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DENG XIAOPING

The life of Deng Xiaoping who died on 19 February had two phases. During the first phase he was one of the foremost leaders of the CPC and People's Liberation Army led by Mao Tsetung in carrying forward the New Democratic Revolution in China to its glorious victory. This role in **overthrowing the rule of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism** as a leading member of CPC will be long remembered

But in the Eighth Congress of the CPC held in 1956 itself, when the question of **advancing towards socialist revolution** came up, the struggle between the socialist roaders led by Mao Tsetung and the capitalist roaders sharply surfaced. This period had international significance. In the 20th Congress of the CPSU held few months before, in the name of **correcting the mistakes during Stalin's period** Krushchov had succeeded in deviating the Soviet leadership and party to capitalist path. A determined struggle on the part of the Communists to consolidate the gains already made and to struggle against the revisionist headquarters of Krushchov was the immediate necessity

Instead Liu Shochi and Deng gave one sided emphasis on the development of productive forces. This approach was later explained by Deng in his 'black cat, white cat' statement. Whether the path is socialist or capitalist, he emphasised only on the growth of productive forces. It was in all respects similar to 'Krushchov's path with Chinese characteristics'. Deng and his followers opposed the Cultural Revolution launched by Mao in mid-nineties following the historic 'Great Debate' against Krushchevite revisionism. Struggling against continuing the class struggle in a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Deng in effect advocated capitalist path under the bureaucratic sections who were trying to emerge challenging the socialist transformation. In the course of fierce struggle against this revisionist line he was removed from all positions of power during the CR.

During early 1970s Deng was recalled based on his self-criticism. But it was proved too shallow very soon. He started giving his own interpretations and orientation to economic activities, and on international plane started confusing the foreign policy of China with the

general line of the international proletariat. In the course of a bitter struggle once again he was removed from all positions of power in 1975.

The course of these struggles showed the fierce nature of the class struggle during socialist transformation between those who want to carry forward socialist revolution, and those who want to divert to capitalist path. In 1976, immediately after the death of Mao the capitalist roaders led by Deng manipulated to usurp power through a military coup. In this they got enormous support of the enemies of socialism within as well as of the imperialists the world over. The revisionists of all brands hailed it as a 'liberation' from the so-called chaos of the CR.

The Dengists in power suppressed the socialist roaders by executing some, imprisoning large numbers and purging them out from the CPC. Vulgarising Mao's 'Four Modernisations' drive they implemented 'privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation' policies' allowing unrestricted entry of foreign capital and MNCs under the banner 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'. Communes were abolished, allowed private enterprise in all sectors, established special economic zones in Hongkong model. While in two decades a few billionares, a rich comprador bourgeois sections and rich peasants came up on the one hand, the vast majority were deprived of the 'iron rice-bowl' which ensured employment, food, shelter, education and healthcare for all during 25 years of socialist transformation. Under 'socialist market economy' China is once again integrated with the imperialist global market system in a new way.

Immediately after usurping power Dengists advanced the 'Three World Theory' as the strategic line of the world proletariat calling for a global united front against Soviet social imperialism which was evaluated as the principal enemy of the world people. This theory gave one-sided emphasis to the inter-imperialist contradictions and advocated class collaboration with the imperialists who were included in the Second World and if necessary even with US imperialism in opposition to Soviet imperialism. It advised the Communist parties to follow slutt and collaborate with the native comprá-

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Indian People's Theatre Association

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

We in India have a great cultural heritage, of which we are justly proud. Through our classic and folk dances, music, literature, painting, drama, and other arts our forefathers gave artistic expression of ineffable beauty to the manifold facts about their lives, experiences, aspirations and ideals. This art and literature have been acclaimed all over the world as equal to the best of the cultural achievements of any other peoples at a corresponding stage of civilisation.

Before the dawn of the present century we were, however, witnessing the sad and painful process of this culture losing its life and vigour and degenerating into a soulless formalism. Many of our arts like dancing and sculpture fast dying away, disappearing into the vaults of history which like ancient Babylonian, Greek or Roman civilisation was to be joyed only in ruins and monuments. Here and there cut away from the main streams of life they had a pale existence as hot-house plants in the decadent atmosphere of palaces, temples and brothels. Our literature and arts harked back to a distant and legendary past for their themes or sought refuge in mysticism and all manners of obscurantist irrationalism.

The social matrix in which our classic culture had grown and risen to splendour had gone by, never to return. New methods of production, new social relationships and patterns, new social conflicts and problems have emerged conditioning and

Adopted at all India conference of theatre activists and revolutionary intellectuals held in 1943 The conference formed IPTA and elected its first All India Committee - RS

transforming life. It is a self-evident and universally acknowledged fact that life has been fundamentally transformed since the breakdown of feudalism, we are today in the throes of and even more revolutionary transformation, and that art or literature which does not portray the deepest human emotions and aspirations of this epoch cannot have any life or significance for the people. In this ever changing world the artists and writers of the last century failed signally to maintain the growth of our culture and its living quality by its continuous adaptation, transformation and development for expressing significant facts, aspirations and struggles of our people. Art lost touch with the experiences of the masses and well-nigh paid the penalty of extinction. On the other hand the people failed to develop their art and make it an inspiring expression of their struggle for freedom and were to that extent, hampered in the very development of their struggle.

With the dawn of the present century, events began to move faster. The epoch of imperialist expansion was coming to an end and the shadows of the great convulsions which were later to shake up the whole world were gathering thick. Deep fissures were becoming visible

in the world of Imperialism and the rival camps were feverishly preparing for a savage war for the redivision of the world market. Against these machinations of the ruling classes, the revolutionary movements of the working class and colonial people were gathering in momentum. In India, a great mass up-surge had begun to develop even towards the close of the previous century. The upper and middle classes in our country assumed the leadership of this mass movement, and their hopes and ideals found expression in the literature of this time.

Social realism of a limited nature, which had already begun to manifest itself towards the close of the previous century gathered more votaries. Writers in increasing numbers began to turn away from the court rhetoric and ornate style of the last century to a more simple and easily understandable language of the people and in their writings they exposed the evils of many social traditions and customs and generally gave expression to India's desire for freedom from Imperialist domination. Many patriotic songs were composed which were sung at rallies, conferences etc. and were a source of inspiration to the people. The realism of these writings was, however, of a limited character, as the writers who were mainly from the upper and middle classes could look at the problems of India from only their own class point of view. The conditions and aspirations of the vast masses did not find expression in these writings except in a romantic or sentimental manner.

The dramatic stage was not

materially affected by even this limited realism of the early years of the present century. Most of the dramas written in this epoch including some of those from Tagore's pen, tended to be abstract and symbolical or they dealt with the experience of a united class. In recent years many dramatists have become the exponents of an exaggerated expression of the love-longings of the middle-class. The technique was primitive and the haphazard attempts to adopt western techniques which had become out of date in their countries of origin only made the situation worse.

If realism found little expression on the stage, it found no expression in the realm of dancing, sculpture or painting until very recently. The revival of the national consciousness of the upper and middle classes awakened their interest in these arts but they sought to resurrect the glory of these arts around themes which since long had ceased to be of any great significance in the lives of the people. Their attitude was one of romantic revivalism and the themes of these arts continued to be tales from mythology or the idyllic scenes from an idealised peasant life. They had no clear conception or understanding of the significance of the forces which revolutionising society and to them the poignant details of the present could not become a suitable material for artistic expression. Art was to be an ornament, the past unbalanced and exhibited, a variety of the cult of ancestral worship, but not a potent force for the creation of the future. There was, therefore, a complete divorce between arts like dancing and painting and the revolutionary motifs and attitudes of the masses.

In recent years, the depth and sweep of the titanic events of contemporary history, the

grim brutality of the Fascist attacks on culture and freedom, the grave perils of the present and the prospects of a bright future if reaction is defeated, have all compelled many sensitive writers and artists to realize in varying degrees that art and literature can have a future only if they become the authentic expressions and inspirations of the people's struggles for freedom and culture. In the field of literature, great writers like Tagore and Premchand joined the Progressive Writers Movement for the defence of culture against Fascism and Imperialism. In the field of dancing, Udayashankar made a departure from the past and presented his ballets "Rhythm of Life" and "Labour and Machine" in which the artist gave his impression of the political and industrial life of the nation. This is indeed a great departure in regard to dance themes, though we may not agree with his interpretation of the situation.

In the field of drama also a welcome change began to appear. Plays were staged, which voiced the anti-fascist sentiments of the people, or the necessity of unity among national ranks, or portrayed the conditions of the peasantry and working class and welcomed their emergence as militant class forces within the national camp. Here was the beginning of a progressive stage movement, a departure from symbolism and the exaggerated, vulgarised love themes of middle class writers. This movement did not, however, spread to every province or touch the masses in India as most of the dramatists and amateur actors, who were its originators had no intimate link with the organised movements of the peasantry and working class. Here and there student cultural brigades toured a few districts and like the famous Chinese Peoples Theatre movement, staged progressive plays in the

country side, educating and enthusing the people to action. A strong Peoples Theatre movement was, however, yet to be born in India

With the growth of Kisan and working class movements, writers and artists from among the submerged masses began to be stirred by the new hope and faith in their classes engendered by these movements. Village bards and factory workers began to compose and sing their own songs of hope and defence of national unity and international alliance of progressive forces, but the organisation of these developments into an all-India movement was yet to be achieved.

