

# RED STAR

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Press Statement

## Fake Encounter Killing of Com: Varghese is not an Isolated event; Struggle against all forms of State-Terror

The confession of the CRPF constable who shot Com: Varghese on February 18, 1970 under threats from senior police officers has further exposed the fake encounter story propagated by the authorities from those days. After arrest and identification by many he was brutally tortured and murdered. For long CPI(ML) Red Flag and democratic forces were demanding proper enquiry and punishment of those responsible for this criminal act.

From the CPI(M) days Varghese was very actively working among the adivasis and poor peasants of Wynad district. After joining revolutionary movement he along with many others struck against feudal interests and police atrocities. They challenged auction and sale of adivasis every year during Valliyur temple festivals, and demanded higher wages and distribution of land to landless. The then Congress supported CPI-RSP-Muslim League government ordered brutal repression of the movement leading to murder of Varghese. What happened later during emergency days was continuation of this state terror on more wider scale leading to arrest and torture of thousands, and the death of Rajan and Vijayan under police custody in torture camps.

These are not isolated events. They were repeated on much wider scale at all India level especially in W. Bengal and AP from Naxalbari days. Many among the topmost leaders of CPI(ML) movement including Charu Majumdar and Saroj Dutta in Bengal and Panchadri Krishnamurthi and Vempatappu Satyanarayana in AP and thousands of activists were eliminated all over the country through fake encounters and torture under police custody. This is still continuing wherever people are resisting the oppressive policies of the state. It is this intensifying state terror which has paved the way for unprecedented criminalisation of the society at all levels.

The Kerala state committee of CPI(ML) Red Flag, relatives of Varghese and democratic forces have raised the demand for an immediate judicial enquiry and punishment to all who were responsible for killing Varghese under police custody. A statewide people's campaign and

legal measures are taken up in support of this demand. In spite of its earlier demand for judicial enquiry in to the killing of Varghese raised in 1970, CPI(M) leadership has not ordered it even though it came to power thrice. Even now the LF government in Kerala has not taken steps for it in spite of increasing people's demand.

The same thing is happening in Bengal also. When CPI(M) led front came to power in 1977 it had accepted the demand for judicial enquiry and follow up action into the killing of thousands of Communist revolutionaries including Charu Majumdar. But the enquiries were stopped mid-way, the reports received are not published, and no follow-up actions are taken.

It is in this context the July 28 Committee formed under the leadership of Com. Souren Bose and relatives of the martyrs have demanded further judicial enquiry and punishment of those responsible for the brutal acts. But the L F government is refusing to take any action.

Today CPI(M) and L F have called for united struggle against the increasing fascist threats mainly posed by Sangh Parivar in present context. But the fascistisation can be resisted and defeated only by struggling for democratisation of the state. Judicial enquiry and follow up action into acts of state terror will only strengthen this democratisation. Rather than ordering judicial enquiry into above acts of state terror and uniting all left and democratic forces on a programme for democracy and socialism to fight against increasing fascist threats, CPI(M) is trying to rally behind the Congress which itself has led the country into present crisis in all fronts. This is nothing but sheer opportunism.

We appeal to all progressive democratic forces to struggle unitedly against all forms of state terror and increasing threats of criminalisation and fascism. As a part of this struggle we demand immediate judicial enquiry and punishment of all those responsible for the murder under police custody of Charu Majumdar, Saroj Dutta, Varghese and other CPI(ML) leaders and activists.

Calcutta.

20 November 1998.

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

## The Crisis Deepens

Once the results of the elections to the four state assemblies are out, they are going to further deepen the already serious crisis in the ruling class politics. The rout of BJP in Rajasthan and Delhi has proved beyond doubt that the people of those states rejected the fascist Hindutva ideology of BJP. Eventhough the corrupt Digvijay Singh Government of Congress (I) in MP managed to save their skin it was not because the people acknowledged their politics but was due to their strong resentment towards the misrule of BJP at centre.

For the BJP propoganda machine, explaining away huge price-rise of essential commodities was really an impossible task. That is why it has consciously tried to shift the propoganda to Hindutva agenda like *Vandematram*, *Saraswati Vandana* etc. RSS chieftains have launched vicious communal propoganda through VHP, Bajrang Dal and their other outfits. The post-election scene is going to be vitiated by further communalisation of Indian polity. BJP leadership is preparing itself for utilising the communal card to the maximum extent if the threats to its central ministry materialises.

Though it may not be able to predict how far this 18 party hotch-hotch alliance ministry led by BJP shall continue, one thing is certain. It cannot continue long. The in-fighting of the constituents of this alliance is going to further intensify as the expected reversals to BJP has materialised in this election. It has already deepened the political crisis.

In the frantic bid to remain in power and to serve the interests of the imperialists and native comprador ruling classes the BJP-led government is taking numerous decisions like allowing 40% foreign equity in insurance sector, sell-out of even huge profit-earning PSUs, clearing amendments to Indian Patent Act of 1970, introducing product patents much before it is required to do so by 2005 according to WTO dictates, further liberalisation of export-import policies etc. This anti-national coterie led by Vajpayee is in a hurry to enslave the country in all respects. As a result the economic crisis is deepening day by day.

But according to Jyoti Basu the Congress

leadership is still not ready to take the support of all available forces including Left Front and to take initiative in toppling the BJP rule. It is waiting for BJP ministry to fall due to its own acute internal strife. This waiting game may not yield immediate results as no party or group is ready for another Lok Sabha election soon. How far this situation may change after the elections to these four assemblies is yet to be seen.

Meanwhile, unlike 1996, in spite of best efforts by the CPI (M) - CPI leaderships, there is no possibility for a third alternative. So long as CPI (M) - CPI is also supporting the liberalisation-globalisation policies in action wherever they are in power, whatever they may say in words, and so long as Mulayam, Lallu Prasad, B S P like forces are also not opposing, these policies, the possibility as well as the necessity for a third ruling class alternative does not exist outside the BJP and Congress led alliances. The ruling class politics is getting polarised more and more around these two alternatives.

As far as the CPI(M)-CPI talks of supporting the Congress in order to fight BJP is nothing but sheer opportunism. BJP has taken over from where the Congress has left the country enslaved and criminalised. BJP is trying to carry forward the liberalisation-globalisation policies initiated by Congress along with its open communalisation scheme. In this context to expect that BJP can be resisted by tailing behind Congress is only an illusion. It is social democratic policy to betray the people's interest.

Open surrender to neocolonial policies and criminalisation-fascisation of the state for implementing them are agendas of both Congress and the Sangh Parivar. While the former utilises communal forces covertly for it, the latter openly goes for Hindutva policies. This is the only important difference between them.

So to resist and defeat neocolonisation and fascisation, whether on short-term or long-term basis, the only alternative before the genuine left forces is to forge their own unity and unite all progressive democratic patriotic forces around them.

P. J. James

# Amartya Sen: Imperialism's Human Face

The decision of the Royal Swedish Academy of sciences to award the 1998 Bank of Sweden Prize or the so called Nobel Prize in Economics to Amartya Sen is now one of the most attractive topics of discussion both in India and abroad. An interesting aspect of this media blitz is the well-calculated and one sided euphoria that is created about Sen in India. For, both the right and the left ranging from the ultra right BJP to the pseudo left CPI (M) in the ruling class spectrum are now vying with each other to appropriate Sen. In this context, therefore, progressive and democratic forces are duty-bound to make the record straight by making an objective evaluation of the motives of Nobel Committee as well as the true essence of Sen's economics, albeit briefly.

Eversince its inception in 1969, Nobel prizes in Economics have consistently been about contribution to defending the capitalist-imperialist system and the Nobel committee had no hesitation in unequivocally declaring this fact openly. For instance, for the last several years, prizes in economics were awarded to those exclusively specialising in stock and currency market. Even last year's winners, Robert Merton of Harvard University and Myron Scholes of Stanford University got the prize for developing a formula for effective stock market speculation. (That Long Term Capital Management, the finance company run by these experts totally collapsed this year as part of the global financial crisis is another thing). As a matter of fact, contrary to ruling class propaganda and mainstream perceptions, this year's award is also strictly in conformity with this consistent position espoused by the Swedish Academy. On the other hand, in the context of the biggest-ever crisis confronting imperialism, it is the dishonesty and duplicity engineered by the Nobel committee to camouflage its motive that make this year's award different. In the citation conferred on Sen, the Swedish Academy says: "By combining tools from economics and philosophy, he has restored an ethical dimension to the discussion of vital economic problems." This statement it-

self was sufficient enough. In promoting several commentators to acknowledge a fundamental change in Nobel Committee's own approach to economics. Thus several columnists have started pinpointing that this time Swedish Academy has made departure from its past by including those strands of economic thought which hitherto were excluded from its consideration. Some others have characterised the award to Sen as a "discrediting of the neo-liberal paradigm" by the Nobel committee while still others have interpreted it as an effort on the part of Nobel "to salvage its lost reputation". A CPI(M) theoretician has gone to the extent of depicting Sen's contributions as "sharp weapons against globalisation". To be precise, current discussions on this issue are proceeding in such a way as if Amartya Sen is the new Messiah, the new prophet who is going to liberate us from the present crisis. As such, though a detailed enquiry is not possible here, it is high time that the true mission behind the orchestrated campaign is exposed based on an objective evaluation of Sen and his position,

## Stream to which Sen Belongs

At present, Amartya Sen is very much projected as a humanist quite often asking for a democratic government that is honest and sensitive to the needs of its citizens. However, this characterisation of Sen is at variance with much of his creative works that appeared in the sixties. During this period when Keynesian economics had the top - most priority both at academic and policy circles, Sen could be seen placing himself in the discredited neoclassical tradition and it was this that prompted him to dissociate from eminent leftist economists like Joan Robinson. Even after the collapse of Keynesianism in the early seventies, Sen continued to be on the pay-rolls of Harvard, the biggest privately funded imperialist institution considered to be the harbinger of today's monetarist or globalisation policies. During this period, compared with die-hard monetarists, being a shrewd and far-sighted economist, Sen stood

for the provision of substantial social services to the poor. At the same time, as a neoclassical economist firmly rooted in mainstream academic economic theory, he was very much concerned to make capitalism work better. Therefore, he urged that the rich can continue to prosper only so long as the poor are entitled to a certain amount of social services. That is, for a "sustainable prosperity of the rich", according to him, a minimum amount of food, health, and education is indispensable. Indeed, in a world where reckless and unfettered freedom to speculative capital and total abolition of all welfare benefits hitherto available to common people are the officially accepted programme, Sen's position certainly provides ample scope to be interpreted as humane and even radical. But an overview of his perspectives on markets and globalisation is more than enough still to arrive at an objective assessment of Sen and his true mission.

