

# RED STAR

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- From Dalitism to Idealism
  - Not Independence,  
But 50 Years of Neocolonisation
  - Combat Pragmatism,  
Intensify Ideological Struggle
  - Proletarians Are Revolutionary Optimists
  - Problems Concerning Rebuilding of  
The Communist Movement in India
  - Struggle For Protection of  
Statutory Rationing Getting Intensified
  - Attappadi Tribals Rally With Revolutionaries  
to Question Police Atrocities
-

# 25th anniversary of martyrdom of CharuMajumdar

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of martyrdom Com. Charu Majumdar on July 28 thousands of people from various districts of Karnataka marched through the streets of Mysore in a militant demonstration condemning the ruling system which murdered Charu Majumdar along with tens of thousands of Communist Revolutionaries, calling for the overthrow of the ruling system, and for the realisation of a New Democratic India. Central Committee and State Committee leaders of CPI (ML) Red Flag addressed the rally organised by the revolutionary class/mass organisation at the culmination of a month long statewide campaign.

CPI (ML) Red Flag had called for observing the 25th anniversary of Com. CM's martyrdom all over India from May 25, Naxalbari Day to July 28, the All India Martyrs Day, the day on which Com. CM became a martyr 25 years ago in Lal Bazar police headquarter of Calcutta under severe police questioning and denial of treatment inspite of he being a heart patient and in spite of his deteriorating condition. The Indira Gandhi government at centre and Sidhartha Shankar Ray govt in W. Bengal thought that they can wipe out the revolutionary challenge by murdering CM. But it was proved an illusion. 25 years later under a united committee of different organisations led by Com. Souren Bose once again Com. CM was remembered all over W. Bengal. Starting with a massive programme at Siliguri on May 25, on July 16 the day on which CM was arrested 25 years ago thousands of revolutionaries and democrats marched to Writers Building, Calcutta, to demand the implementation of the 20 year old assurance of LF government that murder of CM, Saroj Dutta and thousands of other revolutionaries will be enquired in to and action taken against the culprits. Numerous programmes were organised by this joint committee at different places in W. Bengal.

On July 12 a hall meeting was organised to expose the 50 years of neocolonisation and to explain the relevance of Naxalbari path put forward by CM. Comrades Souren Bose and K. N. Ramachandran addressed it. On July 13 a well attended meeting was organised at JNU city centre, New Delhi at the culmination of a month long propaganda. Here also comrades Souren

Bose and K. N. Ramachandran explained the historic significance of Naxalbari and contributions of CM. They called for rectification of the sectarian errors and to carry forward the struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism and its lackeys for realising the dreams of the martyr comrades.

On July 25 the Martyrs Day Observation Committee of Jamshedpur, which observes the martyrdom of comrades who sacrificed their lives in Hazaribagh jail break incident every year, observed this years martyrdom day as a special occasion to remember Com. CM and other comrades who laid down their lives along with Hazaribagh comrades for the liberation of India. In a well attended meeting leading comrades of different organisations including C P I (M L) Red Flag highlighted the significance of Naxalbari and com. CM's contributions which led to a break with revisionism of all brands. They called for continuing the struggle to liberate India from the rule of imperialists and their lackeys.

Statewide programmes were organised in Kerala to observe the 25th anniversary of CM's martyrdom. In Maharashtra and other states also campaigns and hall meetings were organised. In all these programmes the ideological political line put forward by the Fourth Conference of CPI (ML) Red Flag was explained as the continuation of the Naxalbari line in the concrete conditions of India today. This two month long campaign has created a new enthusiasm among the revolutionary forces.

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## EDITORIAL

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

For months the central and state governments and the propagandists of the ruling classes are engaged in preparations for launching year-long celebrations from this August 15 to propagate their gains during the 50 years of so-called independence. All the political parties ranging from Congress to B J P to U F parties including the Left Front parties are competing with each other to establish that the 1947 transfer of power was real independence for the people, that the country gained much during these five decades under them, and that the future path cannot be anything else but this. While Congress, claiming the credit for leading the independence struggle and for most of the gains during these years, is making loud voices even in its present degenerated condition, the B J P has already launched and completed a 'Rathayatra' led by Advani to hail the independence in its own Hindutua style. With some criticisms to hoodwink people the L F parties along with other ruling class representatives are also engaged in these celebrations.

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

The other trend was led by the comprador classes and their political representatives who were manoeuvring with the colonial rulers for an

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

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

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

## From dalitism to idealism

Once M. K. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan* "Hate the system, not the criminals". A recent editorial in *People's Resistance*, the organ of AIPRF titled "Hang the system, not the criminals" in spite of the editorial's revolutionary looking phrase mongering, strikes one with the basic similarity of the two positions.

The central argument of this editorial is that in spite of the demand by democratic movement the government is not recommending the commutation of death sentence imposed on two youths Chalapathi Rao and Vijaya Vardhan Rao to life imprisonment because they happen to be dalits. It is "the Hindu Brahmanical order which functions in the name of modern Indian State" which did not provide them employment and forced them to burn a passenger bus in order to rob it in which 23 passengers were killed, according to it. Drawing parallels it ex-

by the ruling classes as the great gain of 50 years.

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

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

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

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

lains that while Bhumaiah and Kista Goud were hanged Nagbhusan Patnaik was given commutation as he is "educationally and socially well placed". Thus the Indian state while ruthlessly treat the dalits, nationalities and minorities, is lenient to others.

Of course, we are against capital punishment as such and strongly stand for repealing it. As a part of democratic movement we have firmly held this position and feel that a socialist state should not have it.

But the arguments put forward by *People's Resistance* in the name of defending the commutation of the capital punishment of these two youths are self defeating. It looks strange when it defends the killing of activists of other groups just for violating "its" area by the groups it defends. The way the burning of the bus is explained looks similar to the way once the burning of Kakathya Express bogie was justified

Worse than this is the way class struggle is counterposed with dalit, nationality, minority questions. It conveniently forgets it is not these distinctions but the forces who struggle for social revolution who are the worst enemies of this state whether they are dalits or non-dalits. That is why it murdered Charu Majumdar, Saroj Dutta and many many thousands of revolutionaries without bothering about their caste or religion or nationality. It is because of their class outlook the enemy classes do not bother about elevating members of dalits, minorities or different nationalities to highest positions. To argue that only dalits, minorities, nationality fighters are killed is a travesty of facts and smells the worst form of 'dalitism' like ideologies peddled by NGOs/VOs and other imperialist ideologues.