Today our people are in a gravely perilous situation. The Fascist hordes are on the borders planning and fighting to overrun our country and destroy our freedom for years to come. Internally, an alien bureaucracy totally isolated from the people, seeks to hold its sway and prevent the masses from organising their own national defence, by resorting to grim repression. In the meantime, the food situation in the country is worsening from hour to hour and the entire economic life of the people is fast disintegrating. As against these enemies of the people, and the threatening economic situation, the forces of the people are not sufficiently united. In this hour of peril, when many of our progressive writers have become paralysed by despair and confusion, when many patriots in their blind fury hit at the base of their national defence, we find to our great joy and relief that the organised peasant and working classes have kept their heads and their hopes, and inspired by a practical and scientific policy, they are leading the people to unity and strength.

In the wake of this great

struggle for national existence and freedom, for the defeat of Fascism and Imperialism, for a Free India in a Free world, a great cultural movement has sprung up from among these defiant sons of our soil and factories, which breathe of the new spirit. Old art forms with new and vibrant themes, all that is best in our folk arts and in the spirit of our people are again bursting into life. Anyone who has witnessed the cultural displays of the Andhra and Malabar peasant boys or heard the throbbing songs of the Bengal peasantry or Bombay working class, can easily understand what is taking place. Traditional dances of great beauty like Kathakali, which princes like the Raja of Travancore and idealist poets like Vallathol tried to resurrect artificially within the four walls of temples and palaces have suddenly become living art forms, because the democratic movements of the peasantry and working class have taken them over from their isolation and made them the expressions of the revolutionary moods of the people. Here, at last the people have themselves begun to create a new theatre movement of their own.

It is in this situation that the Indian People's Theatre Association has been formed to coordinate and strengthen all the progressive tendencies that have so far manifested themselves in the nature of drama, songs and dances. It is not a movement which is imposed from above but one which has its roots deep down in the cultural awakening of the masses of India, nor is it a movement which discards our rich cultural heritage, but one which seeks to revive the lost in that heritage by reinterpreting, adopting and integrating it with the most significant facts of our peoples' lives and aspirations in the present epoch. It is a movement

which seeks to make of our arts the expression and the organizer of our people's struggles for freedom, economic justice and a democratic culture. It stands for justice and a democratic culture. It stands for the defence of culture against Imperialism and Fascism and for enlightening the masses about the causes and solution of the problems facing them. It tries to quicken their awareness of unity and their passion for creating a better and just world order.

The All India People's Theatre Conference

The All India People's Theatre Conference met on the 25th May at 8-30 a. m. at the Marwari Vidyalaya Hall, Bombay and again at 8-30 p. m. at Damodar Hall, Parel, where the performance was given.

The morning session was very well attended. All those delegates interested in the People's Theatre had met for discussion two days before. At this informal meeting, many subjects were discussed such as the difficulties of organisation, the angle from which our People's Theatre plays should be written and the need to draw in as many of the working class and peasants as was possible.

It cleared the way for the formal conference at which the main business was the passing of the resolution, the forming of an All India Committee and the forming of Provincial Organizing Committees.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was elected to the chair and then followed the reading of all the provincial reports: Bombay by Anil de Silva, Bengal by Snehanshu Acharyya, Punjab by Eric Cyprian, Andhra by Dr. Gopalan, U.P. by Begum Rashida

Jehan and Malabar by K. P. Nambudiri.

The main resolution was then proposed by Anil de Silva and was as follows:

All India People's Theatre Conference Draft Resolution

This Conference held under the auspices of the Indian People's Theatre Association recognises the urgency of organising a people's theatre movement throughout the whole of India as the means of revitalizing the stage and the traditional arts and making them at once the expression and organiser of our people's struggle for freedom, cultural progress and economic justice.

The immediate problems facing the people are external aggression by the Fascist hordes who are the deadliest enemies of freedom and culture; internal repression by an alien Government which seeks to hold our people in subjection and prevent them from organizing an effective defence of their own homeland; rapid disintegration of the entire economic life of our people and particularly the havoc wrought on the morale and the health of our people by the shortage of food and other essential articles; and lastly the absence of sufficient unity among the people's forces which alone can compel the imperialists to retire, stop the economic disintegration of the country and defeat the Fascist aggressors.

It is, therefore, the task of the Indian People's Theatre Movement at present to portray vividly and memorably through the medium of the stage and other traditional arts the human details

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LIMA HOSTAGE TAKEOVER

The Lima hostage takeover starting with a commando unit of Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) taking over residence of Japanese ambassador on 17 December when the Japanese emperor's birth day celebration was taking place with hundreds of top ruling class dignitaries of various count-

ries attending. Nearly after one and half months the commandos have released many batches of hostages depleting the number to 70. The 17 December communique of MRTA stated that this action is "in protest against the interference of the Japanese government in the political life of our country".

While US imperialism is the main power behind Peru's Fujimori regime, Japan has been playing an increasing economic and political role there. The communique listed four demands: "that the government change its economic policies; that prisoners belonging to MRTA be set free; the safe transfer of

On the Takeover of the Japanese Ambassador's Residence in Lima by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)

The Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (CSR) issued the following Press statement, dated December 22, 1996:

This takeover is focusing world attention on Peru. There needs to be much more media attention to the primary reason why people in Peru are rising up in armed rebellion - the social injustices suffered by the people

Since Fujimori's 1992 military coup thousands of Peruvians accused of "terrorism" have been railroaded into prison in secret trials by hooded military judges—cases are typically decided in minutes with no opportunity for the accused to defend themselves. There are now over 5,000 political prisoners in Peru. Suspects are locked up three to a 9-by-9 foot cell, with only a half hour a day outside their cell. Tuberculosis and other illnesses abound, food is poor and prisoners often suffer claustrophobia and depression.

In Puno's Yanamayo prison, where American Lori Berenson is being held along with hundreds of Peruvian political prisoners, they are exposed to high altitude and sub-freezing conditions described by many as "a slow death". Political detainees in Peru are generally held incommunicado for 15 days or more, during which time they are routinely tortured. Political detentions are widespread. According to the *New York Times*, in the past 18 months there have been about 500,000 detentions (in a country of 23 million).

Imprisoned leaders like Abimael Guzman (of the Communist Party of Peru) have been kept completely isolated from any of their lawyers, doctors or relatives. Lawyers who defend political prisoners have themselves been imprisoned or killed. Attorney Alfredo Crespo, for example, was sentenced to life imprisonment at Yanamayo for attempting to defend Dr. Guzman in his trial by hooded military judges.

All these measures are a desperate response of the Peruvian regime to a People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru which, since 1980, has organized hundreds of thousands of peasants, workers, students and middle class allies in an armed struggle to liberate Peru from principally U. S. domination.

Free market investments and privatizations have resulted in multinational corporations reaping millions in profits while the level of poverty has doubled since 1990 IMF imposed austerity measures have kept wages down, increased unemployment, and made it almost impossible for the poor to survive. Over 35,000 children die each year before age 5 from malnutrition and poverty. These kinds of conditions are the reasons why the People's War in Peru was initiated and why it and other forms of protest and rebellion will continue despite the most draconian measures unleashed by the government.

The Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (CSR) is dedicated to organizing political support for the People's War in Peru led by the Communist Party of Peru (referred to in the media as Shining Path)—a war of the masses to win nationwide political power and establish a "new people's democracy." The Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), has a different political strategy and outlook, but as CSR spokesperson Heriberto Ocasio states "Our committee opposes the crimes of the fascist Fujimori regime, and denounces the cruel and inhuman treatment of all political prisoners in Peru. We demand an end to the secret trials and hooded judges, and call on people to support the just struggle of the people in Peru to end their oppression".

"READJUSTMENT" IN INDONESIA

The biggest Dutch business mission ever travelling to Indonesia along with Queen Beatrix concluded contracts worth more than Dfl 1.5 billion.

MRTA commandos to Pervis central jungle area; and the payment of a war tax".

But the Fujimori regime with imperialist support has taken a stubborn reactionary stand demanding the surrender of commandos and release of all hostages. In their propaganda blitz-krieg against MRTA and all revolutionary forces in general, the imperialists and their compradors call them "terrorists", while the fact that it is the criminal policies of these reactionaries and inhuman conditions inflicted by them over people and their vanguard elements in jail which is provoking such isolated actions is concealed consciously. In whichever way the hostage takeover may end, Fujimori regime cannot escape from the crimes it is committing against people under imperialist dictated policies as explained in the enclosed statement of the "Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru".

Peru like all other Latin American countries is a typical case of a neocolony. Under neocolonisation, in the absence of a real proletarian vanguard party capable of capturing political power overthrowing the rule of imperialism and its compradors, it is natural that MRTA like forces come up. While they remain infantile efforts, they reflect the objective condition in these countries. The real answer to the challenge posed by the ruling classes is the building up of the proletarian vanguard party. ●

The main objective of the trip was to improve the competitive position of Dutch monopolies in Indonesia as well as in the Netherlands. Representatives of small and medium-sized businesses were not allowed to join.

