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Press Statements

CTBT: Shameless surrender before US imperialists

The statement made by prime minister Vajpayee in the United Nations that India will not come in the way of ratification of the CTBT means that his government may sign this unequal treaty imposed by the so called nuclear powers at any time. Not satisfied by this US imperialists are mounting pressure to get it signed very soon, and Vajpayee government, as all indications reveal, may do it nakedly, shamelessly surrendering to imperialist dictations.

The CTBT is not only discriminatory against non-nuclear power nations, as Vajpayee government is repeating. It goes against total nuclear disarmament. It perpetuates the hegemony of the nuclear power club led by US imperialists. So signing the CTBT means surrendering in all respects to imperialist pressures.

Though the opposition parties have criticised Vajpayee government for its CTBT policy, like

in the case of the Pokhran tests, they are not ready to attack it and make any direct move in the parliament to make a polarisation on these and similar vital issues. So except for bland press statements they are not mobilising public opinion against this shameless surrender before US imperialists, as they are also ready to follow this policy once they come to power.

So it is the task of all progressive democratic patriotic forces to uncompromisingly expose the move of Vajpayee government to sign the CTBT. We should immediately start campaigns against signing of CTBT by Vajpayee government. And, if it signs this anti-people treaty against the consensus among the people, we appeal to all progressive forces to be prepared to launch a countrywide movement to repeal this traitorous act.

Secretary,
C.P.I (ML) Red Flag

Oppose move to amend 1970 patent act

Vajpayee government is planning to amend the 1970 Patent Act in line with the dictates of the World Trade Organisation even without referring it to the parliament. At a time when it is engaged in numerous moves to appease the US imperialists, Vajpayee government is getting ready to go ahead with this anti national move.

From the time Dunkel proposals were being discussed in the country progressive public opinion had condemned its provisions and the move initiated then by Narasimha Rao government to amend 1970 Patent Act. But Rao government conspiratorially made India a member of WTO, and from that time one after another our vital national interests were being mortgaged to MNCs.

In continuation of this anti-national approach of its predecessor governments, now Vajpayee government is beating all previous records, proving that its *swadeshi* means *videshi*. This latest move to amend the existing patent act

to allow the MNCs to have total hegemony in all fields is nothing short of another gross betrayal of national interests. The proposed amendments will spread up large-scale piracy of India's rich bio-diversity and shoot-up prices of pharmaceutical and chemical products. They will go against indigenous enterprises. In short it will further intensify the neocolonial slavery.

It does not mean that the 1970 Patent Act is illogical. What we should demand is that this act should be improved to look after the national interests, the interests of the people and the environment here. What is being conspired by Vajpayee government is its opposite. It is an act of treason.

We call upon all progressive democratic forces to raise their voice and to resist this anti-national move by the Vajpayee government to amend the existing 1970 Patent Act.

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

EDITORIAL

Unite to build up people's alternative

Today every political party serving the interests of the ruling classes have a common open or hidden agenda. This agenda is not to oppose the numerous steps taken everyday by the central and state governments to speed up the liberalisation/globalisation policies.

For example, see how the inflation is going up month after month. Similarly stagnation in all fields of production and decrease in exports have reached alarming scales. Prices of all essential commodities are continuously going up. Millions of workers are thrown out of jobs. Along with the youth entering the unemployment market every year, the number of the 'army of unemployed' are sky-rocketing. The debt trap has become quite serious with overall foreign debts going up without any control. All public sector undertakings are being sold. The insurance sector is also getting privatised. MNCs and international speculators are allowed to enter anywhere they please. The 1970 Patent Act is going to be amended under dictates of WTO. It is virtually an IMF-WB-WTO Raj enslaving the country and people more and more. As a result, our country is getting devastated, and the people are getting increasingly impoverished. The imperialists, the MNCs, and their native compradors are getting fattened at the expense of the toiling masses.

What about the response of the main political parties to these developments? In words, all of them are competing with each other in criticising imperialism. What about the media? They are also not far behind in criticising some of the actions of the imperialist forces, even when they are trying hard to save their master, Clinton, from his ignominy. In spite of it all these political parties from Congress and BJP to the Left Front parties are united in declaring that in the present situation India has no other option but to accept the IMF-WB-WTO prescription, though the terms and conditions based on

which they will like to have the privatisation/liberalisation/globalisation differ much, at least in words. The media is competing to propagate day in and day out that more and more of these IMF-WB-WTO prescriptions, and their speedier implementation is the panacea for all problems.

Irrespective of what these political parties preach, like BJP's *Swadeshi* or CPI (M)'s *socialism*, once in power, whether at centre or in the states all of them are faithfully implementing the neo-monetarist prescriptions given by the imperialist agencies. The traditional ruling class parties, Sangh Parivar's BJP, all regional parties, all casteist parties etc. and all social democratic parties like CPI (M), CPI are united in this central agenda. That is why, when numerous policy statements are made and actions taken by the BJP government daily to appease US imperialists and to intensify globalisation, neither inside the parliament nor outside no major challenge is posed against them by those in the opposition, except issuing occasional flat press statements. On basic economic issues they are, in the main, together. This is getting proved repeatedly everyday.

This is not just an Indian speciality. It is an international feature today. Take the case of the governmental and opposition parties in any of the numerous neocolonies, take the countries like China, Vietnam, Cuba etc. which are still called socialist by the social democratic parties here and dubbed 'Communist' by bourgeois press to defame communism, all of them are in the main united in proclaiming that globalisation and market system are the 'end of history'; that is, there are no alternatives to them. So, today nationally and internationally the imperialist agenda is put forward by the governmental and main opposition forces everywhere across the world as *the* only possible alternative. Zhuganov and Primakov in Moscow agree on this question

Oppose moves for signing C T B T by Vajpayee government

The statement of prime minister Vajpayee in the United Nations that Indian government is ready to sign and ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) over the next year, that is before September 1999, is a clear violation of the position so far followed by the former governments in this regard. Again the repeated statements by spokespersons of Vajpayee government that there is consensus in this country on signing CTBT is also a total falsehood.

The position taken by the earlier governments was that unless there are provisions for total nuclear disarmament, the present treaty will lead only to perpetuating the domination of the five nuclear powers. Practically all the political parties including BJP had earlier repeated and most of them are still rating that they are

against signing the CTBT in its present form.

Right from 1947 the Indian government had called for total world disarmament including nuclear disarmament. Whatever may be the other negative aspects of its foreign policy, this approach to disarmament was supported by the progressive forces. Its approach towards earlier Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and then to CTBT at least partially reflected this approach, though the 'discriminatory' aspect, that it discriminates against the non-nuclear powers was prominently there.

Once the Vajpayee government came to power and it claimed to have raised India's power and prestige by exploding the nuclear devices at Pokhran, it started consciously bypassing

with Yeltsin, Jiang Zemin signs declarations based on it with Clinton. And every chieftain in the neocolonies ranging from Vajpayee to Nawaz Sherif to Mandela generally agrees on this imperialist agenda. All of them and their contenders in opposition parties are united in pooch-pooching any talk of an alternative to these policies.

This is a real challenge before the Marxist-Leninist forces all over the world. It is in this context it has become the primary task to unite all anti-imperialist forces who totally reject the IMF-WB-WTO prescriptions, who demand quitting WTO, who struggle for kicking out the MNCs, who demand writing off of all imperialist debts and confiscation of imperialist capital, and who whole heartedly stand for a self-reliant national democratic alternative in all fields from development to education and culture. Only in this way a real people's alternative can be built up against the neocolonial slavery.

Viewing the emergence of the Sangh Parivar and formation of BJP led government at centre as the prime-mover of fascistisation as an isolated event, and misleading the progressive forces to rally behind Congress to save the country from this menace as the social demo-

cratic parties are doing today will only lead to get another tragic chapter in the history of our country. Emergence of Sangh Parivar like fascist forces should be analysed in our own historical background, and in the overall context when imperialist forces and their native compradors are promoting such fascist forces everywhere to divert people's attention and to suppress rising people's opposition to neocolonisation. Today the struggle against Sangh Parivar like fascist forces cannot be separated from the struggle against neocolonial slavery. So the people's alternative should be built up against both these growing dangers.

However weak they are at present, this is the task before the revolutionary left forces today. Especially when CPI (M), CPI like social democratic forces are once again trying to betray the left masses by tying them behind Congress like forces, the revolutionary left forces should take up this task urgently, with all their might. By initiating this process they will be able to unite all left masses step-by-step at all India level and launch powerful movements for short term demands as well as for long-term goals. This is the challenge to be taken up by the revolutionary left forces at this critical stage in the history of our country.

Imperialist claims exposed through Russian developments

That Russia is in acute crisis and Yeltsin cannot run the show as the way he likes any more are getting exposed day by day. These have set off a series of political moves in which the Duma rejected Yeltsin's prime minister candidate twice. Now he is compelled to nominate an ex-Brezhnevite called 'Communist' by bourgeois media as the new prime-minister with Duma's approval. In a way Primakov's new moves after taking over aimed at slowing down the economic reforms. Now it is openly stated that last seven years' economic reforms have ruined the economy. At least in words Primakov is compelled to condemn many of the post-Soviet measures.

But these steps with the support of the ex-Brezhnevites who are leading the All Russian Communist Party are not going to solve the serious crisis faced by Russian economy and people. The crisis is going to aggravate unless the whole economic policies are reversed.

Even then the recent developments in Russia have exposed the imperialist claims of a New

World Order under capitalist-imperialist system, which they paraded as end of history. Their neomonetarist or neo-liberal policies are getting exposed even in their own citadels, apart from Russia and all the neocolonies wherever they are practiced.

What is afflicting the world today is not anything to do with socialism. It is the consequence of the spiralling general crisis of the imperialist system. As we have pointed out repeatedly earlier, the collapse of Soviet Union was not a collapse of socialism, but a collapse of the bureaucratic capitalist system fostered under Krushchev - Brezhnev leaderships. So what is ailing Russia is the consequence of the crisis of the imperialist system.

Primakovs or Zhuganovs cannot provide any remedy to this basic malady which shall disappear only with the disappearance of the imperialist system itself. As elsewhere in Russia also what is required is a proletarian leadership which can overthrow imperialism, and bring in democracy and socialism.

the nuclear disarmament question, and projecting only the discriminatory aspect. It started saying that once the five nuclear powers are ready to at least dilute some of their positions regarding the discriminatory aspects it will have no objection to sign it. Now it has retreated even from this position and Vajpayee has announced in the UN that India will not come in the way of ratification of CTBT, that it will sign it in the present form itself.