One should also not forget that these ideologues in the name of opposing 'Brahmanical order' are welcoming GATT/WTO and liberalisation. From finding friends in George Fernandez and Swamy Agnivesh, the forces behind AIPRF have embraced worst form of 'dalitism' which is nothing but an enemy ideology to divert the oppressed sections from the path of class war to annihilate the existing anti - people system. It is a stand which negates proletarian class

—K. N. Ramachandran

# Not Independence, But 50 Years of Neocolonisation

The central and state governments are celebrating the 50th anniversary of 'independence' with great fanfare. The ruling class ideologues and spokespersons of the government are propagating, that this 'independence' during last five decades have brought about immense progress to the country. Though the degeneration of Congress and intensifying crisis within the ruling class politics have subdued the intensity of this propaganda a little, all the parties in power, the bureaucracy and the comprador intellectuals are trying their level best to glorify the 50 years of the Indian state which is led by comprador bourgeois, bureaucratic bourgeois, big landlord classes, and is serving the global imperialist system.

The anti-colonial struggle had no doubt aroused many expectations among the Indian people as a whole. Especially from the beginning of this century when the organised working class, the peasantry and other toiling masses started participating, the anti-colonial struggle got strengthened both in its spread and depth. Revolutionary intellectuals, youth and students challenged the colonial rule. All these revolutionary classes and sections aspired for a democratic and secular India and struggled for it making immense sacrifices

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stand and all basic tenets of Marxist ideology.

Theoretically, for defending this 'dalitist' position which no way helps the oppressed dalits who are overwhelmingly agricultural labourers and poor peasants, the editorial gives a new theory on contradiction. It says "This is, in fact, a space of contradiction in our society where the exploited kill and get killed among themselves. We can create a new society devoid of capital punishment only by *ultimately resolving this contradiction*". No overthrow of imperialism and feudalism required, only the exploited (should stop to) kill and get killed! This is idealism and reformism pure and simple. No wonder the editorial writer repeated what Gandhi said with minor variation.

But the comprador bourgeois and feudal classes had other ideas. They wanted a transfer of power to their hands in order to establish their hegemony for fattening themselves while serving imperialist interests. In the main the Congress and Muslim League represented their interests. As the CPI leadership failed to put national democratic tasks in the forefront and to establish proletarian leadership in the anti-colonial struggle challenging the agenda of these reactionary classes, the colonialists could easily transfer power to the comprador classes, dividing the country on communal lines. What happened in the name of the transfer of power was the continuation of the colonial state under comprador classes in new form. Independence in essence was merely formal.

Today what is propagated in the name of the history of the independence struggle is only the history of the manoeuvres and bargains by the political representatives of the comprador classes and the pressure tactics they utilised for better bargaining with the colonial masters. The real history of the anti-colonial struggle is the history of the numerous struggles waged by various sections of people from the time colonialists set their feet in India. These struggles went on intensifying reaching a peak in the 1940s threatening to overthrow the colonial ruling system. Many many thousands of people became martyrs. This glorious heritage is pushed aside and the canards of the compradors are propagated as history by the ruling classes.

If the role of the comprador, big landlord classes during the period of anti-colonial struggle was, in the main, bargaining with the colonial masters for a transfer of power in to their hands, it coincided with the post-World War II policies of the imperialist forces under US imperialist leadership. During this period for coping with the intensifying challenges posed by the forces of national liberation and democratic revolution led by the proletarian forces, and as an updating and universalisation of the hegem-

onic policies pursued hitherto by US imperialism in Latin America and elsewhere, the imperialist camp resorted to neocolonialism and started replacing the direct colonial rule with it. To facilitate this necessary economic, political and military instruments were also built up.

What happened in colonies like india through the transfer of power to the comprador classes was nothing but a transformation from colonial phase to neocolonial phase under formal independence. It is this fact which is consistently covered up by the propagandists of the ruling classes.

This neocolonisation took place in various countries at varying paces and forms according to the historical development and concrete conditions of each country. In India in the initial two decades it was very much invisible. The alliance built up by the Indian ruling classes with the bureaucratic bourgeois classes who had usurped power in Soviet Union and East European countries, the reformist policies pursued, the democratic rights granted and the welfare measures granted by them under pressure of people's struggles, the development of a large public sector infrastructure, the existence of strong anti-imperialist consciousness among the people etc. were factors which had either concealed or slowed down the neocolonisation process here. But from the 1970s, as imperialist system started facing increasing general crisis once again, to tide over it the neocolonisation process was intensified at global level alongwith applying more and more monetarist policies abandoning even the earlier welfare policies. As a part of this imperialist offensive India also was drawn more and more into the vortex of market laws and market forces under Imperialist hegemony. What was invisible started becoming more and more visible thereafter. With this process of transforming to a full-fledged neocolony also started. Under the celebrations organised in the name of 50 years of independence, the comprador classes and their propagandists are trying to conceal this fact, just like their vulgarisation of the history of the anti-colonial struggles.

Today, 50 years after transfer of power India stands exposed as a neocolony. In new forms imperialist forces led by US imperialism have established their hegemony in all walks of life. In the economic sphere the industrial, agricultural and service sectors are linked to global market system controlled by imperialist

forces Dictates of IMF, World Bank and WTO are followed with increasing momentum. Through disinvestment all public sector units (PSUs) are privatised and MNCs are provided facilities to reach commanding heights. In the political field including in all sections of state machinery including military imperialists have started exerting pressure. In the cultural field it is an all out aggression by imperialist agencies. In the social field, all old social forces are transformed and utilised to serve the neocolonisation. Nobody can close their eyes towards these reactionary trends dominating all fields at all levels around us.

Today, both for making the people conscious of the consequences of this neocolonisation and for mobilising all patriotic forces to overthrow this rule of imperialism and its lackeys, the Communist Revolutionaries have to take up the challenge of exposing and combating the reactionary propaganda offensive unleashed in the name of celebrating the 50 years of the so-called independence by the ruling classes. The class character of Indian state has to be thoroughly exposed. The role of the leaderships of Congress and B J P, the main ruling class parties today, that of the U F parties including the so-called Left Front parties, and that of forces like B S P in serving the neocolonisation process have to be exposed before the people. Through this process more and more patriotic, democratic, progressive forces should be won over to the side of democratic revolution. Side by side this revolutionary propaganda campaign should be utilised to unite all CR forces for accelerating the reorganisation of the Communist forces in to the real vanguard of the Indian proletariat capable of unleashing countrywide struggles to overthrow the reactionary Indian state.