Criticism on the human rights situation has always been used by Western countries merely as a lever for pushing their own interests. The Dutch government overplayed its hand in March 1992. The Suharto regime retaliated by prohibiting the Netherlands from extending "development" aid to Indonesia. As a result, Dutch monopolies lost so many business orders and opportunities. They could no longer score through the help of "development-related export-financing" from the Ministry of Development Aid.

According to Rinnooy Kan, president of the Dutch employers association, the Netherlands consequently fell back from fourth place on the list of foreign investors in Indonesia in 1988 to eighth place in 1994. In this period, competition among the world's multinationals sharpened, and the Indonesian economy kept growing at about six percent annually.

Reconquering the Market

Indonesia intends to invest US \$ 100 billion on infrastructure construction in the next ten years, and US \$ 15.5 million on the improvement and expansion of the electric power supply in the next five years. The German concern Siemens this year got a DM 1.2-billion contract for the construction and maintenance of a coal-fired power plant in Java. This is almost equal to the value of all the contracts that resulted from the Dutch

royal economic mission.

Dutch monopolies had to make all-out effort to mollify the Suharto regime through a high powered delegation that included the royal couple, the crown prince, the ministers of foreign and economic affairs, and top managers of the 59 biggest companies such as Herkstroter of Shell, Tabaksblatt of Unilever, Timmer of Philips, van der Lede of Akso-Nobel and Dik of K P N.

Obviously, huge interests are at stake. Shell is trying to conclude the years-long negotiations on the construction of a huge petrochemical complex in Java. Its U. S. competitor Exxon last year concluded a contract for the extraction of natural gas, worth more than US \$ 30 billion. The Dutch government in support of Dutch business, has decided to spend Dfl 245 million in the next seven years to stimulate investment in export.

Simultaneously, this is a clear example of a readjustment of Dutch foreign policy. Under the new policy, not a single cent will be spent for the 30 million Indonesians living below the poverty line Dfl 250 will be spent for strengthening the competitiveness of the strongest Dutch companies. Sixty percent of the credit facility for export consists of a commercial loan, the rest a "gift" to the Indonesian buyer who in turn passes this on to the Dutch seller in the form of a higher price.

Hypocrisy

There has been so much discussion in the media about apologies that the Dutch government should make for the colonial looting and for the 120,000 vic-

tims of the colonial war following the proclamation of Indonesia in August 17, 1945. This is utter hypocrisy!

Dutch employers did raise a "gift" of a few million guilders.

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of these important facts of our people's rights and enlighten them about their rights and the nature and solution of the problems facing them. It is the task of the Movement to enthuse our people to build up their unity and give battle to the forces ranged against them with courage and determination and in the company of progressive forces of the world. It is our task to make this movement a means of spiritually sustaining our people in this hour of crisis and creating in them the confidence that as a united force they are invincible.

For the achievement of these aims it is necessary that not only the themes of our songs, ballads, plays, etc. be suited to the purpose in view, but it is also essential that our productions should be simple and direct so that the masses can easily appreciate and understand and also participate in the creation and production of these. A revival of the folk arts, mass singing and open air stage are specially desirable for this purpose.

In this connection we are greatly encouraged to find that under the stress of the present situation there has been developing spontaneously from among the masses, particularly the militant kisans, workers and students, a movement of songs, recitations and dances rousing the people to action against the Fascist aggressors and the food hoarders and for the release of national leaders and the achievement of a national government. It is essential that this spontaneous movement should be organised and co-ordinated into an all-India people's Theatre Movement.

These millions were meant for the restoration of a building of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (V O C) in Jakarta. The Dutch employers' "national gift" expresses their yearnings for the times of unlimited exploitation. Reporting on the colonial war, the media mainly played on the sentiments of the "old fighters" in order to disguise the "police actions."

R T L 5 was the only television station that showed a documentary film about the Indonesian village of Rawagdeh where the Dutch army murdered 431 innocent civilians because it could not catch a well-known freedom fighter. But during the program, no mention was made of the fact that evidences of this massacre had been removed from the army archives.

Meticulously kept out of the news is the fact that General Suharto grabbed power through a military coup organized by the C I A in 1965 and killed about one million communists and other progressives. Even less attention is given to the extermination of 200,000 people of East Timor after this country became independent in 1975 and was occupied by the Indonesian army.

No mention at all is made of the oppression of the Papuan people in Irian Jaya (West Papua.) This is the western half of the island of New Guinea which was transferred to Indonesia in 1963. Since the 1970's, 150,000 have been killed. Thousands have been driven away by the U.S. company Freeport McMoran, one of the biggest mining enterprises there.

This is neocolonialism at its worst. While the monopolies of imperialist countries enrich themselves in Indonesia, the Indonesian capitalist class oppresses the impoverished population

and enriches itself through graft and corruption, involving foreign companies as well.

More Freedom for Monopolies

The Dutch bourgeoisie is very eager to strengthen its ties with this regime of murderers. Minister Wijers hypocritically told the press: "Only through a more intensive collaboration are we going to increase our influence and thus improve the human rights situation in the future"

With an eye to the bright future for all the rights of a few multinationals, Wijers conveniently forgets the past as well as the present. During the visit, the Indonesian government announced that two persons who were sentenced to death and have been imprisoned for 20 years would still be executed. A few days later, the royal visitors presented themselves to the press with a monkey: the queen, the prince and the crown prince had adopted a monkey, to make sure that monkeys are cared for.

The big silence of the Dutch company managers and their government about Indonesian fascist oppression and massacres is a support for the Suharto regime which provides a favorable climate for investments.

Yet the capitalists demand further liberalization of the economy. Only 200 conglomerates with a monopoly in several sectors of industry control the economy. Most of them are linked with the Suharto clique. Western investors demand the abolition of these monopolies so that they themselves can exploit the Indonesian people in an unlimited way. Therefore they will task the International Monetary Fund with adopting measures to help them as the prob-

Item of foreign debt servicing comes up, At present Indonesia's foreign debt totals US \$ 100 billion.

Increasing Popular Resistance

Local and foreign investments did result in fast economic growth. It is not so much the imported new technologies that push up profits and attract new investments, but mainly the superexploitation resulting from extremely low wages and long working hours.

In spite of the ongoing repression, Indonesian workers go on strike and demonstrate, wresting some democratic space from the government. A strong point is that the workers and the youth and students are forging a strong alliance as they go into action.

In 1992 the independent labour union S B S I was established. Though not recognizing this union, the government cannot forbid it anymore.

In May 1993, the woman worker Marsinah was murdered after leading a strike for wage increase. Human rights activists made a poster that was circulated all over Indonesia. What was intended by the military to intimidate the workers worked against the military itself,

In February 1994, a national strike in which 150,000 workers participated was called for the first time under the Suharto regime. In April of the same year, several strikes occurred in the region of Medan. There was a demonstration in which 40,000 people took part. At present a strike takes place almost every week in the industrial area of Jakarta.

The workers link the econo-

mic struggle with political demands against the dictatorship. Study circles are formed to take up Marxism-Leninism and the history of the workers movement, including the history of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P K I). Up to 1965, the P K I was one of the three biggest communist parties in the world, along with those of China and the Soviet Union.

The Indonesian working class and the working people are fighting the alliance of local and foreign companies. To opt once more for the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation opens up perspectives! [RODE MORGEN, NETHERLANDS. Reproduced from International Newsletter of J C G]

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LALBATYA Published

Lalbatya, the revolutionary monthly in Oriya was released on 26 December, the birth anniversary of Mao Tsetung in a well attended meeting at Serapur, Bhadrak district, organised by RYF. Com Sivaram spoke on relevance of Mao Tsetung's contributions today. Revolutionary songs were presented by cultural activists

ON PROMOTING SOCIALIST ETHICAL AND CULTURAL PROGRESS

The Sixth Plenary Session of the 14th CC of the CPC has adopted a resolution on "Questions on promoting socialist ethical and cultural progress" in October 1996. It is put forward to fulfil the "requirements of the 9th five year plan (1996-2000) and the long-term objectives to the year 2010". It is "inseparable from the formation and development of Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics", and for "establishing a socialist market economic structure".

It analyses the consequences on the cultural field of these economic policies pursued during the last two decades after Mao as follows: "The standard of the moral conduct has been lowered in some spheres, and the practice of worshipping money, seeking pleasure and individualism has grown; feudal superstitions and such social vices as pornography, gambling and drug abuse have resurfaced; production of shoddy and fake goods and fraud have become a social scourge; the cultural cause has been seriously affected by negative factors, things that damage the physical and mental health of youngsters and children have not been eliminated despite repeated prohibitions; the phenomenon of corruption has been spreading in some places, seriously damaging the work-style of the Party and the government; and a number of people have a weak concept of the state, and waver and doubt the future of socialism".

While stressing that "reform and opening up" to imperialist market system are the hope for solving China's problems, the fear that "liberalisation will precisely lead China to the capitalist path" is expressed by the resolution as if these are new problems. The remedial measures suggested are "promote the mass production of fine ideological products and develop a preliminarily prosperous and orderly cultural market", develop "professional ethics and family virtues" and "patriotism".