### Globalisation as the only Alternative

Among the Harvard think-tanks, Sen has been, and is, one of the staunchest protagonists of globalisation, free trade and market mechanism everywhere. For instance, in the context of the inauguration of the new wave of monetarist policies in India at the behest of Fund-Bank combine in the early nineties, it was Sen along with Jagadish Bhagwati, a die-hard monetarist who came forward unconditionally supporting Manmohanomics. In fact, his much trumpeted advocacy of the need for 'social safety net' in the case of India came only later. It appeared in an explicit form only in one of his most recent work entitled "India: Development and Social Opportunity" co-authored with Jean Dreze. But even here, Amartya Sen, 'the prophet of the poor' subtly remarks: "The expansion of markets is among the instruments that can help promote human capabilities and, given the imperative need for a rapid elimination of the endemic deprivation in India, it would be irresponsible to ignore that opportunity". Since everybody knows the true essence of this "opportunity" from the past few years of experience, no elaboration of it is needed here. Of course, Professor Sen is very consistent in this regard. For instance, on October 15, at a news conference following the announcement of Swedish Academy he again said: "I take the view that globalisation is ultimately a major force for good, and indeed if adequately backed by national policies it can be a major force of pros-

perity in the world". No doubt, at a time when the entire Afro-Asian-Latin American economies are crumbling down one by one due to this 'globalisation', Sen's priorities are his commitment to imperialists. In this context his latest assessment of the Indian situation is very revealing. In an interview broadcast on the Hindi Service Voice of America on October 22, he even went to the extent of saying that globalisation had made it possible "the elimination of poverty in India within reach". In fact, this statement is more frightening than the allround economic retardation and social upheavals that the country and its people are experiencing today. And this so called apostle of humanism and welfarism is highly intolerant to those who criticize globalisation too. In the aforesaid interview, according to Sen, those who oppose the new economic policies are mere "dogmatists". He says: "What is required is the acknowledgement of the seriousness of these issues rather than getting bogged down in some kind of dogmatic debate about whether you rely on 100 percent on market mechanism or reject it 100 percent." Appealing for a "non-dogmatic" and "open-minded" approach to globalisation, Sen concluded his interview thus: "So reforms were a move in the right direction but not an adequately complete move in that direction". Here both Amartya Sen, 'the prophet of the poor' and the die-hard monetarists who demand a further opening up of the economy to imperialist capital are having the same viewpoint in their thoughts.

### Anti-Communism, the Hallmark

Quite often, Sen's much trumpeted analysis of poverty and famine tends to shield the very forces and processes that create poverty and famines in poor countries. It is now a universally accepted fact that famine in the modern era is the direct outcome of imperialist economic policies both in the colonial and neo-colonial period. Food policy has been one of the most powerful weapons in imperialism's global plunder. For instance, the Bengal famine of 1943 to which Sen himself was a witness had been the direct outcome of British colonial policy. The famines of Ethiopia, Somalia, Sahel, etc are the direct offshoot of the neocolonial agribusiness operations of MNCs led by US imperialism. Instead of identifying this historically valid and objective truth, through his highly technical and empirical analysis of famines Sen

was always trying to whitewash the real culprit that is imperialism and deviating world people's wrath against the common enemy. At present, a number of imperialist institutions and globally funded NGO theoreticians are doing the same task. Quite often, even well-meaning people are attracted and led astray by Sen's apparently philosophical and prophetic questions like 'What causes starvation in general which shows itself in extreme form during famines?' But his cryptic answer to this question is much revealing. For, after an elaborate study of modern famines in various countries such as China, Ethiopia, Sahel, etc. Sen makes the conclusion: "There has never been a famine in a democratic country". The clue is obvious. That is, famines in these countries are due to the lack of an American model democracy there!

This anti-communist orientation of this Harvard expert's famine studies is most conspicuous in his analysis of Chinese famines. It is common knowledge that pre-revolutionary China had been the poorest country with the largest number of hungry people in the world. (It was for unravelling this Chinese reality in her novel 'Good Earth' that Pearl S. Buck got Nobel Prize in literature) Obviously, Chinese food position at the time of completing the revolution in 1949 was much worse than that of contemporary India. However, in spite of imperialist encirclement and isolation, within a span of three decades China transformed itself into a stage where it could produce two-and-a-half times more foodgrains than India could produce. In addition to this, to feed the most populous country in the world, Peoples' China had to resort to annual import of about 20 million tonnes of food grains too. Thus, in spite of heavy odds including frequent natural calamities that created acute food shortages (whose consequences would have been much severe had the Chinese state during this period been just like a comprador one as in India) in the initial years of socialist construction, the People's Republic of China under Mao Tse Tung did succeed in meeting the basic food needs of Chinese People. On the contrary, almost half of the Indian population is still underfed and undernourished. To be precise, while Chinese food availability increased as part of the socialist construction occurring there, Sen's 'democratic India's' food situation was worsening during this period. In this context, rather than making an objective evaluation of the food problems confronting China in the fifties and sixties from a historical

perspective, Sen approached the whole issue with ideological bias and prejudices. Compared with this he has been very much soft to the policy failures of Indian rulers. In fact, Sen's studies on Chinese famines are oriented in such a manner that they can be used as powerful ideological weapons in the hands of imperialist think-tanks in their anti-communist global battle. For instance, his statement that in China during the Great Leap Forward over 25 million people died of starvation is a highly exaggerated figure which thrilled Sen's imperialist friends very much.

However, Sen made a somersault after the death of Mao Tse Tung and became the staunch exponent of what is called a 'Chinese model'. As the Dengist clique in collaboration with imperialist forces could undo whatever gains made under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung within a short span of time, this apparent transformation of Sen is quite consistent with his ideological predilections. In fact, the so-called 'Chinese model' that Sen often eulogises along with 'Kerala model' (during the late 70s and throughout the 80s together with World Bank Sen did much to popularise and advocate the Kerala model as a 'third world development path' at a global level) occupies a prominent place in his writings only as a corollary of the concept of 'socialist market economy' put forward by Deng since the eighties. While unemployment under Mao had been an exception, under Deng's 'socialist market economy' 25 crores of Chinese people (almost equal to the population of USA) are now unemployed! Sen in his Chinese studies while vehemently criticizes Mao's economic policies, keeps silence on the gruesome socio-economic scenario in today's China very revealingly. Probably, this may be the reason why the studies of Sen which are selected by the Nobel Committee belong to the period 1960s and 70s. To be precise, unlike projected by some so-called Marxist theoreticians, Amartya Sen is not in the company of Marxists but that of "market socialists."

### Imparting Human Face to Globalisation

As humankind is confronting an unprecedented global political-economic crisis, unable even to give an academic explanation to this crisis, mainstream economic theory has already become quite irrelevant. As the productive base  
(Contd P. 17)

Following demolition of Babari Masjid on 6 December 1992 ghastly communal riots broke out in Mumbai claiming thousands of lives and massive destruction of property. Justice Sreekrishna Commission was appointed to enquire into it. But in 1996 the BJP-Shiv Sena government which came to power in Maharashtra wound up the Commission. Under increasing public pressure the 13 day BJP government at centre in 1996 was forced to order restoration of the Commission.

Though the final report was submitted by the Commission in February 1998 the BJP - SS government refused to publish it as it condemns the *Hindutavadi* forces for the communal massacre. Once again it was following public pressure the government tabled it in the state assembly. But it rejected the findings of the Commission contemptuously on flimsy grounds. This communal decision was endorsed by the BJP led government at centre also. In this way the central and state governments are conspiring to shield those who have perpetrated the worst communal riots in Mumbai.

In this situation the struggle to expose the criminal Hindutavadis to punish the heinous elements responsible for the riots, and to bring justice to those who suffered and are suffering due to the riots, like the struggle to expose and punish those responsible for demolition of Babri Masjid has to be fought in the streets, among the people.

In order to help this struggle on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the demolition of Babri Masjid and Mumbai riots and massacres we are publishing the Chapter I 'Preliminary' of the Report. Remaining parts will be published in following issues-RS.

# Sreekrishna Commission Report

## Chapter 1

### PRELIMINARY

1.1 For five days in December 1992 (6th to 10th December 1992) and fifteen days in January 1993 (6th to 20th January 1993), Bombay, *prima urbs* of this country, was rocked by riots and violence unprecedented in magnitude and ferocity, as though the forces of Satan were let loose, destroying all human values and civilized behaviour. Neighbour killed neighbour; houses were ransacked, looted and burned, all in the name of religion, as if to vindicate painfully the cynical observation of Karl Marx. "Religion is the opium of the people." Those fateful fifteen days saw the people on the streets opiated beyond the call of right and wrong. The bloodshed persuaded the Government of Maharashtra, at the instance of the then Prime Minister Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, to constitute a Judicial Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the gruesome incidents of riots and violence.