It is with this objective C R C of C P I (ML) Red Flag has decided to mobilise all forces under its leadership for a countrywide campaign from this 15 August to 15 August 1998 with the following slogans:

Patriots Unite, Fight Against Neocolonial Slavery,

Fulfill Dreams of Martyrs of Anti-Colonial Struggles,

Overthrow the Rule of imperialists and Their Lackeys.

This period should be utilised to analyse the neocolonisation process that has taken place and the changes it has brought about; to exp-

(Contd. P. 15)

K. N. Ramachandran

# Combat Pragmatism; Intensify Ideological Struggle

**T**he Communist Revolutionaries are observing the 30th anniversary of Naxalbari struggle and 25th anniversary of the martyrdom of com. Charu Majumdar, organising rallies, meetings, political campaigns and spreading their influence to more areas. Even periodicals have published many special reports and articles; a few TV programmes also appeared. In spite of heinous propaganda and state repression the revolutionary movement could not be suppressed. It is still a living force. This interest shown by the monopoly media about the movement is an admission of this fact.

But in these articles and programmes, the media which are always serving the ruling class interests, are utilising their professional skills to create and spread their own image of the revolutionary movement. Or, they are trying indirectly to channel the movement under its own prescriptions. They are at their professional best in executing this act. Even a cursory glance through the material published or shown shall prove this.

According to the bourgeois media Naxalbari means violence. For them C P I, C P I (M) and Naxalites are all Communists, like the present Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean and Cuban leaderships are Communists. The only difference is while C P I and C P I (M) are constitutional, parliamentary or peaceful Communists, the Naxalites are violent ones. Violence or nonviolence, or the form of struggle, is the only difference among them, the ruling class media repeat. Through persistent and professional approach they have succeeded to a certain extent in influencing even some of the revolutionary forces with this malicious propaganda. These sections have also started thinking that everything violent is revolutionary. In the background of the powerful sway of sectarianism of the late 1960s under Lin Piaoist, Che Gueverist or Marighellian influence over the movement leading to the acceptance of guerilla struggle as the only form of struggle, the comprador ideologues know well

that through persistence they can effectively spread the falsehood that Naxalbari means violence and violence alone. In this way they define Naxalites as only those who are indulging in violent actions.

The Communist Revolutionaries should not be carried away by this bourgeois propaganda. As far as violence is concerned, in the *Communist Manifesto* itself Marx and Engels have stated that the Communists "declare that their ends can be attained only by the forceful overthrow of all existing social conditions." Marxist teachers have repeatedly explained and the hitherto revolutions have proved that only by forceful overthrow of existing exploitative system socialist transformation can be initiated. But violence or armed struggle is only a means to overthrow the existing system, which is now armed head to foot and which resorts to armed suppression and state terror even against the most peaceful of the people's agitations. As Marxist teachers repeated it is this concrete condition which necessitates resorting to arms as the means to overthrow the ruling system in present concrete situation.

But it will be a criminal vulgarisation if a revolution is just reduced to resorting to violence alone. Just like class struggle is distorted to economic determinism, the bourgeois propagandists reduce democratic or socialist revolutions under Communist leadership also to mere violence. It is in this same way they vulgarise Naxalbari as mere violence, and Naxalites as those who commit violent actions alone. Through this they try to destroy the historic significance of Naxalbari struggle, and depict Naxalites as terrorists or at the most as militants. It is the responsibility of the Communist Revolutionaries to expose this heinous propaganda and restate the historic significance of the Naxalbari struggle.

As an armed movement Telangana was a thousand times bigger and powerful than Naxalbari. But the significance of Naxalbari is that it symbolised the great struggle against Krush-

chevite revisionism which was engaged in liquidating the International Communist movement, It provoked and encouraged mighty struggles in the fields of ideology, political economy and culture, and it brought back democratic revolution once again in to the immediate agenda of Indian people.

At the realm of ideology, It called for upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guiding ideology. It challenged the Krushchevite class collaborationist world outlook. It tried to take lessons from the Cultural Revolution led by Mao which was an attempt to continue class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat in a socialist society. It tried to assimilate the importance of the struggle between capitalist imperialist system and socialist forces.

In the fields of politics and economics it characterised India as a neocolony, though the then understanding was very limited, and it could not differentiate this understanding from the characterisation of Indian society as semi-colonial, semi-feudal. It correctly analysed the Indian bourgeoisie as comprador in character, and explained the stage of revolution as democratic with agrarian revolution as its main content. Even when its concept of anti-feudal struggle was one-sided and aided emergence of sectarian mistakes, alongwith the understanding of agrarian struggle it encouraged a lively discussion on the mode of production in India. In short, Naxalbari encouraged countrywide theoretical studies and debates.

In the social and cultural fields it challenged decadent value systems. It became the fountain head to new social and cultural offensives. In the field of art and literature it provoked daring new initiatives. In short, Naxalbari gave the clarion call for "dare to think, and dare to struggle." Once these great aspects are delinked, Naxalbari will be shorn of its historic significance.

Even three decades later, even after repeated, allround attacks by the enemy classes, if Naxalbari still inspires millions from the new generations it is because of its fight against the decadent value systems, its daring to look ahead, and its call for a New Democratic India.

That is why the enemy is bent upon delinking these great lessons of Naxalbari from the Naxalite movement; it is doing everything possible to depict Naxalbari as just violence. The Communist Revolutionaries should recognise the subtle way in which enemy is trying to und-

ermine the movement through this.

The capitalist imperialist system and its agents everywhere have found out that the best way to destroy the revolutionary movement is to disarm it ideologically, to reduce it to a pragmatist movement.

That is why, in this period of setbacks the Communist Revolutionaries should try to arm themselves ideologically, to develop their Marxist-Leninist understanding, and apply it in the concrete analysis of the present situation. Instead, reducing all discussions to whether one organisation is practicing armed action or not, or to a particular form of struggle alone, shall reduce the whole movement to a new form of reductionism.

In this, we should draw lessons from the Vietnamese revolution. After Chinese Revolution it was the greatest struggle against US imperialism and the comprador regime it was propping up. In its intensity it even surpassed the Chinese revolutionary struggles many times. But under Soviet revisionist influence it abandoned the importance of ideological struggle against erroneous lines, and reduced all efforts to somehow achieving victory. Of course, it could win victory, but it could not advance along the socialist path, and it is now reduced to a neocolony with imperialist capital and MNCs entering every field of activity.

