit of the private over Public, individual over social, the sensational and violent over every day struggles - are widely propagated through a subservient media. Electronic media and the Cinema beam highly centralised and fabricated messages that eulogises the savage system. New heroes-value free, non committed, reckless, inhuman who fight for global interests of imperialism are produced and modelled to be emulated by Youngsters who are repeatedly taught that the system is flawless and that any fight against it is a wastage.

The neocolonial instrument of exploitation while engaging the most sophisticated gadgets for fixing and perpetuating itself also does make use of the pre-capitalist social frame work and the ideological mindset, still holding sway here. The exclusivist identities of religion, caste, race, nation and language which are expressed more often in cultural idioms are blown out of proportion as the real primary bonds of community formation and act well as the broad social base for imperialist machinations. The politics of culture, being upheld by various apolitical groups as a substitute to organised class politics in a so-called post capitalist world, serves as an ideological prop for the flourishing 'culture Industry' of imperialism, one of its major sources of capital accumulation today. The shift of the world capital from produ-

ctive to non productive sectors opens the flood gates of speculative economic activities in India which correspondingly address the disastrously degenerate 'culture industry' ranging from casinos to pedofillial sex tourism. The politics of culture and culture industry reinforces each other both celebrating the exclusivism of indigenous identity against the universal reality of human struggles.

The colonial-feudal admixture of Indian culture today naturalises the globalisation mission of imperialism and domesticate the people's consciousness for its unquestioned acceptance. It hides the genuine aspirations of the people for making of a new world and hinders their collective actions to achieve these aspirations. It silences and represses the making of a real peoples culture that they could realise through their struggles. It coerces through the mechanism of global market the peoples will to change the existing world and themselves in that process. It etherises the historical forces that have to lead the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles to triumph.

IV

The popular will to fight against the dominant culture was consolidated first in Indian History through the struggles against British colonialism, though it could be traced back to the Bakthi movement and the regional resistance movements prior to it in the sub continent. But a people rising to necessarily recognise and stress their cultural identity vis-a-vis a comprehensive political system with a new sense of popular sovereignty based on modern democratic principles could be made visible first ever during these

(Contd. P. 17)

Imperialist Crisis and Transition from Keynesianism to Monetarism

The True Essence of Capitalism's Golden Age

As noted by us earlier, while Keynesianism found its first practical expression in the form of the 'New Deal' in USA the world imperialist system had already entered into its moribund and decaying stage. On account of the exacerbation of the inherent contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, its incurable ailments, i.e., the general crisis of capitalism identified by Marxism in the nineteenth century itself had further developed and deepened. In the place of a weakening British imperialism, during the inter-war period itself America's global position was that of an ascending hegemony. And in the imminent post second world war neocolonial phase of imperialism America with its experience of creating 'banana republics' all over Latin America was in a position to successfully infiltrate into the erstwhile colonies of already weakened European powers with the programme of neocolonialism. By creating a whole range of neocolonial institutions and arrangements in the global economic, political and military spheres and through the use of MNCs which are the highest form of international monopolisation of capital, USA could transform itself into imperialism's mightiest power house in the whole world. The evolution of Keynesianism as an international economic philosophy that facilitated the growth of state at a global level as the most important economic power involved in a large-scale in the development of infrastructures and key industrial sectors has made it easy for the neocolonial institutions like Fund-Bank-GATT trio and MNCs in alliance with imperialist states to deal directly with the state and economic policies in the neocolonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. International Keynesianism accorded a prime place to the state's role in the entrepreneurial activities through the setting up of monopoly enterprises, programming and regulation of the economy through state budget, controlling credit and prices and purchasing a substantial portion of the final product through military expenditures and so on. These policies were indispensable to imperialists

to soften the ferocity of the market logic and to avoid capitalist recession as well as to hoodwink the working people who could through a series of struggles put the capitalist class often on the defensive. The establishment of National Economic Development Council in Britain, the Commissariat of the Plan for the Modernisation and Equipping of the French Economy in France and the Planning Commission in neocolonies like India are clear manifestations of this trend. In brief, this interrelationship between Keynesianism and neocolonial global policies shall form the background to our enquiry into the Keynesian efforts at resolving the problems of capitalism by relying on the bourgeois state machinery.

The 'New Deal' was composed of a massive programme of 'welfare' measures and government financed jobs. It called for a rapid expansion in government expenditure through deficit financing and public debt. However these initial efforts lost its steam even much before attaining the 1928 pre-crisis level of the economy. In 1937 the economy collapsed again with unemployment rising from 14 percent to 19 percent of the labour force. This also resulted in utter confusion and uncertainty among US policy makers. Fortunately, the advent of the second imperialist global war to re-divide the world was a godsend opportunity for international capital, especially US capital. US monopolies in close alliance with their state became the biggest supplier of war materials and arms production and militarisation of the US economy continued unabated even after the war. Since then domestic economic policies of USA had been fully subordinated to the requirements of wars both cold and hot thereby transforming Keynesian policies into an international Keynesian militarism led by USA.

During the post second world war period, coupled with a whole set of domestic economic policies, the US state tried to strengthen and expand the dominance of its MNCs in the global arena as part of its neocolonial objectives. These included state financing of dumping on foreign markets, state subsidies and guarantees

for the export of capital and commodities. The so called "aid" or state to state loans helped to restore the military and economic potential of US imperialist capital at a global level. This partly solved the problem of effective demand as envisaged by Keynes. With the apparent aim of reconstructing war-torn Europe, the British Loan of 1945 and the Marshall Plan of 1948 were also designed by US imperialism. Under these heads also millions of dollars were pumped into Europe by US monopoly capital. This was followed by the re-armament policy initiated since early 1950s as part of *pax Americana*. The stationing of large number of troops in Europe as part of NATO, in South East Asia as part of SEATO and in West Asia as part of CENTO and the maintenance of thousands of military bases all over the world coupled with military aid to various neocolonial outposts such as Israel greatly enhanced US military expenditure at a global level. Under the guise of Korean War immense dollars flowed into Japan also. As a result, America's direct military expenditures alone rose from \$ 576 million in 1949 to \$ 2615 million in 1953 and to \$ 3435 million in 1958. This was an increasing trend. For instance, the US military expenditure in Vietnam alone has been estimated to be more than \$ 140000 million at the then prevailing prices. No doubt, these huge military expenditures enabled the US state to swallow up a considerable part of the social product in addition to opening up of new outlets for arms sales by US MNCs thereby alleviating the realisation crisis of American monopoly capital to a great extent. In fact, in 1971, not less than 30 per cent of the GDP in USA was directly purchased by the state in connection with militarisation. From the sixties onward military expenditures began to devour an ever-growing portion of the state budgets in all imperialist countries. For instance in 1974 NATO expenditure was seven times as high as in 1949. While ensuring vast profits for imperialist capital, these huge military expenditures were in fact used for launching aggression against progressive forces in every part of the globe.

In brief, this military spending coupled with Keynesian state programming and welfare expenditures raised the role of the state in imperialist countries and neocolonies alike. For instance, on an average, state spending in leading imperialist countries increased from some 25 percent of the GNP in the inter-war period to over 50 percent by the early 1970s.

The rapid growth of science and technology (quite often war-oriented) that required the centralisation of capital on a national scale compelled the state in both imperialist countries and neocolonies to take the lead. Most scientific works associated with nuclear energy, aerospace, electrical engineering and chemical industries are cases where state intervention had become significant. In fact, an estimate in the 1950s itself had shown that the state intervention in R & D expenditures was 63-64 percent in USA, 63 percent in France and 57 percent in Britain. (This trend was applicable to neocolonies too. There, the "neo-Keynesian growth theories" including the so-called "development economics" evolved by World Bank experts also accorded a crucial role to the state.) However, the most crucial aspect is that much of these state expenditures intended to resolve the problem of effective demand as prescribed by Keynes has been based on an unprecedented expansion in taxes and public debt at all levels as well as a rapid rise in circulation of paper money resulting in a secular growth in inflation. Alvin Hansen, a leading interpreter of Keynes wrote in the sixties: "..... in the public-private economy of today a well-balanced growth suggests an increase in debt at all levels - business debt, consumer debt, state and local debt and federal debt" (*Business Cycles and National Income*, 1964 P 656). In USA, imperialism's centre in the neocolonial era, for example, the national debt up to the second world war was around \$1000 million. But by April 1975, it had risen to \$ 538500 million! According to modest estimates in 1974-75 fiscal year, the total interest payment on federal debt alone by US government was \$ 33000 million. In fact, behind the apparent boom of the imperialist world economy during the 'golden age' this alarming growth in public debt had been a general trend. However, Keynes was of the firm conviction that the size of the public debt was of little consequence so long as high levels of expenditures were capable of maintaining effective demand. This is the crux of the problem, for as we shall see, this Keynesian prognosis on ever-growing imperialist debt arises from a basic ignorance of the laws of motion of capital and its specific character in the post second world war period. On the contrary, an objective evaluation of the movement of capital in the neocolonial phase of imperialism will prove that the growth of both state expenditure and public debt, if continued unabatedly, can reach a critical stage where

the accumulation process itself comes to an eventual halt. In fact, this was what happened in the early seventies. The task is to comprehend this process in a dialectical manner.