This whole approach hinges upon the statement that "building socialism with Chinese characteristics is a great cause and a new great revolution. In this revolution the Chinese Communists and people are confident in, and capable of, transforming their subjective world, while transforming the objective world and pr-

omoting a high degree of socialist ethical and cultural progress while building a high degree of material progress".

The only difference between the numerous administrative orders issued on this subject since 1982 when the economic reforms and opening up to imperialist capital was initiated in a 'no holds barred' basis and the present resolution is that a whole plenary session was utilised for it reflecting the seriousness the cultural degeneration has reached in China. Even then, instead of learning from the lessons of its socialist past the revisionist leadership who are leading China along neocolonial path are trying to solve the problem in administrative ways with an overdose of socialist jargons, similar to the path pursued by the revisionist chieftains in former Soviet Union and East European countries, and the one still pursued along with Chinese leaders by Vietnamese, North Korean and Cuban leaders, as if these jargons unrelated with socialist practice shall bring in socialist value system.

The NEP of Deng has led to the birth of many billioners in China. Unlimited freedom is given to accumulate private property. Foreign monopoly capital as well as non-resident Chinese rich are allowed freedom to invest, speculate and loot. Communes are broken up and a new bourgeoisie has come up in the agrarian sector. Consumerism is permitted in all fields. Under the garb of tourism even child prostitution is proliferating. Imperialist cultural invasion is allowed freeplay. In short what is taking place in today's China is a class struggle indeed, with the imperialists and the apologists of neocolonialism ruling under Deng's revisionist banner ideologically disarming the people and plundering them by all means. Plenum's "guidelines and objectives for promoting socialist ethical and cultural progress" can only achieve in this situation a further degeneration of Chinese society to neocolonial value system. This is a class struggle in reverse compared to the period of socialist construction under Mao including the continuation of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat during Cultural Revolution.

That in this plenum declaration and its guidelines even the word of proletarian internationalism or even for that matter the internationalism itself is absent is not accidental. On the one

On Central Pay Commission Recommendations

The recommendations of the Fifth pay Commission was acclaimed by the media as "Vision for a new culture," "A square deal for public servants," "More pay, less staff" etc. These praises from ruling class circles and media prove the class bias of these recommendations vividly.

While the propaganda that central employees got a 3.25 times pay hike is hollow as far as class III and IV staff are concerned, these recommendations are for accelerating the privatisation-liberalisation plan in government services. The class bias of these recommendations are explicit in the fact that they have hiked the pay-scales of class I and II bureaucrats significantly, and the gap between lowest and highest pay scales are further widened. This hike for bureaucrats are justified by showing the "need for retaining competent executives in government at a time when greener pastures are attracting the test among them." While the officers are pampered nakedly, what about class III and IV staff, the work force who constitute vast majority of the employees?

The pay commission's was an exercise to sanctify the ill-effects of the I M F-W B dictated economic policies at the cost of employees interests. The pay-scales hiked by

existing and recommended allowances to basic pay are totally misleading. Whatever little increases are provided also will be swept by the expected inflation following this year's budget. A serious evaluation of the proposed pay-scales of most of the employees will show that the hikes are only illusory.

At the same time instead of five days, a six-day week is introduced. Gazetted holidays are cut down from 17 to 3. Thus altogether 66 additional workdays are imposed. Further they may be asked to work overtime without any allowance. The bonus ceiling of Rs. 4500 in effect nullifies it for most of the employees. These are the increased productivity demands in the recommendations.

Added to these drastic cuts in employment opportunities are also put forward. The existing 3.5 lakhs vacancies will be abolished. Further recruitments are frozen except for officer's grades. A forced voluntary retirement scheme (V R S) is proposed. A 30% cut in present size of establishment in 10 years is also proposed. Including health checks after the age of 45 years many more conditions are also proposed in effect introducing the 'hire and fire' system in government services also. Besides a committee will study proposals for giving the works done by class IV staff on contract to begin with. Taken together these recommendations are nothing but naked imposition of the privatisation-liberalisation scheme.

hand the Dengists are surrendering to imperialist globalisation and transforming China to the needs of imperialist world order; on the other hand they are fooling the people by talking about a socialist ethics in isolation within Chinese boundaries.

The present exercise of the Dengist leadership is nothing but an effort to create an ideological base for prolonging the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois rule they have established in China after overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat through a military coup immediately after Mao's death. This document reflects the uncertainty that has gripped the new leadership after what happened in Soviet Union and East European countries. In this way they hope to maintain China as a 'middle kingdom'. But history teaches otherwise. There is no middlepath possible between capitalist path and socialist path.

(From P. 12)

Punjab while BJP is totally opposing both. Besides while Akali Dal opposed the atrocities committed in the name of suppressing Khalistanis, BJP was in total support to this suppression. This unholy alliance is the new brand of ruling class alternative attempted under B J P's leadership. Its victory taking advantage of negative votes will only lead to worsen the people's plight as proved by the different ruling class alternatives in different states and at centre, since they are also pursuing the economic policies practiced by Congress under imperialist dictates. Besides, from the appeasement of communal politics by Congress, this alliance is moving ahead with open advocacy of it. Like congress, these ruling class alternatives will only serve the neocolonial masters using different slogans to divide and disarm the people.

NEW GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN

To debate whether an election under imperialist or neocolonial dispensation is free and fair is only an exercise fit for the bourgeois academics. Whether in the imperialist countries or in the neocolonies the fairest and most free elections also cannot escape the severe limitations imposed by the ruling system and money-muscle power. So whether the election is free and fair is only a relative term. If three years back Benazir Bhutto came to power in a 'free and fair elections' according to her which was strungly refuted by Nawaz Sharif, this time the roles are reversed with Benazir depicting the election as heavily rigged while her main opponent pointing out the results as people's verdict. In spite of these claims and counter claims what is clear is that the change of government is not going to reduce the domination of the military over Pakistani politics. On the contrary, after dismissing Benazir government, the president had set up a 'Council for Defence and National Security' with the three Services Chiefs inside it, which has further increased the military domination.

Though it was the military dictatorship which hanged her father Bhutto, Benazir had no hesitation to take orders from it. On February 3 Benazir complained about rigging in elections not to the election commission but to the army chief hoping he will help her for the services rendered by her. During her regime or after her dismissal, though she was highly critical of the president many times, he never called for curbing the power of the military.

In spite of whatever he may

now say, Nawaz Sharif will also follow Benazir's path of appeasement with the military bosses. As the military is closely linked with Pentagon it is not going to allow reducing tension in the region also, as it will adversely affect the lucrative arms trade by the imperialists. As far as the disastrous economic policies dictated by IMF - WB which have ruined the life of the masses, the new government is not going to make or is incapable of making any major chan-

ges. Especially when like Congress and BJP the UF government in India is also much restrained by the imperialist preferences to keep South Asia under tension, no significant initiative can be expected from this side of the border also to remove the atmosphere of conflicts.

This situation as in the past do not promise better days for the people of both these countries.

PUNJAB ELECTIONS

The rout of Congress in Punjab was not unexpected or accidental. While it is a part of the anger against Congress at all India level, in Punjab it also reflected the heinous and criminal policies pursued by it from early 1980s first in promoting the Khalistan movement and then in the total human rights violations in the name of suppressing it, both under presidential rule and under its ministries. Added to these, corruption at all levels had become rampant under Congress patronage.

Its efforts to forge alliance with BSP did not succeed as bargaining for seats by both did not reach anywhere. Finally, though it could forge an opportunist seat adjustment with CPI, it could not improve its image in anyway. Congress from a party ruling with overwhelming majority is reduced to a minor position both in seats and votes. It is a rebuff not only to Rao's policies but also to Kesari politics, and is going to further accelerate the degeneration of Congress.

was tried in Punjab. Janatha Dal, Samajvadi Party, CPI (M) and CPI forged a front. But immediately CPI sabotaged it joining Congress for a seat adjustment. Besides this front was not having any alternate policies to project against Congress and the Akali Dal - BJP alliance. With their alliance at centre with Congress, this front was seen only as an appendage of Congress.

The alliance of BSP which is practicing politics of blackmail on a casteist platform, with Akali Dal (Mann) whose support to Khalistan movement is no secret, with its sheer opportunism also could not benefit from the anti-Congress mood of the people. It is in this situation the opportunistic alliance of the political platforms of Sikh and Hindu religious fundamentalist outfits, Akali Dal and BJP, gained big victory riding on the anti-Congress wave. The opportunism of this alliance is well evident from Akali Dal's support to Anandpur Sahib Resolution and autonomy for

A copy of the UF at centre

(Contd P. 11)

Ken Saro-Wiwa along with eight other Ogoni activists were hanged by the military regime of Nigeria in November, 1995. They were buried in an unmarked grave after dousing the bodies with acid to quicken their decomposition as his executors feared that his memory will provoke more rebellions. Now 19 more Ogonis are facing trial and judicial murder in the continuing struggle of Ogoni people against the multinationals like SHELL and the Nigerian regime which rules of

protecting imperialist interests. Even while UN agencies and the imperialist rulers of US and EU shed crocodile tears for human rights in Nigeria, their financial agencies and MNCs are intensifying the plunder using the fascist regime.