Today the international scene as a whole, and all countries including India are undergoing big changes. The contradiction between imperialism and socialism is getting manifested now in a new world situation where imperialist capital and MNCs are imposing neocolonisation with all intensity. It calls for developing philosophical and ideological approach, developing the strategic line, and evolving new tactics to combat the imperialist forces and their compradors. Instead of this, if the revolutionary forces are glorifying themselves with their very limited gains in some practical field or in some limited areas, they will get themselves reduced to pragmatism soon, especially in the atmosphere of cultural aggression unleashed by imperialism. In this way, they will be refusing to take lessons from what happened to the former socialist countries, and former powerful Communist parties.

So while observing 30th anniversary of Naxalbari, following its great tradition, Communist Revolutionaries should give paramount importance to developing the ideological political line in the concrete conditions of today. ●



This article published in September 3, 1976 issue of Beijing (then Peking) Review explains some of the important issues debated during the last days of Mao in the struggle against both right and left opportunism within CPC. Among the revolutionary ranks those who still uphold Dengist market economy, or those oppose Dengists but uphold counter revolutionary Three World Theory, or those who discard the last phase of Mao's struggle denouncing it as that of 'Gang of Fours' are in effect surrendering to right opportunist trend in the CPC then represented by Deng-Hua group. This article reflect the intensity of the then ideological struggle. We have much to learn from this ideological struggle in our present fight against both right opportunism and sectarianism—RS

## Proletarians Are Revolutionary Optimists

The struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts has smashed the criminal plot of Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. This is another great victory we have won in combating the bourgeoisie in the Party after the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao were shattered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In spite of the fact that our struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party will be protracted and tortuous and that there is the danger of capitalist restoration in the entire historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie is doomed to fail and the proletariat is bound to win. There is no doubt whatsoever about this general trend of historical development.

### Revolution Will Triumph Over Reaction

The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the Party and the existence of contradictions and struggles inside the Party are objective realities. Everything develops through the struggles of its internal contradictions. The Party is no exception. As Engels pointed out long ago: "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles". "And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable

struggle has broken out." (*Frederick Engels' Letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882.*) Speaking of the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party, Chairman Mao has stressed: "Without struggle, there is no progress". "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?" The capitalist-roaders in the Party, such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping, represent in a concentrated way the interests of the new and old bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; they are the main force endangering the Party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our struggle against them is a concentrated expression of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in the period of socialism, and will decide the destiny and future of our country. If the capitalist-roaders' plot to usurp Party leadership and seize state power is not exposed and smashed in good time, there will be a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat; and if their revisionist line is not criticized, the gains of the revolution achieved by the proletariat both in the superstructure and in the economic base will be lost. It is quite clear that it won't do without struggle. Only when we fully realize the danger of capitalist restoration by the bourgeoisie in the Party and consciously wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it, can we effectively consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and enable the cause of socialism to advance steadily. Denying or evading the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to be weary or afraid of waging struggles against the bourgeoisie in the Party—this is not the attitude Marxists should take.

The proletarians are revolutionary optimists; they are fully confident of victory in the struggle

against the bourgeoisie in the Party. "The supersession of the old by the new is general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe". (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*). Newborn things are bound to triumph over the decadent and revolution is bound to triumph over reaction. The bourgeoisie in the Party, just as the bourgeoisie as a whole, represents the decadent relations of production and is a declining reactionary force. The fact that the bourgeoisie has moved its headquarters into the Communist Party is not an indication of its strength. It only shows that the bourgeoisie outside the Party, after our repeated struggles against it, has become so notorious that it is difficult for it to hoist its own banner and concentrate its forces for an open, all-round trial of strength with the proletariat. Though the bourgeoisie inside the Party still possesses a certain amount of reactionary potentiality and counter-revolutionary destructive force, its perverse acts only reflect the death-bed struggles of the overthrown reactionary classes. Like all reactionaries in history, the bourgeoisie in the Party is also a paper tiger and is nothing to be afraid of. It goes against the trend of history and "clings to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system". This determines that it will be crushed to pieces by the wheel of history. The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. No matter how the chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping wailed in desperation and frantically attacked and smeared the excellent revolutionary situation, the Chinese people will not waver in their iron will or lose their confidence of victory in taking the socialist road and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### Source of Strength

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing". (*On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*). To have faith in the Party and the masses is our inexhaustible source of strength in defeating the bourgeoisie in the Party.

Our Party is a political party of the proletariat founded and fostered by our great leader Chairman Mao. The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the Party will in no way change the

nature of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat, nor will it in the slightest obscure our Party's radiance. On the contrary, the fact that our Party dares to openly acknowledge the existence of the bourgeoisie in the Party and expose it shows precisely that our Party is strong and powerful. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything". Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line holds the dominant position in our Party and is striking a deeper root in the hearts of the people with each passing day. This is the basic guarantee for our Party to vanquish the bourgeoisie in the Party. Our Party has become purer, stronger and more vigorous in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which exposed, and criticized the representatives of the bourgeoisie, such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, and the renegades and secret agents under their protection. Our Party has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both at home and abroad and has in particular drawn historical lessons from the fact that the Soviet Union has turned revisionist; our Party has also accumulated rich experience in its protracted struggles against opportunism and revisionism. This is an important condition for our Party to defeat the bourgeoisie in the Party. In the past 55 years our Party has been advancing in the great storms of the struggles between the two classes and the two lines. The chieftains of opportunist and revisionist lines have come forward one after another to split our Party from within, but they have all failed. On the contrary, through the elimination of these "worms" inside the revolutionary ranks, our Party has become more solidly united round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao in its triumphant advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Historical experience has convinced us: "This Party of ours has a bright future".

The masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants are the main force in vanquishing the bourgeoisie in the Party. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution." "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who fell themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. That's why they want

revolution". The "big wigs" of the bourgeoisie in the Party like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping made use of the power in their hands to work for restoration and retrogression and to oppose revolution. Since they offended the majority, they were inevitably opposed and spurned by the masses of the people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has fully demonstrated the great might of the masses in combating the bourgeoisie in the Party. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping were haughty for some time. But they were overthrown one by one when the masses rose against them. By reading and studying conscientiously and having a good grasp of Marxism and by taking part in the great struggle of combating and preventing revisionism, hundreds of millions of people have enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and raised their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. No matter how the bourgeoisie in the Party changes its tactics and no matter what conspiracies and intrigues it resorts to, we are fully confident that it will be exposed, opposed and criticized by the revolutionary people who have a high level of political consciousness. In the current great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, large numbers of ordinary workers, peasants, P. L. A. fighters, students and cadres at the grass-roots level were the first to step forward to resist and repudiate the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link", concocted by Teng Hsiao-ping, and they have become courageous fighters in the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line. This is indeed inspiring. History has proved and will continue to prove that in the great struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, there is bound to emerge from among the masses large numbers of outstanding people who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and tens of millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause will be trained; they will carry through to the end the great cause initiated by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries.