It is a historical fact that the ultimate factor that determines total employment and income in a capitalist society has been an adequate profit rate or self expansion of capital and whenever this is obstructed, crisis as manifested through unemployment and stagnation set in. Higher levels of expenditures though temporarily maintain effective demand and employment as claimed by Keynes, in the long run they lead to a reduction in profit and accumulation so long as such expenditures are financed out of taxes and loans which are a drain from the surplus value appropriation by capitalists. Keynes, for whom the reasons for crisis were outside the actual property relations, emphasised the creation of effective demand (realisation problem) and could not foresee the inherent contradictions in that process that would ultimately lead to a decline in the rate of profit. As Marx had pointed out in the last century, under capitalist production relations, only profit (and not interest or speculative gains) that is derived from capital investment in real production which sets in motion labour is the power house that propels the accumulation process which in turn determines the level of employment and demand. In other words, only that investment which employs labour and creates surplus value is productive from the point of view of capital. That is, capital investments in speculative activities that drains out surplus value by remaining in the sphere of circulation are a break in the accumulation process. No doubt, in its competitive stage when capitalism was able to develop productive forces at an appropriate rate, it could sustain a growing parasitic strata of society who are not engaged in production. This was also an expression of its vigour and vitality. However, as we have already noted, under imperialism a major part of the surplus value is leaked out as interest and rentier incomes, and as Lenin had proved stagnation in the imperialist epoch is intimately connected with what has been known as finance capital as it diverges more and more away from its origins in production. In fact, the Keynesian policies resulting in a spectacular growth of state expenditures and public debt have ultimately provided a further boost to this decaying trend in the form of a flourishing parasitic strata of financial and speculative capitalists in society whose sole motto is specu-

lative money spinning business. Ever expanding deficit spending and debt mean that a bigger and growing share of the surplus value derived from the productive sectors is being appropriated as interest and dividend on bond holding and so on. This means a shrinkage in profit rate (that part of the surplus value going for productive investment) leading to a crisis in the accumulation process as manifested through the onset of the unprecedented imperialist crisis in the seventies.

This, however, does not mean that crisis was the result of state spending. We only want to pinpoint that there are definite historical limits of accumulation in view of imperialism's inherent tendency towards stagnation and intensifying destruction of its own material conditions of existence. No doubt, the rapid growth of the state sector in the economy has definitely been a burden for imperialism. Keynesian state intervention and related policies intended to soften the ferocity of the market mechanism (the roots of which lay deep in the ever-intensifying contradiction between social production and private profit) could not remove the contradictions inherent in capitalist production relations, but simply had driven them below the surface during the so called 'golden age' of capitalism. In this context Engels' comment that "every factor which works against a repetition of the old crisis, carries with itself the germ of a far more powerful future crisis" (Marx, Capital, Vol. III P. 489) is fully justified in the application of the Keynesian medicine to capitalist recession. Coming to the logic of our analysis, so long as the rate of profit was growing and being maintained at the required level, an expanding volume of state expenditures could be sustained by imperialism without any threat to its on stability. But when the rate of growth of 'fictitious capital' including interest-bearing capital involved in the financing of huge state debt had outgrown the growth rate in real capital investment and labour productivity, crisis was inevitable. During the initial years of 'golden age' though public debt of the major imperialist countries was growing we have to presume that real capital was also accumulating at a sufficient rate so as to withstand the leakage of surplus value from the accumulation stream. But at a later stage when the weight of debt relative to capital accumulation reached a critical stage draining out a greater proportion of relatively shrinking surplus value, the accumulation process was sure to suffer.

There is an argument from some quarters that Keynes was against the rentier class and that he intended to eliminate interest-bearing and unproductive capital completely. In fact, it is paradoxical that the earnings of finance magnates knew no bounds under Keynesianism. As estimated by Victor Perlo 'a progressive American economist, during the 'golden age' the capital invested by financial corporations in USA secured a return varying between 25 to 30 percent per annum. In USA one of the major earnings of finance capitalists has been from their operations in state loans primarily oriented to militarisation. The main purchasers of state loan bonds are banks, large finance corporations and insurance companies. Quite often the floating of governmental loans are entrusted to a consortium of the leading banks. As a result, in addition to the interest on state loans, finance capitalists appropriate a commission of almost 15 percent of the total sum of the loan too. All these are but a few indications to the rapid growth of a 'bubble economy', the details of which will be discussed in connection with our analysis of imperialist global monetary system under Keynesianism in the coming pages.

It is generally conceived that a major factor propelled capitalist accumulation process in the 'golden age' has been the rapid growth of global armament economy. Of course, the profit rate of the financial oligarchs in the military-industrial complexes is even now much higher than the average of the earnings of all other monopolies. For instance, according to data from the US Bureau of Financial Accounting, the rate of profit in manufacturing industry during the 'golden age' hovers around 20 percent. However, on the basis of an investigation conducted by US Senate Committee on 169 monopolies specialising in arms production, 94 corporations received 50 percent return, 49 more than 100 percent, 22 more than 200 percent, 3 more than 500 percent and one corporation received almost 2000 percent! But this speculative gain by a few is at the expense of the economy as a whole. As argued by many, though arms expenditure may stimulate technical change in the economy due to spin-off effects (such effects ultimately depend on the overall conditions for self expansion of capital in the epoch of imperialism), it is an objective fact that such expenditures withdraw enormous material and resources from the sphere of real production. From the economic point of view, military production and the maintenance of armed forces ultimately represents non-product-

ive waste of part of the social product. As noted by Marx, "War in direct economic terms is just the same as if a nation casts part of its capital in to water" (Grundrisse, Ed. 1 Moskau, 1939 p. 47). To be precise, military production expanded at the cost of civil production, reduces the growth rate of the latter. Thus higher the proportion of the national product expended on military purposes, the lower the growth rate of civil industry will be. In line with our basic hypothesis, therefore, military expenditure is also a drain out of surplus value. Hence, as in the case of finance capital which distances itself from productive activities ever-expanding arms expenditure by imperialism has also been one of the major expressions of the parasitic activity of capital. And it cannot be divorced from the over all crisis of imperialism in its neocolonial phase.

The aforesaid crisis of imperialism under Keynesianism is to be discussed in relation to the ever-growing inter-imperialist rivalries too. Even though the neocolonial global order unleashed by imperialism has been one of international Keynesianism at US hands and the hegemonic role of USA is kept in fact in the initial years, as the crisis mounted, there took place a relative erosion in the dominance of USA thereby resulting in an uneasy balance between the three centres of USA, Europe and Japan. However, at least until the early sixties when USA enjoyed unquestioned supremacy in the neocolonial global order, it can safely be stated that the so called post-war capitalist boom was solely financed out of the growth of US budget deficits and public debt. As manifested through Marshall Plan and other 'aid' programmes, due to lack of profitable opportunities for capital investments at home, USA was the main supplier of capital to the rest of the world and especially to the war-torn imperialist economies of Europe and Japan. In fact, the US government's effort to reconstruct and expand other imperialist economies through capital export was undermining its own relative power in the long run. A number of reasons may be ascribed for the relatively high growth in the productivity of labour in other imperialist countries, vis-a-vis USA. Firstly, by the time the post-war reconstruction programme in Germany and Japan was completed, the stimulatory medicine of Keynesian deficit spending in USA had been over. Secondly, the reconstruction of the economies of Japan and Germany coincided with the scientific and technical 'revolutions' related to production (processing technologies),

Working Class Leaders' Meet at Bhilai

A three-day camp of TUCI leading cadres and leaders of revolutionary trade unions was organised at Bhilai on 20, 21, 22 September by CPI (ML) Red Flag. The invitation letter itself explained the context of the meeting as follows: "In the history of the Indian working

transportation (containerisation/air cargo), communications (tele communication systems), and information and organisation (data processing systems) that occurred in late fifties and early sixties. Thirdly, compared with USA, military expenditures were very low in Germany and Japan immediately after the second world war. It is estimated that compared to US economy, this factor alone had added at least a 2 percent annual growth rate in Japanese industry. Finally, in the specific case of Japan, the wages of workers have been only 25 to 33 percent of those of corresponding American workers. Similarly, West German capitalists could make enormous super profits from the exploitation of migrant workers. Because of these and other factors, the economies of western Europe and Japan expanded at a faster rate than USA, the result being that she found herself increasingly challenged from already mature capitalist countries each with its own specific neocolonial interests in the world economy and politics. However, as is obvious, like that of USA, though at a lesser degree, in other capitalist countries too economic growth rate was going down than the rate of growth of debt in such that by mid-1970s the stimulatory effects of Keynesian policies in them also exhausted completely. Available statistics indicate that the profit rate of manufacturing business in the seven most advanced capitalist countries in 1973 was only 80 percent of the peak year of the 1960-73 period. However, to make our understanding of these developments more sharp, a look at the imperialist global monetary system under Keynesianism is also necessary. In fact, as we shall see, the crisis in the imperialist monetary system has been a reflection of the derangement and disintegration of the moribund production relations of the global capitalist economy. (continued)

class movement the last five years were of crucial importance. With the introduction of the NEP of privatisation—liberalisation—globalisation by Rao government under IMF-WB dictates, the promise of acceleration of these policies by the 13 days BJP government, and its continuation and extension to more areas under the UF government, the trade union and democratic rights won through numerous struggles in the past are not only being snatched away, but the working class is subjected to more ruthless exploitation and oppression through contract labour system, new pension scheme, infringement of TU rights and continued imposition of black laws".

"At the same time this period was also a period of numerous resistance struggles at all India level as well as at local levels. There were general strikes. Bharat bunds, numerous local strike and other struggles. But the fact remains that the organised working class movement is in the main under the leadership of these very same parties who were or are perpetuating anti-working class policies at central/state levels. As a result even successful strikes like that of Telecom employees were betrayed. The Railway workers are prevented from struggles".