1.2 By a Notification Home Department No. FIR- 5693/Bombay-1./Appointment/SPL-2 dated 25th January 1993, the Government of Maharashtra constituted this commission of Inquiry with the following Terms of Reference:-

(i) the circumstances, events and immediate causes of the incidents which occurred in the Bombay Police Commissionerate area in December 1992 on or after the 6th December 1992; and, again in January 1993, on or after the 6th January 1993;

(ii) whether any individual or group of individuals or any other organisation, were responsible for such events and circumstances;

(iii) the adequacy or otherwise of the precautionary and preventive measures, taken by the Police preceding the aforesaid incidents;

(iv) whether the steps taken by the Police in controlling the riots were adequate and proper and whether the police firing resulting in deaths was justified or not; and

(v) the measures, long and short term, which are required to be taken by the administration to avoid recurrence of such incidents, to secure communal harmony and also to suggest improvements in law and order machinery.

1.3 After the Commission's office and establishment had been set up, public notices were issued on 15th February 1993 calling upon all

persons having knowledge about facts touching the Terms of Reference to come forth and file affidavits before the Commission. The Commission also called upon the Government and the Police to file detailed affidavits putting forth their respective versions. Though, initially, the time given was upto 22nd March 1993, the time came to be extended, in response to applications for extension of time made by several prominent citizens, the State Government and the Police from time to time, upto 7th June 1993. 2126 affidavits were filed before the Commission, of which 02 were by Government, 549 by the Police and 1575 by members of public.

1.4 Recording of evidence commenced on 29th June 1993. As virtually the entire area falling within the Bombay Police Commissionerate had been affected by the incident of riots and violence, the Commission decided to examine the incidents Police Stationwise, that too taking up for examination twenty-six police stations where large number of serious incidents had occurred. Evidence was recorded from day to day, excepting for short periods of recess requested by the Police on the grounds of unusual bandobust and security arrangements:-

1.5 Congress-I was the party in power in the State when the Notification appointing the Commission was issued, but went out of power in the Assembly elections of 1995. The coalition Government of Shiv Sena-Bharatiya Janata Party was installed by or about 15th March 1995. Consistent with its public utterances, the Shiv Sena-Bharatiya Janata Party Government desired the Commission to go into certain aspects of the Serial Bomb Blasts which occurred on 12th March 1993 in the city of Bombay. The Terms of Reference were expanded and the following additional terms were referred to the Commission:-

(vi) the circumstances and the immediate cause of the incidents commonly known as the serial bomb-blasts of the 12th March 1993, which occurred in the Bombay Police Commissionerate area;

(vii) whether the incidents referred to in term (i), have any common link with the incidents referred to in term (vi) above; and

(viii) whether the incidents referred to in term (i) and in term (vi) were part of a common design.

1.6 By a Notification Home Department No. FIR-5696/Mumbai-1/Appointment/JC dated 23rd January 1996, the Commission was disbanded on the ground that it had taken unduly long time to produce its report and that its report, even if produced, was only likely to open old wounds which had healed. As could have been expected, there was a backlash of media and public protests. A group of Writ Petitions were moved before the Bombay High Court challenging the Government's action of disbanding the Commission. By the time the Writ Petitions were heard and about to be decided, the Government at the centre changed and Bharatiya Janata Party led coalition assumed power for about two weeks. During those two weeks, the then Prime Minister, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, addressed a letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Manohar Joshi, advising him to revive the Commission and the Commission was reconstituted by the Notification Home Department No. FIR-5696/Mumbai-1/Appointment/JC dated 28th May 1996.

1.7 Time was spent from 28th May 1996 to 24th June 1996 in debating and deciding the scope of the added Terms of Reference. By public notice dated 26th June 1995 the Commission called upon all persons having knowledge of the facts and circumstances pertaining to the added Terms of Reference to file affidavits. In response to the public notice, nine affidavits were filed, of which one was from the Government six from the Police and two from a private citizen.

1.8 The work of recording of evidence was resumed from 24th June 1996, continued and came to an end on 4th July 1997, during the course of which the Commission has recorded the evidence of 502 witnesses, whose depositions run into 9655 pages and also took on record 2903 documents as Exhibits (about 15,000 pages) and 536 orders were passed.

1.9 Statements of Case were filed by (1) Lawyers' Collective, (2) Committee for Protection of Democratic Rights (CPDR), (3) Bombay Bar Association, (4) Communist Party of India (CPI), (5) Jamlet-E-Ulema, (6) Bharatiya Janata Party, (7) Shiv Sena, (8) Indian Human Muslim League, (9) All India Milli Council and (10) Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha. Most of the parties were represented by Counsel who actively participated in the proceedings. The able assistance of all Counsel, including those for the Commi-



ssion rendered invaluable help to the Commission in deciding several contentious issues of law and the conduct of the proceedings before it.

1.10 Since proceedings before it are not adversary proceedings, and considering the enormous amount of time already spent, the Commission called upon the parties before it to file Written Submissions, if any, briefly highlighting their respective stands and their conclusions with regard to the evidence recorded by the Commission.

1.11 Lawyers' Legal Aid Committee and All India Milli Council, Jamiet-E-Ulema, Bharatiya Janata Party and Shiv Sena have filed their Written Submissions which have been taken on record and considered by the Commission in making this Report.

1.12 For the sake of brevity and easy readability the Commission has given its conclusions in this Volume and discussed the evidential nuances in the Second Volume of the Report.

1.13 Communal riots, the bane of this country, are like incurable epileptic seizures, whose symptoms, though dormant over a period of time, manifest themselves over and over again. Measures of various kinds suggested from time to time dealt with symptoms and acted as palliatives without effecting a permanent cure of the malaise. This Commission is aware that there are several maladies, which may have no permanent cure, but yet with effective treatment, can be contained within manageable limits. In the view of this Commission, till there is a radical change in social outlook, achieved only by total revamping of social values and widespread education, communal riots must be treated, perhaps, as an incurable disease whose prognosis calls for suitable measures to contain its evil effects. This Commission has no magical nostrum or panacea to offer, but only age old wisdom conditioned by newer experiences.

1.14 The Commission by an order dated 13th September 1993 appointed a Committee of Expert Assessors from the Tata Institute of Social Services under the Chairmanship of Dr. R. K. Hebsur, Professor, Social Sciences, and Head, Department of Research Methodology, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Deonar, Bombay 400088, comprising Dr. Jacob A. Alkara, Professor, Sociology of Education and Head, Unit for

Sociology of Education, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Deonar, Bombay 400088 and Dr. Chandan Sengupta, Reader, Unit for Urban Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Deonar, Bombay 400088 and Mr. S. Siva Raju, Demographer, to study the political, socioeconomic, demographic and other factors contributing to the riots. The Committee of Assessors have made a report [Exhibit 2680 (C)] which is elucidating and enlightening and improved the overall perception of the Commission.

1.15 The Commission also appointed a Committee of Assessors by an order dated 24th June 1993 comprising Mr. K. F. Rustamji, I. P. S. (Retd.), (Former Director General of Police, B. S. F.), Mr. K. P. Medhekar, I. P. S. (Retd.), (Former Director General of Police, Maharashtra State), Mr. D. S. Soman, I. P. S. (Retd.), (Former Director General of Police, Maharashtra State), and Mr. D. Ramchandran, I. P. S. (Retd.), (Former Additional Director General of Police, Maharashtra State) who were called upon to study the policing system in the city and make suitable suggestions to improve its efficacy. By a report dated 23rd June, 1994, this Committee has also made valuable suggestions which have been considered by the Commission.

1.16 Apart from the witnesses examined before it and the reports of the Experts, the Commission has also gathered material inputs from a vast body of literature on the subject.

## 2. The build - up

2.1 The sense of camaraderie, which existed between the Hindus and the Muslims when they were united in their efforts to throw the British out of this country, appeared to have vaporized and vanished with the "two Nation theory" advocated by Mohammed Ali Jinnah spawning the political perfidy of partition of the country and leading to the massacre of thousands of innocent citizens on both sides of the border, uprooting and utter ruin of innocent families whose only mistake was that they happened to reside in an area predominantly occupied by the other community. With attainment of free dom and adoption of the Indian Constitution with its inbuilt guaranteed fundamental rights of minorities, apprehensions entertained by the minorities should have subsided. However, it was soon realized that the apprehensions were merely driven deeper into the psyche, to fester there and manifest themselves at periodic inter-

vals. Creation of Special Rights in favour of the minority, though intended for allaying their fears, brought in its wake a resentment against the minorities on the part of the majority i.e. the Hindus. An atmosphere of distrust, and a feeling of "us" and "them" which existed, albeit nebulously, soon after the partition, became thickened by opportunistic politics. Piffling issues become insuperable when the mind is biased and absent the will to reconcillate. Right through the Forties, a section of Hindus started the clamour for "liberation" of several mosques, which according to them, were temples oppressively converted into mosques during Muslim reign. The Government at the Centre, instead of addressing itself to an acceptable resolution of the issue, dragged its feet, perhaps with the fond hope that the problem would soon disappear if swept under the carpet.

2.2 Time and again, the Hindutvawadis (as the Hindu communal parties are popularly called) raised a shrill cry for construction of a temple at Ayodhya at the very place where the Babri Masjid stood, claiming that it was the hallowed place where Lord Shri Ram, the embodiment of all that is Indian, was born. This was, of course, stoutly resisted by the Muslims who refused to give up even an inch.