### Thoroughgoing Materialists Are Fearless

"The future is bright; the road is tortuous." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Chungking Negotiations*). The revolutionary optimism of the proletariat differs from blind optimism in that we understand the dialectics of historical development.

Blind optimists fail to see or cannot see clearly the law governing class struggle in socialist society. They are susceptible to a slackening of vigilance and are easily beguiled by the theory of the dying out of class struggle or they become pessimistic and despondent when the revolution comes up against difficulties. We should not only see the bright future of the revolution and have full confidence in victory, but also see the twists and turns on the road of revolution so that we will enhance our revolutionary fighting will and be prepared to strive for the bright future consciously and with indomitable fortitude. The declining classes are like a giant tree which has lost its life and is rotten to its foundation. However, they will not retreat from the stage of history of their own accord but will carry on a death-bed struggle to protect their lives with every possible means. An old system will be buried only after many reverses for a fairly long historical period. In the past, the replacement of an old system by a new and the triumph of a rising class over a decadent and declining class invariably took place after a long and tortuous struggle. In China; the revolution in which the slave system was replaced by the feudal system—from 594 B. C. when the State of Lu started to levy taxes on private land in accordance with the acreage under cultivation\* to 221 B. C. when Chin Shih Huang unified China—took more than 370 years which were replete with struggles between progress and retrogression and between revolution and restoration. After the rising landlord class seized the political power of the country, these struggles continued for many more years. The bourgeois revolutions in Britain, France and United States lasted 48, 86 and nearly 100 years respectively, and the struggles were full of twists and turns. This is the case with the revolutions in the past in which one exploiting system replaced another. The proletarian revolution which aims at completely eliminating the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and all exploiting systems will of course take much longer time and will go through many more twists and turns and reverses.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Great disorder across the land leads to great order."

\* This is a great change when slave society was replaced by feudal society. The land of a state under the slave system was previously owned entirely by the royal families. Since 594 B. C., taxes were levied on the private land owned by the rising feudal landlords, thereby recognizing the private ownership of land.

And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out". So long as there are still classes and class struggle and bourgeois right at home and imperialism and social-imperialism abroad, it is inevitable that "the capitalist - roaders are still on the capitalist road." The collapse of one or two chieftains of the revisionist line does not mean the complete destruction of the bourgeoisie in the Party or of the bourgeoisie as a whole. They will never take their defeat lying down, but are bound to rally their counter-revolutionary forces, change their counter-revolutionary tactics and continue to have a trial of strength with the proletariat. Class struggle and the struggle between the two lines are independent of man's will. How can we cherish the illusion that the class enemies will change their reactionary class nature, that the monsters and demons will not jump out themselves, and that the old and new bourgeoisie will stop plotting and sabotaging? How can we harbour the illusion that after several struggles the entire bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party will be thoroughly vanquished, and that all the trash left over from the old society will be swept into the dust-bin? The fact that class struggles and struggles between the two lines are carried out repeatedly is something completely conforming to the law governing it; we should not feel surprised, still less should we feel annoyed. Chairman Mao has said: "Swimming in rivers with counter currents builds up will-power and courage." To the masses of cadres and people who persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, reverses and zigzags in revolutionary struggles will build up their will-power, stimulate their enthusiasm, enhance their talents and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

In the last analysis, it is a question of world outlook whether or not one takes a revolutionary optimistic attitude towards actual struggles and the future of the revolution. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the ideological foundation of revolutionary optimism, while idealism and metaphysics are the root cause of pessimistic views as far as the theory of knowledge is concerned. Some good-hearted comrades among us always have the illusion that the revolutionary ranks should be absolutely pure and the revolutionary road should be absolutely straight. So when they meet with twists and turns, they become depressed and

fail to see the bright future. When analysing the situation of the revolutionary struggle, more often than not they overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people and arrive at unrealistic estimate of class forces. The reason for this is that in looking at a question their way of thinking, is to a great extent subjective, superficial and one-sided; they cannot distinguish the essence from the appearance and the main aspect from the secondary aspect of things. So, when they analyse class struggle and the future of social development, they are easily influenced by pessimistic ideas spread by the bourgeoisie. We must also take a revolutionary optimistic attitude towards natural disasters and displaying the spirit of revolutionary heroism, fearing neither natural disasters nor earthquakes. "Men will conquer nature", this is a great truth. "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless". (Mao Tsetung *Speech at the Chinese Communist party's National Conference on propaganda Work*). To be proletarian revolutionary optimists, we must be thoroughgoing materialists. Therefore, we must diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take an active part in the fiery mass struggles, draw rich political nourishment from them, earnestly remould our world outlook and frequently rid ourselves of the influence of idealistic and metaphysical ideas. Only thus can we heighten our revolutionary spirit, strengthen our confidence in victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party and become vanguard fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(Translation of an article in the 'Hongqi', No. 8, 1976.)

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## Problems Concerning Rebuilding of The Communist Movement In India

Problems concerning rebuilding of the Communist Movement in India cannot be seen in isolation. It is linked integrally with reorganising the Communist movement at international level itself. Both these processes linked to each other can be carried forward only by developing the ideological-political line based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

The present world situation is marked by an unprecedented general crisis facing world imperialist system. The New World Order propagated by imperialist camp led by US imperialism has turned in to a World disorder. Imperialists are abandoning all welfare measures and turning to monetarism in a most conservative way to tide over this crisis. It is with this purpose Reaganomics and Thatcherism were introduced from 1970s. As a part of it through imperialist agencies like IMF and World Bank structural adjustment policies were imposed over the Asian, African, Latin American countries. In this way the burden of the imperialist crisis was transferred to these countries in the main. The neocolonisation of these countries were further intensified. It has sharpened the contradiction between imperialism and the neocolonial countries at all levels.

Still, imperialists had to impose monetarist measures in their own countries. Even 60 year old welfare measures and all Keynesian devices are taken away. Workers and other oppressed classes have come under increasing exploitation. It has intensified the contradiction between monopoly bourgeoisie and the working class and other oppressed masses of Imperialist countries also.

Side by side, the contradiction among imperialist countries and monopoly groups at international level has also intensified coming out in the forms like trade wars etc.

All these developments have further inspired the socialist aspirations of the world people, intensifying the contradiction between the imperialist camp and socialist forces around the world also.

This favourable objective situation cannot be utilised now as International Communist Movement (ICM) is facing a severe setback. So the primary objective before the Communists is to build up the Communist Party in their own countries and to initiate efforts to build up a platform of the Marxist-Leninist forces at international level.