"These developments calls for political and organisational initiative by the revolutionary left forces to analyse the mounting attacks against the working class under ever-intensifying neocolonisation and for chalking out plans to mobilise them for determined anti-state struggles".

A 30 page approach paper explaining the international and Indian situation, the role of the working class movement and the present tasks were distributed in advance to help an in-depth discussion.

A reception committee was formed at Bhilai with the veteran freedom fighter and communist from early fourties Dr. B. S. Yadu as chairman, HSCL employees union president Com. S. S. Bhattacharjee as president, Com. Niranjan Yadav as general secretary, Com. Bharat Bhusan Pandey and Com. Ismail Azad as secretaries.

Inaugural session

Leading activists in the TU movement from Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Orissa, Bihar and M.P. alongwith com. G. P. Mishra, Vice-president, All India Railway Employees Coordination participated. On 20 September forenoon Dr. B. S. Yadu inaugurated the camp. Com. S. S. Bhattacharjee presided. Com. Umakant welcomed the delegates. Com. B.B. Pandey proposed vote of thanks. All the Comrades stressed on the significance of the camp and hoped that it will helped to advance the revolutionary working class movement in India.

Dr. B. S. Yadu's Inaugural speech

Dr. Yadu pointed out: All of you fully realise the critical situation through which our country is passing today. I hope after in-depth discussions you will succeed in evolving a correct strategy and a practical programme to organise the working class to lead to the country out of the present morass of confusion in which it is engulfed today.

The most striking feature of present day Indian condition is that the working class is extremely divided. Every part and many individuals have succeeded in dividing them and in destroying their collective might. Our main concern should be to bring them under one banner and programme so that they become irresistible and invincible. It is a titanic task, but is absolutely unavoidable. Are we capable of rising to the occasion is of decisive importance. I personally feel we are quite capable of it.

In my opinion, we must get in to the very root of this malady and then decide how to tackle it successfully. What are reasons for the division of the working class in India? The very cause of it can be found in the character and behaviour of the bourgeoisie and their allies and hangers on during the last one and half century. They were meticulously trying and have succeeded in keeping in the working class away from revolutionary politics. As a result they have succeeded in getting Indian trade union movement bogged down in the morass of economism, and the more the TU leaders try to get out of it, the more they get bogged down. Consequently the Indian working masses have been converted into section without any stake in future.

As such, today it is our first and foremost duty to tell the working class that unless they start taking active interest in politics they cannot get rid of the various problems they are facing. These problems are creation of the Indian ruling classes and they can never resolve them. The only force capable of resolving them in people's interest is the proletariat whose task is to establish a New Democratic state under its leadership.

At present world is fully dominated by international monopoly capital and the entire so-called third world is living on the mercy of this capital. Anybody or any party advocating taking aid from imperialism or for collaborating with it cannot solve these problems. Anybody or any party advocates fighting against imperialism, or stand against overt or covert collaboration with imperialism is the most reliable front of the proletariat. The development of our country is possible entirely based on our own efforts. This is a cardinal issue for proletariat. In this connection it would be worthwhile to take a glance on our TU movement. Almost all trade unions are openly or covertly are trying to curry favour with imperialist capital. Even the so-called left trade unions are doing the same. From this it is not difficult to find our friends or foes.

In view of this situation, I would like to appeal to all those who are present here to chalk out a clear-cut strategy and workable programme of action to accomplish the revolutionary tasks. If we can do that we shall be able to develop the mighty force of Indian proletariat to storm the reactionary state and establish a New Democratic state which alone is capable of abolishing the domination of imperialism and the rule by its compradors.

Com. S. S. Bhattacharjee in his brief presidential speech stressed the need to build up a revolutionary trade union centre as even AITUC and CITU have become apologists of ruling system. He pointed out the significance of organised work among core sector workers and employees.

Remember the martyrdom of Com. Niyogi, Com. B. B. Pandey called for active discussions to build up a powerful working class movement which can avenge the death of thousands of our martyr comrades.

Presentation of the approach paper

The camp formally started in the afternoon session presided by Com. Niranjan Yadav in

which Com. K. N. Ramachandran, all India secretary, CPI (ML) Red Flag presented the approach paper.

Presenting the paper comrade explained the urgent necessity of building up a revolutionary working class movement with all India perspective. The present situation is a critical one. Actually privatisation—liberalisation—globalisation is leading to some form of de-industrialisation. Indian industries are turned in to appendages of MNCs or ruined. Even the agrarian sector is integrated with international market devastating the countryside. Agricultural workers, marginal peasants and even sections of middle peasants are compelled to migrate to urban areas leaping up urban population. That is, neocolonisation is heavy toll with increasing unemployment, rising prices, and pauperisation of masses.

The National Campaign Committee and later National Platform of Mass Organisations have led many struggles during last 5 years. But with advent of UF government NPMO has become practically defunct as 'Left' parties themselves are part of the UF government. At the same time the working class and other toiling masses are becoming increasingly restive. We have to become capable of leading them.

TUCI in its present condition cannot take up this task alone. All like minded trade unions should be brought together based on a programmatic approach for united struggle with an all India perspective. This camp is a beginning of this process.

At the international itself imperialism has launched a counter revolutionary offensive to disarm the working class economically, politically and culturally. What is happening here is part of this move. That is why the revolutionary forces have started taking initiative to organise an International Anti-Imperialist Front. The working class should lead all other revolutionary classes building worker-peasant alliance to overthrow the present ruling system. In accomplishing this task the organised working class movement has a most significant role to play. Comrade K. N. Concluded by saying: "The accomplishment of these tasks depend upon the conscious work to build up the revolutionary trade union centre of the Indian working class uniting all fighting politically conscious workers around it. Let us resolve to take up this historic task realising the significance of the objective situation today and the possibilities it raise before the revolutionary forces".

Discussion on approach towards orientation of working class movement

The discussions on the forenoon session on 21 September focussed on the theoretical questions mainly while in the afternoon session the stress was on practical experience, both helping to develop the orientation of the working class movement. Starting the discussion Com. G. P. Mishra first gave an analysis of the present condition of the Railway worker's movement. Though railway worker's struggle has a great history today they are made incapable of struggle even when privatisation is going ahead with maddening pace reducing the 23 lakh workers a decade back to 13 lakhs today with the threat of further reduction to 9 lakhs by 2000. Even then the recognised unions are colluding with the management to prevent any struggles. We have to go deep into reasons for this.

From the time of October Revolution working class movement everywhere developed fast. International Communist Movement made great strides forward. Afraid of this advance, in post-World War II years the imperialists launched new forms of economic and cultural aggression against world people. Its impact can be seen everywhere. It has caused our setbacks. Alongwith other imperialist agencies 26000 NGOs are working in India to disarm the people. Present situation of globalisation has taken away the old forms of bargaining capacity of the working class. So we have to take revolutionary ideology to the working class and arm them with it. Economic and cultural aggression should be combatted. A new revolutionary working class leadership should be built up.

Com. M. M. Somasekharan, general secretary, TUCI, pointed out that we have to differentiate proletarian internationalism from imperialist globalisation. While the former leads to democratisation, latter leads to monopoly of power and fascistisation. The imperialists are working for creating corporate nationalism. They make favourable conditions for the looting of the MNCs and imperialist capital.

Ruling classes are very particular that even when governments come and go there should be no change in policies. Now they openly say that elections should not change policies. A form of apoliticisation is going on. But behind this

apoliticisation there is highly concentrated ruling class politics. Under reformist influence working class movement at the same time is getting reduced to localism. VOs and NGOs alongwith independent TUs promote this. They encourage to concentrate on local or marginal issues, not on cardinal issues. Their motto is 'think globally, act locally'. But they destroy international proletarian world outlook.

Our task is to develop political agitation with the perspective of capture of political power. The central question is which class should rule. Imperialists promote Fukuvoka's end of history themes. He is a propagandist for CIA. Our central question is putting forward the concept of proletarian dictatorship. But even some so-called ML organisations teach that working class has degenerated to labour aristocracy. They are also focussing on marginal issues. We have to struggle against all these alien trends to build up a revolutionary working class movement.

Com. Ram Kaviandra Singh, Bihar, explained how working class movement degenerated to economism. As a result most industrialised cities and states of India have fallen to Hindutua forces. Urban areas with working class as critical force witnessed worst communal riots. Economism and revisionism are twins. After Naxalbari, inspite of revolutionary advances in the beginning, we abandoned the working class. Later when some organisations took up trade union work they could not differentiate it from revisionist trade union work. We have joined struggle against these forces already. We have to develop it further.

Primarily we have to work for building up class/mass organisations guided by our correct political line. Alongwith it we have to build up a broad front based on democratic slogans. Let us unite to build up an all India revolutionary working class movement.

Com. Ayyappa Hogar, Secretary, TUCI Karantaka state committee touched on the condition of the working class movement in Karnataka. At present TU activities are developing under our leadership at Bhadravati, in Hatti gold mines and other sectors in Raichur, in Bangalore city and few other places.

While under privatisation—liberalisation—globalisation condition of working class is deteriorating, when Gowda was chief minister of Karnataka he introduced an amendment to land reforms to promote rich peasants and MNC's entry in to agrarian field. As a result

more and more rural poor are compelled to migrate to urban areas. MNCs and imperialist capital are entering the state at fast pace. Recent visit of US assistant state secretary Robin Raphel to Bangalore shows how much importance US gives to this city. In spite of opposition by people Cogentrix is allowed to start work at Bangalore to build a power plant. Now 'Miss World' competition is held at Bangalore to attract more MNCs inspite of mighty people's protests.