Ken Saro-Wiwa was sentenced to judicial murder by a fake tribunal. Before it he said: "Since my arrest on 21 May 1994 I have been subjected to physical and mental torture, held incommunic-

do and denied food for weeks and medical attention for months. My 74 year old mother has been whipped and arrested, my wife beaten and threatened with detention, telephone lines to my office and residence cut and they remain cut to this day. my office and home have been ransacked on three different occasions... .."

We are reproducing below the last part of Ken's speech before the tribunal.

SHELL is on Trial

We all stand before history. I am a man of peace, of ideas. Appalled by the denigrating poverty of my people who live on a richly-endowed land, distressed by their political marginalization and economic strangulation, angered by the devastation of their land, their ultimate heritage, anxious to preserve their right to life and to a decent living and determined to usher to this country a whole a fair and just democratic system which protects everyone and every ethnic group and gives us all a valid claim to human civilization, I have devoted all my intellectual and material resources, my very life, to a cause in which I have total belief and from which I cannot be blackmailed or intimidated. I have no doubt at all about the ultimate success of my cause, no matter the trials and tribulations which I and those who believe with me may encounter on our journey. Nor imprisonment nor death can stop our ultimate victory.

I repeat that we all stand before history. I and my colleagues are not the only ones on trial. Shell is here on trial and it is as well that it is represented by counsel said to be holding a watching brief. The Company has, indeed, ducked this particular trial, but its day will surely come and the lessons learnt here may prove useful to it for there is no doubt in my mind that the ecological war the Company has waged in the Delta will be called to question sooner than later and the crimes of that war be duly punished. The crime of the Company's dirty war against the Ogoni people will also be punished.

On trial also is the Nigerian nation, its present rulers and all those assist them. Any nation which can do to the weak and disadvantaged what the Nigerian nation has done to the Ogoni, loses a claim to independence and to freedom from outside influence. I am not one of those who shy away from protesting injustice and oppression, arguing that they are expected of a military regime. The military do not act alone. They are supported by a gaggle of politicians, lawyers, judges, academics and businessmen, all of them hiding under the claim that they are only doing their duty, men and women too afraid to wash their pants of their urine. We all stand on trial, my lord, for by our actions we have denigrated our country and jeopardized the future of our children. As we subscribe to the sub-normal and accept double standards, as we lie and cheat openly, as we protect injustice and oppression, we empty our classrooms, degrade our hospitals, as we protect injustice and oppression, fill our stomachs with hunger and elect to make ourselves those who subscribe to higher standards, pursue the truth, and honor justice, freedom and hard work.

I predict that the scene here will be played and replayed by generations yet unborn. Some have already cast themselves in the role of villains, some are tragic victims, some still have a chance to redeem themselves. The choice is for each individual.

I predict that a denouncement of the riddle of the Niger delta will soon come. The agenda is being set at this trial. Whether the peaceful ways favoured will prevail depends on what the oppressor decides, what signals it sends out to the waiting public.

In my innocence of the false charges I face here, in my utter conviction, I call upon the Ogoni people, the peoples of the Niger delta, and the oppressed ethnic minorities of Nigerian to stand up now and fight fearlessly and peacefully for their rights. History is on their side.

Observe March 23 as Anti-Imperialist Day

As every day Passes, with every new decision of the central and state governments, the neocolonial plunder of the country is intensifying. The privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation regime under I M F- W B directives is strengthened in all fields. The M N C s are allowed commanding positions everywhere. Under W T O provisions even *corporate nationality* status for them is thought about. At the same time the interest and instalment payments are hiking the huge foreign debt burden every year.

The cumulative effects of all these are unprecedented price-rises, unemployment, enslavement of the country and pauperisation of more and more sections of people. From day to day experience people are realising how much more heinous and pernicious is neocolonialism.

At the same time the ruling class alternatives of all hues including the governmental (sarkari) left front are competing among themselves to occupy the manager's role under this system, to prove their servitude to the imperialists and their domestic compradors. They are working

hard to prop up the degenerated and totally corrupt ruling system against the people's will.

Comrades like Bhagat Singh and thousands and thousands of people's heroes sacrificed everything not for this neocolonial slavery, but for the liberation of the country from the clutches of imperialism & feudalism, for a socialist future for our people. It has become the responsibility of the Communist revolutionaries and all patriotic democratic forces more than ever to overthrow the Indian state serving imperialism and its compradors.

In this context let us mobilise all our forces along with all democratic forces to observe the day of martyrdom of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, March 23, as *anti-imperialist day* challenging the ruling system, and pledging to overthrow the imperialist system for ever from the world. We appeal to all Communist revolutionaries and revolutionary left forces all over the country to take initiative in this broad political campaign.

C P I (M L) Red Flag.

Kerala: Red Flag Agitation on Dalit Christian Reservation Issue

CPI (ML) Red Flag Kerala State Committee has launched a mass movement on dalit christian reservation with the slogans: Resist undermining of SC/ST reservation, Provide separate reservation for dalit christians, and Scrap NEP which undermine reservation. While UF government with congress support is going to include dalit christians in the SC/ST list thereby undermining even existing SC/ST reservation, BJP is opposing any form of reservation to them on communal lines. Both are taking respective positions with eyes on vote bank while accelerating the implementation of NEP which altogether lead to practically nullifying reservation. In this situation exposing these ruling parties including the Left Front and demanding separate reservation for dalit christians the state committee has launched the movement. It has created positive response from not only the dalit and dalit christian sections, but all secular, democratic forces also.

Under the LDF government, following the amendment to Adivasi Land Protection Act which is denying the right of alienated land to Adivasis, they denied protection to their cremation grounds also. The traditional burial ground at Cheempoyil in Wynad district which was illegally occupied by a landlord who is also a member of BJP few years back was confiscated by adivasis led by Red Flag. It was once again used burial ground. Now LDF government has given police protection to the BJP landlord in tune with its policy towards adivasi land. Challenging this with the massive support of Red Flag activists once again the body of an adivasi comrade was buried there. Now police has filed a criminal case and started harassing the adivasi's and Red Flag supporters. Opposing this, as a part of the ongoing struggle for adivasi land a rally was organised. Hundreds of adivasis who participated in the rally declared that struggle for

On Datta Samant's Murder

The similarities between what happened at Durg-Rajhara-Bhilai leading to murder of Sankar Guha Neogi and now at Mumbai leading to murder of Datta Samant are many. The only important difference being that what is happening at Mumbai is at a mega-scale.

The post-emergency years witnessed a spurt in democratic consciousness and increased working class militancy. Simultaneously many new industries were started in Chathisgarh region of MP alongwith mining for a large variety of raw-materials. But the major trade union centres were not ready to lead the working class against increasing suppression and exploitation. While INTUC continued to serve management interests imposing its domination through collaboration with the manage-

their alienated land will be continued until victory.

During UDF rule, as a part of the struggle against privatisation of education and opening capitation fee colleges there were massive people's movements. As a part of this when DYFI activists had organised march against then co-operative minister M.V. Raghavan (former CPI (M) leader), who had launched a capitation fee medical college in his locality under the control of himself and K.Karunakaran, the then UDF chief minister, police fired and five DYFI activists died. LDF had pledged to put an end to capitation system in this medical college and in the state as a whole if it comes to power. At that time itself the youth and students movement led by Red Flag who were in the forefront of the struggle against privatisation had challenged CPI (M) leadership quoting what LDF was doing in W. Bengal.

Now LDF is in power and they are implementing the UDF policies with more vigour betraying the five DYFI youth who sacrificed their lives at Koothuparambu not long back. When LDF and UDF are united in the privatisation of education and opening of numerous capitation fee institutions, Yuvajanavedi and KVS have launched a state wide agitation against it. They are challenging the denial of democratic rights to the students in the name of High court verdict also. This radical movement led by revolutionary youth and students have attracted the attention of all progressive sections.

ment, neither AITUC nor CITU could fill the void as they had embraced reformist path. None of them were ready to resist the increasing contract system nor mechanisation and automation throwing out thousands of workers. This void was filled by Sankar Guha Neogi who led many militant economic struggles.

Though he could not develop a correct political approach, in the concrete situation of Chathisgarh where people's contradiction with the state was intensifying and all other leaderships in the main had become representatives or apologists of the ruling classes, Neogi started symbolising the working class interests. So he had to be eliminated. Through his murder the vested interests could give a severe setback to the working class movement in the region at least for the time being. His own Chathisgarh Mukti Morcha (CMM) and its trade union wing were brought under reformist leadership compelling the revolutionary elements within to go out.

Datta Samant entered the TU scene in the 1960s at Mumbai suburbs. By that time INTUC had become notorious for its *dala* character, serving the management interests. As for as AITUC, the TU centre with a glorious history of numerous struggles was concerned, under the by then degenerating influence of Dange, the staunchest advocate of Krushchevism in India, it was failing to represent the working class interests more and more. The TU centre led by George Fernandes, the socialist (and now Samatha) leader, also could not challenge the growing attacks from the managements, inspite of its occasional militant strike struggles. CITU, when it was formed, also remained a non-starter. So the decade before the emergency declaration witnessed stagnancy in the TU field, unlike the earlier decades.