This is clear surrender before the pressure mounted by the US imperialists. All the 'swadeshi' talk of Vajpayee government has evaporated before the threats of the US imperialists that the sanctions imposed following Pokhran tests will not be withdrawn unless it signs on the dotted lines as dictated by the so-called nuclear powers.

The opposition parties are not taking this issue to parliament and corner the Vajpayee government in spite of the utterances outside. Like in numerous other vital issues from the New Economic Policies initiated by Rao government, they are eloquent outside but keep mum in parliament. It shows their opportunist policy of hunting with the hunter and running with the deer.

In this context the revolutionary left should unite all progressive forces to expose the Vajpayee government, and to resist at all costs the signing of the CTBT by it. Let us be on guard against the heinous, anti-national move of Vajpayee government to sign CTBT. Let us mobilise the people and fight against it.

Who Liberated Hyderabad ?

On 17th September both Congress and BJP celebrated 50th anniversary of the so called 'liberation' of Hyderabad state from Nizam's rule by organising different programmes. The Congress leaders as usual claimed that their party is the liberator. But as in the past they conceal the brutal 'police action' by Nehru-Patel government which was not against the Nizam who was isolated and weakened already by the people's liberation movement led by the undivided CPI, but mainly against the anti-feudal movement led by the Communists. Contrary to what is quoted from V. P. Menon, a faithful servant of British colonialists, it was the Communists who organised the toiling masses and patriotic forces and fought against the Nizam and his Razakaars. The 'liberation' claimed by Congress leadership was nothing but a take over of Hyderabad by these compradors in order to prevent the great Telangana struggle from spreading to other parts of the country.

The most heinous performance on 17th September at Hyderabad was by the BJP leaders, Advani and co. Like the Nizam and Razakaars, the forces who are paraded by these criminal lot were the arch-communalists who were faith-

fully serving British colonialists like the Arya Samajists. As usual this occasion was utilised by the Sangh Parivar to rewrite history in their own Hindutva way, and to attack the Communists.

It is a shame that both these comprador leaderships, Congress and BJP, are engaged in celebrating the 'liberation' of Hyderabad following the year-long Jamboree for celebrating the so called 50 years of independence when the country and the people are subjected to intensifying neocolonial slavery, when like earlier Congress governments the Vajpayee government is nakedly surrendering before imperialist dictates.

The liberation of this country shall become a reality only when the imperialist stranglehold over this country is totally uprooted and thrown out once for all. Like in the days of great Telangana, only the Communists can lead this liberation struggle today against imperialists and their all brands of compradors whose interests are served by the political pimps like Sonias and Vajpayees/Advanis.

C P I CONGRESS

The 17th Congress of CPI has concluded in Chennai. Except for the red flags, red banners, portraits of Communist teachers and the Communist party forms turred in to rituals, it was a good example for a jamboree organised by any social democratic party. Its primary task was to get approval from its cadres for an understanding with Congress in coming days. Present CPI leadership has a notorious history of falling behind Congress even during Indira's emergency calling it a nationalist party, a party of national bourgeoisie, a certificate granted by Krushchevite-Breshnevite Soviet leaderships. After ignominious exposure, it abandoned this line in 1978. After two decades the CPI leadership has nothing better to offer to its followers than a return to bonded service to Congress

leadership.

This social democratic leadership very well know that presenting this in a direct manner will invite criticisms and even resistance from at least a section of the ranks. So this 17th Congress was organised as a circus to get approval for the line of renegacy. And the leaders are happy that they have got the licence to pursue their opportunist politics from the Chennai meet.

The 17th Congress of the CPI shows that social democrats are in more dirty social democratic path. Any illusion of 'left' alliance or confederation, as some term it, with such parties will be a betrayal of the working class and all other toiling masses.

World in the Grip of a Worst-ever Depression

As the 20th century is coming to a close, available indications pinpoint to a world-wide economic depression with disastrous consequences to humankind. The unprecedented meltdowns that first erupted in Latin America in the beginning of the 90s and then spread to East Asia as a corollary of the ever-intensifying globalisation in the 90s are now ravaging the very centre of Imperialist global economy itself. Even while the so called most successful structural adjustment models of Latin America such as Mexico and Brazil, the Asian tigers including HongKong, the classical symbol of laissez-faire, and above all Japan, the oriental imperialist power were crumbling down one by one with repercussions all over the world, imperialist experts and economists had all along been characterising it as a region specific or isolated phenomenon as a result of not globalising these economies in the "proper" way. But now, after totally devastating Japan and thoroughly undermining the proclaimed competitive trade advantages of China which is already replete with stock exchanges, five-star hotels, fashion shows and casinos, the unprecedented global financial speculation with all its cumulative effects from various centres has produced a fit of wildly gyrating stock and currency indices in USA. Following the stock exchange crashes in Russia, Western Europe, Canada and elsewhere in the first week of September 1998, the Dow Jones index in Wall Street also collapsed by 512.61 points in one single day. As a matter of fact, between August 21 and September 4, 1998 Dow Jones lost 893,4 points or 10.4 percent leading to a loss of all the gains made in 1998 by US equities vis-a-vis other markets. Though an orchestrated campaign has been there regarding an apparent boom in USA amidst widespread global recessionary trends, the fact remains that between July 1997 and September 1998 Dow Jones index did decline by 1900 points or almost 20 percent which is very alarming indeed! With the proportion of US households owning shares having risen to almost 50 percent within a decade, this year-long downslide in stock prices will definitely be gruesome. For, collapsing equity prices will result in a dramatic cut in consumption expenditure not only in USA but at a global level especially in the context of the already aggravating recessionary trends.

For instance, amidst a calculated propaganda regarding an American boom, from a reported 5.5 percent growth rate of US GDP in the first quarter of 1998, the rate of growth in the second quarter had slipped into a mere 1.4 percent. And, as of now, even when the US military industrial complex is still working in full capacity and when almost 80 percent of the global income of \$ 1.027 trillion from information technology still goes to US companies, the growth rate of US economy might still be in the negative. As a manifestation of the impending catastrophe, and quite reminiscent of the Great Depression of the 1930s, most leading banks and finance companies of USA (eg. Citicorp, Bankers Trust, Morgan Stanley, Bank of America) and other imperialist countries (eg. Barclays Bank, Nomura Securities etc.) have lost millions of dollars in these days. It is reported that even the notorious currency speculator George Soros who led the South-east Asian meltdowns has also lost \$ 200 crores within a week. Thus the machinations of Imperialists elsewhere are boomeranged on themselves.

As everybody knows, the immediate cause behind this simmering crisis is the unprecedented growth in global unemployment (see the euphemism "jobless growth" as used by Imperialist theoreticians) and loss of real income and purchasing power by the broad masses of toiling people both in imperialist countries and neocolonies alike due to the incredible deindustrialisation, agricultural stagnation and allround destruction of productive forces arising from hitherto unknown levels of financial speculation that is taking place. The laws of motion of Imperialist economy is such that the growth in real production and earnings by workers and broad masses of people is inversely proportional to the spurt in financial speculation and unfettered movement of capital across nations. Free movement of speculative finance (globalisation is only a euphemism for this racketeering) led by IMF (or imperialist Ministry of Finance?), World Bank, WTO, MNCs, transnational banks and global financiers have aggravated all the inherent contradictions of imperialism unprecedentedly. The economic borders of countries especially that of neocolonies being already dismantled, the ripples of these contradictions are now-

spreading much faster, deeper and broader across the globe. The so called sovereign governments in neocolonies or in erstwhile socialist countries are no longer in control of their economies or currencies. They are legally forbidden to take appropriate actions to stem the rising tide of this crisis in their countries. For instance, the Indian parliament can no longer impose import tariffs or domestic taxes beyond what is permitted by WTO and the Fund - Bank combine. In accordance with the guidelines laid down by the international agreements to which it has already acceded, the Indian State is bound to enact laws protecting imperialist capital's rights relating to intellectual properties, financial services and similar other areas. The comprador ruling classes and their intellectuals who have a stake in the consequent imperialist plunder remind us that this is the order of the day.

As a reflection of the ongoing global slump, the prices of crude oil, most metals including gold, raw materials and industrial inputs have fallen to their lowest levels in two decades. Crude Oil prices have tumbled to the lowest in 25 years and making allowance for inflation also, all the oil exporting countries are facing one of the worst-ever crises in their history. According to the 'Economist' London, the Global Commodity Price Index in dollar terms has now declined by 21.7 per cent. Over the last two decades, the price index of metals is down by 24.5 percent and that of agricultural raw materials by 18.6 percent at a global level. At the same time unemployment and inflation (as a concomitant of the financial boom) have assumed new dimensions. Earlier, imperialist experts, on the basis of very optimistic calculations have put the expected growth rate of global GDP during 1998 at 2 per cent. But according to current trends this projection shall remain as a dream.

While the imperialist world economy is thus in the grip of an alarming crisis, the UNDP in its 'Human Development Report, 1998' has made some estimates that reveal the true essence of the globalisation which is the immediate root of this crisis. According to the Report global inequalities in income and wealth have further aggravated. Over the last two decades, only 20 per cent of the world's population belonging to the higher income bracket has been the gainers of globalisation whether it is consumption of food, energy, educational services, transportation, entertainment or communication.

Majority of the people in poor countries where 4.4 billion people live is unable to meet even their most basic needs. Among other things, the Report highlighted the horrible scenario where 225 billionaires have a combined wealth of over \$ 1 trillion equal to the income of 47 per cent of the world's poor totalling 250 crore people. At the extreme, barely three of the world's richest multibillionaires have the combined GDP of the 48 poorest countries. This deplorable situation of abject poverty and extreme inequality, as is obvious, is the direct fall out of naked neocolonial plunder accomplished through globalisation policies. In the context of the onset of a global depression and in the absence of any basic change in this inhuman order, this situation is going to worsen further. For, it is sure that imperialists led by US imperialism will deal with the economic downturn by resorting to highly protectionist methods like raising tariffs and non-tariff barriers on the one hand and at the same time forcibly entering into hitherto unexplored sectors in neocolonies on the other. The ongoing machinations by imperialists and their local agents to pry open India's insurance, banking and other infrastructural sectors and to dismantle the public sector enterprises here are best examples.