The working class is ready to struggle. But the revisionist leadership are discouraging them from the path of struggle. They have compromised with managements, MNCs and imperialist capital. In this situation we have started organising the working class in different areas. But it is proved repeatedly that even if we wage struggles at state level, it will not change the policies pursued by Indian ruling classes. We have to develop struggles at all India levels.

We have to propagate the importance of the slogan which was given to the proletariat in the Communist Manifesto: Workers of the world unite. We have to educate the workers what the working class achieved by marching forward under this slogan.

The afternoon session started with com. Charles George, secretary, TUCI Kerala Committee explaining some of the important struggles waged by the working class in Kerala and analysed how these struggles cannot advance in the absence of an all India worker's movement. Against contract labour system there were struggles in Apollo tyres and among coir workers. Against exit policy Madura Coats workers still continuing. When Rao government reduced import duties in 1992, FACT and HMT faced crisis. As it went for global tenders to purchase ships, Cochin Shipyard faced severe crisis. Against these working class waged joint struggles and succeeded then. But now UF government has done the same. We are on struggle path. Similarly UF government's budget proposals have put the cocunut and rubber in to a serious economic disaster. Again the deep sea fishing policy pursued from Rao government's time. It is depriving work for over 90 lakhs of fish workers in coastal areas of India. None of these policies can be resisted at state level alone. They call for all India movements.

Now imperialism is utilising the gains of science and technology to exploit natural resou-

nces and human labour more everywhere. Through these advances imperialism is propagating that socialism is obsolete. Alongwith socialism they are attacking the livelihood of the people also utilising the advances in science and technology. Biotechnology and tissue culture developments are making millions jobless from their traditional work areas. Same is repeated by Cargill, Pepsi like MNCs in India. It shows the necessity for international perspective also in the struggle against imperialism.

Now what we are witnessing in W. Bengal is that revisionists have succeeded atleast for the last 20 years in disarming the working class. But the various struggles under TUCI leadership is making it difficult for the LDF government. We shall strive hard to prevent the revisionists repeating in Kerala what they have done in Bengal. Let us carry forward our struggle to build a powerful all India revolutionary working class movement capable of challenging the Indian state and its policies, and overthrowing it uniting with all over revolutionary classes.

Then com. G. N. Singh from Bokaro explained how they revolted against A. K. Roy's decision to go back to CPI (M) and CITU. A good number of workers and employees of HSCCL and Bokaro Steel Plant have decided to unite with the revolutionary working class movement. Now all the major trade union centres including those led by CPI (M) and CPI are nakedly serving ruling class interests. Naturally corruption is rampant among them. We should unite to fight against these anti-working class trends and to build a powerful working class centre. We should take steps to unite HSCCL and steel workers alongwith railway workers at all India level.

Com. Doraiswamy from Tamilnadu explained the condition of the more than two lakh tea-plantation workers in the state. While the workers remain most exploited and women workers are compelled to do men's work at lower wages, AITUC leadership is collaborating with management. That is why the workers rebelled and joined TUCI. All other unions are joining hands to defeat us when we are waging struggles without compromising on workers' demands. It is exposing them and our struggles are developing. Our activities have spread to textile mills in Coimbatore and to construction workers in Madras. A powerful all India revolutionary TU centre is the need of the hour.

Com Sivaram from Orissa explained that

when workers are increasingly migrating to other states from Orissa, even many of the existing factories are closed down saying they are not profitable. The new industries like proposed TISCO plant at Ganjam is most modern without providing much employment. MNCs are given many facilities to enter in core sectors. State electricity board is privatised setting a trend for other states to follow. Neither Congress, JD or BJP, nor CPI (M) and CPI led unions are not ready to wage struggles against these policies. It is in this context we have started our work in the TU field. Formation of an active revolutionary trade union centre shall help us to carry forward our efforts.

Following this com. Niranjan Yadav explained the history of a century long TU struggles in Chathisgarh. The struggle against mechanisation and for basic rights of workers led by Chathisgarh Mukti Morcha from 1977 was very significant in which many workers were shot dead. When an effort was initiated at Bhilai to organise the workers in the numerous industrial units, sensing the danger the management joined hands and with the assistance of state machinery eliminated Com. Niyogi. After com. Niyogi's martyrdom though the enemies have succeeded in usurping the leadership of CMM, the working class will not surrender. Taking lessons from the past and uniting with the working class all over India we shall carry forward our struggles to fulfill the dreams of thousands of martyrs including comrades Niyogi, Daras Ram Sahoo and Ramesh Parida.

The second day's discussion showed clarity achieved by the comrades about the revolutionary orientation the working class movement should have in our country in present context. All of them united in fighting against all alien trends with one voice.

On 22 September first part of the morning session was allotted for clarifications and explanations of ideological political questions raised by participating comrades. Many theoretical and practical questions concerning the international and Indian Communist movement and on the attacks, launched by imperialism and its lackeys in all fields were raised and com. K. N. Ramachandran explained to them in detail.

Decisions

Following this the discussion was summed up by comrade. He pointed out the high level

of unity expressed by all comrades and stressed the need to carry forward the task of building an all India movement uniting like minded forces with TUCF activities, and building a united movement including all these forces.

To help this process three proposals were put forward which were unanimously adopted by all delegates.

1) To observe November 15 as a Demands Day wherever possible all over India based on following slogans:

1. Quit WTO, Kick out IMF-World Bank-MNCs
2. Scrap Privatisation — Liberalisation—Globalisation.
3. Abolish Contract Labour System.
4. Scrap ESMA and all other Black Laws.
5. Implement Land Reforms; Build up worker-peasant alliance.

2) In continuation to December 1995 Coimbatore Convention and this Camp, hold state level camps of like-minded leading comrades in the TU field based on above slogans to speed up the process of building up a powerful all India centre.

3) Starting with HSCL initiate efforts to build up co-ordinating committees at all India level to bring together workers, employees and contract labourers in all core sectors.

Resolution

The afternoon session started with moving resolutions. The first resolution severely condemned US imperialist aggression against Iraq. The second resolution requested all progressive democratic forces to come forward to build up the unity of all progressive and revolutionary trade unions in order to wage united struggles against all onslaughts against the working class and against the new economic policy.

The third resolution opposed the new pension scheme and demanded its scrapping. The fourth resolution condemned the UF government's continuation of the privatisation—liberalisation—disinvest policies of Rao government and called on all progressive forces to resist it. The fifth resolution opposed the privatisation of the insurance sector and extended support to the insurance employees struggling against it.

The sixth resolution moved by com. G. P. Mishra called for granting political rights to all government employees. The seventh resolution called for reinstatement of all workers and employees retrenched in connection with Bhilai

workers struggle. It called for punishment to all the industrialists responsible for Com. Niyogi's murder. The eighth resolution called for immediate rehabilitation of all those who are displaced by various projects and for an end to all forms of oppression against them.

And the ninth and last resolution moved by Com. S. S. Bhattacharjee called for opposing the closure of all Public sector companies including HSCL. It called for an enquiry into the actual reasons for them becoming non-profitable. The government of India has unilaterally violated the 1964 agreement by asking HSCL to give tenders alongwith private contractors. The resolution demanded its termination and implementation of 1964 agreement. The resolution demanded putting an end to all forms of exploitation and oppression of the contract workers by the contractors, the management and the government. It pointed out the victimisation of the retrenched workers belonging to one union while favouritism is shown to those belonging to another union. It called for a end to all victimisations.

The concluding session witnessed comrades Sukhavi Ram Nishad (MP), Vidyabhusan (Bihar), Samarsengupta (MP), G. P. Mishra, Dr. B.S. Yadu and Com. R.K. Singh expressing through their brief speeches the confidence created by the Camp in going ahead with the building up of all India revolutionary trade union centre. The camp came to a close with the International and amid revolutionary slogans.

Mass Line Publications

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Nehru to Rao: Neo-Colonisation Process in India | Rs. 100/- |
| 2. Voluntary/Non governmental..... | Rs. 50. |
| 3. Foundations of Leninism | Rs. 30. |
| 4. The Great Debate: | Rs. 100/- |

In Print

5. Comintern Documents Vol. I (1919-1923)
- 33½ Commission to book stalls and agencies
- Send Orders/DDs/MOs to:

Mass Line Publications,
TKMC (Po), Pin No. 691005
Kodlam, Kerala, India

(From P. 6)

anti-colonial struggles only. Beginning with this century the socialist principles and the working class struggles all over the world galvanised the Indian people also with a new awareness of popular culture. This awareness that the people make their own history and culture was the result of their exposition to a new world view and their participation in the collective actions to realise that world view. The experience of the two world wars and the fight against fascism brought into the country the ideas of a new internationalism based on working class consciousness. The Communist movement and its cultural stalwarts led the people a long way in democratising the society and establishing a militant cultural epoch in the modern history. It was the recognition of the people that the fight for establishing the hegemony of the popular culture is the fight against the political power in existence, its economy and its ideological framework. The set back to the socialist ideas in the present world has enfeebled these struggles in India as elsewhere. This has also caused to lead a section of the people who were part of these struggles earlier abandoning them and turning to fatalism. These are the new intelligentsia in their role of missioneries of Post Modernism.

V

Now as cultural activists in the making of the New Democratic India who wish to widen our fraternity and frontiers what are our tasks of the hour?

