

Com. Souren Bose

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Com. Souren Bose

Com Souren Bose left us on last August 17 at Mumbai when he had gone to attend programmes organised by the Maharashtra Committee of CPI (ML) Red Flag. Com. Souren Bose was a great bridge linking the glorious late 1960s and early 1970s when the Communist Revolutionaries all over India uncompromisingly fought against revisionism and provided Marxist-Leninist orientation to the revolutionary movement and launched fierce struggle for overthrowing the reactionary Indian state in order to build a New Democratic India, with the present, when after repeated setbacks the CRs are engaged in the difficult task of reorganising CPI (ML) into real proletarian vanguard by rectifying all sectarian deviations, continuing the struggle against all shades of right opportunism and by developing the basic orientation of the party in the concrete conditions of today, when imperialist global system through neocolonial methods are intensifying the plunder of the world people.



After coming out of the jail for long years he did not join any of the CPI (ML) groups not because he was in anyway influenced by the non-party thinking prevalent among many of the earlier CPI (ML) leaders and cadres, and among large number of petty-bourgeois elements. He was searching answers for many of the questions he started raising after he became critical about the influence of sectarianism within the movement, and especially after the discussions he held with leadership of the CPC in 1970. Even after CPC openly denounced many of the positions it had taken in 1969 Ninth Congress in its 1973 Tenth Congress, most of the groups in India were not ready even to go through the criticisms of the CPC leadership against many of the CPI (ML) positions as they expressed during the discussions with Com. Souren Bose. Even now some of these CPI (ML) groups refuse to accept the authenticity of the report on the discussions he held in Beijing and they even went to the extent of calling him a 'counter-revolutionary' in the statements after his death. In such an atmosphere it was very difficult to even start a discussion on evaluating the positive and negative aspects of CPI(ML) experience

in the present context when imperialism utilising neocolonial methods is launching fierce counter-revolutionary attacks on world people.

He came in contact with the literature of CPI(ML) Red Flag and started discussions with its leading cadres only from 1994. But once he found that his views are basically in agreement with the CPI (ML) Red Flag positions he did not refuse for a moment to join it. Once he joined the organisation he started actively participating in the re-organisation of the party. Thus he became an inspiration to all comrades.

In his political life as well as in his personal life he was one of the finest examples of Communist culture. In his total involvement in the Communist movement for a long period spanning more than five decades he consistently advocated for a socialist future and fought for it. He never compromised on principles. (Contd. P. 23)

EDITORIAL

On Left Agenda

With the passing of the finance bill the BJP -led government is slowly consolidating itself. The ruling classes are happy that their long-cherished wish of a two party system in the main at all India level is getting fulfilled with BJP in power and Congress waiting in opposition.

Reflecting the wishes of the ruling classes the Congress leadership has categorically stated that "it would not pull down the Vajpayee government until it is in position to offer a stable alternative as it feels that any attempt at toppling the government at this stage would lead to instability and chaos". Though the media is repeatedly dishing out sensational stories about differences among the allies of BJP, the 'real-politic' and pragmatism is preventing them from falling apart. Besides the parties in opposition except the Left Front are in no hurry to pull down the Vajpayee government. Though the hooligan gang of Mulayam and Lalloo talked so much about pulling down this government while forming their new alliance, they were indirectly helping the BJP by staging the drama in the Lok Sabha to prevent the introduction of Women's Reservation Bill. Their social justice slogan is not even skin-deep. Following Telugu Desam, Karunanidhi's DMK is also for compromising with the BJP.

That is, though Congress and other parties in opposition are ready to take over if the BJP government falls, none of them are opposing BJP or the hidden agenda of Sangh Parivar it is promoting ideologically. And as far as the economic policies are concerned all of them are on one side, all of them are advocates of the economic package put forward by the IMF-WB-WTO trio. Wherever they are in power they implement them faithfully. In suppressing the toiling masses also there are no basic differences among them as proved by CPI supported Karunanidhi government's POTA bill or the criminal record of Lalloo and new Rabri Devi government in Bihar. And as regards their opposition to open transformation to a fascist

state, the hidden agenda of the Sangh Parivar and rabid communalisation are concerned, for the present these parties are not ready to fight against them except in their electoral battles.

It is in this context the utter shallowness of the political agenda of the CPM-CPI led LF should be seen. Both CPM and CPI leaderships are repeatedly appealing to Congress leadership to topple the Vajpayee government and offer their support for it as they see BJP as the main threat today. But Congress leadership is not ready to accept this support unless it is unconditional. That is, it demands that CPM and CPI should further change its economic policies so that they will not create any difficulties while the liberalisation is further speeded up. So in spite of repeated requests by the LF, Congress leadership is in no hurry. It is ready to wait for the 16th and 17th Congresses of CPM and CPI to dilute their already social democratic agenda further.

The basic problem with the CPM, CPI leaderships is that because of their social democratic positions they refuse to recognise the relation between fascistisation taking place in the neocolonies with the intensifying imperialist plunder. They refuse to see that BJP and Congress are two sides of the same coin. So they are leading the people to despair by repeating that only Congress can free the country from the BJP rule. In this way both CPM and CPI are only weakening the possibility for the emergence of a broad anti imperialist, anti-fascist front which can put an end to Sangh Parivar's domination and prevent Congress from coming back to power. Though its possibilities are not bright at present, only the protracted efforts to build such a front under genuine left leadership with slogans of democracy and socialism can lead the people forward. The CPM, CPI leaderships are not ready for it. On the contrary they are scuttling it by their sham left positions. That is why we have repeatedly stated that while we have to strive for the broad unity of all progressive, democratic, genuine

Great Success of July 15 Parliament Dharna: Political assertion of the revolutionary left forces

When many thousands of Communist Revolutionaries alongwith the working class and peasantry, among them mainly large contingents of poor peasants and agricultural workers from Bihar, AP and Karnataka, converged in the Parliament Street on 15 July responding to the call by six revolutionary left organisations, the whole street turned red and the traffic through this major street was totally paralysed from 10 AM to 6 PM. The dharna and the public meeting addressed by spokespersons of these organisations at the culmination of an all India campaign focussing five main slogans turned in to a political assertion by the revolutionary left forces against Intensifying neocolonisation which is devastating the country and throwing the masses to immeasurable depths of pauperisation; and against the growing fascist threat posed by the Sangh Parivar.

The two months long all India campaign focussing on vital political slogans and the significance of the parliament dharna were repeatedly stressed by the speakers from the different

left forces, the CPM, CPI leaderships should have no role in it. All talks about so-called left confederation is going to be proved an illusion. The CPM, CPI leaderships have forfeited all capabilities to provide leadership to a countrywide people's front with a real left agenda. As repeatedly proved they are tailing behind different ruling class permutations and combinations.

It is in this context the significance of the efforts like the joint initiative by the six organisations at all India level should be seen, however small this step may be at present. What is required today at national level is a genuine left or people's alternative with a left agenda to mobilise the broad masses against both neocolonisation and fascist threat. The revolutionary left forces should take initiative for it with full vigour without delay.

organisations when they addressed the dharna. Earlier from 14 July morning itself contingents from different states started reaching New Delhi, Old Delhi and Nizamudin stations raising revolutionary slogans. On their way to different camping areas they held aloft red banners and placards and shouted the campaign slogans. On 14th night and 15th morning every train brought new sections jampacking the railway stations. And all of them started marching towards parliament street from 8 AM. By 10 AM roads leading to parliament street started chocking with the different contingents from the organisations started raising slogans in different languages and the cultural troupes starting their performance with revolutionary songs in different languages backed up by drummers rendering a militant atmosphere.

By 11 AM over ten thousand workers, peasants, youth, students and all other sections of tolling masses from Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, AP, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, MP, UP, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana and Delhi started their march towards the parliament filling the wide street with joint banners in the front. For the first time since the implementation of the privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation policies and joining the WTO by the consecutive comprador governments this march by six revolutionary organisations categorically called for rejecting these policies and quitting WTO. They highlighted the consequences of these policies like mass suicides by the peasants, pauperisation of agricultural workers, big-scale retrenchment of workers. Contrary to the sham opposition to these policies by the pseudo-left forces which is being exposed repeatedly through their opportunist acts, this militant march became a symbol of militant resistance by the genuine left forces against the reactionary policies of the consecutive comprador governments surrendering the country to Imperialist dictates.