2.3 The issue became contentious and landed itself in the lap of Courts. Thanks to the inevitable judicial delays, the issue smoldered in Courts, till the Nineties when the Bharatiya Janata Party revived it to regain lost political mileage. The Rath Yatra of Shri L. K. Advani, leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party, refocused attention on the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute. The inevitable clashes and minor cases of rioting, which took place along the route of the Rath Yatra, as reported by the newspapers, where the distant thunderclaps portending the storm to come,

2.4 From Or about July 1992, the Bharatiya Janata Party orchestrated its campaign for construction of a temple at Ayodhya by holding Ram Paduka processions, Chowk Sabhas and Meetings using these occasions for delivering speeches exhorting the Hindus to become united on the issue. Not only were these occasions used for exhorting Hindus to unite, but some speeches and slogans on such occasions were down right communal, warning the Muslims that dissent on the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute would be an act of treachery for which

the Muslims would be banished from the country. Slogans like "Mandir Vahi Banayenge" and "Is Desh me tahana hoga to Vande Mataram kahana hoga" rent the air. Though ostensibly religious, the Ram Paduka procession had less of religion and more of politics. Under the attractive garb of advocating one's own religion, the Hindutvawadis politicized the issue and tried to preempt the issue pending in the Court of law, by their strident clamour for construction of Lord Shri Ram's temple at Ayodhya.

2.5 The vacillating attitude of the Central Government emboldened the sudden installation of the idols of Ram Lalla in the disputed structure and spawned the demand for permission to carry out pooja therein. The Babri Masjid, a dilapidated structure, which perhaps was not even used as a Mosque, suddenly became a rallying point for the Muslims. Vocal sections amongst the Muslims formed the Babri Masjid Protection Committee, which called upon the Government of India to ensure that no harm would befall the Babri Masjid. Hindu religious passions were whipped up by the demand for permission to hold Karseva at the disputed spot. The first Karseva was sometime in 1991 and, barring minor incidents of rioting and police firing, there was not much serious trouble. "Though, Hindutvawadis kept up sustained propaganda that the waters of Sarayu had turned crimson with the blood of innocent martyrs shot down by the police, the issue cooled off. The waning influence of the Congress (I) and the waxing popularity of the Bharatiya Janata Party aspiring to capture power at the Centre led to the declaration of a second Karseva on 6th December 1992.

2.6 The period from October 1992 to November 1992 saw hectic preparations on the part of the Bharatiya Janata Party, and its allied parties like V. H. P., Bajrang Dal and R. S. S., for the Karseva scheduled on 6th December 1992. The strident clamour of the Hindutvawadis for construction of a temple at the disputed site grew louder every day; so did the resistance of the Muslims who were bent upon opposing the Hindus on any further concessions in the matter of using the disputed structure. Meetings, processions, placards, pamphlets issued on both sides, each fielding its most eloquent speaker to exhort the public that its point of view was right. Speaker after speaker thundered forth at the meetings about the disastrous consequences that would ensue if the Babri Masjid  
(Contd. P. 15)

# THE COMING CRISIS

We are already in the middle of a general crisis of the capitalist-imperialist system. It is estimated that in terms of both financial and real economic variables, the deflationary pressures are stronger today compared to any time since the Great Depression. Or, this new edition of Great Depression is much more serious. This fact is accepted by the propagandists of the imperialist system also. To face this crisis efforts are being made for new reforms, new adjustments also. In the name of *welfare economics* a new mixture of monetarism with neo-Keynesianism is also put forward.

While the ruling system is engaged in attempts to get over this crisis, the task before the proletarian revolutionary forces is to find ways and means to topple this system and to lead the world towards a socialist alternative.

In order to overthrow this system it is necessary that the proletarian revolutionary forces should know the magnitude and character of the present general crisis. To help this study we intend to publish a series of articles. Contributions and comments are invited. To start the search for understanding this crisis we are reproducing the following article of Jayati Ghosh from *Frontline*, dated 6 November. It gives a comparatively good description of the present crisis, though we do not agree with her suggestions for the solution to this crisis—RS.

Many years ago, the economist Charles Kindleberger had identified the pattern of a financial crisis in his classic work, *Manias, Panics and Crashes*. The crisis is the last phase of a cycle which begins with an initial boom. The upswing usually starts with some change, such as new markets, new technologies or political transformations. It proceeds via credit expansion, rising prices, particularly of assets, and euphoria.

Overtrading and then speculative mania emerge, "as a larger and larger group of people seeks to become rich without a real understanding of the processes involved." Ultimately, the markets cease rising and, as a consequence, some highly borrowed players find themselves overstretched.

This is the "distress" stage. Distress generates other failures, including some unexpected ones, and this is followed by a stage of "revelation" or "discredit." This final phase is a self-feeding panic, involving a downward free fall.

But then financial markets are notoriously prone to cycles; asset markets have always tended to go boom and bust. This in itself does not necessarily make for major real economic depression unless there are other deflationary forces operating, or unless the effects of the financial failures on the real economy are not counterbalanced by increased spending in some other way. Kindleberger recognised that major economic depressions do not result from credit cycles in themselves, but from a complex interplay of real and financial factors that reinforce each other. The central message of Keynes was that such a downward spiral can be broken by public action. The central message of Kindleberger's work is that in a global economy, such public action depends upon institutional arrangements, power configurations and division of national responsibilities which cannot be taken for granted to exist.

This is because deflationary tendencies have a tendency to be transmitted across countries, through trade flows of course, but even more significantly through the movements of private capital. In the Inter-War period which gave rise to the Great Depression, the fears of capital flight and inflation prevented governments from engaging in expansionary fiscal and monetary strategies which could have warded off the crisis. As Kindleberger pointed out, this could happen because in that period there was no clear leader in the capitalist world ready to take on both the power and responsibilities associated with leadership.

Such a leader has to operate at both the financial and real levels to prevent economic collapse. In terms of finance, there are three priorities: first, to prevent failures of highly leveraged speculative investors from generating systemic financial collapse; second, to meet the flight of capital from emerging markets with the provision of liquidity to countries in trouble; third, to respond to any contraction of credit do-

mentally with determined monetary loosening. These correspond to the usual lender of last resort functions. In addition, the leader must also operate on the real economy, to ensure a continued expansion of demand and economic activity. This means running large trade deficits, and ensuring continued and expanding markets for the exports of countries facing economic difficulties. These have been described as the duties of the buyer of last resort, and they are as necessary for stable international capitalism.

It is fairly obvious that the world economy today is desperately in need of such a world leader, in terms of both buyer and lender of last resort. The current deflationary pressures—in terms of both financial and real economic variables—are stronger today than they have been at any time since the Great Depression. A snapshot view of the world economy today reveals a picture of stagnation and decline that would have been simply unbelievable even two years ago.

Thus, most of the Asian region—including the most dynamic economies of the previous decade—is already in the midst of a substantial economic depression. For the crisis-ridden countries of East and South-East Asia, gross domestic product (GDP) forecasts for the current year range from declines of 6 per cent in South Korea to around 10 per cent in Thailand to as much as 20 per cent in Indonesia. Even China has not been immune, despite its attempts to shore up domestic demand, and growth forecasts there have had to be cut. Meanwhile in Japan, continued attempts at fiscal expansion and monetary relaxation have come to naught, as the infection from the East Asian depression refuses to go away.

In Europe also, the situation is bleak. The Russian economy is on the verge of complete collapse, and national income is expected to fall again for the ninth consecutive year, resulting in the sharpest economic decline in modern history, with output around half of the level of a decade ago.

Even formerly socialist countries which have supposedly "recovered" have barely managed to limp back to national income levels of the pre-transition period. In western Europe, output slowdown and high rates of unemployment persist despite all the hype surrounding the for-

mation of the European Union's single market, and notwithstanding the hopes generated by the future potential of the euro as one of the world's major currencies. In Africa, already one of the poorest regions in the world, per capita incomes have been falling in most countries for nearly three decades now and there are no signs of a reversal of this disastrous trend.

Latin America was being hailed by market analysts as a region that was finally coming out of its own crises induced by excesses of external debt and private capital inflow. Earlier this year it even seemed as if Latin America would emerge relatively unscathed from the financial crises besetting Asia and Russia. But the pressures stemming from lower commodity prices and instability on the international markets have begun to tell in the past two months.

In the wake of the Russian debt default and devaluation, the continent has been buffeted by a wave of speculative pressure. Stock markets have plunged, currencies have come under pressure and bond yields have risen to their highest levels since the Mexican "Tequila" crisis of 1995. Once again, the most vulnerable economies are those of Brazil and Mexico. Indeed, Brazil is currently a focal point of the crisis raging through world financial markets. If Brazil goes, it will drag much of Latin America down with it. The impact of this on the U.S. economy and financial markets would be considerable. Some observers have argued that a serious crisis in Brazil would be the proximate catalyst that could push the already slowing world economy into recession.

All this year, the U.S. economy seemed to be the great survivor, even the beneficiary, of the gloom and doom in other markets. The flight to U.S. assets from other financial markets in decline led to the equity boom which has in turn led a U.S. consumer boom, driving personal savings rates in the U.S. close to zero, and creating all the features of an asset price-led bubble feeding into real economy expansion. Less than a year ago, Alan Greenspan, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve, said it was possible that the Asian crisis would have a "salutary" effect on the U.S. economy. His argument was that the damping effect would slow the U.S. economy just enough to restrain inflationary pressures, but not by so much as to prompt a recession.

Even Greenspan's tune has changed by now. In September he admitted that "It is just not credible that the U. S. economy can remain an oasis of prosperity unaffected by a world that is experiencing greatly increased stress." In the past month U. S. equity prices have stumbled badly as fears mount that the wider depression is coming home to America. There are at least three reasons for these fears, which override the effects of the continued consumer boom in the U. S.