Meanwhile, the diehards among the imperialists are thus demanding the last pound of flesh from world's toiling masses to alleviate the former's crisis, it is very interesting to see the strange spectacle of a section of intellectuals from imperialist institutions themselves coming forward with a Keynesian-type solution to the impending disaster. For instance, the Business Week a wellknown bourgeois mouthpiece in its July 27th issue has come forward strongly arguing against the free movement of capital and the floating exchange rate regime which became universal after the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1973. Characterising the recent trend in the global economy as one that calls for "the end of laissez-faire," the Business Week put the entire blame for the recent crisis on financial speculation. It says: "(Free commerce in money) holds the real economy hostage to the whims of financial speculation which is vulnerable to herd instincts, manias and panics... In global money markets, erratic and damaging overshooting is the norm." Exposing the widespread imperialist campaign that the Asian collapse is due to "crony capitalism", "weak banking structure," "too much state interference", "fundamental

disequilibrium", etc., it said: "The more important cause of the Asian crisis is the sudden exposure of these nations to the speculative whims of unregulated financial capital... they have been ruined by financial speculation which exposed them to forces beyond their control. Hot money poured in seeking supernormal returns. When the hot money resulted in overbuilding followed by falling expectations, the money poured out just as quickly." At a time when Bretton Woods economic orthodoxy reigns supreme in mainstream thinking, this kind of an evaluation, that too from official circles, is certainly striking. This section of economists has suggested some form of a managed or regulated system of capital and currency transfers as a remedy. But as we know, financial speculation is only a symptom of the extreme decay and degeneration in the character of capital itself which has reached a stage no return. Imperialist decay can manifest in other ways also. In fact, efforts to bring back an already discredited Keynesianism in new forms are really aimed at providing a breathing space to imperialism which

has already become a historical anachronism. Its real motto is to divert world people's all-out offensive against the tottering imperialist system as such. The 1998 Trade and Development Report of UNCTAD released during the second week of September also proposes a going back to Keynesian controls and regulation of the global economy to smoothen the intensity of the present crisis.

Meanwhile, as the world economy is driven into a deep depression, all the already identified global contradictions are going to be intensified further. Its immediate fall-out will be an intensification in neocolonial plunder by imperialist capital, an accentuation in protection and "beggar-thy-neighbour" policies at a global level, a reappearance of serious trade wars and regional conflicts coupled with imperialism's allround onslaughts against global people in diverse forms. It is high time that international working class and global people rise to the occasion to give fitting reply to imperialism with a correct historical understanding of all these developments.

On the significance of theoretical struggle

At a time when socialist ideas were dominating the realm of progressive thought, and even those like the renowned scientist Einstein and philosopher Bertrand Russell were socialistically inclined, imperialistic tendencies in the field of science and philosophy called for a retreat from science and reason. In the field of science in place of quantum mechanics, 'chaos theory' and 'complexity theory' were advanced. They went against Einsteinian approach which supported the physics of quantum mechanics bringing it back into conformity with realism and the idea of an objective world.

The advocates of the 'chaos theory' and 'complexity theory', contrary to this, argue that not only all of nature but the whole of human society is governed by laws beyond our control. For them society is too complex for any rational planning. So, according to them, the market system is in effect an institutional recognition of this fact. The moral they advocate is that nothing should be done to interfere with the self-organisation of the market. This is akin to the self-organisation of the nature as

envisioned by 'complexity theory'.

The rightist thinkers fully reject *reason*. But they embrace science and technology as tools of *power*. They spread the gospel of *market-fetishism* and mechanical dependence of science and technology.

Instead of fighting against de-humanising consequences of this metaphysical rightist thought, citing the reversals suffered by the International Communist Movement as a justification, the *New Left*, the *Frankfurt School*, and now the 'post-modernist left' trends go to the extreme of rejecting science and reason. Through this process, even while claiming to criticise the capitalist-imperialist reality of today, for all practical purposes these trends become worshippers of market theory and 'bourgeois democracy'. In effect, while claiming to be followers of Marxist thought, these trends reject all classical Marxist-Leninist positions and the great heritage of the International Communist Movement. What they advocate is a vulgar mixture of metaphysical, idealistic and eclectic thoughts.

Its influence on most of the trends within the broad spectrum of the leftist forces today is very evident while taking positions on each and every aspect of the present day people's issues.

For example take the case of developing an understanding on present-day imperialism and the market-fetishism it propagates. Taking the degeneration of the former socialist countries, and the propagation of market-socialism by the capitalist-ruleders who rule China today, the traditional left parties in all countries have deviated to the path of social-democracy, to uphold market domination and bourgeois democracy. Under the guise of rejecting these traditional left forces all the petty-bourgeois trends have degenerated to different reformist positions. While evaluating the approach towards basic Marxist-Leninist positions on the questions of state and revolution, even the most sectarian sections are taking only militant economist positions on them. The rejection of science and reason is much evident.

Till recently most of these forces in the previous colonial, semi-colonial, dependent countries, which have now become formally independent following the so-called 'de-colonisation', were considering imperialism as an extraneous force even while including it as one of the enemies to be fought against. The continuing existence of imperialism was analysed by defining feudalism as the social base of imperialism. Thus the anti-feudal struggle was one sidedly put forward as the principal one rejecting the integral relation between anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution,

Today, especially during the last decade, the role of imperialism and its compradors in devastating and impoverishing the large number of neocolonies is becoming so direct and open that even the advocates of 'theory of omnipotence of feudalism' cannot reject it. The various petty-bourgeois trends and NGOs who are acting as the apologists of imperialism also cannot reject it. So they evolved a new method. To state that imperialism through the comprador state is plundering the country will go against their reformist positions. So they started dividing imperialism into economic imperialism, cultural imperialism etc thus diverting the struggle against imperialist system as such.

Alongwith intensification of neocolonisation, and, as a result, the impoverisation of the masses, peoples revolts have become frequent in most of the neocolonies, and in the imperialist countries themselves. To suppress them the state is made more and more fascistic. Imperialism is promoting various religious fundamentalist, racist like forces as vehicles to carry out this fascisation according to concrete conditions in different countries. Thus in the numerous neocolonies struggle against neocolonial slavery and fascisation are inter-related. Once again to divert attention from this cardinal issue, terms like cultural fascism, religious fascism, communal fascism etc are coined. As a part of these reformist positions in India some of the so-called ML forces are talking about fighting against BJP's "cultural nationalism" also.

All these are moves intended to confuse the people. In the present neocolonial phase the capitalist-imperialist system has accelerated the process of 'recreating the world in its own image' through liberalisation-globalisation. World is divided into a handful of imperialist countries and numerous neocolonies. Everywhere the state is made more and more fascistic to beat back peoples struggles. The contradiction between imperialist system and socialist forces at global level and, as parts of it, the struggle for democratic revolution in the neocolonies and socialist revolution in the imperialist countries are intensifying day by day. This is the general orientation of the class struggle in all spheres today.

From the field of science to philosophy to politics and culture the imperialist ideologues as well as various 'left' schools who in essence serve the right are today manufacturing numerous theories to confuse the above reality. Only by intensifying the fight against these alien theories and their numerous manifestations the Marxist-Leninist forces can advance their struggle today.

— Karthik —

-Paul M. Sweezy

Note: The serious setbacks suffered by the International Communist Movement and the general crisis faced by the imperialist system leading to impoverishment of more and more sections of the people the world over in all fields have compelled more and more of those who had earlier rejected classical Marxist positions to return to their fold in this 150th year of *The Communist Manifesto*. To cite an example, Paul M. Sweezy and Harry Magdoff, senior co-editors of *Monthly Review* and advocates of 'independent socialist path' have upheld these classical positions while writing on the occasion of the 150 years of *The Communist Manifesto* in the May 1998 issue of 'Monthly Review'. They have come out with a bold critique of the imperialist system. We are reproducing their short articles—RS

The Communist Manifesto Today

I've probably read the *Communist Manifesto* a dozen times, more or less. But it never struck me as old hat. It was always worth reading again. So I thought that in preparation for this panel, I should read it once more, this time with special attention to insights and formulations that seem particularly relevant to the problems we face in the world as the twenty-first century approaches.

Here is what I came up with, summarized under three headings (1) The crises of capitalism. (2) Where are we going? and (3) What should we be trying to accomplish?

The Crises of Capitalism

Eighteen forty-eight, when the *Manifesto* was written, was a crisis year in Europe. Nineteen ninety-eight, is a crisis year for a now fully globalized capitalist economy. What Marx and Engels said about "the commercial crises (that) by their periodic return, put on its trial each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society" (the *Communist Manifesto*) is just as applicable to our own time. And so is the diagnosis of the basic cause. "In these crises," they wrote, "there breaks out an epidemic that in all earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity, the epidemic of overproduction". Today the formulation might be better formulated to read "an epic of overproduction of the means of production". Bourgeois economics still doesn't get it, and probably never will.

Where Are we Going?

Marx and Engels were dedicated revolu-

tionaries and firmly believed that the inherent and ineradicable contradictions of capitalism would generate a growing and ultimately successful revolutionary struggle to overturn the system and put in its place a more humane and rational one. But did their analysis allow for, or perhaps even imply a different historical outcome? The answer, I think, is unequally yes. Early on in the *Manifesto* indeed on the first page of the first section entitled "Bourgeois and Proletarians," an oft-quoted passage reads:

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes".

Nothing more is said about "the common ruin of the contending classes" in the *Manifesto*, most likely because Marx and Engels did not consider it a likely outcome of the class struggle under capitalism. But if we look around us in the world today and take into account the extent to which capitalism is destroying or undermining the natural foundations of a sustainable economy we must surely reinstate "the common ruin of the contending classes" as a very realistic prospect in the historically near future.

What Should we be Trying to Accomplish?

We should be trying to impress on the peo-

pies of the world the truth about capitalism, that it is not as bourgeois ideologists want us to believe, the "end of history", but that its continued existence can really bring the end of history. Does the *Manifesto* offer any help in this respect? Perhaps if we read it carefully and interpret it imaginatively, in a too-often neglected passage, Marx and Engels introduce a new theme into their analysis.

"Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class that holds the future in its hands. Just as therefore, at an earlier period a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie so now a section of bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat and in particular a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Already a very large section of the world's

A Note on The communist Manifesto

Harry Magdoff

Probably the passage in the *Communist Manifesto* most frequently cited these days is a portrayal of the global spread of capitalism.

"All old - established national industries have been destroyed or are being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones, industries whose products are consumed not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands. We have universal inter - dependence of nations. All nations, on pain of extinction, (are compelled) to adopt the bourgeois mode of production it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization in to their midst i. e. to become bourgeois themselves. In a word it creates a world after

scientific community is fully aware of the seriousness of the ecological threat facing the planet, but what is not widely recognized is that the cause of the threat is capitalism itself. Bourgeois economics seeks to hide or deny this fact. No wonder. If it were generally understood, capitalism would soon be identified for what it is the mortal enemy of human kind and many other forms of life on the planet. In these circumstances, our responsibility is not only to help the ecologists to get their message across, important as it is, but to convince the ecologists themselves as well as the public at large of the truth about capitalism that, it must be replaced by a social system that puts the life giving capacity of the earth as its first and highest priority. As the unfolding of capitalism's deadly consequences proceeds, more and more people, including "bourgeois ideologists who have raised themselves to the level of understanding the historical movement as a whole" will come to see what has to be done if our species is to have any future at all. Our job is to help bring this about in the shortest possible time.

its own image."

Certainly, the history of the past half-century has more than confirmed that the trend described 150 years ago is still in operation. There is however an integral feature of the capitalist penetration just described which is missing from the *Manifesto*. While capitalism by its very nature lives by accumulation and geographic expansion, it does so in a most unequal fashion. Even though nothing in economics follows strict mathematical rules, there are notable tendencies which are produced by the inner springs of capitalism. An outstanding example of such a tendency is found in the distinct and marked widening of the gap between a handful of rich nations and the rest of the world. The accelerating globalization of our times demonstrates this polarization in no uncertain terms,

A recent study of the income distribution of the world from 1965 to 1990, summarized in

AGAINST POST MODERNISM

(From September Issue)

There are in any case good reasons for doubting that there is any necessary tendency for services to supplant manufacturing. The rise of white-goods industries, for example, involved the substitution of goods for services—of domestic appliances such as vacuum cleaners and washing machines, produced by factory labour

and distributed through the market, for services provided within households either by unpaid female labour or by domestic servants. Similarly, the general trend away from public transport to the private motor car means that personal transportation is secured by the purchase of a good rather than a service. Finally, the transformation of mass entertainment in the

the accompanying table, shows that in our day 20 percent of the world's population live in countries which produce and benefit from over 83 percent of the world's output of goods and services (the share of the top 10 percent of world population came to 56 percent) while the share of global output of the poorest 20 percent of world's people is 1.4 percent. Now look at the difference in income distribution between the 20 percent in the richest countries and the rest of the world. The share of the world's income in each one of the four lowest (income) groups of countries declined steadily from 1965 to 1990. On the other hand, the share of the richest 20 percent steadily increased from about 70 to over 83 percent. All this took place when for most of the period, the rich countries were in a stage of stagnation and when ever more capital was flowing from the rich into the poor countries, presumably to develop new industries and develop financial and other services. (An examination of similar data available in World Bank reports for later years indicates that the polarization continued in full force during the 1990s.)

Thus, at the end of centuries of capitalist expansion, here is how things stand: 60 percent of the world's population has 5.3 percent of the world output and income, while more than 83 percent (see last column of table) is in the hands of the richest 20 percent.

Relevant to this commentary is another oft cited sentence from the *Manifesto*: "The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together". As with so much more in the *Manifesto*, this point can be made

with even more emphasis 150 years later. And yet once again, we need to recognize how incredibly uneven is the distribution of the productive forces from region to region. On the one hand the miracles of electronics; on the other hand, according to the latest *UN Human Development Report*, over a billion people do not have access to safe water. The list of absent productive and collateral forces needed to meet the basic needs of 80 percent of the world's people is a long and miserable one.

Population	Percent of Total World Income			
	1965	1970	1980	1990
Poorest 20%	2.3	2.2	1.7	1.4
Second 20%	2.9	2.8	2.2	1.8
Third 20%	4.2	3.9	3.5	2.1
Fourth 20%	21.2	21.3	18.3	11.3
Richest 20%	69.5	70.0	75.4	83.4

Source: Robert Patricio Korzeniewicz and Timothy Patrick Moran "World-Economic Trends in the Distribution of Income, 1955-1992," *American Journal of Sociology* Vol 102, No.4, January 1997.

There is much talk these days in radical circles about the need for a socialist vision. Too often that vision is strongly influenced by the material achievements of the rich capitalist nations and the living standards of the advantaged sectors. However, in view of the way capitalism has spread throughout the world as well as in the most advanced nations of the world, it is essential that the vision of socialism focus on a social transformation which will put first and foremost the empowerment and meeting the basic human needs of the poorest, the most oppressed, and disadvantaged. ●

twentieth century has involved the progressive replacement of services provided by cinemas, music halls and the like, with consumer durables-gramophones, television sets, video-recorders etc. Michael Prowse argues that slow productivity growth in services means that 'the relative price of directly supplied services rises relative to that of goods, encouraging the purchase of manufactured goods' and thereby providing 'a continual incentive for entrepreneurs to manufacture goods which can substitute for previously purchased services'. He suggests that 'the principal reason why the share of services may have risen is that the manufacturing industries in some Western countries have grown moribund and are no longer performing their long-run function of producing tangible goods to substitute for directly purchased services.' It is the uncompetitiveness of their manufacturing industries which, Prowse believes, explains the relatively rapid deindustrialization of Britain and the US. The complacency with which the Thatcher and Reagan administrations greeted the decline of manufacturing as part of what they depicted as the historically inevitable transition to a services economy attracted sharp criticism from more thoughtful commentators such as Prowse concerned about the future prospects of British and American capitalism.

The social consequences of the (usually only relative) decline of manufacturing employment have not been those anticipated by Bell. The increasing proportion of the workforce classified as white-collar employees is often confused with, but is of course not equivalent to the expansion of service industries-the latter employ hospital cleaners and waiters as well as bank clerks and stockbrokers, while draughtspeople and typists, as well as machine-minders and labourers, work in factories. In any case, white-collar employment embraces at least three distinct class positions - 'managerial capitalists' who are, in effect, salaried members of the bourgeoisie, the 'new middle class' of upper-echelon professional, managerial and administrative employees, and routine white-collar workers whose insecurity, relatively low earnings, and lack of job control place them in the same fundamental position as manual workers. Employment in the service industries proper hardly matches the profile of the 'knowledge-society' elite portrayed by Bell. Average gross weekly earnings in US manufacturing were \$396 in 1986, in services \$275. The Reagan administration made much of the fact that the 20

fastest growing occupations in the 1980s were almost all involved in 'the handling of information' - a motley crew of computer programmers, analysts and operators data-processing-machine operators and mechanics, travel agents, astronautical engineers, psychiatric aides, and paralegal aides. Altogether, however, this group was smaller than the growth in fast-food workers 22 per cent of the 17.1 million nongovernment service jobs created in the US between 1972 and 1984 was accounted for restaurants and retail trade, a sector where hourly earnings were 38 per cent below those in manufacturing.

'Deindustrialization' has been a painful process, with socially regressive results. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in California, the paradigmatic 'postindustrial society', strategically located on the Eastern edge of the dynamic Pacific economy, with 70 per cent of its workforce employed in services in 1985, ideally suited, thanks to Hollywood and Silicon Valley, to supply the world market with entertainments and information. The 1979-82 recession virtually wiped out the state's car, steel, tyre and other basic industries. High unemployment combined with an influx of (often illegal) immigrants to push down wages. Labour-intensive low-wage industries consequently expanded, in manufacturing as well as services. Employment in textiles, where California can now compete with Hong Kong and Taiwan, grew. As Mike Davis commented, 'LA industry has been turned back from "Fordism" to "Bloody Taylorism" of an almost East Asian standard.' A similar pattern can be observed in service industries, whose wages are on average 40 to 50 per cent lower than in basic manufacturing. Consequently, despite California's fabled wealth and dynamic growth rates, the state's per capita income fell from 123 per cent of the US average in 1960 to 116 per cent in 1980 and 113 per cent in 1984. In Philip Stephens's words, 'the benefits of growth have been enjoyed most by the entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley and by the small proportion of the population with large property and financial assets.'

The revival of nineteenth century sweated trades in the richest cities on earth is part of a broader set of changes one of whose most important features - usually ignored by the parochial theorists of 'postindustrial society' - is the rise of the newly industrializing countries (Contd. P. 19)

Fifty Years of 'Independence' and our task

-R. K. Singh

The Nation 'celebrated' golden Jubilee of Independence. The ruling classes boasted on their achievements of this period. A sovereign state, democratic republic, and later socialist democratic republic, self reliance, development in science and technology, tremendous development in the fields of agriculture and industry, nuclear explosions, and a serious contender for a seat among nuclear power states etc. constitute the big list of achievements they claim. Contrary to it people's plight tells a different tale. The epidemic of suicide by peasants, mass retrenchment of Industrial workers, large scale closure of industries, rising unemployment, record breaking price-rise and corruption, self immolation of freedom fighters, police firing and repression on people's movements, bureaucratisation, criminalisation and communalisation of politics and rising danger of fascism have emerged as the main features of this golden Jubilee year. The contention of sovereignty has been challenged even by a section of its erstwhile protagonists. After introduction of New Economic Policy a section of Intellectuals came forward with the interpretation that it amounts to a testament of new slavery. Apart from this a new thesis of 'economic imperialism' has come out to explain this phenomenon as if economic, political, military and cultural Imperialisms are entirely separate things having no interconnection with each other.