As the march was stopped by a huge contingent of police force the many thousands of

marchers sat down blocking the entire street in dharna which was addressed by the spokespersons of all organisations. The leaders who addressed included comrades K. N. Ramachandran, secretary, and Ram Kavindra Singh of CPI (ML) Red Flag, Yatendra Kumar, general secretary, CPI (ML) New Democracy, Ram Naresh Ram and Rameshwar Prasad of CPI (ML) Liberation, M. Omkar and Kuldeep Singh of the MCPI Gananath Patra of the COC-CPI (ML) Janashakti, Laxman Pagar of CPI (ML) (Maharashtra) and others.

Speakers highlighted the failures of the BJP Govt. to meet any of its promises to the people. It has carried forward the implementation of new economic policies which are at the root of the deepening economic crisis. 'Swadeshi' mask of the BJP has been torn asunder as its pro-imperialist role has been exposed. In its first economic policy move, in the new EXIM policy, BJP Govt. removed restrictions on the import of 340 items including rubber, cosmetics, seafood and other products of small industries. In the Union Budget, while the customs duty of 8% has already been slashed by half and the remaining is also on its way out, the concessions granted to MNCs are glaring. Insurance sector has been opened up for privatization which is a prelude to the entry of MNCs in this sector.

In order to cover its pro-imperialist role and to prolong the life of its fledgling govt. BJP has started building up hysteria against neighbouring countries and unleashing jingoism. The nuclear explosions carried out by them which have triggered a nuclear arms race in the sub-continent are part of their effort to sidetrack the main problems of the people and to keep intact their mask of patriotism.

Even as the BJP Govt's policies are hitting the common people hard and they are rising in struggle against these policies, it is resorting to unleashing of fascist repression on the peoples struggles, particularly against the communist revolutionaries. It has asked the state govts. to enact laws to eliminate Naxalites and also for putting curbs on the press and the people. There is all round intensification of fascistisation of state machinery even as the ruling classes adopt more and more anti-national anti-people policies. On the other hand, ruling class parties, particularly BJP are patronizing criminal-feudal gangs like Ranvir Sena who are committing massacres of poor and landless peasants.

Even as the challenges before the people are serious, the opposition parties of the ruling classes and the revisionist parties like CPI, CPM are unable to articulate the people's demands as they share the same economic policies. In these conditions revolutionary and struggling forces alone can lead the people in their struggle for democratic rights, bread and jobs.

The initiative taken by the six parties and the massive Dharna was thus a sharp challenge to the policies being pursued by the ruling classes. In particular, it was an open challenge to the anti-democratic, pro-imperialist policies and chauvinistic and communal designs of the BJP led govt. All speakers appealed to the people to rise in struggle and force the reversal of these anti-people policies, and pledged to carry forward the people's movement in coming days.

Com. K. N. Ramachandran pointing out the great significance of this joint initiative by the revolutionary forces stressed that it is a fitting response to the ruling class aggression against toiling masses. He called for intensifying the fight against neocolonisation and remnants of feudal forces. Neither Congress nor UF can provide an alternative to BJP. We have to build up a peoples' alternative by building up waves after waves of powerful countrywide struggles against the ruling class policies.

All through the day the Parliament Street reverberating with revolutionary slogans in different languages raised by comrades with militant spirit. Activists to Nishant Natya manch and Arunodaya, and comrades from different states sang revolutionary songs and presented cultural programmes.

Altogether this parliament dharna under joint initiative of revolutionary organisations was a successful beginning of all India people's movements. It has paved the way for further joint movements bringing together remaining revolutionary forces also. It was a significant step forward in launching the process of building a people's alternative against all ruling class forces.

All India campaign preceding Parliament Dharna

The six revolutionary organisations had called for a countrywide campaign focussing on

the five central slogans and other relevant slogans at local level from 15 May to culminate with the parliament dharna. In line with this decision CPI (ML) Red Flag linked all activities of its state units during this period with this campaign.

In Kerala wall-writing of central slogans, padayatras, cycle jathas and public meetings were organised till 20 June in all 14 districts at many places. On 25 June dharnas were organised at 125 centres in most of the taluks before the post offices. Altogether tens of thousands of people participated in it. Following this on 3 July central offices were picketed in all district centres by hundreds of volunteers. Again on 10 July hundreds of volunteers participated in an inspiring march to the Rajbhavan at Thiruvananthapuram which was addressed by the state secretary com. P. C. Unnichekkann. When the march was stopped by a big police force the comrades sat on the road and started a dharna raising the central campaign slogans. The two months campaign succeeded in linking the economic crisis in Kerala alongwith the steep fall in prices of all cash crops including coconut and rubber to the new economic and Exim policies and WTO conditionalities implemented under imperialist dictates. Though the participation in parliament dharna was limited, this campaign succeeded in making a vigorous propaganda of the joint programme and its slogans which involved practically all activists, members of class/mass organisations and sympathisers numbering many tens of thousands at state level.

In Karnataka following the large scale sui-

cides of small and marginal peasants in northern districts as a consequence of the agricultural policies based on the liberalisation package, an intensive agitation was launched by the Ryot-Coolie Samgram Samithi (RCSS) from April beginning itself as already reported. Once the all India campaign and parliament dharna was decided this was linked with the agitation already going on in the state. Thousands of posters and tens of thousands of handbills were brought out in Kannada explaining the joint initiative. On 25 June torch-light processions and public meetings were organised at scores of places in 8 districts where party is active. Both in Kerala and Karnataka this campaign attracted considerable media attention also.

In Orissa in Bhadrak and Bhubaneswar districts good campaign was organised. In addition to central publicity material Oriya posters and handbills were brought out. In Bihar posters and handbills were brought out in thousands and good campaign was organised in four districts. In UP and Delhi also effective campaign was organised in all areas where party is active. In Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, MP and Bengal also campaign was organised. As a whole the CPI (ML) Red Flag organisation and all class/mass organisations under its leadership were mobilised fully to take the message of the joint initiative and to explain the significance of the campaign slogans during the two months. This campaign and the successful parliament dharna on 15 July could attract the attention of millions of people all over India. CPI (ML) New Democracy also organised a good campaign in areas where it is having a mass base.

Sangh Parivar's takeover of ICHR

The union ministry of human resources development headed by Murlidhar Manohar Joshi and assisted by Uma Bharathi is working very hastily to bring all faculties of education and research under suffron influence. Following UP and Rajasthan models this union ministry is busy in transforming the syllabus from primary levels to suit Hindutua needs. Expanding these moves to create Hindutua brand of "cultural nationalism" now this ministry has reconstituted the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) practically filling all 18 seats with B. P. Sinha, B. R. Grover, B. B. Lal like open advocates of Hindutua's interpretation of history. Following

their earlier counterparts in Germany who legitimised Nazi notions of racial and cultural superiority in the 1930s, these 'historians' and 'archeologists' are engaged in re-writing Indian history in the suffron colour. By reconstituting the ICHR with such people in overwhelming majority alongwith few others who are sure to follow the Hindutua line or keep quiet the BJP government has made its intentions clear.

It was only a few months back the World Archeological Congress had adopted a resolution denouncing infusion of "racial, religious or

50 YEARS OF INDEPENDANCE OR NEOCOLONIAL SLAVERY?

In 1997 the then UF government launched an expensive and elaborate countrywide programme for making the one year from 15 August 1997 as the period for celebrating "50 years of Independence." This initiative by the Indian government was soon followed by other comprador governments in South Asia also. Huge sums and resources were utilised during this period for these elitist celebrations to be culminated on this 15 August for spreading the comprador ruling class version of this region's post-war history the attainment of the formal political independence. This was a calculated effort to conceal what really happened in history and what this "independence" provided the people under the ruling class dispensation.

As these celebrations were launched by the UF government in which the Left Front parties were also participants directly or indirectly, they caused considerable confusion even among the left masses. That is why the CRC of CPI (ML) Red Flag decided in July 1997 to launch a counter-campaign to expose the real nature of

national chauvinist claims" in to the profession of history and archeology. It specifically condemned the demolition of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, deplored the failure to prevent it, and resolved that WAC would turn its attention to the malicious destruction of archeological heritage in the world". The very same delegates from India who walked out when this resolution was adopted is reinstated in ICHR.

Saffron brigade is arguing that earlier ICHR was dominated by the left and what is done is to balance this past. It is a total lie. As far as 'left' membership in the disbanded ICHR is concerned only Irfan Habib and K. N. Panikkar were there. All others represented other trends including those who supported VHP stand on Ayodhya like Grover and M. G. S. Narayanan. Through disinformation Sangh Parivar is trying to justify its take over of the ICHR.