First, the global financial crisis is expected to bite harder. The increase in the U. S. trade deficit in the first half of the year is likely to be the harbinger of more bad news. The Asian region has turned down further since then and the crisis has spread to Russia, among other countries. It also looks like causing mayhem in Latin America, which is even more important for the U. S. Second, U. S. companies seem increasingly vulnerable to deflation. Many are being squeezed between a near inability to raise prices because of weakness in international markets and rising costs at home. The resulting crunch on corporate profits is likely to trim investment, which has been a big contributor to U. S. growth in the past few years, and to weaken the already nervous financial markets. Third, the stock market retreat in recent months is likely to reduce domestic demand. Since no one really knows the extent to which the movement of the market has affected consumer confidence and spending in the U. S., it is also difficult to judge the impact of the retreat, but the direction is inevitably negative in terms of spending and economic activity.

This explains the gloomy nature of the current forecasts of world output growth. Mainstream private forecasters like J. P. Morgan have predicted U. S. economic growth at a miserable 0.1 per cent next year. Growth in all emerging economies together, including those that have escaped contagion, is forecast to be only 1.3 per cent. Quite optimistically, J. P. Morgan forecasts Japanese growth at 0.7 per cent and that of the European Union at 1.7 per cent. But for the world as a whole, all this means growth of only 0.9 per cent. It should be noted that all of these forecasts—of the International Monetary Fund, of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development and of private forecasters—are being continuously revised downwards, which is another classic indicator of recession.

If history is any guide, the need for a leader to pull the capitalist system out of this slump is obvious. It is also clear that the IMF is too misguided in its policy responses and too small in terms of its resources to play the role of lender of last resort. Indeed, the Bretton Woods institutions have earned such a bad name in the current crisis that even London's *The Financial Times* now refers to them as "the gruesome two-osome." But in any case, the amount of resources required to prevent international financial debacle is certainly beyond their capacity.

Similarly, the world desperately needs a major buyer of last resort. If the casualties of the financial meltdown in Asia, the teetering economies of Latin America, the oppressed primary exporters of Africa, and the devastated regions of the former Soviet Union are to recover, they must find markets for their goods in the West. Thus the developed capitalist countries must increase their imports from such regions dramatically in order to avoid a more generalised slump. Big trade deficits in the most prosperous nations are an essential part of a resolution of the present crisis.

So far, however, the U. S. seems unwilling to take on the duties and responsibilities associated with leading world capitalism, and the response of most European leaders has been similarly unimaginative. It almost seems as if the world economy is condemned to a repetition of the widely read history of an earlier depression. Of course, that particular depression did also mark the first systematic attempts at industrialisation in a range of underdeveloped countries across three continents. Could the coming depression provide another such chance?

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## On Dr. Amartya Sen and Nobel Prize

"In any case the Nobel Committee has enhanced the prestige of the prize by giving it to people like him" (ie Sen). This is what is written by Sitaram Yechury, CPI (M)'s politbureau member about Amartya Sen getting the prize (Sunday 25-31 Oct.). As a leader of a social democratic party Yechury has expressed himself well. After all the social democrats are dominating the Nobel Committee, and it is always serving the capitalist-imperialist system well by honoring those whose names can be used well for its interests. So one should not be surprised if Surjeets and Yechuris laud Sen to the skies for his *welfare economics* which is nothing but classical capitalist economics.

Then there are so-called progressive columnists like Praful Bidwai. He is finding it difficult to search-out appropriate words to sufficiently appreciate and eulogise Sen. See what he writes: "Amartya Sen is the economists' economist, the philosophers' philosopher. More, he is a public intellectual who brings morality into public policy discourse.... The honouring of Amartya Sen is a vindication of the humanist-radical-secular project." He goes on to add that "the award also signifies the discrediting of the neo-liberal economic paradigm" whereas Amartya Sen is only presenting a new mixture of Keynesian and monetarist policies which is useful to the imperialist camp today for overcoming the crisis to the liberalisation-globalisation scheme experienced everywhere. When Bidwai gives the certificate that "Sen is a staunch defender of human rights" (*Frontline*, 6 November) he is consciously concealing that Sen is only a defender of human rights under capitalist patronage.

But however hard these social democrats and columnists try, they cannot cover up the real class character of the Nobel Committee and that of Sen. These talks about welfare economics under capitalist economy are themselves absurd. We are witnessing what three centuries of uninterrupted capitalism could create in US. For details one can refer to human rights records in US written by Bidwai himself in the same issue of *Frontline*.

To understand about Nobel Committee please remember that last year two fairly nondescript economic statisticians engaged in so-called miracle of derivative economics as applied to stock markets were chosen for Nobel prize in economics. They were closely associated with the financial firm, Long Term Capital Management,

which collapsed leading to the loss of the life-savings of hundreds of thousands of American households. This collapse necessitated a \$ 3.6 billion bail out. When Robert Merton and Myron Scholes were elected for Nobel prize the general crisis of IMF-WB package had not reached present stage. Imperialist ideologues were optimistic of neo-liberal or monetarist wonders. Today the picture has changed. Not only the *Asian Tigers* even Japanese economy is in shambles. Stagflation is reaching unprecedented levels. That is why somebody who can say that the biggest failure in India is social inequality and still opt for capitalism which intensifies this inequality is elected this year for the prize. Those who praise Sen to the skies for achieving this prize do not care to note that Sen is a defender of the liberalisation-globalisation scheme which is ruining the country. When he does so he does not take into consideration the capitalist-landlord character of the Indian state within which this scheme is implemented, or the consequences of this scheme in the numerous countries where it is already implemented. His is only a prescription for the imperialist system to adjust fast to cover up its general crisis.

What is being done while debating the virtues of Nobel prize for Sen is to conceal the fundamental contradiction between the capitalist imperialist system and the socialist system. Sen like many others like him are of the 'end of history' school, who does not see any possibility outside the existing social system. They do not even mention the possibility of socialist alternative.

The Marxist-Leninists should not be carried away by the present one-sided debate on Sen going on. The real class orientation of Sen's economics and the reason why he is awarded this year when the neo-liberal or monetarist schemes are facing acute crisis should be correctly understood.

The Nobel prize to Sen and the propaganda value goes with it have immensely helped the imperialist system to conceal its real crisis. Rather than getting confused by it, the progressive forces should take lessons from the very speedy methods utilised by the ruling system to adjust to new conditions and to survive its general crisis again and again even when it is already in its moribund stage. In spite of all this, it will not be able to withstand if a mighty offensive is launched by the revolutionary forces with clear-cut socialist orientation. ●

(From Page 01)

was harmed, or if Karseva was stopped. Hindutvawadis roared that not permitting the construction of a temple on the sacred banks of Sarayu at Ayodhya at the spot where Lord Shri Ram was born, was a blot on the self-respect of every Hindu; Muslim leaders harangued that any concession on the issue would put Islam into "Khatra" (danger). The Hindu majority, with its new-found identity, and the Muslim minority, with its heightened sense of insecurity, flexed muscles and rattled sabres.

2.7 As preparations for Karseva at Ayodhya were in full swing, large numbers of Karsevaks were recruited all over the country, expectation being that lakhs of Karsevaks would congregate for Karseva on 6th December 1992. The Government of India held rounds of unfruitful talks with the representatives of the Babri Masjid Protection Committee and representatives of the Hindutvawadi parties. Neither side was prepared to relent. The Central Government formed a High Powered Committee consisting of the then Defence Minister, Home Secretary, and other high officials to monitor the situation at Ayodhya from day to day and to keep the Prime Minister advised. The issue of safety of the Babri Masjid became subjudice before the Supreme Court, as the Babri Masjid Protection Committee apprehended that the Bharatiya Janata Party Government in Uttar Pradesh, led by Shri Kalyan Singh, would show scant regard for its safety. The issue was also raised on the Floor of the Lok Sabha. The then Prime Minister, Shri Narsimha Rao, assured the House that the safety of the Babri Masjid, and all that it represented in a secular democratic polity like India, would be fully safeguarded. A categorical undertaking was given by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh before the Supreme Court that no harm would be allowed to befall the Babri Masjid during the Karseva. A categorical assurance to similar effect was also given in the meeting of the National Integration Council.

2.8 The Central Government deployed a large number of Para-Military forces around the Babri Masjid from or about the 1st December 1992. Though the situation was growing potentially explosive from minute to minute as lakhs of Karsevaks congregated at Ayodhya, the Central Government was lulled into a false sense of security on account of the undertakings given to the Supreme Court and its deployment of a large number of Military and Para-Military forces around the disputed structure at Ayodhya. This

was the general scenario on the fateful 6th of December 1992.

2.9 On 6th December 1992, a large number of local policemen, who ringed the Babri Masjid, were attempting to stop the surging multitude of Karsevaks from proceeding beyond the barricades built around it. Throngs of frenzied Karsevaks kept pushing against the Para-Military forces and the Constabulary. It is alleged that the District Magistrate present at the spot refused to give an order of firing to the Military and Para-Military forces and that the Constabulary declined to fire on the Karsevaks whom they considered their own brethren. Hordes of Karsevaks broke through the barricades, forcibly entered the Babri Masjid structure and succeeded in demolishing it. Foreign Television media, particularly the British Broadcasting Corporation Television (BBC T. V.), showed the footage demolition of the Babri Masjid by triumphant Karsevaks in its news bulletins hour after hour, from or about 2.30 p.m. on 6th December 1992.

### **3. Impact of the news of demolition of Babri Masjid**

3.1 The demolition of Babri Masjid appears to have caught the State administration and police machinery totally unawares. The intelligence inputs obtained by the State Government through its Intelligence Agencies and the Central Intelligence Agencies neither indicated, nor led to the assessment that there could be damage to or demolition of the Babri Masjid. All police officers, who gave evidence before the Commission, and the then Chief Minister Shri Sudhakar Rao Naik, frankly admitted that demolition of Babri Masjid was a wholly unexpected contingency. Surprisingly, most of them learnt of the happening only through Television coverage. By the time the news was officially conveyed by the Government of India's Intelligence Agency, it was too late and things had begun to roll.