1. Retrace and carry forward the legacy of anti-colonial, anti-feudal struggles of the freedom movement, the radical cultural activism of the communist movement (Remember, the

progressive writers movement, IPTA and the like) and the revolutionary cultural upspring of the seventies after Nazalbari

2. Expose the myriad subtle ways in which imperialism, the enemy of mankind, works in the world of ideas and cultural, art and literature, philosophy, aesthetics, media, education theory of knowledge etc - and make people aware of the real content.

3. Expose the intelligentsia who talk in radical terms but act as carriers of imperialist ideas and thus betray the emancipatory cause of the people.

4. Expose the NSMs which pose themselves as alternative to revolutionary transformation of society by creating the illusion that the problems in various areas of society - National question, Dalit question, women's question, environmental question etc, - are unrelated and could be solved through struggles within the area and which thus deny the dynamics of power relations that engenders any kind of inequality.

5. Uphold and reassert the view that values in the material as well as non material realms are the produces of labouring man and are expropriated by the dominant class. Culture is not merely the 'construct' or the 'discourse' of the academics but the totality of the living process. The relation of the high/low culture is the power relation in the existing society itself and the building of the new culture means the inversion of these relations.

6. Hence these struggles to change the cultural values mean, on the part of the cultural activists, participation in the people's struggles to change the world.

7. This also means that the idea of changes in value system being expressed in the peoples literature and art will necessarily change the ways of expression also. The mechanical idealisation of any model in art for ever will be self defeating.

8. The building of real people's cultural movement should be broad based and will constitute the largest sections of secular democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces.

[Position paper presented at
All India Cultural Camp]
Jabalpur, Oct. 10-12 '96

(From P. 4)

especially youth to the dangerous swamps of idleness and conservative obscurity. The importance of the struggle against these were highlighted in the paper of Com: Rana Pratap.

Com: BenBihari Chakravarty the veteran Communist and one of the editors of 'Real wealth' with a rich experience of progressive and revolutionary cultural activities from 1940s expressed his opinions participating in the discussion. He said that the non governmental voluntary organisations are being promoted by the forces of capital in order to detract the people's movements and struggles for a long time. He cited an example of a struggle took place in IPTA during 1940s on this question. He said that the experience of IPTA on several questions including that of relationship between Communist Party and individual artists and writers are to be evaluated. This is an historical juncture and the relevance of a real progressive revolutionary cultural movement devoid of all kinds of sectarianism is of high importance. Com: Chakravarty congratulated the comrades of

'Vikalp' who organised the camp and expressed his hope that the initiative shown by Vikalp will become fruitful.

Com: Ram Kavindar Singh from Bihar insisted that a real revolutionary cultural movement has invariably be prepared to uphold Marxism - Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought and to fight all kinds of deviations. He said that relationship between party and the cultural movement should also be defined scientifically.

Comrades Ravindra Shukla and Sapan also participated in the discussion.

The discussion continued to the next day also.

The resolution adopted unanimously on the third day resolved that the prime duty of the left cultural activists in India in the present historical context is to fight alongwith the people against their enemy ie imperialism, its economics, politics, ideology and culture in its broadest sense.

Apart from the discussions and presentation of papers various cultural programmes were also presented in the camp. The outstanding performance of a street play group of progressive girl students was highly appreciated. Com: Samar, Umakant, Sapan and others sung revolutionary songs. The paintings and sketches of Com: Awadhesh Bajpaye and posters were exhibited which were of better easthetic standards.

When the camp was dispersed on 12th of October with a decision to hold the next camp without much delay the comrades assembled at Jabalpur opined that a process of initiating the building up of a real progressive, democratic and revolutionary cultural movement stands started.

Vinay

Unite to Fight Out The Imperialist Cultural Onslaught

Resolution Adopted by Japalpur Cultural Camp

The cultural life of India is getting more and more subjected to the imperialist exploitative system in myriad ways and in subtle forms. The neocolonial process in India is intensive and the evils of globalisation are tangibly felt in all the realms of Indian life, social, economical and cultural. The power relations in India in the form of imperialism which joins hands with feudalism repress the vast majority of the people. The people's aspirations of liberating themselves from the shackles of this savage exploitative system are suppressed, thwarted, distorted and dissipated in numerous ways by manipulating the people's consciousness in favour of the existing system. For this imperialism make use of the most degenerate feudal and pre-feudal social relations which still hold sway in the vast geographical regions of the sub-continent. Thus the social categories such as religion, caste, race, nationality, language and ethnicity which still are instruments of discriminatory hierarchisation are used by the ruling system in the form of revivalism and religious fundamentalism under the patronage of imperialism to split up the peoples collective will arising from their class based unity to struggle against the system.

While the global capital is exploiting the world people in highly centralised and conspiratorial ways by implementing the "New World Order" through their policies of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation and is evolving new theories and instruments for

its unquestioned implementation, it is also generating new bizzare and eclectic ideas and propagating them purporting to deviate latter ideologically from their struggles. Imperialism works in the field of ideas and culture of the people of India in a way that forces them unconsciously to internalise these dominating ideas. The newer technological jumps in the area of communications are aggressively utilised to garner the popular mindset so as to make itself submit for the acceptance of these ideas. The intelligentsia who earlier were aligning themselves with people's movements are now turning stooges of imperialism and are in the forefront of propagating the new philosophy of plunder.

Contemporary cultural scene in India convinces those concerned that the left cultural hegemony in the life and thought of the people is on the wane. The glorious legacy of the cultural activism of the progressive forces in India that struggled once to transform the power relations of the system is now here in the scene. While the triumphalist ideas of world imperialism are trying to penetrate the people and enfeeble the organised political struggles the forces committed to lead these struggles are getting fragmented and are resorting to easier alternative to revolutionary transformation. The New Social Movements, fostered by imperialism in India, take out the struggles against the system from out of the people's hands and confine them to particular areas of discrimination such as

dalit, nationality, gender and ecology. The Post Modernist thoughts which in content encompasses all the anti-revolutionary, anti people and pro-systemic ideas such as antiessentialism, fragmentalism and anti enlightenment programme are getting infiltrated into even the most vocal revolutionary sections. These ideas commodity even the most creative expressions of art and culture in the neocolonial cultural market. The values of justice, freedom and reason that were cherished by the people through centuries of struggles are being sold out for a pittance by the intelligentsia from the imperialist sponsors.

Now the cultural activists all over India who fight for the building of a new democratic India gravely. Feel the immediacy to widen their fraternity and frontiers leading to consolidation of all the democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces to strike back the onslaught of imperialism in the cultural field as well as in the politico economic field. They should be able to take up the challenges of the present day realities and to reply imperialism in the fields of ideology, philosophy, art and literature, media and theories of knowledge. The Indian left has proved its mettle earlier in history through the anti colonial, anti feudal struggles including Naxalbari. We have to retrace and carry forward this legacy and rally the people against the new and intensified machinations of imperialism. Culture is the totality of the values produced by the people's labour in the material and non material fields and always it is dominated and suppressed by the upper classes. To build up a genuine people's culture means the liberation of the people from the exploitative system that reproduces the

anti people, repressive culture. Hence in the present historical context the prime duty of the left cultural activists in India is to fight alongwith the people against their enemy namely imperialism-its economics, its politics, its ideology and its culture in its broadest sense.

We, the activists of the All India Cultural Camp, held at Jabalpur on 96 Oct. 10-12 resolve and call upon all the democratic,

progressive and revolutionary cultural activists and organisations in India to unitedly take up this challenge and ally with the people in their struggles against the imperialist feudal forces that suppress them.

Jabalpur, 12 Oct-'97

Adopted by the All India Cultural Camp held at Jabalpur hosted by VIKALP

Com. Udham Singh

" I do not care about dying. I am dying for a purpose. I hope that when I am gone, in my place will come thousands of my countrymen to drive you dirty dogs out, to free my country". These are the words of Udham Singh who was sentenced to death by British colonialists for shooting dead Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, who had ordered the massacre of thousands of Indian patriots at Jallianwalla Bagh, Amritsar on April 13, 1919. Udham Singh was only 16 then. The firing was ordered on a crowd of 25000 men, women and children who had assembled defying orders. Dwyer then arrogantly declared " I will do all men to death if they defy orders".

Udham Singh regarded O'Dwyer as the arch villain and swore to take revenge. He travelled to US and then to Britain for this purpose. Only on March 13, 1940 he could shoot down this savage colonial lord at London. The trial of Udham Singh exposed the British judicial system's claims about high principles. It was a summary trial in secret. British papers obediently kept mum. Now 56 years after the historic event the Indian Workers Association in London have succeeded to procure the details of the trial and Udham Singh's statement after he was sentenced to death.

The heroic act of Udham Singh should inspire the millions of patriots who are today waging an uncompromising struggle against the neocolonial slavery.

Joint convention at Hyderabad calls for united offensive

The first joint convention to propagate the joint statement signed by CPI (ML) Red Flag, CPI (ML) New Democracy, CPI (ML) Liberation and MCPI calling for a decisive, broad-based countrywide movement against the policies pursued by UF government with Congress support, and against the fascist threat posed by Hindutva forces was successfully held on 15 October at Gandhi Bhavan, Hyderabad. Even before the convention started with revolutionary songs at 11.30 AM, the big hall was filled up by hundreds of comrades of CPI (ML) New Democracy and MCPI who marched to the hall from different parts of AP with red flags and raising slogans propagating the ten demands in the joint statement.