All progressive forces should take note of these moves by the Sangh Parivar. The fascist agenda is being unfolded fast. ●

the independence obtained by our country and the real fate of the people after 50 years of comprador class rule. During these months in all the eleven states where CPI (ML) RF is functioning numerous programmes were organised with the central theme: "50 years of independence or new slavery?" with the participation of other democratic forces also. Till 15 August 1998 many more programmes are expected to be organised as the culmination of the campaign. The most significant aspect of this year-long campaign is that it has challenged many of the ruling class created myths.

An year back while launching this counter-campaign we had hinted that nearly four and half decades of reactionary Congress rule, and the opportunist UF regime ruling with Congress support have increased the possibility for a Sangh Parivar take over of central administration in the present context. This warning has come true today. As a result, as already pointed out by us many times the country and people are today facing the twin dangers of intensifying neocolonisation and increasing fascist take over.

These two dangers cannot be separately viewed today. As in the case of Islamic fundamentalist groups in many countries like Iran who came to power utilising anti-US and nationalist rhetoric, the *Swadeshi* of Sangh Parivar is already proved a convenient weapon utilised to cheat the people only. This *Swadeshi* is just a facade to open the doors of the country to various imperialist agencies and MNCs at a much faster pace as is already proved during last four months of BJP rule. And if anyone is hoodwinked by the almost daily statements of Vajpayee and other Sangh Parivar leaders after the explosion of the nuclear devices at Pokhran that Indian government led by them will not surrender to US sanctions, this will be a great folly. US administration is not bothered if Vajpayee and company make heroic-sounding speeches against it, so long as it is intensifying privatisation - liberalisation - globalisation to serve imperialist interests. Last four months developments have proved that for Sangh Parivar

Swadeshi is just a tool which will be wielded ruthlessly to serve its heinous agenda. So fascicisation in the neocolonies whether utilising the different religious fundamentalists like Sangh Parivar, or racists, or military hierarchy is part of the imperialist agenda to perpetuate the new slavery through its native compradors even by casting away even the till now propagated traditional bourgeois democratic values wherever necessary. So delinking the fascist threat posed by Sangh Parivar from the imperialist dictated economic policies will be a totally erroneous approach.

It means that coming to power of Sangh Parivar at this 50th year of comprador rule, and its utilisation for fascicisation of all sectors of social life to implement the neocolonial economic agenda are very much inter-linked. And the comprador Congress leadership and the opportunist UF cannot absolve themselves from the responsibility for creating a situation favourable for the Sangh Parivar to take over.

II

While calling for a counter-campaign against the ruling class propaganda we had pointed out that as far as the vast majority of the toiling masses are concerned it is not 50 years of independence, but a situation when the neocolonial slavery is getting intensified day by day through which the country is getting increasingly devastated in all respects and people are dispossessed and pauperised. The record of the UF government and now the BJP-led government for four months have not only proved the correctness of this statement, but the ruling class policies during last 12 months have aggravated the situation further. Under liberalisation-globalisation package Insurance sector is opened for privatisation and 74% disinvestment, that is total privatisation of the public sector units is started. WTO conditionalities are suffocating all indigenous sectors and allowing free entry of MNCs everywhere. Deindustrialisation of a new type is leading to more and more closures of native industries. Textile factories in dozens are closing down throwing lakhs of workers to the streets. While export promotion is the *mantra*, exports have gone down remarkably closing down hundreds of export-based units. On the whole the new economic order perpetuated by the global imperialist system—whether it is called neo-liberal, neo-monetarist or by any other name—to tide over the general crisis it is facing is only aggravating its own crisis as manifested

in the unprecedented recession in Japan and in most other imperialist countries including US, and devastating all the neocolonies leading many of them like the Southeast Asian countries to unprecedented economic collapse and political crises. Nobody can discard these facts however sectarian he may be. Only by seeking truth from these facts the revolutionary forces can advance.

III

The imperialist system has no other recipe to tide over the situation. It is frantically accelerating the imposition of its market system and globalisation recipe through its numerous agencies, and utilising newer technological capabilities. Or, in other words, it has only one solution, that of accelerating its neo-monetarist policies. For pursuing this it has to enter everywhere, demolish all trade barriers of the neocolonies, utilise all technological advances for furthering all round plunder, creating bigger and bigger monopolies through merger or take over by the MNCs, and to create an ideological, political, cultural, social atmosphere favourable to perpetuate this unprecedented exploitative drive.

As a part of this it is promoting militarisation everywhere. In the last ten years, after the so-called cold-war ended, instead of creating a tension-free world as it claimed earlier, US imperialism has intensified tension and consequently arms-race everywhere, and militarisation everywhere. While it is bullying at global level, local wars are instigated causing the global military expenses to go up three-fold in this decade.

Along with this imperialists led by US imperialism are instigating fascicisation everywhere. In the neocolonies even the existing bourgeois democratic rights are taken away. Along with the military oligarchy in these countries which have numerous indirect and direct links with the Pentagon, religious fundamentalists and racists of all hues are promoted to take over and impose fascist rule congenial to suppress people's opposition and to perpetuate imperialist control and plunder. In the imperialist countries themselves the fascicisation drive is going on to suppress working class struggles. Dehumanisation and criminalisation of the society is promoted ruthlessly everywhere.

In this context all the major contradictions

at the international level, contradiction between imperialist system and socialist forces, between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples, between monopoly bourgeoisie and working class in the imperialist countries, and among the imperialist countries and international monopoly groups are intensifying day by day accelerating class struggle everywhere and creating conditions favourable for revolutionary changes.

IV

The present Indian situation should be analysed in this overall international situation. It was not accidental that the structural adjustment policies (SAP) were imposed from early 1990s. The disintegration of Soviet bureaucratic state and the end of contention between the two superpowers for world hegemony created the favourable situation for US imperialists led forces to promote their global agenda without hindrance. Once started this market system-globalisation package under IMF-WB-WTO trio went on getting accelerated under the rules of imperialist capital.

Under its impact existing productive forces were continuously transformed and newer productive forces were introduced. All precapitalist production relations also were subjected to continuous transformation. There occurred corresponding changes in the class forces and class relations also. But all these occurred under an ever-intensifying neo colonial situation. As a result comprador forces came to almost total domination in the industrial and trade sectors and the process of compradorisation got accelerated in agricultural and other sectors also. Under its impact not only Congress, the traditional comprador party, and BJP which is historically subservient to imperialist forces as the political front of RSS, but also other regional bourgeois-petti bourgeois and social-democratic parties started openly upholding the imperialist dictated neo-monetarist economic package. The line of demarcation among them started disappearing as far as basic economic policies are concerned. As a result, from Congress to UF to BJP regimes the new economic policies are being implemented at faster and faster pace. All of them have become advocates or apologists of neocolonialism.

The devastation of the small and marginal peasants and agricultural workers leading to mass-scale suicides of peasants the new form of deindustrialisation, the increasing contract la-

bour system the recession—inflation syndrome, unemployment, price-rise of all essential commodities etc. can be correctly analysed only when these national developments are viewed as a part of the international developments. While concrete national situations definitely influence these changes, the globalisation by imperialist system has become so powerful and all-embracing already that no country or society can keep away from the clutches.

So neocolonisation has created a greater polarisation between the imperialist forces and native comprador classes on the one hand and the vast majority of the toiling classes plus the middle classes on the other, than compared to colonial days in all spheres. Any talks of reforms within neocolonial system has become meaningless in this situation. That is why this class polarisation demand apolitical polarisation between the forces who implement or support the imperialist dictated economic package in some way or other, and those who reject it.

V

The celebration of the "50 years of independence" by the comprador regime and political forces during last one year when neo-colonial slavery was further intensifying has exposed their real class character more, if further proof was needed by any one. The process of transforming the whole world in its own image by the capitalist system has reached an advanced stage in the neocolonial phase of imperialism. It is frantically engaged in transforming every aspect and every sphere of social life in its own heinous, pernicious, exploitative and dehumanised image. What is happening in our country under SAP is part of this global effort. The native compradors and all apologists of neocolonialism are dutifully serving this effort. Recognising this is the first step towards combating it,

That is why CPI (ML) Red Flag launched a campaign to expose the ruling system and to explain the intensifying neocolonial slavery. During this period the real nature of various sections among the broad spectrum of left forces, or forces who are called left by the media, became clearer. The CPM, CPI led LF forces became more integrated with the ruling system. From apologists they have become implementors of the IMF-WB-WTO dictated policies in the states they are in power. The petti bourgeois neo-Trotskyist sections ranging from

Expose Ruling Class Propaganda on 50 Years of 'Independence', Fight Against Intensifying Neocolonial Slavery

(Editorial in Red Star August 1997 issue is republished here.)