Such a complex situation demands a clear vision and provides us an opportunity to judge what communists could do in the past and what is to be done in the future? In this short span of time the world communist movement suffered immense losses and serious setbacks. The Socialist camp crumbled and the centres of world revolution (post-Stalin Soviet Union and post-Mao China) changed colour. Under this situation of ruin and destruction the established former communist centres of our country (CPI and Later CPM) too changed their colour and finally joined the enemy camp. For all purposes these renegades are agents of imperialism and Indian big bourgeoisie in the working class movement. During the period of 'cold war' they

were agents of Soviet Social Imperialism, and after its collapse and disintegration as a super power, they pledge to serve imperialism as a whole. It can be very well observed that with the change of colour their approach and behaviour towards ruling classes sharply changed. It was they who at the dawn of transfer of power in 1947 warned the nation 'Yeh Azadi chutti hai'. At that time they were revolutionaries leading Telengana peasant revolt and bravely facing brutal repression of Nehru-Patel tyrannical rule. The whole Nation could see the Nehru-Patel govt. plunged into committing the bloodbath of communists and peasant rebels. After their change of colour they whitewashed Nehru and later Indira Gandhi as democrats, radicals, progressive allies of World Socialism etc etc. and decided that their job is to tail behind them. Their treachery culminated in 1967 when they took active or passive part in repression of Naxalbari peasant revolt. The leaders of Telegana turned into traitors of Naxalbari. What a joke of history! When they tried to expose the real content of Indian Independence, vast section of people did not realise it, and when the people began realising it, they have changed the camp. Now, they are not committed to changing the world. They pledge to restore the old world order and deceive and divide the people by phrasemongering.

The peaceful negotiation and transfer of power, in the stormy world situation, took place with the beginning of a new phase of imperialism and colonialism. The old leadership and old designs of imperialist order got replaced by new one. The world wide domination of British Imperialism collapsed to vacate the seat for American imperialism. The hated and heinous design of direct colonial rule got replaced by native class rule (comprador in character). This indirect rule of imperialism was covered with glorified slogans of independence and democracy and imperialism got a new lease of life. The territorial division of world among imperialist powers (as British colony, French colony etc) vanished from the scene and redivision got a new shape based on the force of finance

capital. In the colonial period the force of gun paved the way for capital (by capturing new areas) and now in the new colonial phase the capital paves its own way and force of gun stands behind it. Whenever and wherever obstructed it comes forward to play its decisive role. In this process IMF, WB, GATT (Now above all WTO) and UNO like institutions came in to existence to control economy and politics in favour of new order. The newly emerged ruling classes of neocolonies who posed an anti-imperialist posture in old order became protectors and guardians of imperialist interests.

The change from colonialism to neo-colonialism was apparently a big retreat for imperialism and apparently small advance for anti-imperialist forces, leaving a big space for dalals. This retreat itself could be possible under the pressure of people's movements. In the creation of this anti-imperialist people's movements, the international communist movement played a significant and pivotal role. The great October Revolution enthused the ongoing liberation movements and provided a new dimension to it. The third International and Communist parties organised under its influence and guidance became back bone of the liberation movements. In some countries they led the movements to NDR and subsequently to its logical end, socialist revolution and in some other they played supporting, but significant role. The deepening inter-imperialist contradictions reached irreversible throat-cutting level. Under the pressure of people's movements and this throat cutting contradiction, imperialists were forced to retreat and adopt a new method. Although apparently a retreat, this method proved more sinister and pernicious than the old one. Thus, in this phase it became the central task before Communists and patriots to expose the mask of independence and democracy. The scientific and technological developments in the field of industrial production as well as in the field of arms and armaments and deepening role of finance capital provides the material basis for this change

The deviation and degeneration in the post-Stalin Soviet Union gave a big blow to the world Communist movement and a boom to the imperialist camp. The great Soviet Union, the centre of world revolution and the bearer of legacy of great Lenin and Stalin turned renegade, revisionist and Social Imperialist. This phenomenon compounded the prevailing confu-

sion by adding a new dimension to it. The newly emerged Soviet Social Imperialism, though economically weaker but militarily par with US Imperialism was ideologically and politically more dangerous, sinister and pernicious for the ICM. What Americans did in the name of independence and democracy, Soviets did in the name of revolution and socialism. This was another bigger threat posed before the Communist movement of the world. Emerging as a super power it posed a challenge to the bloc of American Imperialism, but strengthened the imperialist system. With its collapse and disintegration as a super power, the period of cold war and potential threat of third World War has ended for the time being. Thus an important contradiction, or serious confusion before the world communist has resolved. Now it has shed off its already tattered mask of socialism and joined the bloc of American Imperialism as a member of G-8. Today nobody says US is a democracy and freedom loving country and likewise nobody says Russia is a socialist country. Exposure of these two forces has cleared and paved the way for further advance of world revolution.

Now, two forces, the socialist forces and imperialists representing two social systems—Socialism and Imperialism—are facing in direct confrontation. All the four major contradictions operating at global level are intensifying. Especially the contradiction between imperialism and people of oppressed countries and that between bourgeoisie and proletariat in the capitalist countries are becoming sharpened. After the end of cold war period, the emergence of any other imperialist armed block challenging American domination is not yet clearly visible. On the other hand rising tide of people's resistance either in imperialist countries or in neo-colonies can be observed as a signal of direct confrontation between the people of the world and imperialist system. No doubt, contradictions within the imperialist system exist and is deepening at both level i.e. among imperialists and between imperialist bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie, but these are not deep and sharp enough to advance the process of proletarian revolution as we have witnessed during the two world wars.

Under such a situation, when a fine revolutionary situation is emerging, World Communist movement stands at a cross road. No Communist party with state power, no international

centre and no international leadership. Such a phase never existed in the Communist movement before. It looks bad that we are not in a position to cope up with the imperialist onslaught. But at the same time it is very good that the deep and intense process of self-introspection is continuously going on. This process weakened and finally stopped with the latter part of this century giving rise to a wrong trend of imposed authority and ultimate deification. This concept of 'authority and deification has begun to be challenged. This complex process of research and introspection represents intense struggle against alien ideologies. The intense struggle, going on in the movement, will unleash immense ideological, political and material strength to put Imperialism to its graveyard.

The Communist movement in India also is standing at the cross roads. As mentioned above established communist centres like CPI and CPM tried their level best to extinguish the spark of revolution, the Naxalbari peasant revolt, the 'Spring thunder over India' which had once again created rays of hope. Although surrounded by piles of mistakes and blunders (one may say Hinalayan blunders), and splitted into pieces this is to be considered as the centre of revolutionary activities. And the polemics in this camp and around it will lead to the correct path. It requires painful introspection and again it is important to note that a large section of the movement, in the name of introspection and correction of past mistakes opted to follow the path of revisionists and renegades. Some others are also getting ready to join this camp. The other or opposite camp which is clinging one sidedly to armed struggle, with some superficial changes, is claiming that it is the real successor of Naxalbari. In between these two camps there are several trends and shades.

If explained on programmatic basis the above mentioned two opposite camps stand at the same ground i.e. for them overthrowing feudalism or remnants of feudalism is the principal task of communist revolutionaries in India. They may argue that they are following the cardinal points of the 1970 programme of CPI (ML). The CPI (ML) programme marked Indian big bourgeoisie as comprador and put imperialism and Social Imperialism on political agenda, but it committed a serious mistake by propping that feudalism was the main prop of imperialism and so to smash it became the principal task of the

movement. This proposition is the fountain source of economism and militant economism in the movement because the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the main prop of imperialism remains out of the principal target of attack and hence the state power. One may argue that with this wrong proposition CPI (ML) in 1970 was revolutionary and others economists. How so? Yes, in spite of this blunder then the party was revolutionary because it performed other revolutionary functions at national and international level e.g. exposing Soviet Social Imperialism as one of the principal enemies of people, exposing, CPI, CPM as running dogs of imperialism, supporting the then centre of world revolution China etc. These tasks have more or less become obsolete today. Social Imperialism collapsed and China today is bargaining for a better position in this imperialist system and CPI, CPM like forces have lost the revolutionary glaze of sixties and now they are considered as tail of this or that ruling class party or combinations. Liberation has joined their camp and there are so many who shed tears at the collapse of Social Imperialism and develop soft corner for those revisionists and renegades. This is why in the changed world situation the parameter needs to be altered.

Next, the role of different classes and their alliance. The role of workers-peasants alliance, no doubt, has been accepted in principle but in practice the active and leading role of Industrial working class has been denied. This denial reflects in the working approach of different groups. Most of the cadres are engaged in the rural areas to organise vast section of peasantry ranging from landless poor peasants to rich peasants. This working alliance in the rural areas fights feudal dominance wherever it exists. This reason explain why the movement is confined in some pockets of backward economy. The experience of last thirty years tells us that somewhere under the pressure of our movement and somewhere due to reforms from above feudal economic base has been smashed or gradually being changed giving rise to petty-bourgeois and bourgeois economic base. Combined with dalitist politics these developments ultimately serve the interests of big bourgeoisie under the banner of Laloo Prasad, Ram Bilas Paswan, Mulayam Singh and Mayawati. Thus a peculiar opportunist position exists in these areas. People depend on squads for support against goondas, land lords' gangs and even to solve their family feuds but function as support base for

caste leaders and caste alliances. To support this trend some groups have come forward as champion of dalit empowerment theory. Some others do but don't admit. After WTO phenomenon a new wave of anti-imperialist movement began and here too the anti-imperialist role of agrarian bourgeois like Tikait and Nanjundaswamy and others was accepted, but workers participation denied.

The central task of the formation of workers'-peasants' alliance was either denied or neglected. At this juncture it is important to note that after 1997 some group in the name of rectifying mistakes of the past started political work among workers. Twenty years of experiences show that they became victims of localism and trade unionism. The best score one may claim is some local militant movement and no breakthrough in political arena. A large mass of working class (almost whole) is in the grip of dalitism, brahminism and communalism and is working as a strong bastion of ruling class. In order to form a firm workers'-peasants' alliance these two class bases, first of all must be turned into revolutionary bastion of working class. This work must begin from big and strategic industries. Maintaining strong political and organisational centres and grip over industrial workers' and peasants' revolt, and youth unrest nation wide, we can think of making and sustaining base areas. The history has conferred us with such a tough, tedious and challenging task.

To meet this challenge we must start afresh based on the programme to overthrow imperialism and its native allies, considering 1970 programme's basic approach as the point of departure. The process has already been started and it can't be delayed or stopped for even a moment, because each and every all India big banners with anti-feudal slogan have failed to arouse people and give a correct direction. They proved themselves to be carriers of wrong trends of Naxalbari. The seeds of these trends were present from the very beginning. Now we are facing the crop in the form of revisionism and militant economism i.e. economism associated with terrorism. Revisionists of ML camp has come to their political term. After showing a long period of militant fight they have started to send gesture of goodwill to Laloo prasad, once such enemy and supporter of Ranvir Sena. This change has been made in the name of checking growth of BJP. We may remember the policy, position and fate of C. P. I. They will meet the

same fate sooner or later. The other camp failed to understand the complexities and took refuge under the banner of caste, national oppressions etc. Under such leaderships future of revolution is grim.

