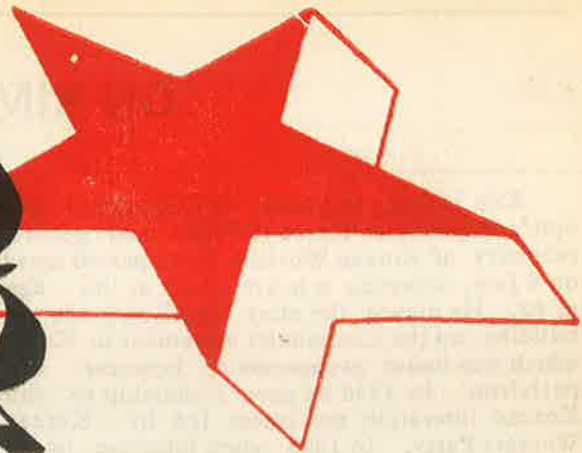


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Make August 15 An Occasion For Anti-Imperialist Offensive

As usual on this August 15 the traitor Narasimha Rao will raise the tri-colour on Red Fort. The compradors ruling the country and their agents everywhere shall raise slogans celebrating their independence. But this sham independence they are celebrating, their faithful services to the neo-colonial masters enslaving the country to the status of a neo-colony in all respects are exposed now more than ever. Signing of the imperialist GATT Treaty by these traitors resembling in a new form the surrender to British colonialists by Mir Jaffar like forces three centuries back has taken this neo-colonisation to a new zenith. Even after all these developments, if these lackeys of imperialism, the executioners of the neo-colonial policies of imperialism are persisting with their most sham independence day celebrations, it only shows the extent of their reactionary nature. It is not independence they are celebrating, but their success in perpetuating the slavishness of the country in new forms. That is why August 15 is not a day for celebration to the progressive democratic forces, it is a day for mobilisation against the neo-colonisation of the country, a day to take pledge to continue the independence struggle till imperialism and all its lackeys are overthrown and the country is liberated to New Democracy.

That the ruling system has degenerated

more than ever and become rotten is today know to all. Not only central ministries, even the departments in the provinces are run according to dictates of IMF-WB-GATT. Cabinet secretaries and department heads visit headquarters of these imperialist agencies for guidance regularly. MNCs have entered all fields tightening their grip everywhere. The whole economy has come under imperialist stranglehold. All political decisions are dictated by the imperialist masters. Alongwith this the political corruption has also reached unprecedented levels. Putting shame to the Rs. 200 crore Bofors scandal, Rs. 15000 crore Stock Scam and Rs. 5000 crore Sugar Scam have exposed the rottenness of the system. The imperialist lackeys and political leaderships are shamelessly engaged in vast riches and saving them in foreign banks, in the true style of Marcose of Philippines.

Naturally it has created a devastating situation for the vast majority. Globalisation, liberalisation, privatisation and bringing everything under market system as a part of the imperialist *New World Order* are pauperising the masses. Inflation on the one hand and stagnation in the agricultural and industrial fields have created unprecedented miseries. From last August 15 to this August 15 people's living standards have only further gone down, making

ON KIM IL SUNG

Kim Il Sung, president of Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and general secretary of Korean Workers Party passed away on 8 July, following a heart attack at the age of 82. He played the most significant role in building up the Communist movement in Korea which was under occupation of Japanese imperialism. In 1936 he gave leadership to the Korean liberation movement led by Korean Workers Party. In 1945 when Japanese imperialism was defeated in the War, Korea became independent. But U S imperialism militarily interfered and succeeded in maintaining its hegemony over South Korea. In 1948 North Korea was organised as D P R K. Completing the anti-feudal tasks Workers Party prepared the ground for launching socialist revolution. It was at that time under orders from U S imperialism its puppet government in South Korea started aggression against D P R K. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with Chinese Red Army Volunteers and with the support of progressive people all over the world the Korean armed forces and the people pushed out the aggressors. Even then the unification of Korea remained an unfulfilled dream; While South Korea remained neo colony, D P R K became part of the socialist camp giving inspiration to fighting people all over the world.

But when Krushchovian revisionism usurped power and degenerated Soviet Union to capitalist path, D P R K and Workers Party un-

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wider the gap between the rich and the masses.