The setback suffered by the ICM can be understood only in the context of its weakness in the beginning and later failure to understand the line of plunder and oppression launched by imperialist camp led by US imperialism in Post-World War II Years. Imperialism faced with increasing challenge from socialist and national liberation movements adopted a policy of neocolonisation by launching IMF World Bank-GATT, starting UN for political control, and initiating decolonisation. This transformation of imperialism from colonial phase to neocolonial phase in the Post War years could not be correctly understood by the ICM.

In the 1950s Krushchevite revisionists overestimating the strength of socialist forces and underestimating the strength of imperialism called for peaceful transition to socialism abandoning path of class struggle. They propagated class collaboration. In effect they became apologists of neo-colonialism and brought serious damage to ICM.

Through the Great Debate of 1963 CPC under Mao's leadership and the Albanian Party (PLA) struggled against it inspiring a new revival of revolutionary forces at global level. But the Lin Piaoist trend getting dominance within CPC by 1969 as other sectarian trends did incalculable damage to the ICM once again, by underestimating imperialism and pursuing a 'left' sectarian line.

In the 1970s though there were efforts to revive the ICM in the context of defeating Lin Piaoism within CPC, and victory of the Indo-Chinese peoples in defeating US imperialism, the usurpation of power by capitalist roaders in China immediately following the death of Mao Tsetung, and degeneration of Enver Hoxha lea-

dership to neo-Trotskyist positions once again caused severe setbacks to the movement. Like in 1950s and 1960s once again Deng and Enver Hoxha served imperialist cause by presenting erroneous analysis of imperialism and pursuing class-collaborationist lines.

These setbacks repeatedly suffered by the ICM can be understood only in the context of the failure of the movement in the post Second World War years to understand imperialism in its neocolonial phase correctly. Underestimating imperialism and adopting class collaborationist path degenerated all socialist countries to capitalist path. Almost all the Communist Parties built up under Third International degenerated to revisionism and social democracy. The failure to build even a platform of the Marxist-Leninist parties after dissolution of Third International in 1943 also should be seriously evaluated in this context. When imperialism adopted newer forms of attack uniting its ranks and compradors everywhere, the Communist forces once again failed to correctly analyse imperialist machinations, to develop their strategy accordingly, and to wage anti-imperialist struggle unitedly at global level.

In the present international situation it is the task of all the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces to initiate efforts to build up a new Communist International starting with the formation of a platform of the M-L forces at global level in continuation to the teachings of Third International and 1963 Great Debate documents. With this effort in the background the question of the line and practice of Indian revolution should be developed.

## ii

The undivided CPI leadership committed serious error in evolving correct understanding about the formal independence through 1947 transfer of power. Soon under Krushchevite influence its leadership characterised India as an independent country led by predominantly nationalist bourgeoisie. It was stated that under the leadership of this bourgeoisie and with the support of the working class, democratic revolution can be completed and peaceful transition to socialism can be achieved through a noncapitalist path with the assistance of Soviet Union. This basically class collaborationist line pursued with cosmetic differences by CPI and CPI(M) have led them to arch-revisionist and now to

ruling class positions by becoming part of the UF government which is implementing the imperialist dictated policies faithfully. So to consider these and similar parties as part of the Marxist Leninist forces make any discussion of unity meaningless.

It was by struggling against the CPI and CPI (M) lines, the great Naxalbari struggle took place and CPI (ML) programme was put forward. Even though its tactical line influenced by Lin Piaoist trend erred grievously and led the movement to serious setbacks, for the first time in India there was an effort to correctly put forward the general strategic line of Indian revolution.

The 1970 Programme characterised India as a neocolony of US imperialism led imperialist forces and Soviet social imperialism, stated the stage of revolution as people's (or New) democratic revolution under the leadership of working class and based on worker-peasant alliance. It put forward the strategy as protracted people's war. At the same time explaining the Indian society as semi-colonial, semi-feudal it had left a source of confusion.

Today when we are trying to reorganise the party, CPI (ML), the character of Indian state and society and the stage of revolution are cardinal points. Those who still take the semi-feudal, semi-colonial position do not recognise the transformation of imperialist plunder from colonial to neo-colonial phase and the corresponding changes within the country in all fields. They do not recognise the necessity for linking all other struggles to anti-imperialist struggles, and counterpose anti-feudal struggles to anti-imperialist struggles. Minimising the seriousness of the imperialist assault they belittle the imperialist threat itself.

On the other hand, there is the section who overshoot their arrow by stating India is a capitalist country. They refuse to see that the capitalist relations in agricultural scene is taking place under the imperialist domination and that the rich peasants are predominantly comprador in character. By their erroneous view on the mode of production, they also belittle the imperialist threat and take neo trotskyist positions by skipping the democratic stage of revolution. They call for socialist revolution as present stage in India.

Against these two erroneous trends, Marxist-Leninist position is that India is a neocolony or country under neocolonisation where all changes are taking place under imperialist domination. The task of the Democratic Revolution is to overthrow the existing state led by comprador bourgeois, bureaucratic bourgeois and big land lord sections, and serving the interests of imperialism, and replacing it with a New Democratic state. Negating the changes taking place in the society as the advocates of semi-colonialism does, or overshooting the arrow like the 'socialist revolutionaries' do, both lead us to erroneous positions. We have to still wage NDR in which the socialist content will be increasing as the new changes are taking place.

Another major source of error is seeing the different tasks of NDR as unrelated. For example alongwith anti-imperialist anti-feudal tasks the NDR has to ensure the right of self determination of all nationalities in multinational India, eradicate caste system, struggle for secularism, protect environment, achieve women's liberation etc. But these trends among the M-L forces who under the influence of alien ideas separately view these issues and put one of them as the principal aspect of revolution. They refuse to recognise the comprehensive character of class struggle and to take class struggle as the key link

There are still powerful influence of sectarianism in the movement which negates the Bolshevik building of party and building class/mass organisations with a democratic programme around it

There are trends which covertly negate the class line, the leading role of the proletariat, the central question of seizure of political power, and dictatorship of the proletariat.

There are trends who do not recognise the danger posed by VO/NGO ideology and compromise with it.

There are trends which still consider CPI and CPI (M) like forces as part of the left forces.

There are trends which still evaluate China alongwith Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea as socialist countries in spite of they opening themselves to MNCs and imperialist capital, surrendering to market forces.

In this situation only by struggling against these and similar erroneous trends the party-reorganisation can be carried forward. Any amount of these type of discussions will not help to reorganise the party uniting all M.L. forces unless basic parameters of revolution as explained above are not put forward as the cardinal issues, and the line of demarcation between revisionism and Marxism is clearly drawn.