3.2 Coming events cast long shadows. Scrutiny of the Log Books of wireless communication maintained by the Police Control Room fairly portends the events to follow. In the view of the Commission, these Log Books, though in illegible and, often, indecipherable handwriting, provide first hand information about events transpiring in the city during the crucial moments. Being contemporaneous documents,

their authenticity is greater than the documents which have come into existence subsequent to appointment of this Commission. Pains-taking wading through the entries in the Log Books for 6th December and 7th December 1992 gives an insight into the genesis of trouble during the crucial hours when the communal conflagration was sparked off.

#### 4. 6th December 1992

4.1 Trouble appears to be brewing in the city even before the demolition of the Babri Masjid and percolation of the news. The chronology of events on that day:—

4.2 0010 hours:—155 people gather near Ambedkar Garden at Charni Road and there is trouble near Bharat Cafe in Chembur at 0045 hours.

4.3 1134 hours:—There is trouble reported near Bombay Municipal Corporation Building Darga, Lohar Chawl, within the jurisdiction of L. T. Marg Police Station.

4.4 1100-1200 hours:—There are various meetings held by Karsevaks, activists of Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bharatiya Janata Party at different places in the city.

4.5 1233 hours:—A crowd of 300/400 holds a meeting opposite Shiv Mandir, Dadar.

4.6 1400 hours:—A crowd is reported near Elphinstone Bridge in Bhoiwada jurisdiction.

4.7 The Babri Masjid is demolished at about 1230 hours and the news of this event is widely publicized by the electronic media, particularly BBC News

4.8 1640 hours:— A cycle rally of 200/300 persons is taken out by the local leaders of Shiv-Sena in Dharavi jurisdiction. This rally passes through several communally sensitive and Muslim predominant areas in Dharavi and terminates at Kala Killa where a meeting is held and addressed by the local activists of Shiv Sena. Provocative speeches are made at this meeting.

4.9 1952 hours:— A crowd collects at Imam Wada, Bhendi Bazar in Pydhonie jurisdiction.

4.10 2033 hours:— A crowd collects at Nizam Street, Masjid Cross Lane.

4.11 2042 hours:— A crowd of 50/60 Hindu-tvawadis collects at Jijamata Lane in Byculla jurisdiction.

4.12 2110 hours:— There is stone throwing reported at Hajar Nagar, 'G' Building in Jogeshwarli jurisdiction.

4.13 2115 hours:— Trouble is reported at Kala Killa, Chembur.

4.14 2322 hours:—500 people are reported to be indulging in stone throwing near Minara Masjid in Pydhonie jurisdiction. This becomes intensive and police become the target. The police use force and disperse the crowd successfully by 2326 hours.

4.15 2334 hours:— Attempted arson by an irate mob is reported near Mandvi Telephone Exchange, Pydhonie.

4.16 2344 hours — The police report having fired only one round near Minara Masjid and that about 200 people had gathered near Mandvi Head Quarters.

4.17 2352 hours:— Stone throwing and soda-water bottles is reported in Bhendi Bazar in Pydhonie jurisdiction.

4.18 2350 hours:— Stone throwing is also reported near Momin Masjid, Mohammed Ali Road.

4.19 2355 hours:— Private firing is reported from a building in Bhendi Bazar, Dongri jurisdiction.

4.20 2358 hours:— Firing and stone throwing incidents are reported in Bhendi Bazar and Dongri jurisdictions.

4.21 The flames catch on in several parts of the city and the whole of Bombay is aflame from the next day.



## Amartya Sen: Imperialism's Human Face

(From P. 6)

of the Imperialist global economy itself is collapsing and all socio-economic problems including poverty and inequality are aggravating everywhere. Imperialist think tanks are now standing aghast before these developments. No economist, policy maker or imperialist institution has anything to offer except the already discredited monetarism to suck out whatever left in the arteries of global people. People everywhere have started realising that imperialism has become a social anachronism. It is in this context that the imperialists, who are desperately swimming in the ocean of capitalist anarchy, are trying to put on a 'human face' as a last resort to hoodwink humankind thereby diverting world people's united struggle against the capitalist-imperialist system. Various UN agencies such as the UNDP, a whole set of imperialist funded NGOs and of late even the World Bank itself have come forward espousing the need for providing a minimum of social services to the poor. This move is all the more significant for the imperialists in the background of the unprecedented backlash that is evolving against the market paradigm. The award to Sen, whose significant works rooted in market economics appeared decades back but who in recent years is much enamoured of a 'social safety net', is to be understood in this overall context of imperialism's diversionary tactics.

At the same time, a few words about the hollowness of Sen's welfarism and the pseudo nature of his appeal for a social safety net are also in order here. An integral part of globalisation or the most important conditionalities required by IMF-WB-WTO trio are the withdrawal of the state from social service sectors and the dismantling of state undertakings even in strategic sectors of the economy thereby throwing millions of workers out of work. Those who have a minimum understanding of globalisation and its essence (that is, monetarism) know very well that the so called sovereign governments in neocolonies are legally bound to implement all the anti-people and anti-national policies as required by international capital as per provisions of the recent global agreements such as related to WTO. That is, globalisation and market paradigm do not allow any scope for the implementation of a 'social safety net' in poor countries. In brief, national governments are

forbidden to enact and enforce any social welfare programme, in education or health that is beneficial to the poor. Even the existing land ceilings are being taken away leading to further landlessness among the poor and land concentration in the hands of the neo-rich (in Karnataka and U P, legislations are also being made in this regard) in accordance with the agribusiness interests of MNCs. Of course, Sen, one of the staunchest protagonists of globalisation knows these things better than anyone. However, being acclaimed as the prophet of the poor, he is engineering a biggest deception in this context. For instance, in his news conference at United Nations on October 15, he pinpointed that lack of a 'social safety net' is the principal reason for the failure of globalisation in India and Pakistan. He said: "..... Pakistan and India had neglected education, and health care and land reform in a truly regrettable way." Rather than logically pinpointing this negligence as the outcome of globalisation, by posing the issue in this manner, Sen is simply running with the rabbit and hunting with the hound. To be precise, his appeal for a social safety net is totally sham and deceptive; its true motive is to hoodwink poor people. He is simply avoiding the basic fact that it is globalisation and monetarist policies that negated even the existing social welfare programmes in world's poor countries.

Another aspect of Sen's analysis of poverty and famines and his appeal for social justice, though we have already referred to, must again be stressed here. He is much vociferous regarding the need for social justice and 'democratic spaces' within countries. He is totally and conspicuously silent on the ever-worsening international inequality in the distribution of wealth and income and the concentration of assets in the hands of a few multi-trillionaires. He who extol the virtues of political pluralism domestically, keeps mum on the most villainous imperialist atrocities committed on poor countries. At the least, Sen, the Nobel prize winning economist refuses to acknowledge the close inter-relationship between international and domestic political economic problems or the international ramifications of the latter in the globalised world.

### Balance Sheet of Sen's Economics

Amartya Sen truly belongs to the mainst-

ream of academic economic theorists who harp only on the immediate causes or mere appearances in society and ignores the objective historical forces that underlay them. The highly technical jargons or professional slangs such as "functions and capabilities", "capability deprivation", "entitlements", "empowerment" and so on that he has evolved through elaborate analytical exercises do not belong even to Keynesianism but to the tradition of neoclassical empiricism whose real aim is to camouflage the class essence of political economy. Academic economics, which has already lost its credibility on account of the lack of an acceptable theory ever since the collapse of Keynesianism in the early seventies, is now looking to Sen and his likes as an alternative in the context of an unprecedented crisis engulfing the imperialist world economy. Sen's structural and empirical analysis of famines, hunger, poverty, oppression, etc. using certain technical tools (such as the Sen Index, for instance) with the avowed objective of "entitling" or "empowering" the poor and oppressed, is a powerful stimulus and an intellectual source for imperialist think tanks and international NGOs to refine their 'alternative paradigm' of development. As we have already noted, Sen's analysis, though appear radical at the analytical level, is a deliberate attempt to negate both a historical approach in social science research and a class approach in the political sphere. His studies using academically complex tools often flavoured or mixed up with ethics and sentimentalism, in the ultimate analysis, aim at diluting grave social and economic problems as merely ethical issues there by deviating the people away from the fundamental task of a political solution. It is for perfecting this technique that Amartya Sen is awarded the Nobel prize in economics. Unlike conceived by many, it is not an aberration, but a well-thought out and consistent move.

Of course, Sen's long-term association with various international institutions such as the UNDP, UNIDO and even the World Bank including his long innings at Harvard, has very much enabled them to put on a human face over their international operations. A best example is the concept of Human Development Index (HDI) developed by the UNDP drawing intellectual resources from Sen. As a matter of fact, talks on the need for a 'human face' to globalisation as exemplified in the recent Human Development Report of UNDP, Trade and Development Report of UNCTAD, World Develop-

ment Report of World Bank and similar other publications were a prelude to the selection of Sen as the Nobel laureate by the Swedish Academy.

In the realm of economics profession in India, Sen has substantial influence. He has contributed much in maintaining several social science research institutions and universities in India as centres specialising in purely empirical studies. A number of his books [such as 'Collective Choice and Social Welfare' (1970), 'On Economic Inequality' (1973), 'Commodities and Capabilities' (1985), etc.] has become models for economics researchers in these institutions. Following the footsteps of Sen and making use of the 'econometric' tools developed by him, a lot of empirical works on various sectors of the economy are pouring in. Quite naturally, the authors of these studies are incapable of breaking their academic barrier. Now, in the context of Sen winning the top most prize in the world, such Sen-ians will get a tremendous boost, at least temporarily.