All these developments clearly show that neither there can be any change in the living condition of the people within this system, nor the parliamentary parties whether of the right, centre or left varieties can lead the people forward. It is in this context the call for a revolutionary alternative by the Communist revolutionaries have become most relevant today. What is the historic need of the hour is an all out initiative to campaign for this revolutionary alternative, to mobilise the masses for it, and to surmount all difficulties to overthrow the rule of reaction. Let us make this August 15 an occasion to awaken the masses to this reality. ●

der Kim Il Sung took a centrist line. Even when the great debate between CPSU and CPC intensified in the mid sixties, Kim Il Sung refused to oppose revisionism openly. Instead of intensifying class struggle in the field of theory and practice on the side of Marxism—Leninism, and discharging its proletarian internationalist tasks, the Korean Workers Party under the leadership of Kim Il Sung adopted a line called *Juche*, a line of Korean self-reliance. It was nothing but a petty bourgeois idealist concept. When imperialism was intensifying its multifarious efforts to spread its neo colonial/plunder at global level through all heinous means, only by firmly upholding proletarian internationalist positions it could be challenged the gains achieved by the world proletariat so far could be defended, and new gains achieved. Even from Lenin's days it was repeatedly pointed out not only the socialist revolutions in capitalist—imperialist countries, but also the

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the line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism, and between revolution and reformism. The refusal to recognise the neo colonial phase of imperialism and transformation of all colonial semicolonial countries to neo-colonies, theorising decolonisation as leading to political independence, and refusal to settle accounts with Theory of Three World, LinPiaoist new era concept and reformist—New Left trends—all of them have played havoc reducing many of them to latest brands of revisionism.

What we are witnessing in India today when a clear cut revolutionary initiative is the urgent need of the hour to mobilise the masses who are coming forward to fight against the consequences of neo-colonisation is nothing different. While some sections of the revolutionary forces are becoming part of NPMO, some others are raising slogans like "save the country" and compromise with reformists and New Lefts.

Only by fighting against these trends and clearly putting forward a revolutionary perspective, the revolutionary forces can build up a powerful and broad patriotic democratic movement with anti-imperialist orientation at all India level. ●

K. N. Ramachandran

On Revolutionary Initiative In The Fight Against Neocolonisation

Signing of the new GATT Treaty on April 15 and consequent formation of WTO on coming January 1 symbolises the extent to which the neo-colonisation of Asian-African-Latin American countries, often called *Third World* or the *South* or *undeveloped / developing* countries, has presently reached. The WTO is mainly intended to provide an international legal frame work to subordinate the national constitutions and juridical powers of the neo-colonies to the *New World Order* of globalisation and market economy under the dictates of imperialism. It legitimises the ever intensifying imperialist plunder through neo-colonial tools like IMF and World Bank, and provides omnipotent rights to the MNCs. At the same time it also serves as a code of conduct among the imperialist forces in order to regulate their inter contradictions and to legitimise the *structural adjustment programmes* imposed by their agencies to perpetuate the division of world in to a handful of imperialist countries and a vast domain of neo-colonial countries. A basic understanding of this politics and economy of imperialism in its present neo-colonial phase is a necessary pre-condition for developing any struggle, however partial it may be, against imperialism and its lackeys any where in the world. As Lenin stated, "monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination and not for freedom, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations—all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism", in the neo-colonial phase all its savage characteristics further enshrining the rule of international capital and market system with the lust for private property accumulation elevated to supreme pedestal have brutalised the world through its *New World Order* tools.

In spite of it, like in Lenin's time once again the *Kautskyan* weakness in the critique of imperialism, in understanding the attitude of different classes of society towards imperialist policy, is clearly manifested not only among the true heirs to Kautskyism, the Krushchovite revisionists, but also among many sections who

calls themselves Marxist-Leninists. In the name of not restricting artificially the scope of *Anti-GATT Movement* or any other movement against the neo colonial tools of imperialism, they bifurcate these movements from the anti-imperialist movement. In the name of broadening such movements they call for unity with *social-democrats* and *Fabian imperialists*, as Lenin once called them, and reduce their opposition to imperialism to *petty-bourgeois democratic* positions.

To quote Lenin: "The enormous dimensions of finance capital concentrated in a few hands and creating an extra ordinarily dense and widespread network of relationships and connections which subordinates not only the small and medium, but also the very small capitalists and small masters, on the one hand, and the increasingly intense struggle waged against other

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national state groups of financiers for the division of the worlds and domination over other countries, on the other hand, cause the propertied classes to go over entirely to the sides of imperialism. "General" enthusiasm over the prospects of imperialism, furious defence of it and painting it in the brightest colours—such are the signs of the times. Imperialist ideology also penetrates the working class. No Chinese wall separates it from other classes. The leaders of the present-day so-called "Social Democratic" Party of Germany are justly called "social-imperialists", that is, socialists in words and imperialists in deeds; but as early as 1902, Hobson noted the existence in Britain of "Fabian imperialists" who belonged to the opportunist Fabian society.