For this tough and tedious task new forces are bound to emerge and they will emerge from rising economic and political crisis of the society. In spite of deepening crisis no sign of stir is visible. Uptil now about 10 million workers have been retrenched but factories are running peacefully. Workers are restless but TU camps are silent. Hundreds of peasants suicided but Laloo are not disturbed. Price rise, unemployment, corruption are breaking all previous records, but universities are calm. An appraisal of ongoing political development reveals that two bigger students and youth movements in 1967 and 1974 were led by ruling class and revisionist party combine. In this period even movements of industrial workers were organised and led by T. U centres of ruling class leaders and parties. Railway strike, engineering workers movement, Jamshadpur coal movement and others are few examples to quote. After 1980 except bofors movement no popular voice has been raised against corruption although it is sky rocketing. They involved people in sectional demand and divisive movement. Mandal, Mandir, Dalitism and federalism evolved as catchy words of this period. All these issues raised and flopped in less than a decade. The forces of social justice disintegrated. The splinter enjoying power with B. J. P and others is ready to support the camp. Govt. and Congress party is unmoved. Champion of Dalitvadi parties and spokespersons of Dalit-Muslim unity fell in the lap of BJP to form Govt. in UP only to be cheated and rejected. Since no ruling class party is in a position to maintain all India Organisational and political character federalism is the need of the day. Whether the Government in new Delhi is led by BJP or Congress it will be essentially federal in character and this Govt. of federal character will not hesitate to swallow democratic rights of working masses. After 'rajtilak' of Atal Bihari his charismatic character and clear image have eroded fastly. Pokhran explosion to create mania of chauvinism and war could not elevate his stature that of to Nehru or Indira Gandhi he wanted and BJP expected. On the plea of ousting BJP govt. all the splintered elements of U. F are rallying behind Congress. Since 1989 this Musical Chair game is continuously going on. It

is none of our duty to participate in this game or clap from this or that side rather our duty is to finish the game for ever.

Whole boat is going to sink and nobody sitting in this boat deserves to be saved. Our duty is to push the boat and trouble the water. People are frustrated with these cheats and frauds, still they are there, because we could not come forward as viable national alternative. In the past we could not do due to two mistakes in two different phases. In the phase of Naxalbari wrong evaluation of world situation led us to left adventurist mistakes and isolation from masses, and after 1977 economism, militant economism, localism and ultimately tailism in different forms prevented us from emerging as national level viable political centre of working class around which other patriotic forces may gather. Again it is important to warn that during 1970's hastiness to capture power had led the party to left deviation and now any haste to enjoy power will only lead to right deviation. So at this juncture we must strive to emerge as the sole working class party. To achieve this goal painful job of self introspection, merciless fight against right and left deviations, and building platform against principal enemies are necessary. In the period of third International party formation and path determination was comparatively a less painful job, because international centre with experienced leadership like Lenin and Stalin was there to provide proper guidance. Today there is none and we have to search our path in this period of setback, and in this situation we must move carefully, consciously but continuously like the foolish old man of Mao.

(From P. 14)

in the Third World. One major consequence of the emergence of new centres of capital accumulation - and manufacturing production - has been the considerable *growth* of the industrial working class on a global scale. Paul Kellogg writes:

"Employment in manufacturing grew by 65 per cent in Turkey between 1960 and 1982, 179 per cent in Egypt between 1958 and 1981, 623 per cent in Tanzania between 1953 and 1981, 57 per cent in Zimbabwe... 1970-80, 212 per cent in Brazil 1970-82, 34 per cent in Peru 1971-1981 and an astonishing 2,500 per cent in South Korea between 1956 and 1982! On a world scale, this has meant in the 11 years

between 1971 and 1982, a 14.1 per cent rise in industrial employment. It is true that in this period 'developed market economies' (North America and Western Europe in particular) experienced an industrial employment decline of 6½ per cent. But 'developing market economies' shot up by 58 per cent and 'centrally planned economies' by 16 per cent to more than make up the difference... On a world scale there are more industrial workers than at any time in history... The industrial working class in the 36 leading industrial countries... between 1977 and 1982, increased its numbers from 173 to 183 million. This understates the picture considerably because 1982 was the worst year of the worst recession in the post-war era, a recession that saw *millions* of industrial layoffs in the West."

I discuss how best to interpret these changes in section 5.3 below. What is certain is that detecting in them the rise of postindustrial society is the wrong way. Nevertheless contemporary theorists - Habermas as well as his postmodernist foes - have been all too eager to announce the 'obsolescence of the production paradigm', by which they mean Marxism. It is hard to take seriously much of what is written on this subject. Craig Owens probably wins first prize for the silliest argument. He says that 'Marxism privileges the characteristically masculine activity of production as the *definitively human* activity... women, historically consigned to the spheres of non-productive or reproductive labour, are thereby situated outside the society of male producers, in a state of nature.' The adverb 'historically' is especially delightful, since, of course, women's labour played a central productive role in the peasant households that were typically the basic economic unit of precapitalist agricultural societies. The transformation of the household from a unit of production to a unit primarily of consumption where female domestic labour is devoted chiefly to the reproduction of labour-power is a historical novelty peculiar to industrial capitalism. It naturally does not follow that women are confined under capitalism to this reproductive role: one of the most important contemporary employment trends in the advanced economies is the progressive incorporation of women into wage-labour.

Baudrillard is less ignorant than Owens, but he makes a similar kind of criticism of Marxism accusing it of ethnocentrism and in-

deed 'theoretical racism' for projecting the categories specific to industrial capitalism on to 'primitive' societies, where production 'is continually negated and volatilized by reciprocal exchange which consumed itself in an endless operation.' But historical materialism is not (as Baudrillard seems to believe) committed to claiming that each social formation has as its overriding motive production for production's sake; Marx indeed saw this as a peculiar feature of capitalism. All historical materialism asserts is that even preclass societies which engage in redistributive practices such as generalized reciprocity which are not in any but the most formal sense governed by the desire to maximize utilities must find some way of securing their material reproduction, and that the combination of productive forces and relations will shape each society in ways that the actors do not recognize. When confronted by Baudrillard's apparent denial that 'primitive' societies are subject to material constraints one is tempted to agree with Perry Anderson that 'classical Marxism' is 'a kind of common sense.'

Habermas is, of course, in a different league from postmodernist *literateurs* like Owens and Baudrillard. But he too sees the 'production paradigm' as increasingly inapplicable to contemporary society.

For example, he speaks of 'the historically foreseeable end of a society based on labour'. He seems to have in mind here what he regards as the declining importance of manual goods-producing labour. But, as we have seen, the contraction of manufacturing employment in the advanced economies has been exaggerated, and is counterbalanced by the expansion of the industrial working class on a global scale. It does seem in any case rather narrow to indentify work with industrial labour. Despite the long dole queues of the 1970s and 1980s, usually some nine tenths of the population of working age in the Western economies are in some kind of employment, in most cases as wage-earners. The fact that manual industrial workers no longer form the majority of wage-labourers does not of itself imply the beginning of the end of the 'work-based society'. Wage-labour has if anything become a more pervasive feature of social experience in the past half-century, with the decline of peasant agriculture and the growing involvement of women in the labour-market. The fact that much of this labour now involves interacting with other peo-

ple rather than producing goods does not change the social relations involved: one striking feature of contemporary industrial relations is the spread of trade unionism to the 'caring professions' (health, teaching, social work, etc.)-1988 saw major industrial disputes involving nurses in both Britain and France. The fact that fewer people are employed in material production does not in any case alter the fact that no one can survive without the industrial goods manufactured by these people. Not only do human beings continue to have the same mundane needs for food, clothing, shelter and the like, but rising living standards and the associated expansion of mass consumption entail a *proliferation* of material goods, particularly given the tendency noted above for services to be replaced with consumer durables. The enormous expansion of human productive powers which has taken place under capitalism makes possible a drastic reduction in the working day, and in that sense an abolition of the 'work-based society'. But that possibility could only become a reality as a result of the overthrow of capitalist social relations, which still depend on the exploitation of wage-labour. And even the socialist society which emerged from such a transformation would still rest on what Marx called 'the kingdom of necessity', upon the material production of the physical use-values without which human existence would cease. It is a measure of current intellectual disarray that as cogent a thinker as Habermas should lose sight of such fundamental realities.

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More Islamisation in Pakistan

Islamisation of Pakistan is not a new thing. Pakistan's creation itself was based on religion when the British imperialists utilised the services of the leaderships of both Congress and Muslim League to perpetuate their *divide and rule* policy. Later General Zia-ul-Huq systematically used pandering to fanaticism and obscurantism as an instrument to protect and prolong his hated military dictatorship. Then Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was in deep trouble also tried to win over Islamic fundamentalists to save his tottering regime by promulgating more 'Islamic' laws. Now through more Islamisation by imposing *Shariat* Nawaz Sharif government is trying to tide over the multiple crises his government and Pakistan are facing. As is going to be proved, like in earlier instances, this obscurantist move is not going to save either his government or the people of Pakistan. Already powerful popular resistance has erupted against sectarian move engulfing Pakistan in more serious crises.

But the consequences of this revanchist step are going to be felt in the whole region. Already Taliban domination in Afghanistan has created a serious situation in west and central Asia. This Islamic fundamentalist offensive is going to create a graver situation. Even the remnants of democratisation in this region are threatened. All progressive movements are ruthlessly suppressed. In this situation the Islamic gamble by Nawaz Sharif government is only going to aggravate the situation.

But the US response to it is most dangerous. None should believe the US imperialists and western media when they talk against Islamic fundamentalism. It is they who systematically promoted it as part of the neocolonis-

ation process like all other religious fundamentalist and revanchist forces everywhere against the forces of democracy and socialism. Taliban was promoted and armed by them in their proxy war against erstwhile Soviet Union. They have only further accelerated these counter-revolutionary heinous moves now. So the hollowness of their talk about growing danger of Islamic fundamentalism should be thoroughly exposed.