For months the central and state governments and the propagandists of the ruling classes are engaged in preparations for launching year-long celebrations from this August 15 to propagate their gains during the 50 years of so called independence. All the political parties ranging from Congress to BJP to UF parties including the Left Front parties are competing with each other to establish that the 1947 tran-

SUCI to CLI like fringe groups who try to characterise India as a capitalist country and serve the imperialist system by refusing to recognise the imperialist plunder of the country and its neocolonial character are finding it difficult to justify their basically erroneous positions. They see imperialism as something abstract, not as a concrete reality whose neocolonial plunder is a concrete experience for the people in their day to day life.

Similarly for all those forces who still try to depict feudalism as the social base for imperialist presence, and the contradiction between feudalism and broad masses of the people as the principal contradiction, and in that way still stick to the semi-colonial characterisation of the country also the developments during last decade difficult to analyse based on this perspective, though they mechanically stick to it still. The problem with these forces is while the first two trends have abandoned Marxist-Leninist positions and have to be uncompromisingly struggled against, the third trend is still unprepared to abandon the earlier sectarian positions and have to be ideologically won over through healthy theoretical struggle.

The experience of the one year campaign against the ruling class propaganda offensive should be correctly evaluated to carry forward the above mentioned tasks, and to launch countrywide movements against the comprador state forces.

sfer of power was real independence for the people, that the country gained much during these five decades under them, and that the future path cannot be anything else but this. While Congress, claiming the credit for leading the independence struggle and for most of the gains during these years, is making loud voices even in its present degenerated condition, the BJP has already launched and completed a 'Rathayatra' led by Advani to hail the independence in its own Hindutva style. With some criticisms to hoodwink people the LF parties alongwith other ruling class representatives are also engaged in these celebrations.

But the facts speak otherwise. The anti-colonial struggle consisted of two trends. One in which the toiling masses participated in millions, sacrificed much and shook the very foundations of colonial rule. In the absence of a correct leadership capable of differentiating itself from the comprador Congress leadership and building independent initiative of people's forces this trend in spite of great efforts and countrywide movements could not capture the leadership of the anti-colonial struggles. The dreams of the martyrs of these struggles and aspirations of the people remain unfulfilled.

The other trend was led by the comprador classes and their political representatives who were manoeuvring with the colonial rulers for an amicable transfer of power to their hands. From the call for a *dominion* within British empire to the *swaraj* call their aim was a continuation of the Indian state built up by the colonialists after transfer of power. They remain faithful to it by keeping India within British Commonwealth even now. These forces hijacked the leadership of the independence struggle and took over when colonialists decided to transform the direct colonial plunder to indirect neocolonisation after World War II under the pressure of revolutionary people's movements. It is comprador classes and their representatives who are in power even today and they are vulgarising history to serve their aims.

(Contd. P. 23)

D. P. E. P: Imperialist Vice-grip over India's Primary Education

According to WB's own publication 'Primary Education in India' (1997), in order to co-ordinate DPEP at the all India level a DPEP Bureau owing direct responsibility to the WB is operating in the ministry of Human Resource Development. Although at the outset the DPEP gives the impression of a decentralised project based at the district level the truth is otherwise. Not only in funding and policy formulation but even in its day to day operation it is highly centralised in the hands of the WB through the DPEP Bureau. Though it is claimed that the districts are selected on the basis of the project reports from districts with the least female literacy rates, there are many districts whose inclusion cannot be properly explained by this factor alone. Just as the OB, the DPEP also envisions construction of school buildings, teachers, training, textbook reforms and a number of other activities. In 1993 when the project was formulated itself the European Union made a grant of 150 million E. C. U. (\$ 193.5 million). WB, through its subsidiary IDA gave a loan of \$265 million in 1994 and \$425 million in 1996. (earlier book p. 23). In December 1997 the WB allowed \$211 million as the third instalment of the loan. At the current exchange rate all these together would amount to about Rs. 4700 crores. Of this except about Rs. 780 crores given as grant by the European Union the rest is long term low interest loans that has to be returned. The general condition that the severity of the conditionalities of any WB loan is inversely proportional to the rate of interest charged on it is applicable in the case of DPEP also. Started in 42 districts in 10 states of Assam, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, MP, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu (1994), Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa (1996) today according to the latest statistics DPEP is spread over 150 districts. 85 percent of the total expense can be taken from the funds made available by the imperialist agencies (i. e. about Rs 40 crores per district) and the balance 15 percent resources have to be raised locally. When we consider the fact this is only for primary education in a particular district the amount is surely huge. The WB has also put the condition

that the earlier share of the district for education as well the DPEP fund allocated should be fully spent. Not only that the WB has decided that now on whatever funds may come from any international agencies for primary education in India, their funding and operation will come directly under the sphere of DPEP. (The earlier book p.23). Besides, started as an experiment for the first seven years, the aim is to spread it to all the districts and in this way bring the whole of primary education in India under the aegis of DPEP. Indications are also that imperialist funding will be confined to the initial stages of the programme though the educational coordinator of the European Commission who visited India recently has pointed out continued funding for DPEP even the context of post-Pokhran sanctions. By that time it is necessary to raise the resources locally through people's participation. This implies the government is washing its hands of the responsibility of education and putting it on the head of each individual. The huge funds are in fact being used for preparing the background and kick-starting the programme. Besides efforts are being made at different levels to influence a long line of intellectuals, experts and voluntary agencies who will act as exponents and propagators of this project. There are also instructions that as the projects make advance, the responsibility of the construction of the school building, resource mobilisation for non-wage expenditure, administration of the school and the teachers etc. should be left to the local committees created on the basis of 'people's participation'. (for more details the earlier book p.24). Reference to this can also be found in Country Economic Memorandum prepared by WB in association with the Indian government in 1995.

Thus it is clear that DPEP is nothing but part and parcel of the WB project to tighten its grip over the primary education all over the world. The WB has formulated similar projects in other poor countries taking into consideration the particularities and possibilities in those co-

untries. For example, based on a loan of \$ 412 million advanced by WB, a mega project is being implemented in 10 poorest states of Mexico now. This project known as Second Primary Education Project (SPEP) is being implemented as part of the Mexican Government's Social Safety Project and is formulated by local development councils that developed in the peculiar conditions obtaining there. (For details, 'Priorities and Strategies for Education, A World Bank Review, 1995, p. 149). As pointed out earlier, all the educational programmes taken up by the WB and agencies of UN in Latin America have as their ideological basis the educational philosophy developed by the catholic priest Paulo Freire. One can see the shadows of that in the SPEP also. Just as in Mexico there are many examples of such primary educational projects being taken up under the tutelage of the WB in other countries. Barbados, Columbia, Trinidad, Tobago, Brazil, Ghana, Bangladesh, Pakistan and even China that has accepted 'market socialism' lately are implementing projects all of which have similar contents. As if as an impact of all these the share that the WB keeps aside for primary education in its total amount for global education programme increased to 10 percent in 1970 from 5 percent in 1960 and to an average of 33 percent during the 1990-94 period. (For details the above book p. 146-148).

One thing is clear from what we have discussed so far, that the DPEP is the outcome of imperialists' response to the pitiable conditions of the primary education in India. When the WB that represents the interests of the imperialist forces in this period of neocolonialism, makes such a program, it cannot be expected to be aimed at the good of all. We understand from the published literature of the government of India and the WB that DPEP is a project that replaces the OB programme to solve one of the biggest social problems of India namely the problem of primary education. They claim DPEP is much more efficient than OB. However, there are several things which are not transparent in DPEP. For instance, one cannot be blamed for raising doubts when Kerala which according to the official data, is much different from all other states concerning female literacy and enjoys a high status generally in primary education is also included in the programme along with other states. Kerala has made commendable achievements in the field of primary education decades ago owing to social renaissance movements and Communist movement

in the past. As such these are no objective material conditions required by WB literature on DPEP. Therefore, the inclusion of Kerala in DPEP is quite intriguing.