Like in all other parts of the country, the post emergency years called for launching workers struggles to challenge the growing ruling class offensive. As partners or supporters of the Janatha regime HMS or AITUC or CITU could not take this responsibility. Like INTUC, they were also becoming statusquoist. As a result, the decade from late 1970s witnessed a sudden growth of the TU force led by Datta Samant. His arrest and expulsion from Congress during the emergency increased his influence among workers.

The longest strike by about 2 lakh textile mill workers from January 1982 demanding increased wages and making *badli* workers permanent under the leadership of Samant's Mumbai Girni Kamger Union was a turning point. Instead of focussing on getting the notorious Bombay Industrial Relations (B I R) Act which recognised the collaborationist I N T U C affiliated R M M S (Rashitriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh) as the sole bargaining agent for the workers and building the largest possible unity of the working class, the strike focussed only on the economic demands and Samant preferred to go alone. In spite of it all democratic forces supported the strike. It lingered on too long and the managements utilised the opportunity to impose closures and large scale retrenchment without compensation. In effect the strike failed and it caused a further set-back to the working class movement in Mumbai. This strike is a very good example of the failure of a major workers struggle for want of raising political demands and focussing on them.

The failure of textile strike opened a new avenue for the Mumbai underworld and builders assisted by the corrupt state machinery. This criminal ganging up planned to close all mills and utilise the prime area of 2.8 sq. km with them costing more than Rs.15,000 crores for real estate. But this move which will make 80,000 workers jobless was consistently opposed by Samant's union and other progressive forces.

But all the underworld mafias of Mumbai led by Dawood Ibrahim, his Dubai based assistant Chota shakeel, Arun Gawli, Amar Naik and Chota Rajan are interested in this big pie. So while all of them oppose workers resistance to defeat the closure of factories, there are increasing group rivalries and many killings among them for bigger share of this transaction.

Another area of conflict was inter-union rivalry. The militant strike struggles by working class in Mumbai in the post emergency years and early 1980s were seen as a challenge by the ruling classes. One of the main tactics developed by them was to create a new set of collaborationist unions besides I N T U C. Shiv Sena was all too willing with its Sramik Sena to serve the managements. Sena activists used goonda tactics to impose their hegemony at many places. Another new entrant was unions led by mafia men. Congress affiliated R M M S is now led by Sachin Ahir, a nephew of Arun Gawli. Some other unions are also taken over by mafia men. In many of the recent struggles led by Samant for example in Richardson and

Cruddas, Modistone, Mazagaon Docks etc he had to face Sena and mafia unions.

Another area of conflict was created by the consequences of the N E P. If *badli* was common to only textile mills in the past, casualisation and contractisation has become the predominant trend today following privatisation-liberalisation. Most of the factories have started cutting down strength of regular workers. Instead major part of work is given outside on contract system. The state machinery is openly assisting this trend denying all hard-earned democratic and T U rights to workers. The Shiv Sena- B J P alliance government has intensified the onslaught on workers. As a result in National Rayon Corporation, Premier Automobiles etc. the unions of Samant had to face many serious challenges. The effects of *deindustrialisation* and the relationship between growing criminality in the society and the N E P were getting manifested in the T U field.

This situation demanded a serious evaluation and a political challenge from the working class. But Samant had no such political vision except his sincerity to the working class cause. The A I T U C, C I T U, H M S like official left unions repeatedly failed to give such a leadership due to their collaboration with the perpetrators of the N E P. So even though Samant of late was ready to take political positions against some of the consequences of the N E P in the overall atmosphere of surrender to ruling class politics even by the non-Congress as well as non-Shiv Sena- B J P forces such a polarisation was not taking place. Though the revolutionary left had some influence among the working class, due to continuing influence of sectarianism they fail to play any role in this critical condition. As a result of all these the enemy as a whole got emboldened to strike down Datta Samant, the most militant trade union leader in Mumbai presently. With this blow, enemies of working class movement hope to inflict a further setback to it and disarm the working class.

The murders of Neogi and Samant, brutal killings of many more T U activists in different states are not isolated questions. These are part of a general plan by the managements—both foreign and native—, the mafia gangs and state machinery to terrorise the working class in to submission. Such attacks on organised working class movement is going to increase in the coming days when the ill effects of N E P are going to manifest more and more, and the workers will be compelled to come out in struggle.

HAWKERS EVICTION IN CALCUTTA

Like launching a major warfare against an attacking enemy army dozens of bulldozers went to many areas of Calcutta in November, with thousands of policemen and corporation employees in the 'Operation Sunshine' to demolish the hawkers shops. Jyothi Basu's LDF government was in a hurry to clean Calcutta streets for a high voltage international conference in January 1997 sponsored by the Confederation of Indian Industries. Especially when a front-ranking imperialist like John Major, the British prime minister, and senior members of his cabinet were also expected to attend it alongwith representatives of numerous MNCs, is it not the responsibility of the longest serving chief minister and his ministry to clear the streets of this city once built by the colonial masters? Whatever may happen to more than two lakh hawkers and their families, the LDF has decided to make a better show place before the international trade and commerce chieftains as directed by the imperialist agencies like IMF and World Bank.

Before taking up this drastic measure, what weighed most with the CPI(M) think-tanks was not what the hawkers and families do for earning a living, but how it will affect the different vote banks in the city. Even when scores of bulldozers were mowing down rows after rows of stalls erected by the hundreds of thousands of hawkers, the CPI(M) bigwigs were calculating how many more city assembly seats it will win for them in the next elections. The state leaders of Congress are scared of this possibility. So even when some of its dissidents called for a 12 hour bundh on 27 November, they kept quiet afraid of displacing the business community and middle classes. Both LDF and Congress are united in this eviction war, as both are now duty-bound to serve the elite classes and imperialist interests.

LDF has never bothered to make a survey of the hawkers and announce their total

number within city limits and how such a huge number happened to depend on hawking for earning a living. LDF leaders are surely aware of these facts. It is from the partition days the number of hawkers started increasing. As more refugees started pouring in their number went on multiplying in the absence of any other means. Side by side as the post -1947 policies of Congress and later LDF administration did not better living conditions of the poor in the countryside they started flocking to urban centres. It is happening all over India as proved by the increase in the percentage of urban population from 10 to 33% during last 25 years. Like Congress, BJP or other ruling class parties, LDF has no solution to this intensifying urbanisation, unemployment and pauperisation of masses. The NEP started Rao government and faithfully pursued by the UF government including the LF parties has only worsened the situation. Instead of taking measures to solve this problem, LDF government is engaged in the banishment of the poor from the streets so that the rich can enjoy the city life better.

This inhuman criminal action of LDF government calls for severest condemnation.

Jyothi Basu's LDF ministry may succeed to overwhelm the large number of hawkers for the time being in order to spread red carpet for imperialist masters. But the people becoming more and more dispossessed cannot be put down for ever. They are bound to rise up in with rage against their tormentors and their masters in the days to come. ●

Against Murder of Datta Samant

CPI(ML) Red Flag Mumbai committee and TUCI committee protested against the Murder of Datta Samant. Street corner meeting were organised outside suburban railway stations. Workers and progressive forces in large numbers are participating in the protest programmes organised by different organisations.

The enemies of the working class who have ganged up to suppress the working class movement can be resisted only if powerful proletarian unity is built up and this organised force challenging the present ruling system. Taking lessons from the murder of Samant the revolutionary left and T'Us attached to them should take initiative in this. ●

A NEW BRAND of DALITISM

During the last one decade, after going out of C P I (M L) people's War, K. G. Sathyamurthi has taken many incarnations— always with a new brand of *Dalitism* as ideology. During his C P I (M L) days he had taken sectarianism to extreme limits. Once out of P W G if he said that he was expelled due to his differences with K. Sitharamiah on the tactical line—whether to follow 'hit and run' or 'hit and stay'— now he has started saying that he was expelled because he was a dalit. But he never accepts that he enjoying the majority support in the C C of P W G was undemocratically expelled not because of being dalit (of it were so how he could become even the secretary of P W G) but because of the sectarianism in that organisation in fostering which he had also played a significant role. After estrangement with P W G he never tried to bring together the revolutionary forces and to build a proletarian party. Instead he altogether left Marxist-Leninist positions. Abandoning the path of class struggle, counterposing caste to class he embraced caste struggle as the vital issue and rejected proletarian class outlook. That is why he joined hands with a rabid anti-Communist like Khanshiram and became A P leader of B S P.

But this sojourn was very short. He left (or expelled from?) B S P on the issue of his

role in selecting candidates to elections! He formed for some time A P B S P. But it did not clique in any way. So he abandoned these efforts and is on a new expedition to launch his Federal Democratic Party (FDP) with an oft repeated combination of 'Marx, Ambedkar and Phule' as his ideology. His objective capturing power through the unity of all S C s/ S T s, backward classes and minority communities in the parliamentary path, the theme of all those who talk about social justice from Janatha Dal to B S P.