## India, dumping ground for foreign waste

From US municipal sludge to Kuwaiti rubber waste-India is not only becoming a dumping ground for all sorts of 'foreign waste', but it also pays billions of rupees for them. Shiploads of old parts, chemicals, pesticides, tyres, crashed automobiles, discarded ships, batteries, radioactive waste, ash, slag, asbestos, mercury, lead etc. are imported by scrap traders and sent to illegal backyard recycling units in spite of people's protests and Supreme Court ruling banning import of such hazardous materials. In 1997-98 1885 million tonnes of hazardous scrap costing Rs. 11 billions from the imperialist countries were imported.

Increasing dumping of these waste has led to unchecked growth of illegal backyard recycling units at numerous places. Workers are dying prematurely while the dealers are making huge profits.

## News from States

### Mini-TADA in Maharashtra

When the question of TADA detainees is still not settled, in the name of fighting increasing criminalisation the Maharashtra cabinet of Shiv Sena-BJP has decided to go for a mini-TADA, the Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime (MCOG). During the last few years, especially after SS-BJP government coming to power the criminals are having a good time. Instead of analysing why the criminal gangs and mafias are mushrooming in the state and deploying the present forces and laws to suppress them this mini-TADA is proposed as if it will do the work. In fact even when TADA was in force the crime rate in the state did not fall. So this black act is not going to control Dawood Ibrahims and Chota Rajans who are operating from headquarters in foreign countries, but will be enforced against the political opponents, TU leaderships and revolutionary forces as the cabinet decision reveals.

According to Gopinath Munde, BJP's deputy chief minister once this ordinance is issued "these will be no need for police to produce an accused before the court within 24 hours of his detention or file the charge sheet within 90 days as provided in IPC". According to the ordinance recorded telephone conversations and confessions made before senior police officials are admissible as evidence. This mini-TADA provides police sweeping powers to arrest and detain anyone as suspects. It gives powers to police to intercept any telephone call, tape conversations and present it as evidence before special courts constituted under its provisions. Once president's assent is obtained and the ordinance is issued the SS-BJP government will no doubt enforce against its political opponents intensifying their fascistisation agenda. It is the responsibility of all progressive democratic forces to fight against the introduction of this black ordinance. They should start raising voice against it.

### Romesh Sharma and his political links

At last, Romesh Sharma, the key agent of

Dawood Ibrahim in Delhi for nearly two decades was arrested by CBI. He was planning murders and identifying targets for extortion for Dawood gang. During this process he earned many hundreds of crores which he lavishly shared with the political big-wigs during these years. He had close relations with prime ministers Rajiv Gandhi, Chandrasekhar and Narasimha Rao and with top political leaders of all ruling class parties like Charan Singh, Lalloo Prasad, Devilal, Sushama Swaraj and numerous others. Like in the Jain hawala case once again all these political leaders shared the loot with Sharma.

He has excellent connections with police officers also in many states. When Dawood became angry with another underworld chieftain Babloo Srivastava who himself was powerful enough in running his business from Nainital Jail using cellphones, Sharma got him killed within the jail using UP police.

His good connections extend to IAS officers and judiciary also. The Delhi magistrate before whom he was produced has ordered that Sharma should be given all facilities including fruits, milk and mineral water plus five star provisions of accommodation. So Sharma can continue his business while enjoying all these luxuries from the jail.

These are not tales of a house of horror, but of India under Congress and BJP raj. The mafia chiefs controlling operations from foreign countries are least afraid of the political leaders, the administration and the police set-up including CBI as most of them are in their pay-rolls. Everybody knows that this reactionary state apparatus and the political leaderships running it are not going to harm them or the vast riches they have amassed. Like Babloo Srivastava, they have only the fear of rival gangs who may finish their career due to gang-warfare.

### War of Siachen

Siachen glacier is located in the Karakoram Ranges at 22,000 feet above sealevel. The temperature goes down to minus 35 degree

Celsius there. To drink water one has to break chunks of ice and heat them in a sauce-pan. Here the armies of two poorest countries in the world, India and Pakistan, have deployed around 2000 soldiers each with three or four times more as frequent replacements and to man supply lines for battling for these glaciers for the last 14 years with no end in sight. As part of Kashmir imbroglio Siachen also consumes many more human lives and many more crores every year.

From every point it is a ridiculous war including from the environmental point of view as large quantity of junks are thrown away by both armies which never rot at these temperatures. But like Kashmir, its part, Siachen, is also a sacred cow. Nobody dares to touch it including the traditional left. All are afraid whether so-called national sentiment may be hurt. So India and Pakistan will go on spending fortunes while their people starve to keep Kashmir front alive with corpses thrown around. Both will not dare to give the option to Kashmiri people to decide; whether Congress, UF or BJP rules no change in this scenario.

## Seminar on the Communist Manifesto

CPI (ML) Red Flag Orissa Committee organised a seminar on "present situation and the relevance of The Communist Manifesto" at Smriti Bhavan Town Hall, Bhadrak from 3 pm on November 15. An effective propaganda with printed posters and hand bills was carried out. Though a sudden depression and cyclonic rain from early morning created serious obstacles, there was good attendance all through with comrades from nearby districts also participating.

Com. Vinod Sahu presided. Welcoming the speakers and audience Com. Sivaram pointed out the relevance of the subject in today's context when many of those who talk about Communist Manifesto have degenerated to reformist path. Such discussions are organised to assert the revolutionary orientation of the movement and as a part of politicalisation of the masses.

Introducing the subject Com. K.N. Ramachandran explained in detail how 'The Communist Manifesto' became, and continued to stand for ideological struggle against all alien trends, and the torch-bearer of revolutionary transformation

of the society. When the globalisation under capitalist system as foreseen in CM has reached unprecedented levels and it is trying to transform the whole world in its own image intensifying the contradiction between imperialism and socialist forces to new levels, once again opportunity for advance of proletarian forces everywhere is unfolding. We have to take lessons from the past, develop politicalisation of the masses and launch a new offensive for democracy and socialism.

Dr. Birendra Naik focussed his talk on questions of globalisation and abolition of private property starting from teachings of the CM. He linked them to the question of overthrowing present social system for a Communist future.

Com. Banchanidhi Das, columnist, stated that in these days of confusion created by imperialist ideologues, the teachings of the CM is our guide. It helps us to analyse present world situation and inspires us to struggle for a socialist future. Com. Gajanand Tripathi called for united struggles to create the new world for which the CM has given the orientation.

Comrades of Viplabi Gana Sanskritik Manch presented revolutionary songs. Com. Vijay Jena, convenor Khetmulya Sanghatan expressed vote of thanks. The programme helped to give a new fillip to party building in Bhadrak district.

## UP Administration: Afraid of even a Drama

On 31st October, 1998, 'Mukti Path' (Road to Liberation), a drama, was organised by a revolutionary drama team in village Pathartali in Hardoi District of U.P. Although, it was organised with the permission of local administration, as the evening approached a heavy police contingent reached under the leadership of SDM in order to stop the performance. But, the presence of 2500 people from about 30-40 villages kept the morale high of the organisers. Even after three hours' efforts when the organisers and Red Flag comrades refused to relent, the administration was compelled to bow down and the drama continued till 06:00 am in the presence of police force.

**Karnataka:**

### **Seminar on 150th year of Communist Manifesto**

A one day seminar on the 'relevance of Communist Manifesto in the present day world' was held on november 20th at the NGO Hall in Raichur city, Karnataka as a part of the observation of the 150th year of Communist Manifesto. The seminar was organised by the committees of TUCI, RCSS and RYF of the area. Wide publicity was given to the seminar by means of hundreds of pamphlets and posters.

More than a hundred people from various walks of life attended the seminar. Com. R. Manasaiah secretary of CPI(ML) Red Flag Karnataka state committee who made the keynote address pointed out that the Communist Manifesto is very much relevant in the present day world where the forces of capital continue to exploit and oppress the working people world over with utmost brutality utilising neo-colonial methods. He analysed the present state of international communist movement and the causes behind the set back of the movement. He said that while it is important to fight against revisionism it is equally important to fight sectarianism also to uphold the true revolutionary spirit of the Communist Manifesto.

comrades V. H. Mastar, Purushothama Kalal Bandi, R. Shiva putra, Ayyappa Hugar, Basavalingappa also spoke in the seminar. The discussions and responses were of better quality and the seminar was a real success in terms of no of participants and enthusiasm created.

### **Anti-communal week being observed**

Class/Mass organisations of CPI (ML) Red Flag of Karnataka State have decided to observe "anti-communal week" from 30th November 98 to 6th December. Preparation for this 'anti-communal saptah' is being made at Raichur, Bellary, Mysore, Chikkamangalore and Bangalore districts. It is planned to hold anti-communal meetings and other programmes to make the people aware of the communal forces which demolished the Babri Masjid six years ago and try to communalise all spheres of life including education and culture. Peoples of the localities

have expressed their solidarity with the anti-communal campaign and co-operated with the comrades.

**Mumbai:**

### **Anniversary of the Manifesto observed**

CPI (ML) Red Flag observed the 150th anniversary of the publication of the manifesto by organizing a seminar on the *Relevance of the Manifesto Today* for activists of the trade union and youth on the 7th of November. Members of other Marxist-Leninist parties also participated in the seminar.

Speaking at the seminar Com. K. N. Ramachandran, secretary of the Red Flag said, "What we find in the Manifesto is the philosophy of the most advanced section of the society. Based on this philosophy we should organise the people. Until we organize the people we cannot claim to be revolutionaries." "Many disruptive thoughts have entered the working class movement which is dividing the people," he said.

Com. Uday Bhatt of the Lal Nishan Party (Marxist-Leninist) said "Marxism is a tool for organizing the people. We should use it as a tool to organize the unorganized workers whose numbers are increasing."