As noted by us earlier, WB controls even the minutest details of DPEP by providing huge low interest loans with very restrictive conditions. That is, even while creating the impression of being rooted at the district level through people's participation and decentralised planning, this project is highly centralised in the hands of WB. The 1997 WB publication 'Primary Education in India' itself is a reflection of the initiative that the WB had achieved in the field of primary education in India. The fact is that according to the DPEP arrangement the central as well as the state governments have no say in the running or policy formulation of the project. The working of the project is coordinated by the DPEP Bureau owing direct responsibility to the WB. Besides, the WB has specified that at the state level the project should be implemented through an autonomous body created for this purpose, so that the WB can directly intervene by-passing the already existing administrative-bureaucratic system. This specification is the central point of the matter. Foreign funds will be given only through societies registered thus, (the earlier referred book p. 20). The Chief Minister of the state becoming its chairman or the education minister becoming its vice chairman is not felt by the WB to be an objection to the efficient implementation of the project. (One should not forget that it is the sovereign India with its own prime minister and chief ministers is implementing happily the globalisation-liberalisation policies and the GATT agreement.) Following the WB instructions the Kerala government has established the Primary Development Society of Kerala as a model for other states. In Gujarat, the Education Department Resolution No. PRE-1295-2425-6 dated 19-10-1996 has accomplished this. Similarly, as per the conditions of the WB, to make sure 'people's participation' other governments have also decided to form the required "people's committees." The WB has succeeded through these committees to free almost fully the DPEP from the existing bureaucratic-administrative system. Some top officials in the ministry of education has been airing their severe criticism of the DPEP. Their unhappiness is not inspired by opposition to the imperialist motivations but out of the realisation that in the spending of huge amount of funds they are excluded. It is common characteristics

ugh to lock the book in the school cupboards. It would be interesting to learn the source of this new philosophy of learning. Yash Pal who in his report 'Learning Without Burden' talks of 'child centered education' is only repeating what UNESCO, UNICEF and such other International agencies have been saying for years. International agencies and other non governmental agencies including Kerala Shashtra Sahitya Parishad, Eklavya, All India Peoples Science Network, Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti etc. have been saying in recent years that the education so far has been 'paternalistic' or 'teacher-centered, and in its place a child centered education need to be developed. We should realise that the real objective of these reforms with WB funding in the name of overcoming the weaknesses of the present education system of the poor countries is actually to dismantle even the existing structure (though weak) of the formal education in these countries. The publications of the UN themselves have pointed out that the agencies like UNESCO etc. have developed the concept of 'child centered education' from the philosophy of education developed by Paulo Freire (The Pedagogy of the Oppressed) and Ivan Illich ('Deschooling'). What is strange is that these educational philosophies which can be rightly called radical humanist or anarchist is being implemented through those who claim to be leftists. Yash Pal committee finds that primary school children of the Delhi area carries, on an average of four kg. textbooks. (Learning Without Burden). Some say, following the above finding Yash Pal's suggestion to reduce the weight of the schoolbag is with the children of Central and English medium schools in mind. Chaturvedi committee appointed to study this matter in more detail talks of this. (K. R. Narayanan's speech on Children suffering from the overweight of schoolbags in Rajya sabha is worth noting). Even when MLL invented to reduce the burden of learning is in operation, the introduction of DPEP only in the aided and government schools in Kerala worries us all the more as it raises the suspicion that this is being done to dismantle the existing structure of general primary education. This kind of efforts are very much appreciated by the WB. For example, in Kerala, in the tribal districts of MP, and in some other parts of the country efforts to develop new methods of learning are undertaken by various organisations affiliated to the traditional left. According to the earlier referred book of the WB, organisations such as Ekalavya, Shashtra Sahitya Parishad, All India

People's Science Network, Bharat Vigyan Samiti etc. are working towards the campaign of 'school with a smile' (see page 150).

However, this does not mean the present pedagogy is faultless and correct and scientific pedagogy should not be developed. Curriculum, textbooks and other aspects of pedagogy have developed and continue to remain in countries in the light of the historical development and peculiarities of each country. For example, in the developed countries we can see two trends. One is the Anglo-Saxon method of sending children at the very young age to the school and getting them through a very strict and vast scheme of learning. The other is the Scandinavian tradition in which school education starts at the age of 6-7 and extends upto 13-14 years of age in the lower primary section with a relatively light learning content. Which one of these came to be practiced in any of the European countries is connected with the political, economic and social evolution of that particular country. What this means is that there is no pedagogy independent of the existing economic-political system and the development paradigm evolving out of it. In each historical epoch the curriculum and textbooks evolve out of the then existing mode of production, production relations and the policies of the state. For example, when WB and other international agencies and intellectuals associated with them try to show DPEP as child centered education, we should understand that it is part of the paradigm of development and the whole set of development policies that the WB is propagating. In this context a brief look at the very concept of the so called 'child centred development' itself and its link with global political economy today is needed.

'Child Centred' Education and 'People Centred' Development

Obviously, in order to shift the ever-intensifying burden of imperialist crisis to the shoulders of vast masses of working and toiling people, global capital is unleashing what is called globalisation known in various names as stabilisation and structural adjustment in both imperialist and poor countries. Quite often, to camouflage the anti-people and anti-working class content of this globalisation, and to deviate the masses away from anti-imperialist forces and progressive and democratic sections

in each country, led by the specialised agencies of UN, WB and other global funding agencies, imperialists themselves are assiduously propagating the illusion of a people centred or sustainable development as an alternative to the existing mainstream model of growth. According to the exponents of this people centred development, every state-sponsored programme in health, education, rural development, etc, including the removal of other economic and social evils will definitely lead to a "patronistic" culture in society. This can be rectified by cultivating a "participatory" approach to development, they argue. Thus instead of looking to the state for everything, problems can be resolved through a process of "decentralised decision making" with "community involvement" and "peoples participation". In the context of globalisation, while the former Keynesian "welfare state" is transforming itself into the monetarist "police state" in various countries, as a corollary of this, the WB and other imperialist agencies are earnestly propagating this a political paradigm of people centred development.

As a consequence of globalisation, state funding and sponsorship of social services including education in many neocolonies are becoming a thing of the past. The biggest casualty of this social engineering is primary education itself. As already noted by us, imperialist think tanks are designing various projects of non-formal education to dismantle even the existing primary education structure in several neocolonies which was came into being through hard struggles led by progressive forces. Now the WB is lavishly using the concept of child centred education which forms an inalienable part of people centred development as a philosophical basis for demolishing the formal school system catering to the vast majority of poor children. In fact the intellectual resources for this child centred education (as opposed to the existing teacher centred education) are provided by renowned thinkers like Friere, Illich, Chomsky and others. It is not accidental that DPEP curriculum builders are liberally making use of the anarchist and radical humanist educational perspectives (such as Frierean liberation education, Illich's deschooling and chomskian dichotomy between power and knowledge) propagated by UNESCO and other international agencies in their global education programme. As a matter of fact, the education philosophy (or pedagogy) of Friere which characterised mainstream education as "banking" and "teacher centred" has

had the most telling effect on UNESCO's global education programme. Friere's association with UNESCO dates back to his role as educational consultant at the school of Education in Harvard University which is supposed to be one of the leading centres of imperialist think tanks today. True liberation, according to Friere, comes through education outside the framework of formal schools and teachers. No wonder, Friere's approach is widely used in their neo-colonial education campaigns by WB, UNESCO and other funding agencies like Ford and Rockefeller. The apparently radical concept of child centred education currently evolved by UNESCO and espoused by comprador intellectuals and ruling classes as a panacea for the evils of primary education is essentially rooted in this Frierean pedagogy (and that of others) which visualises schools and teachers as road blocks to 'liberation'.

After all, the new pedagogical formulation that is being evolved as part of DPEP curriculum in various parts of India, especially in Kerala and MP is it is claimed, to make education aesthetical and attractive as well as to improve its quality. In the process, it is very revealing that it completely keeps mum on the most important role of education today. To be precise, mainly and most importantly, education is the source supplying the requisite physical and mental labour to the various sectors of the economy. However, the major trend in today's world economy led by decaying finance capital is allround destruction of productive forces including de-industrialisation and agricultural retardation. On account of its own inherent contradictions moribund finance capital is now incapable of providing the required employment opportunities to the people in any meaningful way. Majority of the working people and toiling masses is increasingly marginalised and driven to the periphery of the imperialist global economy. The usage "jobless growth" is only a euphemism to describe this devastating scenario under globalisation. The upshot of our argument is that for the vast masses of people education no longer needs to act as the supplier of labour power to different sectors of the economy. And the concept of so called child centred development with its watered down academic content and curriculum which forms one of DPEP's objectives simply accomplishes this task most ingeniously. Thus, under the excuse of child centred education WB's DPEP reorganises the entire mass education system in countries like India in con-

formity with the existing neocolonial class relations and needs of the economy.