If his theme is state, his methods are earning him backers from N G O s and those who are having doubtful links with imperialist centres. For example his recent trip to Kerala was promoted by a bureaucrat who has already played a significant role in degenerating another Naxalite group of A P to dalitism. He belongs to those groups of bureaucrats who are in prominent positions in the state machinery, and at the same time play important role in N G O s or have direct or indirect links with the intelligence agencies of imperialist countries including C I A. By denouncing the history of the proletarian movement in the country and his own history, Sathyamurthy has become an obedient servant of the ruling classes.

Patents, Parliamentarians and NGOs

Red star has received a report on the 'National Conference on TRIPS, Patent System and New Moves on Foreign Investment' organised at Delhi on October -11 from Dr S.K Sharma, a participant, which is reproduced below: The National Conference was organised and attended by 'Parliamentarians on Intellectual Property and National Working Group on Patent Laws'. Noted participants and speakers on various aspects of the subject were Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, Dr Murali Manohar Joshi, Jaipal Reddy, Rabi Roy, Dr. Ashok Mitra, A.B. Bardhan, Dr. Nityanand, Surendra Mohan, Prof. Malini Bhattacharjee, Balraj Mehta, B.K. Koyla, Dinesh Abrol, Ashok Rao and Dr Suman Sahai.

The main issues discussed were Issues and Challenges, Patents and Plant Variety Protection, New Moves on FDI, Patent System, and Science and Technology. Concluding session was on 'Focus on Solidarity' and Joint Statement.

It was a unique assembly of represent-

atives from BJP, Janatha Dal, CPI, CPI(M), besides intellectuals from universities, CSIR and DRDO Laboratories, NGOs, and leading figures from Associations of Scientists and Engineers. Implications of new plant regime on domestic industry, R and D, and Consumers were circulated for the over 100 delegates to the Conference.

Need for education of public was felt as not many even in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and Reserch Laboratories are aware about the myth and realities of the implications of the new policies an Indian economy and R and D activities.

The report concludes by expressing satisfaction that the 'National Working Group on Patent Laws' and the 'Forum of Parliamentarians' have so far successfully created awareness on this subject in Delhi. The Conference wanted to hold such Conferences at other places also. Report concludes by stating that an International Conference on the above issues is also organised at New

Red Flag Spearheads Movements Against L D F Regime

The struggle for protection of adivasi land has taken a new turn in Kerala. When the LDF government took over due to court orders a decision had to be taken on the implementation of 1975 Adivasi Land Protection Bill which became an act in 1982. Successive governments of UDF and LDF had postponed its implementation surrendering to rich settler's interests. This time when with the help of UDF led by Congress, the LDF government decided to amend the act in the interest of the rich settlers, it had not expected a mass movement organising the adivasis against it. This is exactly what CPI (ML) Red Flag and the Adivasi Land Protection Front did derailing not

Delhi, in November.

This whole exercise shows how the serious issue of patents and making India a member of WTO is depoliticised, or the real political content of the issue is bedding taken out. First of all CPI, CPI(M) and progressive intellectuals joining hands in 15 BJP and NGOs shows the extent of opportunism exhibited by these forces. Refusal to attack the ruling class policies under imperialist dictates which have led to present neocolonial enslavement exposes the class collaborationist approach of all these apologists of neocolonialism.

Neither parliamentarians explained nor the intellectuals asked them why such an important issue like entry to WTO was never put to vote in Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha. Did not all the parliamentarians conspire to avoid a serious discussion and voting on Dunkel proposals, signing of GATT Agreement and entry in to WTO both in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha? Is it not a fact that in this Conference and in all such activities of the participants of this Conference a clear cut anti-imperialist stand is never taken?

In fact, these Conferences are not for educating the people, but to confuse and disinform the people and divert them from the path of anti-imperialist struggles. The parliamentarians ranging from BJP to CPI(M), the NGOs and intellectuals collaborating with them are colluding in this heinous exercise.

only the unanimous amendment carried out by Kerala assembly, but also the Solidarity like NGOs who were trying to project a few adivasi leaders to divert the attention of adivasis from cardinal issues. Contrary to their expectations, a big mass movement was launched which compelled all to toe the position put forward by ALPF. The LDF govt. had to become defensive. Even the sectarian hostage-drama staged by *Ayyankali pada*, the publicity given to it by media, and LDF government's police action against CPI (ML) Red Flag, ALPF and adivasi masses in the name of catching the four youth who were set free after the *drama* under governmental orders could not suppress the adivasi and movement. ALPF organised tens of thousands of adivasis and continued struggle. It exposed the BJP who tried to champion the movement spewing communal venom by organising a march to the burial ground of adivasis illegally occupied by a BJP leader of Wynad and occupied it. Though RSS goondas attacked them and police arrested large number of ALPF activists and adivasis as at other places the movement is still gaining strength compelling even the all India agricultural workers union of CPI (M) to criticise the amendment, and fomenting internal problems within CPI or CPI (M), and between them.

At this time the police force under CPI (M) chief minister has hatched a conspiracy to stage *Palghat style* actions by *Ayyankali Pada* in Wynad with its backing. An evening paper published widely from 8 centres by the Catholic church is also behind this conspiracy along with some NGO masterminds at Delhi. The idea is to divert the adivasi agitation to sectarian path and to suppress it. But CPI (ML) Red Flag has exposed this conspiracy and has organised a campaign against it, with the determination to continue the mass movement for adivasi land. In this process it is trying to unite the adivasis with the poor settlers against the rich settlers and estate owners in whose interest both UDF and LDF parties are united.

Yuvajanavedi prevents auction of forest land

In Kozhikode district the attempt by forest department to auction and sell 600 acres

of prime forest land to vested interests was picketed and successfully prevented by Yuvajanavedi volunteers. VEDI has decided to intensify struggle for protecting the remaining forest land against government policies which give no importance to ecological issues.

TUCI leads workers struggles

Nearly a lakh of workers of traditional coir sector are in struggle in Allapuzha district demanding better wages and service conditions. In this fragmented industry controlled by major exporters, the agreement signed by CITU, AITUC and other major unions with the management were flouted by the exporters throwing thousands of small producers and nearly a lakh of workers to miserable condition. Like its predecessor UDF government, the LDF government is not ready to take action against the exporters. No major unions are also not ready to lead workers in struggle. In this situation TUCI has organised a major agitation mobilising large number of workers demanding immediate solution to the crisis in coir sector.

TUCI affiliated Coats India Workers Organisation is continuing the struggle for opening Madura Coats unit at Koratty, Thrissur district. Contrary to election time promises LDF is helping the MNC to impose an anti-worker agreement on workers which if implemented will make two thirds of the 2600 workers jobless. Workers have rejected the agreement and have accepted TUCI leadership in struggle. As a part of this six month old continuous struggle supported by other trade unions and revolutionary mass organisations on January 4 the national highway in front of factory gate was picketed blocking the traffic for hours. The relay hunger strike at factory gate started in November is still continuing. In spite of the refusal of major unions to participate more and more workers and their family members are joining the struggle.

Fish Workers United Forum (TUCI) has launched a campaign to intensify the struggle for cancelling the licence issued to foreign trawlers for deep sea fishing in Ernakulam and Alappuzha districts. Besides the front has demanded the implementation of the protection law for sea-shore scientifically. The LDF government has opposed the law for serving the interest of the tourism-real estate lobby. It is against the interest of the fish workers. TUCI has called for intensifying these anti-worker policies of the LDF government.

That the *Gosree* project at Kochi is against

the ecological interests of the area is explained by many study reports. Still like the UDF, the LDF is also going to implement it ignoring people's protests. Yuvajanavedi launched a people's march against this project on January 17.

While in opposition LDF and CPI (M) in particular had launched many struggles against privatisation - commercialisation of education resorted to by UDF government. Especially when a capitation fee medical collage was started under management of a trust controlled by K Karunakaran and CMP minister and for CPI (M) dissident M. V. Raghavan, as a part of running battle against DYFI blockaded Raghavan everywhere. At Kuthuparambu during one blockade five DYFI youths were killed in police firing. Now before the blood of these youths have lost its warmth, LDF is in power and it has refused to take over this Pariyaram medical college as declared by till election days. Moreover a number of capitation fee colleges are given permission, one of them, an engineering college recently inaugurated by LDF education minister Joseph. Besides contrary to earlier positions preuniversity course is bifurcated and started as *plus two* course in schools mostly as unaided courses. It is nothing but a step to surrender the education to dominant Catholic church further. It is part of LDF's communal appeasement policy exposing the hollowness of its anti-communal words. Focussing these issues and demanding an end to capitation fee system and privatisation - commercialisation of education a successful march was organised by KVS and Yuvajanavedi from Parayaram to Thodupuzha where the new capitation fee engineering college is inaugurated. At Kuthuparambu and hundreds of places where meetings were organised the volunteers got warm reception, and all the way the 300 KM march was successful. It has given a new fillip to students and youth movement demanding education for all, opposing privatisation, and implementation of free and compulsory education till secondary stage.

The state wide political campaign launched by CPI (ML) Red Flag state committee, and the exposure of UF government's policies at centre more and more have become a major blow to the ambitious *people's planning* programme launched by LDF to hoodwink the people. It has lost whatever popular support it received in the beginning. Even CPI (M) mass organisations are not much active in it now. It has become a project of the government employees, teachers and NGOs including Sastra Sahitya

Parishad. The role played by Red Flag in exposing the project has angered CPI (M) leadership.