Meanwhile US imperialists and their lackeys are utilising this opportunity provided by Islamic fundamentalists to divide the people everywhere and to launch missile attacks any country like they have done recently against Sudan and Afghanistan, increasing their bullying and hegemonic moves.

Similarly Vajpayee government's expression of anxiety in Pakistan becoming fundamentalist is nothing but an attempt to hoodwink the masses and a dirty example of its double talk. It is concealing the fact that the destruction of Babri Masjid and Hindu fundamentalist moves by the Sangh Parivar which has communalised the South Asian scene further. The Pokhran tests and Pakistani response to it have further aggravated the contradictions. While the Islamisation move by Nawaz Sharif government is basically for internal reasons, the provocative atmosphere created by the Sangh Parivar cannot be neglected.

As far as the progressive democratic forces all over the world are concerned, they have to wage uncompromising struggle against all brands of religious fundamentalists who are ultimately serving as the instruments of global imperialist system, as part of their struggle against the Imperialist system itself.

Adulteration of Mustard Oil

The story of the adulterated mustard oil and the outbreak of *typhoid* epidemic with more than 50 reported deaths and thousands of cases of hospitalisation in Delhi and surrounding areas, as one columnist wrote, "is outrageous, infuriating, gory and scandalous beyond measure." It is a story of an incompetent and callous ad-

ministration virtually colluding with greedy and rapacious traders hell-bent on making fast and big bucks even at the cost of killing, maiming and blinding fellow countrymen.

The bureaucracy and their political masters in the affected areas colluded with those who

adulterated mustard oil which is the chief cooking medium in whole of north and east India. They banned the sale of loose mustard oil and then some tinned brands only when High Court ordered. Except a few petty-traders the wholesalers and bottlers responsible for adulteration are not touched. In the name of insufficient numbers of centres for testing samples they are allowing the criminals responsible for these deaths and misery to escape. Like the shocking adulteration of hydrogenated oil with beef tallow in the 1980s, the big sharks responsible for the man-created dropsy epidemic are being allowed to escape.

There is another angle to this large - scale adulteration. As the *Forum for Biotechnology and Food Services* (FBFS) points out a conspiracy behind adulteration of native mustard oil by the agents of the MNCs is also to be sus-

pected. This year US had a bumper harvest of Soyabean and the market for it was very sluggish. The MNCs controlling it wanted to create markets and were pressing Indian government to import it in large scale. That they have succeeded now through new import orders of Vajpayee government shows the possibilities for this economic espionage and sabotage. One should not forget that the foreign vested interests in collusion with their local agents and MNCs will not hesitate to go to any extent to create market for their products. They have a gory record of it.

The government has neither taken action on the criminals responsible for this heinous act of adulterating the most common cooking oil in vast areas of the country, nor provided unadulterated cooking oils to the affected at reasonable rates. Thus the government itself is colluding with these unscrupulous criminals.

US missile attacks and Vajpayee government's naked surrender

US missile attacks against Afganistan and Sudan on 20 August is a naked violation of all international laws. It is an expression of the extent to which US imperialism is resorting to brutal terrorism in the name of checking terrorism. This action shows that for US imperialists 'might is right'. They do not even bother to take the trouble of consulting the UN or its Security Council before such attacks. In this way US imperialists and their henchmen have challenged the world people once again. This criminal attack should be condemned uncompromisingly.

But the Vajpayee government first kept silence and then condoned this dastardly criminal act. It has done so by saying that India itself is a victim of terrorism from across the borders. Its only complaint against US imperialists is that they are not allowing it to pursue 'hot pursuit' like the superpower is doing. Vajpayee government failed even to criticise such unilateral strikes against sovereign countries. It is a most shameful act. It is an open surrender to US imperialists.

All progressive democratic forces should come out and ruthlessly expose this slavish

policy of Vajpayee government which has nakedly surrendered to US imperialists. By acting this way it has granted sanction to the imperialists to attack even any target in our own country, even without seeking permission from the central government. It shows how the votaries of 'Swadeshi' are the most active advocates of neocolonial slavery. This should not go unchallenged.

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Camp of leading activists in agricultural worker's and peasant movement

A three day camp of the leading activists among agricultural workers and peasantry was held on 28 to 30 August in a village near Abhanpur, Raipur district of MP. The first part of the camp was devoted for presentation of the report on the concrete conditions in the agrarian sector in different states and on the history and present condition of the agricultural worker's and peasant movement there. Comrades Prabhu Lal (UP), B S. Warghante (Maharashtra), Hemant Kumar (Chathisgarh), Sivaram (Orissa), D. H. Poojar (Karnataka) and P. J. Baby (Kerala) presented reports and explained various aspects of the present movement. The studies on the agrarian sector so far made were also explained. All these reports reflected the fast changes taking place in agrarian sector all over the country especially after the introduction of liberalisation - globalisation policies with this sector also coming under the influence of imperialist and native capital and world market system. They also reflected the necessity for intensifying the efforts to build up agricultural workers and peasant organisations taking into consideration the concrete conditions of today.

The second part of the camp was the presentation of the approach paper on building up agricultural workers and peasant movement at all India level which is already published in Red Flag, Lal Tara and Comrade (Malayalam). The presentation and discussion took place in three parts: (a) history of the peasant movement in India, (b) concrete conditions and class analysis of the agrarian sector today and (c) the tasks of building up agricultural workers and peasant organisations at all India level in present day situation including the long-term agrarian revolutionary tasks and immediate slogans. During this presentation and discussion, approach to-

wards the mode of production debate in India and class analysis were dealt with in detail. The capitalist changes taking place very fast everywhere under neocolonial domination integrating the agrarian sector to global market system and their consequences on various sections of the peasantry and agricultural workers were discussed in detail. The erroneous influence under the so-called 'theory of feudalism as the social base of imperialism' was also discussed. The necessity of developing the concept of agrarian revolution according to the growing trend in the agrarian sector was also pointed out.

The third session was devoted for developing a general understanding on future course of action to build up agricultural workers and peasant organisations at all India level based on the orientation provided in the approach paper. A consensus was arrived at that next all India study camp of the leading activists should be conducted as early as possible after vigorously carrying forward the following tasks: (a) discussion of the approach paper at all levels in all states, (b) taking up state-level studies on the concrete conditions and class analysis in the agrarian sector, and (c) further developing the political and organisational work in agricultural workers and peasant organisations wherever they are already formed, and developing it by forming them in other states.

This first all India camp of leading activists provided a new impetus to develop ideological-political studies and organisational work with the perspective of building up all India organisations and struggles. *Chathisgarh Kisan Sabha* took the responsibility for organising the camp with the active help of its local cadres and members. From CRC side comrades K. N. Ramachandran, secretary, and Umakant gave leadership to the camp.

TUCI Seminar calls for vigilance against Fascism

A discussion for the trade union activists was organised by the TUCI in Mumbai on 16th August 1998 as a part of the year long programme of enlightening the people on the holl-

owness of the independence India is supposedly enjoying.

Speaking on this occasion com. Pravin

Karnataka Reports

Martyrs' Day on July 23

July 23 was observed as martyrs day in different places in the state remembering Com. Charu Majumdar and thousands of comrades who laid down their lives for the New Democratic Revolution. At Gajjala gatta and other places in Raichur district large number of party comrades and people participated. At Gajjala-gatta com. Manasayya, secretary, CPI (ML) Red Flag state committee addressing the comrades called on them to intensify allround struggles against neocolonial slavery and fascisation. He

Nadkar of the AIFTU said that all the movements of the 60s and 70s had an influence of the Naxalbari. But later new type of militant trade unionism emerged as represented by Dr. Datta Samant. This though outwardly looked militant in reality served the interests of the capitalists. Now even this has given way to the *gondagiri* of Shiva sena variety.

Com. Krishna Kembruskar of the Sarva Sramik Sanghatana said protests are taking place all over the country. But these are unorganized. It is the duty of organized workers to organize the unorganized ones, he added.

Advocate JK said that fascism in Italy and Germany had come into power after suppressing the workers movement there. During the last six-seven years there has been a clamp down on the rights of the workers. Even taking out a march is banned in Mumbai, she pointed out. The minimum we can do is to oppose the denial of the basic democratic rights. It is only the working class who can do this, she insisted.

Com Thomas Sebastian pointed out that though the fascism we see in India is different from the classical fascism both classical fascism and neofascism oppose the workers movement. The classical fascism tried to protect the domestic industry from competition from the foreign capital. As opposed to this the fascism of the Sangh Parivar is welcoming the foreign capital and give them all the facilities. In fact this type of fascism is not unique to India. One can find a sudden spurt of this types of fascism in African and Asian countries from the 1970s.

cautioned against both right opportunist and sectarian deviations which have caused incalculable damage to the Communist movement internationally and in India. He urged all to fight against these deviations and march forward to realise the dreams of our martyr comrades.

Anti-nuclear day observed

A seminar against nuclear armament and the nuclear tests by BJP government was organised at Sindanur on *Hiroshima day*. A good number of students, youth and workers participated. Com. Ayyappa Hugar, state secretary of TUCI

These type of neo-fascism is part of the strategy of the Imperialists to overcome it's latest crisis. According to the managers of Imperialism (IMF/WB/WTO) for Imperialism to overcome it's latest crisis the neo-colonies should open up it's borders fully through the policies of globalisation. When the people rise in protest to keep them under control they require an autocratic government which only BJP like forces can provide. Hence fascism as represented by BJP and Siva Sena like forces is for serving imperialist interests. Therefore our struggle against fascism will be an aspect of our struggle against imperialism, he said.

Many other participants also expressed their views and called for united action against growing neocolonial slavery and fascist threat. The discussion was chaired by Com. Sanjay Singhvi of the TUCI.

Com. Sanjay commemorated Com. Soren Bose who died of a heart attack in Mumbai last year while on a party programme. He was remembered by the comrades with whom he had spent his last days. Comrade Sanjay Singhvi reminded, "comrade Soren Bose had addressed his last public meeting in the same hall last year on the same day that is 16th August 1997."