While thus bringing the children of the ordinary folks under its vice-grip through DPEP, imperialism is very particular to fund and sponsor the most up to date and technology-intensive and even computerised education in primary schools oriented to the elite. The very same international agencies such as UNESCO, UNISEF, etc. which ingeniously dismantle the general education system in poor countries under the guise of inventing new pedagogies and educational philosophies are at the same time striving hard to bring the most modern computer based and information-technology based education to the children of upper classes in poor countries. For instance, take the case of the 13th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers that held in Botswana in the middle of 1997. The main topic of discussion of the conference was 'Education and Technology-The Challenges of the 21st Century.' In the context of globalisation, it appealed poor countries to imitate schools in developed countries where even primary schools have free access to computers. For instance almost 85 percent of primary school children in UK where Thatcherism had already demolished the entire system of free pre-primary and nursery education, has personal computers even now. Taking inspiration from the developed countries Asian countries such as Singapore and Malaysia which have gone much ahead in globalisation have already started the so called "SMART" (Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Realistic, Time Specific) Schools. The commonwealth conference asked member countries to imitate such schools and called upon them to adopt schools based on computer and other advanced communication technologies. In this case, the "school link" project prevailing in Singapore was projected as a model for other countries. As the participants in the conference have identified, this kind of an orientation in education from primary level is needed since the new job opportunities are going to arise only in areas related to the latest advances in information technologies. Of course, the elite schools in India and elsewhere are moving strictly along these lines. And for the vast majority, newly imported formulations such as "learning without burden", "school with a smile", etc are propagated with the backing of imperialist think tanks.

Alternative Schooling

In one of its regular bulletins (DPEP calling, January, 1998) published by the central DPEP Bureau, has provided some clues regarding how it is going to accomplish the aforesaid imperialist deschooling process in India. For instance, in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, a set of "alternative schools" has already set up by the respective Project Directorates of DPEP. For instance, according to the Orissa State Project Director of DPEP, even railway platforms can be used for running schools on the basis of peoples participation from "local community" who provides the mid-day meal required by children. Madhya Pradesh is reported to have opened or in the process of opening such 5915 "alternative schools" in various parts of the state as part of DPEP. (DPEP calling, February 1998). According to DPEP practitioners, these initiatives have led to the evolution of a very radical idea of "school in a bag". Thus efforts are in full swing in various parts of the country to evolve a parallel system of primary education which does not need any school building or paid teachers and which is independent of the existing department of education in both academic and non-academic matters. It is with this view that an elaborate management structure extending from a DPEP Bureau at the centre to Village Education Committees at the gram panchayat level is built up. As noted by us earlier, all these steps are a prelude to what is in store; ie, totally eliminating the state from the sphere of general primary education in the long run. According to the DPEP Bureau, the ultimate objective is "to move from community participation to community ownership mode." To quote from it: "The goals of community mobilisation in DPEP are mainly of two types: viz, the long term goals and the short term goals. The long term goals include creation of community owned schools and schooling tests with the local community. It should be sustainable. The short term goals include community participation in planning, management and school buildings and their maintenance, monitoring and evaluation." (DPEP Calling, March 1998, p. 25)

Unlike previous imperialist programmes, the DPEP in India will have far-reaching consequences for the country and the people. It is probably the first experiment of its kind by the WB in the social development sector of India and that too on a country-wide scale. Under the guise of decentralisation community mobili-

Struggle to Protect Nature is the Struggle to Change the System

While the ruling classes and their experts in the fields of development are boastful of their achievements of the last five decades in various fields of production and consumption they are very deliberate to keep the cost paid by the common people and the environment for the so called achievements concealed. It is true that the country has made significant achievements in the fields of agricultural and industrial production, in bringing more area of land under irrigation, in building dams, in the length of roads built, in the no. of vehicles, in the no. of electronic gadgets purchased and used, in the generation of power, in the area of mining and many more in the last fifty years since 1947.

Despite all these achievements a major chunk of the population still continue in utter poverty and misery. No fruits of the above said achievements have made the lives of the majority of people comfortable. In other words all these achievements or developments realised at the expense of the labour of the common people and the resources of the nature and environment are being expropriated by a minority of the population who have access to political and financial power.

The developmental activities pursued by the state or the forces of capital in the 'independent' India which was primarily aimed to enhance profits and to make the state machinery more powerful have a devastating effect on the nature and environment. The so called development made the environment more unsuitable for

sation, peoples participation and participatory development, the DPEP aims at demolishing the formal school system that caters to the children of vast majority of common people. It is not applicable to the schools intended for the elite. It is high time that all patriotic and progressive sections rise to the occasion and expose the true intentions behind this imperialist move on the basis of a scientific understanding of the working of imperialism today.

human habitation. It has caused unprecedented depletion of forests, pollution of water resources and atmosphere, desertification, depletion of marine resources, acid rains, dumping of toxic wastes and hazardous chemicals in the environment, displacement of hundreds of thousands of poor people from their habitats, Bhopal like massacres, untreatable diseases, radiation like health hazards and many more.

The development perspective followed by the rulers since 1947 was a continuation of the colonial policy which paid no attention to the nature or the human being. They were concerned only of the profits and the factors contributing to the perpetuation of their power. Eventhough the British colonialists have built one of the longest railway lines of the colonies in India during 19th century and large tracts of dense forests were felled for the same no meaningful industrialisation was initiated by them. What they meant by building the railway lines was to appropriate maximum profits to develop Britain and not India. These lines facilitated the easy movement of raw materials for British Industries and troops and equipments to serve their military objectives. Railways or other development projects taken up by the colonial rulers led to rapid ecological degradation. Same was the case of other colonies like Egypt, Brazil, Senegal or other countries. The policy adopted by colonialists in the field of agriculture also was to serve their economic interests. The export agriculture propagated by the colonial rulers caused severe erosion and depletion of soil. Food production was neglected and that contributed to the death of many due to famine and nutritional deficiencies. The propagation of commercially valuable plant species and installation of monoculture plantations to cater the needs of the colonial industries and consumerist needs led to the disappearance of plant diversities and many plant species entirely from the face of earth.

What the Indian rulers pursued was the very same developmental policies to make maximum profit and to strengthen the power struct-

ure at the expense of ecological balance and the delicate equilibrium of environment. While building up huge dams like Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, Idukki, Narmada or others the developmental experts and technocrats paid no attention to the ecological damages to be caused by these or the untold miseries of the millions of poor people displaced. No provisions for the rehabilitation of those people or to ensure proper means of livelihood to them were made in their projects. Large areas of forest were submerged and plants and animal species were destroyed. It is true that these irrigation dams or hydel projects helped to bring more area under cultivation and to generate more power. But most of the achievements were appropriated by the upper class and the ill effects of the ecological devastation and social tensions are transferred to the shoulders of common people. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime minister of India described those developmental projects as the 'temples of modern India'. But the real diety of those temples built with the economic assistance and developmental advices of neocolonial institutions and other forces was global capital.

The 'Green Revolution' which brought wide ranging changes in the field of Agriculture of India along with that of other neocolonial countries, contributed much to the degradation of the agricultural environment. All the components of the miraculous agricultural practices introduced as a part of Green Revolution viz. synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, hybrid seed varieties, machineries etc. proved beneficial to the multinational corporations leading the global agribusiness. Capitalist forces of the developed countries invaded the genetic reservoirs of the world and started the trade with germplasm of plant varieties. The chemical pesticides employed in agriculture which are the 'civilised' form of the toxic chemicals widely used in chemical warfare had a biocidal effect on the crop friendly organisms in field. It made soil and water polluted and uninhabitable even to micro-organisms. It has made the springs silent. Bhopal, the largest industrial disaster, widely believed as an organised and deliberate massacre of thousands of innocent poor people was a product of Green Revolution. The chemical fertilizers used indiscriminately affected the chemical composition of soil adversely. Traditional agricultural methods were substituted with mechanisation and toxic materials for plant protection. Many of the agricultural produces have become carriers of poisonous chemicals to the food cycle and subse-

quently to the organic systems of human beings. Diseases unknown upto that time appeared among the practitioners of agriculture and the consumers of its produces. Pests and insects which could develop defensive mechanisms against the pesticides have proved more virulent and fatal. But the forces of global capital who trade with all input materials amassed much wealth from the green revolution. The hybrid and miracle seeds introduced as a part of the modernisation process caused the displacement and ultimate loss of many indigenous and traditional seed varieties. Cultivation of cash crops to cater the industrial necessities of multinational manufacturers was encouraged.