These statewide political campaigns and struggles by class and mass organisations have compelled to come out with the oft-repeated propaganda that the Naxalites become active only when they come to power. They repeat this lie in spite of the fact that Red Flag was very much active during former UDF regime even organising a very successful Kerala bundh against GATT treaty. This propaganda is repeated by the reactionary media and UDF leaders with an entirely different objective to show that law and order has broken after LDF coming to power. Irrespective of these counter-revolutionary propaganda and repressive government policies CPI (ML) Red Flag and the revolutionary mass organisations are becoming polarising centres of the popular forces against not only LDF and UDF, but also against BJP and other communal forces. The NGOs have also lost most of the glamour here as they get in other states as a result of this revolutionary campaign.

Mumbai:

Diamond workers win struggle for job security

Seventy workers of Gemlight Diamond company have won a battle for job security during December 1996 in Mumbai. The management of Gemlight Ltd. Guragaon, a diamond cutting and polishing company decided to close the company and to shift it to some other place to restart under a new name. The workers were told of the decision on 30th November and asked to collect their dues the next day. Closing down companies and starting in new names is a common practice in Mumbai among small scale and medium industries to deprive the workers of their dues like gratuity etc and to reduce wages. The workers of Gemlight were told that they would be taken back as casual or contract workers in the new firm.

The workers having no Unions upto that time formed themselves into Union under the leadership of Com: Dilip Patole and demanded job security and raise in pay of Rs 500/- per worker irrespective of the length of service. The management though tried to evade the issue initially, seeing the unity of the workers agreed to continuously engage them in jobs and to raise the wages by 10%. The unity and struggle of the workers of Gemlight is seen as a better model by the workers of similar firms.

Workers Struggle in S. Korea

South Korea is always projected the world over as an economic miracle under IMF - WB sponsored structural adjustment policies. But during December - January it was in news for the growing labour strife.

Even when the imperialist media was eulogising the economic leaps of S. Korea it was no secret that it was achieved by plundering the toiling masses and depriving democratic rights. At the behest of US and Japanese imperialists it was brutally putting down all demands for Korean reunification also. So yearly revolts by students were a common feature.

South Korea is run by 30 business conglomerates very much in the model of Japan. Using the pretext of its coveted entry in to OECD, these conglomerate pressurised Kim Young Sam administration to introduce liberal hire and fire laws under recommendations from OECD. This criminal law was passed in just six minutes alongwith 10 other pieces of legislation including increasing the power of intelligence services exposing the nature of the democracy practiced in this country.

These steps have sparked the biggest ever workers' struggles joined by students and other progressive sections. They demand the cancellation of the new laws. On many days strike struggles by more than one million workers paralysed all industries causing production loss of \$ 2.1 billion in December. As Kim is bent upon imposing fascist measures under a democratic garb the struggle is bound to continue.

US and U N

US Imperialism and its representative Ms. Adeleine Albright in UN proved how it can dictate to the world body by ousting Boutros-Ghali from the secretary-general ship and getting its nomination of Kofi Annan accepted without protest. Now Clinton starting his second term has assured Annan payment of US dues so that UN can function for US and its allies more obediently than before.

Besides Clinton administration has rewarded Adeleine Albright by elevating her as secretary of state to continue her notable services to US imperialism in putting down even the slightest anti-imperialist moves anywhere in the world.

(From P.23)

who have sacrificed everything for the liberation of our country from the clutches of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism.

Today, though the reorganisation of the Party has still not reached a significant stage, both in this process of uniting the Communist revolutionaries under Party's banner, and in initiating the unity of the revolutionary left based on political slogans we have achieved limited success. For carrying forward these tasks it is necessary that we evaluate the experiences of these 25 years after the martyrdom of C M and take lessons. Let us utilise this period for this purpose and to rededicate ourselves to the cause of the New Democratic Revolution in our country.

(From P 2)

Some sections who oppose 'Soviet threat'. But by middle 1980s Dengists abandoned this theory, established good relations with Gorbachov regime in Soviet Union and abandoned even the evaluation of Soviet Union as social imperialist itself. Once for all, they openly advocated a policy of collaboration with imperialist system in line with their economic policies. China was basically turned away from socialist path in all respects.

The consequences of these counter revolutionary changes are clearly visible in China. The Dengists themselves were compelled to convene a plenum last year to discuss about increasing corruption and cultural degradation. Class divisions have surfaced acutely. If the CPC under the leadership of Mao led a heroic struggle towards bringing down class divisions with the longterm goal of a classless society, under Dengists China is once again turned in to a class divided society under domination of imperialist value system.

In this transformation of China to a counter

revolutionary path imperialists all over the world and revisionists of all hues were greatly elated. At the same time it was a great loss to the international proletariat after the loss of Soviet Union, causing a severe setback to the international Communist movement. Naturally these two positions are well reflected in the reactions of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution after Deng's death.

After the severe setback suffered by the ICM after the 1950s due to the sabotage from within by the Titoists, Krushchevites, Dengists and other alien trends from within, and by the imperialist forces from outside, today once again the international proletariat are on the move to consolidate their forces in each country and unite at global level. Let us hope that the experience of the 25 years of socialist construction and the consequences of the two decades of capitalist path will help the Chinese people to distinguish socialist path from capitalist path, to mount their resistance against the Dengists in power and to rejoin the revolutionary stream of world people.

Calcutta Bookfair: IMF-WB Stall Ransacked

On 2nd February the activists of Sangrami Gano Manch ransacked the IMF-World Bank stall opened in Calcutta Bookfair to propagate the virtues of these imperialist agencies. All the books and publicity materials were destroyed. Revolutionary slogans against imperialist agencies were raised. People responded warmly. This revolutionary action compelled the authorities to withdraw the stalls from the fair.

Following the militant demonstration on the occasion of John Major's visit to Calcutta in January, this revolutionary action by Sangrami Gano Manch is acclaimed by all patriotic democratic forces.

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PRESS STATEMENT**A Budget That Accelerates Liberalisation**

The budget for 1997-98 presented by Chidambaram for the UF government exposes the reactionary content of the CMP which lauded by all UF parties including the LF as progressive. It not only continues the liberalisation policy of the Rao government, but also accelerates it to hectic pace

It has reduced fiscal deficit to 4.5% as desired by IMF and World Bank. Steps to make Rupee fully convertible on capital account also initiated. Monetarist policies are adopted at larger scale. As a beginning of privatising the insurance sector the health insurance is opened to private agencies. As per WTO conditionalities maximum customs duty is reduced further to 40%. It is reduced, in the case of all items for providing greater opportunities for FDIs, FIIs and NRIs great largesse is provided. These policies will accelerate the entry of MNCs on the one hand, and will lead to collapse of indigenous industrial ventures. The liberalisation policies are extended to agricultural sector also. In the name of promoting petroleum production big concessions are allowed to speed entry of MNCs in to this sector also. In the service sector all facilities are provided for MNCs to plunder huge profits. In short the budget contains steps to further integrate Indian economy with international capital.

At the same time, the increased fare charges in railway budget, enhanced postal rates and numerous indirect taxes, increasing cut down of welfare measures including PDS, and increase in the administered prices of consumer items have imposed unbearable burden over the

working class and vast masses of people. The proposals included in the name of welfare measures in the budget will remain illusory as in the past. Price rises, unemployment and cutting down of welfare measures will pauperise the masses further. The threatened hike in petroleum prices will aggravate the situation.

It is not accidental that this budget is repeatedly and profusely lauded by all richmen's clubs like CII, FICCI, ASSOCHAM etc as well as by all foreign agencies like IMF and WB, alongwith all bourgeois economists, The jumps in share markets have enthused them greatly. They do not mention even the hike in foreign interest liabilities to Rs. 68,000 crores. In short the budget shows the consensus arrived at among the ruling classes towards liberalisation.

In spite of certain criticisms by their state units and mass organisations CPI (M) and CPI leaderships have in general defended the budget proposals. They are following the policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. The so-called campaigns and agitations declared by the NPMO led by their mass organisations are proved hollow in the context of the support of the LF to the budget.

In this situation, we call upon all patriotic democratic forces to come forward to struggle against not only the details in the budget proposals, but against the privatisation—liberalisation—globalisation policies themselves which are intensifying the neocolonisation of the country and pauperisation of the masses.

March 1, 1997.

CPI (ML) Red Flag

25th Year of Martyrdom of Com: Charu Majumdar

The Central Reorganisation Committee of the CPI (ML) Red Flag has called on the party organisation at all levels to unite with all Communist revolutionaries, the revolutionary left forces as well as progressive democratic forces to observe the 25th year of the martyrdom of Com Charu Majumdar from May 25, the Naxalbari Day, to July 28, the martyrs day

At the time of formation of our organisation in 1979 to initiate the process of reorganisation of CPI (ML), we had called for observing July 28, the day on which Com. Charu Majumdar became martyr in 1972, as the *All India Martyr's Day* remembering the many thousands of revolutionary leaders and cadres

(Contd. P. 22)

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