Com: Sambasiva Rao of CPI (ML) ND welcomed the convention and read out the joint statement. He explained the significance of the convention and invited Com: K. N. Ramachandran, Secretary, CPI (ML) Red Flag to address the convention. Com: Ramachandran explained the unity process so far from the days of anti-Dunkel agitations to bring together revolutionary and genuine left forces on a slogan-based common platform to mobilise people's movements against the ruling system which has bartered away the country's interests and pauperised the masses more and more. He explained the significance of this joint move both in the international and Indian context.

At international level imperialism led by US imperialism has launched a neocolonial offensive against the Afro-Asian, Latin American peoples through their agencies like IMF, WB and WTO utilising the comprador regimes in these countries. It is imposing the burden of the general crisis it is facing on world people. Against this the peoples of these Afro-Asian, Latin American countries as well as the proletariat of the imperialist countries are on war path. To suppress these movements imperialism led by US imperialism is resorting to open aggression as in Iraq, imposition of its nuclear hegemony through CTBT, and further intensification of structural adjustment policies to impose total hegemony of imperialist capital and MNCs. Ideological offensive against proletarian forces is launched announcing new

world order and 'end of history'. Post modernist like ideas are spread to frustrate and fragment all progressive movements.

It is in this context the developments in our country leading to imposition of privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation by Rao government and the consensus among Congress, BJP and UF about these policies should be seen. The UF government is accelerating the implementation of the IMF-WB dictated policies. CPI (M), CPI like forces as apologists of neo-colonialism have degenerated to ruling class positions. So Com: Ramachandran stressed the historic significance of revolutionary and genuine left forces coming together on a common platform to fight the ruling system. He pointed out that uniting with other like-minded forces also this initiative will be carried forward step by step in coming days. Ideological differences among these organisations will not create hurdles for an effective united all India movement based on the ten slogans.

Com: Somarajanna, CC member of MCPI, saluted the unity effort and invited Com: N. Murthy, AP state committee secretary of CPI (ML) Liberation to address the convention. Com: Murthy stressed the need for united struggles broadening the present unity. With CPI (M), CPI joining the UF whose government is implementing IMF-WB dictated policies withdrawing from people's struggles, it is our duty to carry forward anti-NEP, anti-state struggles in continuation to the countrywide struggles of last five years.

Then representing MCPI, its general secretary Co: S. S. Srivastava appealed to all genuine left, revolutionary forces to come together to wage unrelenting struggles against the anti-people policies of Gowda government. All the joint struggles of last five years have stopped now due to betrayal of CPI (M), CPI parties. Today Congress and BJP are equally against people. BJP cannot be fought by joining with Congress as UF is doing and LF parties are preaching. We have to take this united move forward not only to wage countrywide struggles but also to seize power demolishing the ruling system.

Jungle Raj In Orissa

The atrocious behaviour of the police i.e. criminals in uniform on common citizens, as a daily ritual is not an unheard of thing in this country so much so that it seems India is virtually turning out to be a police state. But the unprecedented thing is that this time the police has come out with all its brutality on the lawyers community - the professional practitioners of law and supposedly the most capable section to effectively avail themselves of the protections granted by law.

On 27th August 96 at around 12.00 noon about five hundred lawyers with their robes on, proceeded on a procession, led by the Bhubaneswar Bar Association, from Civil Court premises (Bhubaneswar) to the Orissa Secretariat, to present a memorandum to the discredited Chief Minister of Orissa Janaki Ballav Patnaik on one of their long-standing demand to declare Bhubaneswar as a revenue district. When the procession arrived at the

Representing CPI (ML) New Democracy, Com: D. V. Krishna explained in detail the evolution of the imperialist dictated policies which are pauperising the masses. There is consensus among Congress, BJP and UF in implementing these anti-people policies. State governments led by different parties including LF are also inviting MNCs. Existing land ceiling laws are amended for land accumulation to help MNCs, big bourgeois sections and rich peasants. All welfare measures are withdrawn. People are coming up in struggles. All progressive forces should be united based on these anti-imperialist anti-feudal democratic slogans.

Then Com: G. S. Lyalpuri of MCPI briefly spoke urging all revolutionary and left forces to fight revisionism and to struggle for people's democracy. We have to fulfill the dreams of martyrs by reorganising the Communist party and carrying forward people's struggles. Our ten slogans are sufficient to start a countrywide movement.

Com: M. Narayana Swamy of CPI (ML) New Democracy in his stirring brief speech called for unleashing countrywide struggles against imperialism and all its Indian agents.

Com: D. V. Krishna moved a resolution calling for continuous efforts to carry forward

gate of the Secretariat at around 12.45 P. M. escorted by the police, to their (Lawyers) utter surprise the processionists found none present there to receive their memorandum. The lawyers earlier informed the Chief Minister's office about their arrival to present the memorandum. After around half an hour suddenly the promotion-hungry District Police SP B. K. sharma appeared on the scene and charged the lawyers of violating the prohibitory order under section 144 of CRPC by coming to the main gate of the Secretariat even though such prohibitory order, in no way, was publicly declared nor was communicated to the processionists. The SP Mr. Sharma ordered for lathicharge on the lawyers including the lady lawyers. The lawyers were brutally beaten and they were forcibly driven away beyond 100 metres, from the Secretariat gate. Around 40 lawyers including lady lawyers were injured and hospitalised to the extent that 3 of them were serious enough to be referred to the SCB

the joint move. It called for launching country-wide movements uniting all progressive forces. It appealed to all genuine left and the revolutionary forces to join this united move based on the ten slogans and the resolve to fight for them. The convention approved the resolution with enthusiasm.

With the raising of the ten slogans of the joint statement by the hundreds of comrades assembled and amidst revolutionary songs the convention concluded in an enthusiastic atmosphere. The fact that inspite of the railway strike such a large number of comrades from different parts of AP arrived by trucks and bus and such a good local response was received, indicate the enthusiasm created by the joint move. The announcement that the Hyderabad Convention will be followed by the joint convention at Kozhikode (Kerala) on November 28 and later at Calcutta in December to be followed by further steps for joint campaigns and struggles was received by the comrades with spirited applause. On the whole, the Hyderabad convention in continuation to the joint Anti-imperialist convention held at Delhi on January 1, 1996, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the signing of WTO agreement by the traitorous Rao government is a significant step ahead.

Medical College at Cuttack, of course at the intervention of the High Court of Orissa. Mr Sharma excelled even the former Director General of Punjab police KPS. Gill.

Incidentally this type of police repression on the lawyers had taken place in the recent past at various place of the state like Badamba, Nayagarh, Cuttack which culminated at Bhubaneswar on 27th August. As a reaction to this, the lawyers of Bhubaneswar had been on stir since 27th August. A Bhubaneswar Bandh was organised on 2nd Sept. In view of the magnitude of the problem, the State Bar Council gave a call for cease work on 10th Sept by all Bar Associations of the State. The All-Orissa Lawyers Association also organised a mass rally to Raj Bhawan, Bhubaneswar to protest and condemn the police atrocity. The lawyers also locked up the Bhubaneswar courts during their agitation. Later they were opened only after the intervention of judges.

The striking lawyers of Orissa withdrew their 21-day old ceasework agitation on 18th Sept 96 with an ultimatum to the State Government to fulfill their demands including setting up an inquiry commission headed by a sitting judge of Orissa High Court to probe into the incidents of police atrocities on the lawyers at Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Jaleswar and Badamba, establishment of Bhubaneswar Revenue District by the next 30 days.

Several democratic and human rights organisations of the State including the Gantantrik Adhikar Suraldya Sanghtan (affiliated to AIFOFDR), People's Union For Democratic Rights (PUDR), Orissa State Council condemned the police repression on the lawyers.

In a letter to Chief Minister of Orissa on 20th Sept the PUDR said that the 27th August incident at Bhubaneswar and other recent major police atrocities in other places with the consent of the people at the home of affairs, reflect the state of democracy in India including Orissa even half a century after the transfer of power. The State and all its instruments like police and executive is becoming more and more brutal and autocratic. Even basic rights are denied in most of the areas including the right to live, the letter added.

It is no more a secret that the unscrupulous leaders of ruling class parties interfere considerably in the working of the police for

unlawful ends. The police working is still governed by an anti-quoted legislation enacted in 1861 whose main object was to uphold and subserve the interests of the British Raj. Unfortunately, the situation continues to this day, the only difference being that alien power has been replaced by indigenous (corrupt, rotten and anti-people) ruling class parties like Congress, BJP, Janata Dal, C.P.I, C.P.M. ●

-Abir Padhy

A FIGHTER WHO FELL

High on the mountain in peaks of Timor
The grass grows
And warms the fractured bones
of a fighter who fell
Down on the grassy plains of Timor
A flower shows
And beautifies the bones
of a fighter who fell
This is the hopeful life that grows
From life's release
The life that every woman knows
Who calls for peace
With every waking breath
But not the peace of death
Throughout the peaks and plains of Timor
The life- blood flows
And animates the bones
of the fighters who fell.

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao

[People of Timor are struggling against the occupation forces of the fascist-fundamentalist government of Suharto in Indonesia]

INTERNATIONAL SCENE

Not so hidden story of His Holiness

According to the secret official documents quoted in "His Holiness: John Paul II and the hidden history of our line", a book by Water-gate investigative reporter Bernstein and Italian journalist agency chief William Casey, "beginning in the spring of 1981, the Reagan administration maintained an intelligence shuttle at the highest level between the White House and the Pope, who was regularly briefed by Casey and Vernon Walters, a former CIA deputy director..... Pope received some of America's most carefully guarded secrets and sophisticated political analysis: information from satellites, from intelligence agents, from electronic eaves-dropping, from political discussions at the White House, state department and CIA. And the US received information from the Pope."