The situation in the industrial sector is also not different. While the ruling system was rendering all kinds of services to foreign and indigenous capital to establish industries and to reap maximum profit at the expense of labour, common people and the nature nothing effective was done to enforce even the various laws and regulations promulgated by the state to keep the nature and environment clean. It allowed the forces of capital to exploit whatever natural resources available or wanted by them with no restrictions at a nominal or no price to make maximum profit. Rivers, land, forest, sea shores, mineral wealth, water resources flora and fauna and their invaluable genetic wealth were made freely accessible to them. They were allowed to contaminate the whole environment with toxic effluents solid, liquid and gaseous in form. Union Carbide like MNCs were allowed to install their plants manufacturing poisonous products in the midst of over-populated towns like Bhopal. They were permitted to release all kinds of dangerous fumes to the atmosphere. Violations of environmental protection laws by them were condoned. All voices of protests from the part of people were silenced by force. Huge quantities of Carbon Dioxide, Sulphur Dioxide and other green house gases are allowed to be released to the atmosphere without restriction. Here also nature, people and their healthy existence are of least concern to the administration or to the global capital and what they look for is the possibility of profits unlimited.

The power generation sector is another important contributor to the devastation of environment. Most of the hydro electric projects installed throughout the country brought serious damages to the nature. Submergence of vast areas of forest, agricultural land, habitats are

not able to be compensated. Displaced people are forced to become nomads or slum dwellers. Most of the thermal power plants generate toxic gases to get converted into acid rain to contaminate soil and environment. Atomic reactors with haphazard security systems exist as eternal threat to the surroundings. The relationship between these reactors and disastrous war industry is more explicit nowadays. The damage those installations are going to afflict upon various factors of the nature including human life are not yet assessed fully. The quality of the security systems available in Indian reactors are already got exposed in the hundreds of 'unnatural incidents' at Tarapur, Kota, Kalpakam, Narora and other reactors. The attitude of the rulers to the poor people who handle with radio active materials have also became public when they compelled the ignorant workers to work in dangerous radio active zones even without the bare minimum protective measures. The state is not concerned about the import of nuclear or toxic wastes from the developed countries as shown by its action in having permitted the import of garbages from those countries without proper tests or inspections.

When we look into the functioning of the system and the perspective followed by the state with respect to development what we can see is the utter disregard it shows to the nature, environment and the people. It is concerned only with the profit or the successful exploitation of the resources to perpetuate the economic and political power.

The globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation policies implemented at present under the direction and dictates of neocolonial institutions, MNCs and imperialist forces have intensified the ecological degradation further. The WTO conditionalities to remove all kinds of restrictions for profit making, the world Bank dictates to allow all foreign and indigenous capital to act freely, and all other pro-capital policy initiatives are fatal to the ecological equilibrium. The decision to allow unrestricted access to foreign trawlers to the Indian seas, to lease the mining rights of Biladila like mineral resources to MNCs at a nominal cost, to allow Enron, Cogentrix and Dupont like MNCs to the power sector and petrochemical industries, to allow forces of capital to promote tourism like industries having a polluting effect on the culture and environment of our country, to propagate the aquaculture and prawn culture like

practices, to promote export agriculture at the expense of food crop cultivation, to allow the global agribusiness firms to trade with the genetic resources of our country, to permit multinational seed companies to import seeds without proper tests and other similar decisions are being proved fatal to the ecology of our country. A crisis of major proportions are getting developed. The total area covered by vegetation is getting reduced. The average atmospheric temperature is getting increased. Thousands of poor people have succumbed to sun stroke and other high temperature related ailments in this very year. Draughts, floods and other natural calamities have become the order of the day. The level of ground water is sunk further. Capacity of soil to hold water is getting diminished. Loss of top soil, water logging, denudation and desertification have made thousands of acres of land uncultivable. Dumping of toxic and non toxic waste materials also contributed to this. Polluting gases emitting from ever increasing number of vehicles make the urban life difficult. In short the overall picture is a frightening one. The globalisation of capital and subsequent monetarist policies are giving an impetus to this crisis. Under the existing system it is the majority of population, the vast masses of people who are not equipped economically and politically to deal with the situation are to bear the brunt of this crisis.

Eventhough many of the mainstream ecological organisations and environmental protection groups are pointing to all these devastations they are not in a position to get into the crux of the matter or not capable to identify the root causes of this crisis. They talk about the drawbacks and anti-environmental character of the mode of development pursued by the rulers and argue for a 'sustainable development'. But They are eager to conceal the fact that the real culprit behind this crisis is the capital. It is the indiscriminate search for more and more profit that makes the nature uninhabitable and it is led by the global capital. It is the forces of capital which unleashes the utmost greed to expropriate all the resources of nature and leave deserts behind. It is the capital which opens the floodgates of consumerism and propagates the throw away culture. As far as the forces of capital are concerned the whole nature is a resource tank from which they can dig out fortunes and at the same time it is a junkyard where they can dump all their wastes also. What we have to be aware of is that the present ecol-

Clinton-Zemin Strategic Alliance: A Challenge Against World People

US president was welcomed in Beijing with ancient ceremonies reserved for emperors. And Clinton as president of the only superpower which dictates to, and tries to rule over the world, signed documents on strategic agreements with the new 'mandarins' of China headed by Jiang Zemin on economic and political issues. Both agreed to work together in the 'nuclear club' (P-5), in Security Council, and in the UN closely. According to *People's Daily* the talks between the two leaders were positive, constructive and fruitful. Both leaders called for building a constructive strategic partnership, and US volunteered to accept China's leadership role in Asia. The rivalry between the two has come to an end with the decision to end the targetting of each other with strategic nuclear weapons. The June 27 summit produced three documents inclu-

ding peaceful use of nuclear technology and close economic-trade co-operation cementing their 'strategic alliance' and 'most favoured nation' treatments. Jiang Zemin announced in the joint press conference that "the US and China are partners, not adversaries." In short, this visit was a total victory for the US imperialists. They could bring the bureaucratic capitalist China in to close alliance with them, opening the vast Chinese market to US capital and the MNCs. China will build its "socialism" under this strategic agreement with the Yankee, and thus the imperialists are proclaiming that they have brought whatever contradictions that existed between "socialism as it existed" in China and imperialism to a victorious end, with imperialism and its value system raising its banner everywhere. This proclamation is reflected in Clinton's advice

ogical crisis is not a crisis of the nature but the crisis of the system.

It will not be possible to resolve this crisis by preserving the system as such. As the crisis is the creation of the rule of capital it cannot be resolved by keeping the system which allows the hegemony and rule of capital intact. Hence it is an inevitable precondition to smash the supreme position of the capital to resolve the ecological crisis and to make the nature and environment habitable.

The remedies prescribed by many of the environmentalists that the present degradation of nature and environment can be reversed by returning to nature or by resorting to austerity measures or controlling the population growth or by practising self control or by reducing consumption or by adopting the ideology of 'small is beautiful' etc. are not capable to address the political reality of ecological crisis. They are not ready to struggle against or even to criticise the political and economic system which is the prime force behind the crisis. Instead they try to paint themselves as those above all kinds of 'narrow' political leanings and propagate an apolitical ideology. What they promote is illusion that everything including the environmental depletion can be resolved safely within the sy-

stem. The experience of India and that of the whole world proves the contrary. No environmental crisis can be resolved within a system giving primacy to the capital and its insurmountable urge to profit.

While we are criticising the perspectives and modes of development pursued by Indian ruling classes during the last 50 years citing the environmental devastation caused by it and arguing for an alternate system of development in a transformed society it should be noted that we are not against all kinds of development, mechanisation, industrialisation or modernisation. Development with no devastation to the nature is possible. Power can be generated even without Chernobils and Sardar Sarovars. Industries can be established with adequate facilities for waste and effluents treatment, Agriculture can be developed even without Bhopal making Union Carbides. But such an ecofriendly development is possible only when the rule of capital is dispensed with. The experience of societies where the rule of capital was smashed at least for a limited period of time shows that it is possible. What we experience in present day India, passed through a course of development of 50 years of 'independence' shows it clearly that the struggle to protect nature and environment is nothing but a part of the struggle to change the system. ●

News from us

Reports on mass movements

Karnataka: On June 16th at Huvina Hadagali taluk of Bellary district mass dharna was organised by Ryot Coolie Samgram Samithy (RCSS) activists and local people condemning BJP govt's budget, demanding anti-peasant agricultural policies causing suicides of the peasants, demanding immediate compensation to next of kins of suicide victims and minimum wages. They called for democratic rights, and raise the slogan "we want drinking water, food and jobs, not bombs and wars". It attracted people's attention in a big way with large number of them joining the dharna.