In the present situation pragmatism is trying to dominate the revolutionary movement in a big way. Similarly, under influence of new ideologies like postmodernism propagated today, futility of struggles to change existing system is widely spread.

All these call for clear-cut Marxist-Leninist positions on the side of those who initiate unity efforts, unless of course it is approached only as a farce.

—Karthik—

(From P 6)

Use the erroneous understanding about neocolonialism propagated by its various apologists; to combat the vulgarisation of history by advocates of ruling classes; and to make the people conscious about these. This campaign calls for in depth studies and for intensifying ideological struggle against not only ruling class positions, but also various 'left' or 'revolutionary' trends who are propagating erroneous lines. It should be utilised to deepen and propagate the ideological political organisational positions put forward by the Fourth Conference of C P I (ML) Red Flag.

We call upon all revolutionary forces to get actively involved from this August 15 itself to combat the ruling class propaganda and to put forward the Marxist-Leninist orientation in order to help the realisation of the victory of New Democratic Revolution.

## Struggle For Protection Of Statutory Rationing Getting Intensified

The struggle against the Central Govt. move to dismantle the Public Distribution system including statutory rationing is getting intensified all over the state under the leadership of revolutionary forces. Eventhough the L D F Govt. of Kerala, the constituent parties of which are the partners of the ruling coalition at the centre also, tries to hoodwink the people that nothing adverse is going to happen to the statutory rationing and further tries to cover up the imperialist dictates behind the measures to sabotage the P D S, the food grain quota to the state is already cut short.

The Central Govt. has reduced the ration quota to the state by 7 lakh tonnes annually and subsequently, 35000 tonnes of rice and 17000 tonnes of wheat are cut down from the state's quota for june 1997. This is a part of the I M F- W B- W T O dictated policies and a step to curtail the whole public distribution system. As far as Kerala, a state which faces chronic food grain shortage is concerned, this reduction of quota will definitely be fatal. The poor people who are not able to purchase food grains from open market giving high prices will invariably be the victims of this new food policy. The so called T P D S being implemented is not going to cover even half of the population which needs the statutory rationing. The reduction of food grain quota, price hike of ration rice

and wheat, the ill conceived T P D S, the move to introduce two types of ration cards etc: are steps to wind up the whole P D system.

As a part of the struggle against the withdrawal of statutory rationing C P I (M L) Red-Flag organised a march to Kerala Assembly on 15th of July. The march comprising of hundreds of party comrades from Thiruvananthapuram and nearby areas was inaugurated by com: P. C. Unnichekkann, state secretary of the party.

Numerous activities are going on in all parts of the state as part of the struggle to protect statutory rationing under the leadership of party and various class, mass organisations. The Kerala Agricultural Workers Union (K K T U) has organised dharnas in front of various Govt. offices. The Democratic women's organisation (J V S) has took up rallies and protest marches in this issue. Ration protection committees are being formed at all parts of the state. Hundreds of people irrespective of their political affiliations actively participate in these committees. Peoples struggles are planned under the leadership of these committees.

Cultural activists and intellectuals have also come forward to raise their voices for the protection of statutory rationing. The struggle in this regard is getting strengthened and it is going to become a movement of significant strength in the state in the coming days.

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## Attappadi: Tribals rally with revolutionaries to question police atrocities

The struggle under the leadership of Adivasi land protection forum to get the police officers and other culprits who kept two tribal youths and a tribal woman under illegal custody and subjected them to third degree torture prosecuted has achieved significant victory when Kerala Govt. registered cases against the police officers and an estate owner of Attappadi, in the central district of Palakkad in Kerala.

Manikandan and Paramasivan, two Adivasi youths of 16 and 18 years old respectively were

taken into custody by Agali police on 27th of May in connection with a so called theft case. They were subjected to inhuman torture to squeeze confessions out of them. The police alleged that the tribal boys were involved in theft of some money from the bunglow of an estate owner Thomas. In spite of repeated requests from the relatives and neighbours of the boys and progressive minded social and human rights activists the police refused to release them or to produce them before a judicial magi-



strate. Meanwhile they had taken Kuppammal, mother of Paramasivan and she was also subjected to inhuman torture including application of chilly paste to her private parts.

On 17th of June thousands of people under the leadership of activists of CPI (ML) Red Flag, Adivasi land protection forum and G.S.S a local activist group marched to Agali police station and demanded the release of the youths. The people blocked roads and declared their decision to raid the police station and adjacent quarters unless the boys are released. The additional police force brought by that time under the leadership of District Superintendent of police (SP) and Revenue Divisional Officer (RDO) tried to dissuade the agitated people by some pacifying words and later with lathicharge. But the people did not relent and the police released the youths who were unable even to stand erect consequent to the torture they were subjected to.

Eventhough both the youths were admitted to the Medical College at Kozhikode the police abducted Paramasivan from the hospital secretly and produced him after on day. Kuppammal who was not in the police station at the time of people's siege was still untraced. Instead of taking action against the culprits who were responsible for the illegal custody of the tribals and their torture the LDF Govt. framed charges against 211 people including activists of CPI (ML) Red Flag for obstructing the police from their duties.

Com: Ravi Kallachi, the state Convener of Adivasi land protection forum filed a Habeous Corpus writ petition at Kerala High Court on 24th of June requesting the court to issue orders to the police to produce Kuppammal, the tribal woman taken into custody by them on 12th June. The forum declared indefinit struggle demanding stern action against the police persons who kept the tribal youths in illegal custody and tortured them, detailed enquiry into the incident, withdrawal of all cases charged against tribals and other people and framing of charges against the torturers under SC / ST atrocities (prevention) act.

The bundh call given by CPI (ML) Red Flag, Adivasi land protection forum and other struggling organisations to protest the police atrocities was enthusiastically received by the people of Attappady and the bundh was a total success.

As a part of the struggle Com: Ravi Kallachi started indefinite fast before Kerala secretariat from 25th of June 97. The fast and

other related struggles received enthusiastic response from all progressive sections of the state especially those related with tribal areas. A secretariat march was organised by the forum which started from Attappadi on 30th of June.