It was an informal "secret alliance" between "the His Holiness" and US administration to bring down Soviet Union and the East European states. In this Reagan administration spent \$ 50 million to keep Solidarity of Poland, the brain child of the Polish born Pope led by Lek Walessa alive from 1982 to 1989. Many more details of this dirty collusion between Vatican and US imperialism in the crusade against Communism in the post - World War II years are yet to come out.

South Korea: Fascism on the rise

The most precious 'Asian Tiger' of IMF and WB, the South Korea is witnessing unbridled state terror and growing fascisation. When Imperialist media is propagating the sentences to death against two former presidents, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, for corruption and sedition charges including Kwangju massacre of students, as proof of democracy, the present president Kim Young Sam is putting down student revolts demanding reunification of Korea, repeal of the draconian national security law and withdrawal of the US troops numbering 37000 from Korean soil. In attack on thousands of students, half of them girls, by some 10,000 strong police force hundreds were injured in brutal lathi charges and about 6000 arrested.

Even the talk of Korean reunification is dubbed as Communist propaganda. As presidential elections are nearing Kim Young Sam

is rousing fears of war and anti - Communist hysteria to divert attention from vital issues like democratic rights and US domination. Even per capita GDP has gone above \$10000, the gap between the rich 10 percent and 50 percent is widening fast. When the two former presidents are sure to get presidential pardon, even before the trials a Korean prosecutor has declared that the arrested students are "on-the-spot criminals" and do not deserve pardon. In this situation the vast masses of people are overwhelmingly supporting the student agitation.

South Korea is going to witness more resistance from students and the masses supporting them in the coming days against the autocratic Kim regime. The police and US presence may not help to quell them for ever.

More on Jordanian protests

When under IMF prescription price of bread went up from Rs. 4.20 to Rs. 8.75 because of the removal of all subsidies people protested. There were riots in August. As one third of population is living in extreme poor conditions, these price hikes and pauperisation are bound to provoke more riots. But King Hussein's government is terming it as an act of Iraqi agents, Arab Socialist Baath Party, Communists and radical Palestine group. Alleged leaders and activists of these sections are arrested to quell the agitation.

But it is concealing the fact that when it eased its control over foodgrain imports and allowed private sector to import for sale to bakeries and retailers, and cut subsidies in line with IMF dications, the price of two kinds of breads went up from Rs. 4.20 to Rs. 5.95 and Rs. 8.75 to Rs. 10.85 per kilo.

LAL THARA

Revolutionary monthly in Hindi

Single copy Rs. 3/-

Yearly subscription Rs. 35/-

Contact address:

F-56, Harkesh Nagar
Okhla Industrial Area Phase II
New Delhi - 101200

News from States

Karnataka: Bangalore March by peasantry and youth

Raith Coolie Sangram Samithi (RCSS) and Revolutionary Youth Front (RYF) organised a 'Bangalore Chalo' programme on 27 September declaring their intention of gherao chief minister's office cum residence, "Krishna" demanding the fulfillment to their immediate demands.

In Raichur district farmers irrigate their land with the help of Tunga Bhadra projects left bank canal. Every year repairs to the canal system are to be carried out in the summer and water released to the raiths by the first or second week of June. But due to corrupt practices of the contractors, the irrigation department officers, and ministers this year the water was released only in August. Besides the canals breached five times causing further damage to the peasantry. A major breach on September 2 resulted in severe losses to them.

District administration and government machinery failed to help the peasants. Scarcity of water in this district alone is expected to cause a loss of Rs. 600 to 700 crores. Instead of helping the peasants Karnataka government is focussing its attention to conduct the Miss Universe competition. That the villagers are not getting drinking water is neglected by the state administration. In Sidhanur taluk cholera has spread due to drinking polluted water and 20 people have died due to this disease.

Raising these urgent issues RCSS and RYF Raichur district committee organised a dharna in front of district commissioner's office and in front of taluk offices of Manvi, Sindhanur and Gangavathi on 14 August was approached. He also did not bother to take any action. It was in this situation mobilising about 1000 youth and peasants the Bangalore Chalo programme was organised and a 'thousand' people's commission to meet the chief minister.

But at K. R. Circle the march was stopped by a huge police force. The members of the march then squatted on the road. Leading comrades of RCSS and RYF addressed the comrades declaring that people's struggles for solution of immediate and long term issues will be continued inspite of government's repressive policies.

As six member delegation was taken to Vidhan Sabha where it put following demands before chief minister: (1) Repair the canal system and provide irrigation facilities, (2) Enquire about the corruption charges and punish the guilty, (3) provide Rs. 8000/acre as compensation to the farmers, (4) construct alternate canal system in place of old damaged one, (5) cancel the Miss Universe competition which only serves interests of the MNCs, (6) scrap the amendment to land ceiling laws and distribute all surplus and government lands to the landless tillers, and (7) withdraw all MOUs signed with the MNCs.

During the discussion with the chief minister, he finally agreed to enhance the per acre compensation from present Rs. 250/- to Rs.5000/- This itself was a partial success of the struggle. The leading comrades explained this partial gain achieved by the struggle to the participants in the march and pledged to lead the struggle forward to resolve the basic problems confronting the peasantry. Comrades Basavalingappa, D. H. Pujar, Rajasekhar, Chinnappa, T. R. Kamadal, Sekharaiyya and Ayyappa Hugar led the march.

Orissa: Youth and Student's Camp

A district level camp with the participation of youth and students of Bhadrak district is organised at Tihdi on November 3. For this purpose a reception committee consisting of 19 members already formed. Youth from different taluks and students from a number of colleges are already organised and delegates will participate in the camp. In the camp discussion on 'problems confronting youth and students presently' and 'the role of youth and students in the present situation' will be held in the forenoon and afternoon. RYF and RSF district level committees also shall be formed.

M. P: Martyrs day at Chapa

On September 28 a day long programme was held at Chapa, Bilaspur district in memory of com Niyogi who was murdered by the industrialists of Bhilai five years back. In the public meeting and the seminar held later Dr. B. S. Yadu, comrades Umakar, Niranjan Yadav, Sukhavu Ram Nishad, Rathan and other spoke. In the present context when a gang of traitors uniting with VO's/NGOs have usurped

Women's reservation

The bill moved for 30% reservation for women in Lok Sabha and state assemblies could not be passed and referred to subject committee as in the last moment leaders of all parties got cold feet. Irrespective of the fact that it is included in the Common Minimum Programme, the UF constituents became panicky. In spite of what they outside both Congress and BJP raised technical objections to delay the measure.

The 33% reservation for women in Panchayati Raj institutions have proved that it alone, without basic social changes, cannot bring about women's upliftment in a country which ranks 103rd among the UN members in gender-related development index, and especially when the Structural Adjustment Policies are further pushing them down the ladder. So any claims about such measures *empowering women* shall be too misleading.

But at the same time even reformist measures which shall however partially help the democratisation process should be welcome to the progressive forces. That the ruling class parties are compelled to bring forward such measures is itself a reflection of the growing awareness among women and its impact on the political scene. It is in this context the progressive forces support such measures however partial and reformist they may be.

But the delaying tactics resorted to by all ruling class parties show their reluctance to adopt even such a partial and reformist measure.

the Chathisgarh Mukti Morch, the need to understand the limitations of activities confined to areas, and the necessity of building up countrywide revolutionary movement were stressed by all participants.

Bihar: Mazdoor Chetna Manch formed

A joint meeting of revolutionary political activists and class-conscious workers has formed Mazdoor Chetna Manch based on following slogans: Stop retrenchment, lock-outs. Improve service conditions of workers. Reduce working hours to six. Give weekly two paid holidays. Give employment to all unemployed or unemp. allowance. Implement pension to all as third benefit. Implement need based wage

policy. Guarantee educational and health facilities. Reduce prices of all essential commodities. Scrap contract labour system. Implement equal wages for equal work. Improve the wages of workers of small-scale industries. Recognise unions through secret ballot. Put an end to Tata landlordism.

A committee consisting of representatives of different revolutionary organisations functioning at Jamshedpur and class-conscious workers from different industrial units was formed. The committee has decided to initiate a campaign based on above slogans.

Kerala: Spurt of mass agitations

Yuvajanavedi state committee has decided to launch a mighty agitation against the import policy of UF government which breaks the backbone of already weak industrial sector of Kerala, and against the electricity policy of LDF government surrendering this sector to MNCs. Agitation will be launched from November 1 with state-wide demonstrations and public meetings.

Punnapra Vayalar day was observed with rallies and public meetings on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the heroic uprising of workers and peasants of Allappuzha district against the then Travancore government serving imperialism and feudalism.

Demanding immediate opening of Madura Coats Factory guaranteeing full employment to all workers TUCI has launched struggle. As a part of it districtwide propaganda march followed by collectorate march by workers was organised.

Opposing opening of Kerala's sea-beaches to sex tourism by the LDF government a convention was successfully organised against Baikal project in Cannanore district by Yuvajanavedi. The convention declared that a people's agitation will be launched against the project.