At Lingasugur main centre of Raichur district hundreds of TUCI, RCSS and RYF members and local people participated in a Rasta roko raising local demands alongwith political slogans condemning BJP govt's budget, opposing nuclear tests, demanding democratic rights and calling on all progressive forces to unite against fascist policies of Sangh Parivar on 17 June.

to Chinese leaders to speed up total conversion to western bourgeois models as Yeltsin did in Russia.

The US imperialists and the 'mandarin' emperors of China are thinking that they have won the war against socialism, and their joint statement reflects the anti-people arrogance of arch-reactionaries bent upon perpetuating the capitalist imperialist system as the ultimate world-order. But they can neither fool the people of China nor the world. The world people are once again on the move against the imperialist system and its agents. This we are witnessing all over the world everyday, both in the neocolonies as well as in the imperialist countries. Yeltsins are in acute crisis, and Suhartos are thrown out. The contradiction between forces struggling for socialist future and the imperialist system is sharpening day by day. No hegemonic alliance between Clintons and Zemins can prevent this inevitable development of class struggle and victorious revolutions with the dawn of the new century.

anur In Raichur district in the name of roads all roadside 'dabbas' were destroyed on 14 June making hundreds on them destitutes. Immediate leadership of com. D H. Poojar the people and progressive sections assembled numbers and marched to talhail officing action against the officers responsible. Com. Poojar and 22 others were arrested to Gulbarga jail. Against suppression movements and arrest of leaders Sindhanur bundh call was given and RYF on 15 June which was a big one. On 16 June all comrades were released. On 18 June rally and public meeting was held both of which became big success. Participation of large number of people.

Anti-worker policies of contractor league with the local MLA and repression a big protest rally was held on 15 June at Bhadravathi in Shimoga by TUCI and RYF. Earlier Com. leading member of TUCI was taken away on 25 May and tortured. The rapid end to police terror and action against officers responsible for the torture culminated with a public meeting. Leading comrades called for determination against ruling class policies and promotion, and for democratic rights and implementation of workers demands.

As India campaign and July 15 parliamenting organised by the six organisations in eight districts and all class organisations have taken up numerous and district level programmes. Five slogans and demanding their fulfilment. On 25 June, the day on which was declared 23 years ago and on which the govt completed 100 days in power, there were processions and public meetings held at dozens of places. A large number of people are mobilised to make this all India campaign against BJP govt. and the ruling class a big success. All India campaign is in full headway in Karnataka. In all seven districts the Red Flag is active wall-

writing and postering in prominent places completed attracting people's attention. leaflets are published in all districts in and explaining the centrally agreed five and local slogans, and explaining the significance of July 15 parliament dharna as the first step towards building up an all India agitation intensifying neocolonisation and growth of fascism posed by Sangh Parivar. This level campaign is advancing well.

Following campaign on 25 June processions were organised in all quarters followed by well attended meetings. Hundreds of comrades participated in places rousing good public response.

Mobilisation for 15 July parliament dharna is already started. 500 comrades are participating from north Karnataka districts.

Kerala: State level campaign of July 15 parliament dharna

As part of the all India campaign for the July 15 parliament dharna, in the post offices at 125 centres in the state mass dharna was organised on June 15. It is said that at all places it attracted participation. Main speakers at all places pointed out the grave consequences of the undemocratic and dictatorial policies together with the increasing fascist danger posed by the Sangh Parivar through Vajpayee govt.

Before this dharna a well organised propaganda was organised in all districts through cycle-jathas, corner meetings etc. This was followed by cycle-jathas and padayatras carrying five slogans and the significance of the July 15 move by the six organisations. These campaigns have attracted attention of activist parties, especially of the LF. They hurriedly called for protest on June 25 and again on July 3 when the LF has already called for picketing of government institutions. These activities show that already the joint initiative of the five slogans by the six organisations has become a popular demand among their followers.

On June 5, international day of the Yuvajanavedi organised protests against the nuclear tests by the

government at many places. Very well attended protest meetings and seminars were organised at a large number of centres mobilising public opinion against the jingoistic policies of Vajpayee govt.

On 6 June a very well attended discussion was organised at Sahitya Academy Hall, Thrissur by Janakeeya Kala Sahityavedi protesting against the heinous attacks on Gulam Ali and M. F. Hussain by the Hindutva forces. This meeting was significant as front ranking writers, poets and artists from progressive ranks participated and declared their readiness to fight against growing fascist threats. In the afternoon progressive poets presented their poems. Later a musical programme in which well known singers participated was conducted as a symbolic protest against the attack on the gazal programme of Gulam Ali.

A three day seminar on '150 Years of Communist Manifesto' was organised at Ernakulam on 4, 5, 6 June by Janakeeya Kala Sahityavedi. On 4th the seminar was inaugurated by com. K. N. Ramachandran presenting the subject experience of the 150 years of international Communist movement. On 5th com. Mohan Das presented the paper on 'hegemony of capital and the cultural movement after Communist Manifesto'. On 6th P. J. James presented 'the global economy in last 150 years.' On all these days a good number of intellectuals, leading members of left organisations and leading activists in various fronts participated in the discussion. The seminar was noteworthy with the presence of hundreds of people on all the three days which proved still powerful influence of Marxist teaching among them, contrary to what enemy propagates.

TUCI is leading many important struggles in a number of industrial units against closure and for immediate demands, even while organising many political campaigns against central and state governments' policies.

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(From p. 10)

The consequences of 50 years of comprador rule are not difficult to understand today. During this period the imperialists intensified neocolonisation and have reached the commanding heights in new form in all fields. While serving them the comprador bourgeois, bureaucratic bourgeois, big landlord/ rich peasant classes and the corrupt political leaderships also have fattened themselves phenomenally. They have collaborated in making India a neocolony.

As a result the country is brought under neocolonial slavery. Vast masses of people are devastated, pauperised. Unemployment and price rises are making them poorer. Under the influx of MNCs a new form of deindustrialisation is taking place closing down many indigenous units and disinvesting others. The agrarian field is getting integrated with international market making land concentration under comprador interests the main trend. It compelling the dispossessed tens of millions to flock the already suffocating urban areas. Lucrative service sector also is surrendered to imperialist capital. This neocolonial slavery is celebrated by the ruling classes as the great gain of 50 years.

This cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. All patriotic forces have to be mobilised to expose the heinous ruling class propaganda. Through this the toiling masses have to be made conscious of the necessity to overthrow this ruling system.

With this aim CRC, CPI (ML) Red Flag has called upon all patriotic forces to get united to launch a powerful countrywide campaign to expose the ruling system and to mobilise the masses for New Democracy with the slogans given below.

It is the responsibility of the Communist Revolutionaries all over the country to make this campaign a great success right from its very beginning on this 15 August. Let us mobilise the patriotic forces everywhere and strive hard for making this campaign a significant step in our efforts to overthrow the ruling system and to usher in a New Democratic India.

- * Patriots Unite, Fight Against Neocolonial Slavery;
- * Fulfill Dreams of Martyrs of Anti-Colonial Struggle;
- * Overthrow Rule of Imperialists and their Lackeys.

(From P 2)

Whatever the sectarian may say, com Souren Bose was loved and respected by the rank and file of the CRs and toiling people.

He has left us leaving behind a great unfinished task in front of us. On this 17 August when we observe the first anniversary of his death, let us pledge to carry forward the revolutionary struggles to realize a New Democratic India with more vigour and determination. Red salute to com Souren Bose.

Press Statement

Resist forcible deportation of Bengali Muslims

The BJP - Shivsena government has intensified the deportation of the Bengali Muslims from Mumbai and other parts of Maharashtra by dubbing them as Bangladeshis. After BJP - led government came to power at centre this criminal action is further intensified. This is a calculated effort to communalise and divide the people as a part of the Sangh Parivar agenda.

CPI (ML) Red Flag calls upon all progressive democratic forces to denounce this heinous move and to resist it. All over India and especially in Maharashtra and Bengal active resistance should be organised and political campaign against this pernicious move by the Sena - BJP government and Sangh Parivar should be initiated.

Secretary
CPI (ML) Red Flag

28 July 1998.

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A view from July 15th Parliament Dharna at Delhi (Report in Page 4)

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