As Kerala High Court issued directions to the Govt. to do the needful in the case of Kuppammal, the police became compelled to produce her in the court on 26th of June. As the struggle got intensified the Govt. was compelled to revise their earlier stand and agreed to conduct necessary enquiry into the incident. Some of the police officers were suspended from service and the Chief Minister himself agreed to the Adivasi land protection forum leaders to charge cases against the persons responsible under SC/ST atrocities (prevention) act. He has agreed further to consider the question of withdrawal of cases registered against the people who blocked the police station. Accordingly some police personnels and the estate owner Thomas who is having clandestine relations with some underworld elements and who instigated the police to take the boys into custody were arrested under SC / ST atrocities (prevention) act. As most of the demands of the forum was agreed by the Govt Com: Ravi Kallachi put an end to the fast on 2nd of July.

The success of the struggle of the forum and the people of Attappadi including the tribals is a significant one however small or limited it is. It proved that the hitherto silent tribal people have become bold enough to question the atrocious attitude of the state machinery rallying alongwith the revolutionary and progressive forces.

## Death in Police custody

West Bengal is qualifying to be included among the states where maximum custodial deaths are taking place in a year. On 9 April afternoon an undertrial Bapi Biswas' 22, died in police custody in Thakurpukur, south Calcutta neighbourhood. He was arrested on wednesday morning for a petty crime and died in the afternoon.

According to WB human rights commission in 1995-96 there were 38 custodial deaths in WB. This year the number may become more.

## INTERNATIONAL SCENE

### International Seminar, Brussels

The sixth *international seminar* of the parties and organisations generally upholding Marxism - Leninism, but belonging to various trends was held at Brussels, Belgium from May 2-4, 1997. Organised by the Workers' Party of Belgium it was attended by 79 parties and organisations while 49 others sent messages of solidarity. General theme of the seminar was the current significance of the October Revolution. Papers on the state, revolutionary violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat; relationship between democratic and socialist revolution; Bolshevik Party; the essential instrument to prepare, push through and defend socialist revolution; national question in the works of Lenin and Stalin; Lenin, Stalin and the peasant question under socialism were presented and subjected to in depth discussion by the participants. Though C P I (ML) Red Flag did not send any delegation, the main paper on national question in the works of Lenin and Stalin (see RED FLAG, June 1997 issue) prepared by it evoked lively discussion. The seminar provided an opportunity for organisations belonging to different trends to present their positions and debate on them. PTB has pledged to continue these yearly seminars in the coming years also.

### Mexico: No to Clinton

Thousands of Mexican people protested against the state visit of Clinton, the US president. The main focus of the protest action was the US embassy. People wanted to express their anger against US imperialism, the main power dominating Mexico and their opposition to policies such as NAFTA which has further deepened poverty and suffering of the masses.

The Mexican government as usual mobilised army and police and clamped down prohibitive orders in the capital to stop protesters. Troops and police attacked and beat demonstrators and tried to forcefully seize all banners. But people continued to demonstrate with the slogans "No NAFTA", "stop foreign debt", "Clinton go back". They burned US flags and the effigy of

Uncle Sam. As a result Clinton and the delegation had to tour the city in two armed Sikorski helicopters

### Fujimori denounced

The visit of Fujimori, the president of Peru a US comprador and fascist dictator to India in May was opposed by revolutionary forces at Mumbai. Thousands of handbills denouncing his criminal suppression of revolutionary forces in Peru were distributed. Fearing people's demonstrations Fujimori's visit to the city was organised under tight security and in secret.

Similar protest action was organised by revolutionary forces in Delhi also.

### Los Angeles protest against Ramos

General Fidel Ramos, president of Philippines, had to confront two days of protests when he visited Los Angeles on May 5 - 6 for attending a trade show held to attract foreign capitalist investors to Philippines. Protesters shouted "Oppose US - Ramos regime! Oppose imperialist globalisation". Protesters denounced that "through institutions and finance agencies like IMF - World Bank - WTO, NAFTA and now APEC imperialism ravages the Afro - Asian - Latin American countries in the name of 'free trade'. In Philippines the US-Ramos regime force on the people policies of privatisation - globalisation to loot them more and more.

Protesters called for international action to resist all anti - people imperialist moves. They shouted against Ramos for his present genocidal policies.

### Earth Summit

The present *earth summit* at UN like its predecessor, the Rio summit of 1992, in the name of protecting the earth from environmental dangers, is having all paraphernalias including the parallel NGO meet as at Rio. But the basic weakness of this 'show of concern' is that it refuses to

## Reception Committee For All India Cultural Camp Formed

In a well attended meeting held at Cheddilal Dharmasala at Luknow on 20 July Sunday a 29 member Reception Committee for holding the three day All India Cultural Camp and Seminar on caste question was formed with comrades P. Lal and G. P. Mishra as Convenors. The following programme was also tentatively accepted.

19 September: 10 AM to 1 PM and 2 PM to 4 PM  
Cultural Camp,  
5 PM to 8 PM  
Kavi Sammelan,  
8 PM onwards cultural programme.

20 September: 10 AM to 1 PM and 2 PM to 4 PM  
Cultural Camp,  
5 PM, to 8 PM

Meeting on "Contemporary Cultural Issues and problems of building New Democratic Culture"  
8 PM onwards cultural programmes.

21 September: 10 AM to 1 PM and 2 PM to 5 PM  
Seminar on Caste question  
5.30 PM onwards cultural programmes

An exhibition of pictures and posters also will be held during these days.

Leading cultural activists from 14 states are expected to participate in this Cultural Camp held with the central slogans "Struggle Against Imperialist Cultural Aggression And Feudal Cultural Values, Fight for New Democratic Culture"

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analyse the reasons for the ecological challenge; it refuses to name the imperialists as chiefly responsible for the ecological destruction. As at Rio, at UN also the earth summit is going to concentrate on superficial matters. It refuses to take an anti - imperialist stand, as the imperialists themselves are the sponsors of this official summit as well as the parallel summit. Ecology can be protected only when the socialist development plan is adopted at global level along with a new upsurge of people's struggles and the capitalist-imperialist system with its intensifying mad race for profit at any cost, its speculative character, and its mad rush for accumulation of private property is overthrown for ever. Partial struggles for ecological protection become meaningful when they are linked with these basic tasks.

### Imperialist globalisation Opposed

An international gathering of anti-imperialist forces in Metro Manila, mass actions in 22 urban areas throughout Philippines and a "peoples's caravan" were the major mass actions by Philip-

ino people and friends from other countries who participated expressing solidarity to expose and oppose the imperialist globalisation plan. These actions culminated the month-long activities to get in to the root of the 18 member Asia-Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) leaders' summit at Manila in November 1996, hosted at great financial (\$ 680 million) and political expense to the Philipino people. The mass actions condemned the US and Japanese imperialists who are pursuing the policies of economic and political hegemony in Asia-Pacific rim, and the comprador Fidel Ramos regime in Philippines.

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