"Comrade Soren Bose was member of the executive committee of the CPM in Siliguri district when the Naxalbari broke out. He was the one man delegation that was sent to China to hold discussions with the leaders of the CPC. His reflections on the discussion has been published and is considered as a significant contribution to the struggle against revisionism in the Indian communist movement."

and Advocate Koteswara Rao spoke in detail against the nuclear armament and especially against the nuclear tests conducted by the Vajpayee government.

State revenue minister gheraoed

Karnataka state minister B. Somashankar was gheraoed at Lingsugur and Sindanur, taluk headquarters, on 2nd September by large number of activists of Ryot-Coolie Samgram Samithi (RCSS) and RYF demanding withdrawal of orders to privatise Karnataka Electricity Board, immediate steps to curb price rise, rejection of new agricultural policies and distribution of benami and government lands. Hundreds of comrades participated in the gherao at both places.

In Manvi taluk a hunger strike was organised in front of Kavital grama panchayat office by RCSS protesting against anti-people governmental policies, violation of democratic rights. They demanded immediate steps to provide drinking water. This was part of the districtwide agitation by KRSS against anti people policies of the government and increasing corruption at all levels including in the panchayat samithis.

State level dharna in front of district collectors' offices

Raising demands like stop KSEB privatisation, take immediate steps to curb prices of essential commodities, implement land reforms, reject new agricultural policies, stop suppression of tribal people and landless peasants inhabiting forest lands, ban plunder of peasants by MNCs and their agents etc RCSS has launched a state-wide agitation. As a part of this mass dharnas were organised in front of district collectorates. Hundreds of peasants participated in this day-long agitation. RCSS has declared that it will intensify the struggle in coming days.

Land struggle of tribals in Karnataka

Today the land question is, as every aspect of life, also closely linked to the process of liberalisation/globalisation. While the tribals, the landless and poor peasants struggle for land, the landlords and plantation owners try

for removal of land ceiling acts and for unrestricted holding of land.

As far as the tribal people are concerned, they are thrown out of their traditional places of habitation in the forests and nearby areas by the state-landlord-plantation nexus. In South Karnataka a large number of tribal people lost their habitats when government threw them out in the name of protecting Nagarhole National Park. Though ILO convention 107 says that even "when in such cases removal of these populations is necessary as an exceptional measure, they shall be provided with land of quality at least equal to the lands previously occupied by them", all such international conventions were violated. The tribals affected by 'national parks,' dams and plantations were forced to live in colonies where even preliminary amenities are not provided.

The coffee planter - state nexus is at work to deprive the land to the tribals and to facilitate illegal encroachment by the planters in large scale. As the coffee, rubber and fruit gardens expand, the planters make huge profits, and the bureaucrats police-forest employees collect graft and the tribals are thrown out to lead a miserable life.

In this situation the land question, especially the land question for landless tribals and dalits has become serious. Like earlier ones present Janatha Dal government in Karnataka is not taking any action to provide land and to rehabilitate these landless millions.

It is in this context the Karnataka state Ryot-coolie Sangrama Samithi (RCSS) has declared its intention to wage struggle for land for the landless, especially the tribal and dalit sections. In Coorg, Mysore and Chikmagalur districts it has organised meetings and has initiated a campaign with this slogan. In the coming days the RCSS is planning to intensify this struggle by mobilising these landless sections under its banner.

Reports from Kerala

Com: Krishna Pillai Day Observed

On 19th August the 50th anniversary of the death of Com: Krishna Pillai was observed throughout the state. Com. P. Krishna Pillai

was the foremost revolutionary among the founder leaders of the Communist movement in Kerala. He was its state secretary when he died while in underground. It was his leadership which paved the way for the revolutionary movement to take firm roots in Kerala through an all-pervasive struggle against British imperialism, feudal Kings and all other reactionary forces. Like the great Punnappara-Vayalar struggle, comrade Krishna Pillai's great contributions are upheld by the Marxist-Leninist forces in Kerala as the link between the revolutionary past and the present.

At Vaikom, his birth place hundreds of comrades participated in the rally before the well-attended public meeting addressed by Com. Unnikhekkann, state secretary of CPI (ML) Red Flag. At Alapuzha and many other places public meetings were organised. August 19 was turned into a day of political campaign to educate the masses for taking up the tasks of NDR.

Clinton Effigies Burnt

Effigies of US president Bill Clinton were burnt at many places in the state in protest against the US missile attacks on Sudan and Afghanistan. Demonstrations and public meetings were also organised condemning these criminal acts of US imperialism.

Anti-Enron Struggle Revived

As reported earlier the progressive forces in Kerala with CPI (ML) Red Flag and revolutionary class/Mass organisations in the forefront had earlier succeeded in reversing the government decision to allow Enron's entry into the field of electricity production. But now BJP government has permitted such projects costing upto Rs 1500 crores without permission of State governments. Utilising it as a pretext the LDF government in Kerala is once again trying to revive the Enron initiative.

Against this Yuvajanavedi has once again declared a struggle. A campaign is once again launched in Kannur district where the project is planned to be established. A state wide agitation uniting all progressive forces is being planned once again.

Struggle against DPEP

The District Primary Education Progra-

mme (DPEP) funded and implemented under dictates from World Bank and European Union (EU) has already spread to 180 districts in 14 states including Kerala. This ultimately aims at demolishing even the existing primary education system in the country which is catering for the poor sections through a so-called 'de-schooling process'! (see July-August 1998 issues of Red Star). Against this a state wide agitation is launched by Yuvajanavedi and KVS.

Tens of thousands of leaflets are distributed all over the state as a part of this struggle as government is engaged in a 'disinformation' campaign to camouflage it. Two Jathas starting from north and south travelled through all districts culminating at Thrissur on 17th september. On september 23 volunteers of Yuvajanavedi and KVS organised dharnas at all district headquarters. As more and more students and youth organisations have started extending support to the demand for throwing out DPEP, the struggle is going to pick up more momentum in coming days.

Against Police Atrocities

A number of police atrocities including two lock up deaths due to torture have ignited state wide protest movement. Though the LDF Chief Minister Nayanar has stated that he will weed out criminal elements from police force, nobody is giving any importance to this oft-repeated populist utterance. The CPI (M)'s claim that they can at least reform the state machinery is proved hollow.

CPI (ML) Red Flag and class/mass organisations are leading or participating in various struggles against police atrocities in different parts of the state which are attracting massive people's participation.

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Workers' Struggle in Chattisgarh

The acquittal of all the killers of Shankar Guha Neogi by Jabalpur High Court and the non-implementation of the Industrial Tribunal award for reinstating 4200 workers thrown out during 1991-92 by various industrialists of Bhillai have thrown up new challenges before working class in Raipur-Bhillai-Rajnandgaon industrial belt of Chattisgarh.

The nearly 4000 strong mighty demonstration in Jabalpur by workers from different parts of MP against the acquittal orders by the High Court was a clear indication of the strong resentment and fighting mood among the working class. As far as Chattisgarh Mukti Morche (CMM) is concerned, many middle level leaders and workers are unhappy that its leadership which is taking more and more reformist positions under the influence of NGOs did not take active interest inside and outside the court to see that Neogi's killers are punished. Besides they are critical of the leadership for not vigorously pursuing the case for reinstating the thrown out workers. This has led to yet another split in the CMM led by com. Hobde. This faction has taken initiative to approach senior lawyers for intervening when Neogi case coming for hearing in the Supreme

Court and to activate the case for reinstating the 4200 workers. Similarly com. Neogi day on 28 September, the day on which he was murdered by the notorious industrialists of Bhillai using hired killers in 1991 at Bhillai, was observed with the participation of large number of workers and progressive forces from nearby areas.

TUCI Chattisgarh Committee has extended full support to these moves for protecting workers' interests and to get the Neogi killers punished. Though more and more industries are coming up in this region even the organised workers are not getting their basic rights. Even minimum wages are not provided, leave alone other rights. The thousands of workers thrown out following mechanisation at Rajnandgaon are not provided alternate jobs or full compensation. The traditional TU leaderships have surrendered to managements. With the help of state government and its police, and with judiciary helping the rich, the managements are suppressing the workers and denying them all basic rights.

In this situation TUCI Chattisgarh Committee has called for united militant struggles for workers' demands.

Teachers Strike A Success

The 26 day long all India strike by the College and University Teachers led by the AIFUCTO and other unions has ended up on September 5, 1993. The strike was against the BJP government's blatant denial of the UGC recommended pay package and fair working conditions coupled with the most heinous structural adjustment move of raising the workload of teaching community by 50 per cent in order to achieve a corresponding reduction in the number of teachers in higher education. The strike was also in response to the government's reluctance to accept the federal and democratic principle of providing the necessary financial assistance to state governments and union territories so as to implement the UGC pay scales at an all India level. These and other demands are included in the 35 item charter of demands submitted to government by AIFUCTO.

That the strike came to an amicable settlement only when the government retreated from its adamant stand and glibly ate its words that there won't be any discussion before the unconditional withdrawal of Teachers' strike clearly show the success of the strike. Of course the teachers had to go through the trials and tribulations imposed by the totalitarian and fascistic tactics of suppression by the government. The strike is withdrawn on the strength of the specific assurances given by the government that positive and beneficial changes would be effected in the pay package announced earlier.

However, in spite of its apparent success of achieving a reasonable pay package, one should not lose sight of the political limitations of the leadership amidst the euphoria that is

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created. While it succeeded in coordinating the various segments of the teaching community at an all India level, it did fail in linking the various demands with the ever-intensifying trends of privatisation and globalisation in university education and education in general including the growing withdrawal of state from education as part of imperialist capital's structural adjustment programme in India. Among other things, the BJP government is bent on subjecting the entire higher education sector by creating private universities and autonomous colleges coupled with a process of unleashing the forces of communalism and superstition in education at hitherto unknown levels. These and other political weaknesses are well-exemplified in the strike and in the final settlement. For instance, the financial part of the agreement has a written

assurance, regarding the withdrawal of the proposed 50 per cent increase in the workload as recommended by the Rastogi Committee, the settlement is only in the form of an 'oral assurance' by UGC chairperson to the AIFUCTO leadership. Given its past tradition (eg. its duplicity in respect of the ED employees of postal department) and its true essence, whether the BJP govt. will stick to this 'oral assurance' is an issue yet to be materialised.

However, in spite of these limitations, fully understanding the existing reality, the teachers are to be appreciated as their 26 day long strike has succeeded in bringing the supercilious BJP leadership to the negotiating table after eating its words.