The campaign against the LDF government's project of "taking planning to the people" launched by state committee of CPI (ML) Red Flag is gaining strength attracting even supporters of CPI (M) and CPI. The hollowness of this project without exposing the neocolonial slavery imposed on the country is well brought out through effective propaganda

Selvanithy Thiyagarajah (Selvi) was a twenty-eight year old student at the University of Jaffna when she was arrested by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam on August 30, 1991. She was forcibly removed from her house for questioning that was supposed to last only a few hours. Selvanithy has still not been released, nor has she been officially charged with any crime. Selvi was a member of the Women's Study Circle of Jaffna, the Jaffna University Women's Association and the Poorani Women's Centre. She is a published poet, founder of 'Tholi', a feminist journal, and the recipient of a Freedom-to-Write award given by the PEN American Centre in 1992. As a stage actress, she performed key roles in several plays that examined societal beliefs regarding issues such as dowry and rape. One of the plays she performed in was *An Old Wives Tale*. It is believed that Selvi was arrested and is imprisoned to this day because of her political beliefs.

The following poem is written by Selvi and translated by A. K. Ramanujam. Selvi makes reference to a mythical story about a god (Rama) whose wife (Sita) is abducted by a king (Ravana) who is obsessed with her. Ravana placed Sita in a prison-garden called asoka while he tried

unsuccessfully to win her love. In Selvi's poem, Rama can be seen as a metaphor for the Tamil Tigers, who are supposed to protect the Tamil people, while Ravana can be seen to be the Sinhalese government.

UNDYING GARDENS

I've grown feeble.
Do not bother me with questions.
My heart that hangs on a thread
Will fall and explode
any moment.
The asoka garden isn't something dead
in the past.
This very house
This very house
is an asoka garden made especially for me.
But my captor
is not Ravana; but Rama himself.
That moment when I happened to see
Rama change into Ravana
turning his back on me,
changing his mask,
my heart shuddered.
Who will come now to rescue this Sita?
How long will these asoka gardens last?

(from Page 2)

demanding that first these lands should be returned to their adivasi owners. The case of poor settlers can be resolved by giving them or adivasi surplus government lands along with compensation. Though the Adivasi Land Protection Committee (ALPC) formed in the Convention under Kerala agricultural workers union (KKTU) launched a campaign explaining these points and the necessity for poor settlers extending class support to the adivasis both Congress and CPI (M) led parties went on conspiring to provoke conflicts among them to protect the planters and rich settlers.

The Catholic church played a nefarious game. It wanted to protect the rich settlers, most of them belonging to its fold. Besides its Bishops Houses and institutions were illegally holding hundreds of acres of adivasi land. So to divert attention of adivasis from the vital and question, through its Voluntary Agency, Solidarity, it started raising *Adivasi Homeland* like issues. For focussing on this issue Solidarity hosted an All India Adivasi meet in 1995 funded by imperialist agencies. To expose this diabolical game plan of the church Yuvajanavadi and ALPC activists caught a German imperialist

list agent during this meet, put him under people's trial, and paraded him through the streets of Mananthawadi.

At the time church and VOs started a new move. They projected an adivasi girl, Janu, as the saviour of adivasis. She was taken to foreign countries also. Then with wide publicity support of all big newspapers and electronic media Janu launched a movement for confiscating surplus government lands sidelining the main issues. She and her pseudo struggle was projected outside Kerala also.

Utilising this situation, the UDF government tried to impose an ordinance amending the 1975 Act in effect nullifying it. But ALPC launched a mass movement against this. More and more progressive sections came out in support of the adivasi cause. ALPC launched a struggle at Attappadi to confiscate alienated adivasi land. Hundreds of comrades were arrested. Thousands of police men were deployed to protect the real encroachers. At this time as High Court interfered the UDF government could not move ahead with the ordinance.

During 1996 elections to state assembly, to get votes from adivasis LDF pledged to take

necessary action to give back adivasi lands of voted to power. But once in power it changed once and to appease the rich settlers and plantation owners started moves to amend and thus nullify the Act. According to this amendments practically no land will be available to give back to adivasis. It was a naked attack on them.

ALPC mobilised adivasis all along western ghat areas and launched a powerful mass movement against this amendment and for immediate implementation of 1975 Act. As reported in October issue of Red Star the movement started creating a polarisation between LDF and UDF parties on the one hand, and all progressive sections supporting the adivasi cause on the other. Opportunist forces like BJP and Hindu Aykya Vedi who wanted to give it a communal colour, and the VOs/NGOs were getting exposed. Though the LDF government could pass the amendment unanimously in the assembly opposition to it was mounting all over the state.

It was at this time a sectarian band tried to derail the issue by making Palakkad collector a prisoner in his own office for eight hours on 4 October, though they claimed that their 'action' was only for highlighting the issue. As the agitation against amendment to 1975 Act launched by ALPC uniting broad sections would have gone ahead powerfully exposing the real class interest of LDF government, the LDF government utilised this isolated incident to launch a statewide witchhunt in the adivasi colonies and against CPI (ML) Red Flag. Police is taking even senior state level leaders of party and class/mass organisations in to custody in the name of questioning and creating terror. As Congress led UDF is helping it by shouting about collapse of law and order, police repression is further intensified. The main newspapers also have launched a vicious campaign against Red Flag and ALPC utilising this incident.

On the other hand, this situation is utilised to divert attention from giving back the alienated land to adivasis. In this all vested interests and the LDF-UDF parties are united. Besides the very same media who is demanding day in and day out the annihilation of the 'Naxalite menace' are highlighting this sectarian act through interviews from underground in TV and papers. In this way the Palakkad 'action' has become very useful to the ruling classes.

As state organising secretary of PUCL has stated police is persecuting adivasis and all progressive forces under the cover of Palakkad incident. Besides, state revenue minister Ismail of CPI wrote to democratic individual, not to participate in the October 17 Thiruvananthapuram Convention organised by ALPC to carry forward the struggle for adivasi land utilising incident. In short, this sectarian incident as elsewhere has become an effective tool in the hands of the state machinery to put down the democratic forces.

But CPI (ML) Red Flag state committee has called on the people not to be misled by such adventurist isolated acts and to carry forward the agitations against the anti-people policies of both central and state governments building the broadest possible unity of all progressive democratic forces.

The great success of the 17 October Thiruvananthapuram Convention indicates that neither reactionary ruling class propaganda, nor isolated sectarian acts by minute groups who indirectly serve the enemy's cause can cause confusion to the organised revolutionary movement and the progressive forces getting mobilised under its initiative. Representing the adivasi people representatives from all adivasi areas participated, inspite of the terror created by police. The CPI (M), CPI leaderships got more exposed as rejecting their 'advises' and warnings all the invitees representing a cross section of democratic forces participated.

ALPC is going to organise a secretariat march from Kasargod to Thiruvananthapuram from 12 to 27 November for further strengthening the mobilisation of the adivasi people and progressive forces against the forces of reaction presently led by the LDF government.

(from Page 2)

everywhere to uphold socialist path and fight for it with all the might they have. On this occasion Red Star joins with the class brothers in all parts of our country and in all continents in rededicating itself to the socialist cause. Let us take the message of democracy and socialism to the toilers and oppressed everywhere.

RED STAR
Thrissur - Kerala - 680 322

R. No. D2. 9359/91 KL/TC 206
Price Rs. 3.00

Press Statement

Resist Miss Universe Contest at Bangalore

The proposed Miss Universe contest at Bangalore is part of the liberalisation - globalisation policy pursued by central and state governments. When it is justified by claiming that it will attract MNCs and tourists, the intentions are clear. Firstly, following Cargill's seed farms, Cogentrix agreement and Kentucky Fried Chicken units, it is intended to surrender the country to MNCs. Secondly, in the name of promoting tourism it is promoting sex tourism. Thirdly, it is another landmark in the neocolonial cultural aggression. All these lead to most heinous neocolonial slavery. By permitting this contest inspite of ever-mounting countrywide opposition and guaranteeing police protection to it, Janatha Dal government of Karnataka and UF government at centre are going one step ahead of Congress and BJP governments in enslaving the country.

Already progressive forces have raised strong opposition to it. Instead of bowing to this people's resistance, the state and central governments are threatening those who protest. It exposes how sham their democratic pretensions are.

We call upon all progressive forces to further intensify the stir against the Miss Universe contest as a part of the struggle against all forms of neocolonisation.

K. N. Ramachandran
Secretary
C.P.I (M.L) Red Flag.

26 October 1996.

Condemn the attack on freedom of expression

The burning of M. F. Husain's paintings by Hindutva forces and the communal propaganda by their top leaders are nothing but fascist move to gag freedom of expression. At a time when emergence of Taliban represents the growth of more conservative and fascistic bands of religious fundamentalists, this trend in India by those

advocating Hindu Rashtra should disturb the conscience of all democratic forces.

We request the democratic forces to realise the danger involved in the growth of such forces, and to come out to resist this vandalism with all their might.

Secretary
C.P.I (M.L) Red Flag.

In memory of Godavari Parulekar

With the passing away of com: Godavari Parulekar the Communist movement has lost a great fighter for people's cause. Her historic role in integrating with the tribal people and leading them in the great uprising against British imperialism and feudalism like similar work done elsewhere by Communist revolutionaries till early 1950s laid the foundation for the Communist movement in India.

But later CPI and then CPI (M) and various other rightist deviated from this revolutionary path and joined the capitalist path. As a result the adivasis and dalits have abandoned them.

The experience of the early years of com. Godavari's communist work shall be an inspiration to Communist revolutionaries always. Let us take lessons from her experience and pledge to carry forward the task of liberating the oppressed masses.

Secretary, C.P.I (M.L) Red Flag