"Between two peaks there is the valley. Before climbing to the next peak one has to go through the valley. Just now the communist movement is in the valley. Soon we will be climbing the next peak," said Com. Pravin Nadkar of the Provincial Committee of the Janasakti (Maharashtra). "In the Manifesto Marx integrated all the struggles of the people for liberation in to class struggle," he added.

Com. Thomas Sebastian of the Red Flag said that the Imperialism is inventing newer and newer ways of survival. "That is the reason the capitalism has not broken down yet" he said It is for the Marxist-Leninists of today to understand the operations of imperialist system and oppose it.

The seminar was presided over by Com. Sanjay Singhvi of CPI (ML) Red Flag.

**Kerala:**

## **TUCI March against anti worker policies of BJP Govt:**

Hundreds of workers marched to the Raj Bhavan of Kerala at Thiruvananthapuram to register their protest against the anti worker policies of the BJP led central Govt. On 28th of November under the leadership of TUCI, The state wide propaganda march from Kasargod to Thiruvananthapuram led by Com: K. K. Mamoo, state president of TUCI had concluded on 27th. The march had passed through all the 14 dist-

tricts of the state and main industrial centres. The main slogans against the anti-national economic policies of the BJP govt. and against the move to privatise public sector units attracted thousands of workers and people.

The RajBhavan March on 28th November was inaugurated by Com: P. C. Unnichekkann, state secretary of CPI (ML) Red Flag and led by comrades K. K. Mamoo, Charles George, M. K. Thankappan, K. M. Salim Kumar, K. I. Joseph, K. Sivaraman and others. The march was blocked by a heavy police force posted near the Raj Bhavan and the march was turned into a public meeting. Leaders of TUCI and other class/mass organisations spoke in the meeting.



## **AILRC demands judicial enquiry into the killings of com: Varghese and Vijayan**

[The Executive Committee of AILRC (All India League for Revolutionary Culture) met in Calcutta on 20th of November 1998 adopted the following resolution unanimously alongwith others and the full text of the resolution is reproduced here.]

The revelation made by certain former police personnel in Kerala about the cold-blooded murder of renowned revolutionary Com: Varghese in Wynadu in February 1970, dubbed by the state and the police at that time as encounter killing, only confirm the apprehensions rightly held by the revolutionary movement and the public at large since that time. Close on its heels came the confession of a retired police driver regarding the murder and disposal of the dead body of Com: Vijayan of Varkala during emergency which again corroborated the speculations in the public minds contrary to the police version about it as 'ran missling case'.

The details of the brutal torture to which Com: Varghese was subjected before he was shot dead point blank had seeped out of police secrecy at the time of its occurrence and remain afresh in the memory of people all over India even after a lapse of 28 years. During the period

in every state of India thousands were tortured to death by police in the name of encounter killings and many a case was gone unreported or unrecorded despite hue and cry from public and human rights activists. Now that at least in two more cases the facts have come out in the form of confessions from the part of culprits themselves, The state and the police stand unmasked and defenceless which give an edge to the people's rights to know

The episode seems an indicator to the fact that time will corroborate the truth, held by the people, however firmly it is suppressed by the state and its brutal machinery.

The first response to the developments from the 'left front' and its political leadership in Kerala was to rule out any enquiry into the killings of revolutionaries they being Naxalites and the events being time-worn. Demands from the people have compelled them to shift their stand.

We demand the Govt. of Kerala to order a judicial enquiry into the killings of Com: Varghese and Com: Vijayan in the context of the public confession from the part of the ex-police personnel and bring out the full facts and book all those responsible. We call upon all the democratic and progressive forces to rally behind the demand which will serve a deterrent against the police killings rampant all over India now.

## Once again on inter-group killings

*The Statesman* of 20th November (Calcutta) has published a news item that cadres of MCC beheaded a CPI (ML) People's War activist near Gargoma village in Palamau district, Bihar two days earlier. The attackers left handbills containing the hitlist of rival organisation also at the scene of this murder.

Some months back when this type of inter-group killings were taking place in Bihar we had strongly condemned it, as we used to do earlier also. We had demanded that such killings should be stopped forthwith if the organisations involved have any sincerity towards the advancement of people's revolution in this country. Following this MCC had sent us a very long explanation justifying their stand with many details. We did not find this sectarian justification deserved to be published as it only repeatedly stressed its right to defend its area of influence. We wrote back stating that this type of explanation will only further aggravate the group rivalries. We had stressed in our note that all those organisations and forces who are considering themselves as part of the revolutionary movement should wage ideological-political struggles in a healthy manner, stop all forms of armed confrontations, and forge at least slogan-based unity for joint actions against the Indian state. We repeat our appeal to CPI (ML) PW, CPI (ML) Party Unity and MCC to join the slogan based activities already initiated by the six organisations.

The present antagonistic relations between MCC and CPI (ML) PW show that the merger of PU in CPI (ML) PW has only aggravated the situation. Big-brotherly or 'let the guns speak for themselves' policies are not going to put an end to it. What those organisations who are indulging in these inter-group killings should realise is that by these actions they are making the whole revolutionary movement a subject of ridicule before the people.

These are days when the reactionary Indian state is intensifying state terror leading to criminalisation in all fields. On economic, political, social and cultural fields the ruling classes have mounted more fierce attacks on people. Imperialist agencies are dominating everywhere. In continuation to these the ruling class parties of all brands are promoting 'Ranbeer Sena' like

forces to attack and kill the toiling masses and those who are raising their voices for the people. Instead of forging the maximum possible unity, or at least issue based or slogan based unity against these forces and unitedly fighting against them, if the forces calling themselves revolutionary are killing each other, it cannot be even called a tragedy as these already repeated many times. They are nothing but comical forces which have nothing to do with democratic revolution in any way.

These killings have another dimension also. Presently our country is in the grip of a fascistisation process unleashed by the Sangh Parivar forces in continuation to the state - terroristic and fascist Congress rule of more than four decades. It is threatening even the existing democratic rights enjoyed by the people. Besides we are reading reports of how the democratic rights are taken away and state is becoming autocratic in the bourgeois democratic countries also. Further *Taliban* in Afghanistan and similar forces are enforcing their brutish domination through Islamic fundamentalistic or other laws. In short, with the setback suffered by the international Communist movement even the bourgeois-democratic values are being overthrown and around fascistisation is taking place everywhere. In this period if organisations calling themselves communist also resort to primitive methods of punishments or annihilations even in handling contradictions among themselves or among the people, they are not going to help the Communist movement in any way.

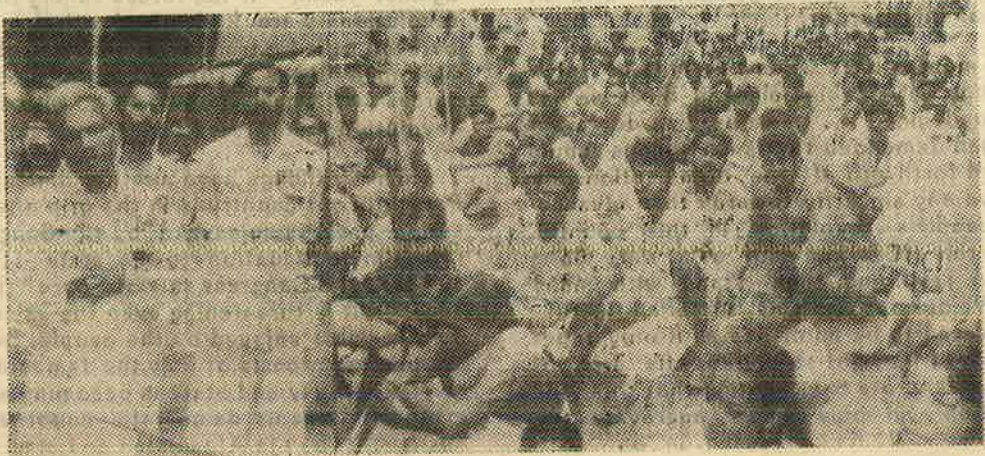
Marxist - Leninists have seen bourgeois democracy as a definite stage of development in human history. Their criticism is that it is democracy for the minority against the majority even when it talks about democracy for all. In that sense it serves dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Contrary to it Communists struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat which is democracy of the vast majority to be further developed in to democracy for all. In countries like India we have to establish people's democracy with the successful completion of New Democratic Revolution to be developed to dictatorship of the proletariat, another stage of development in the democratic process. It is now generally accepted that one of the main reasons for the degeneration of the socialist countries is that the demo-

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A scene from Raj Bhavan march at Thiruvananthapuram under the leadership of TUCI to register their protest against the anti worker policies of the BJP led central Govt.

(From P. 23)

cratisation process did not go ahead among the people, sufficiently politicalising them and making them conscious and capable to defend the socialist gains. In short, people's democracy should not be a going back from bourgeois democracy, but a qualitative development of it, connected with the seizure of political power by the people's forces.

But the sectarian influence has blinded many of the organisations from recognising these principles. The struggle for socialism is inseparable from the struggle for democracy. There should be democratic struggle to establish one's ideological-political line and struggle for democratisation in all fields.

Beheading of activists of other groups or similar actions in the name of defending one's freedom or areas of influence when the ruling classes are intensifying allround attacks on the people is ridiculous and deserves to be condemned in the most severe terms.

## Obituary.

### In Memory of Comrade Ramu

Comrade Ramu of village-Mataria, Tehsil-Hasanganj, District-Unnao (UP) died of a chronic disease on 20th October, 1998 at the age of 35. He remained resolutely attached to the ML movement from its very beginning in this area. During all activities, everyone used to be impressed to see his dutyfulness and hardworking culture which was really exemplary. Even in the event of his ailing body he continued to serve the movement. His untimely death has caused a great loss to our organisation. With the resolve to seek inspiration from his spirit of dedication to the cause of revolution, we pay him Red Salute!

UP Leading Committee  
CPI (ML) Red Flag

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