"Bourgeois scholars and publicists usually come out in defence of imperialism in a somewhat veiled form; they obscure its complete domination and its deep-going roots, strive to push specific and secondary details into the forefront and do their very best to distract attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for "reform", such as police supervision of the trusts or banks etc. Cynical and frank imperialists who are bold enough to admit the absurdity of the idea of reforming the fundamental characteristics of imperialism are rarer phenomenon....."

"The questions as to whether it is possible to reform the basis of imperialism, whether to go forward to the further intensification and deepening of the antagonisms which it engenders, or backward towards allaying these antagonisms are fundamental questions in the critique of imperialism. Since the specific political features of imperialism are reaction everywhere and increased national oppression due to the oppression of the financial oligarchy and the elimination of free competition, a petty bourgeois democratic opposition to imperialism arose at the beginning of the twentieth century in nearly all imperialist countries. Kautsky not only did not trouble to oppose, was not only unable to oppose this petty bourgeois reformist opposition, which is really reactionary in its economic basis, but became merged with it in practice, and this is precisely where Kautsky and the broad international Kautskyian trend deserted Marxism....."

"Whichever way one turns Kautsky's argument, one will find nothing in it except reaction and bourgeois reformism" (Imperialism,

the highest stage of capitalism).

These observations of Lenin are of considerable significance today when social democrats, Fabian socialists, petty bourgeois democrats, and neo-Kautskyians of all sorts have united not only in the imperialist countries, but also in the neo colonies to help imperialism to surmount people's mounting struggles by diverting them from the path of revolution to reformism.

Imperialism and the struggle against it

Today more than ever the division of the world in to camps of imperialism and proletarian revolution has become more sharp and the contradiction between the two presently manifested mainly as contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and peoples has intensified unprecedentedly. Utilising the setbacks it could inflict over the forces of proletarian revolution the imperialist camp is now frantically trying to impose its *New World Order* intensifying its neo-colonial offensive initiated from the early days of the post Second World War period to new heights. In this process imperialism as a global system has developed its political and economic tools in various forms. Its political tool *United Nations* passing through different stages is presently serving its NWO openly. IMF, World Bank and numerous other financial agencies are also doing the same. In this process MNCs have acquired immense strength. Similarly GATT initiated in mid-forties through eight rounds of negotiations has reached its present stage and is on the eve of giving birth to WTO. Every aspect in this process of development of imperialism in its neo-colonial phase is interconnected, one serving the other. Together they serve the NWO of imperialism. The imperialist debt operating through IMF, WB and similar agencies, and the imperialist capital invested through MNCs and different monetary agencies play pivotal roles in this.

Presently as the plunder of the neo-colonies^s through numerous imperialist tools have reached unprecedented heights, it has intensified the pauperisation and oppression of the masses of people. As a result, as we are witnessing in India, different sections of people are coming to the forefront of struggles more and more. They are opposing the consequences of the IMF-WB-GATT-MNCs dictated policies imposed over them by the native comprador

states. These struggles are bound to intensify in the coming days. No political force can opt away from them. They are compelled to take sides. This is what the country witnessed on April 15, when GATT Treaty was signed by Narasimha Rao government.

Different approaches

Signing of GATT Treaty has in effect strengthened the polarisation of various political trends. On the one hand Congress (I) and few forces aligned to it alongwith dominant sections of ruling classes have openly come out in defence of IMF-World Bank dictated policies including the signing of GATT Treaty and allowing free and open access to MNCs. They see the future prospects of the country in totally subordinating and integrating it to international capital and market system. They are openly advocating the neo-colonisation of the country and making it part of the NWO. They argue that by not signing the GATT Treaty and not joining WTO India will be isolated and will be denying itself the prospects of multilateral trade opened by WTO. Their position is very clear. They openly represent the imperialist comprador interests.

On the other hand the numerous parliamentarist political forces have come forward with their own different forms of opposition to Narasimha Rao government's economic policies and signing of GATT Treaty as we have pointed out many times earlier. Among them neither BJP nor the different factions of Janatha Dal, nor provincial parties like TD, DMK, AIMK etc, nor BSP like forces advocating dalit-advansi-backward-minorities front are for the scrapping of present economic policies. They do not want our country to walk out of IMF, WB or WTO, or are for sending out the MNCs. They are only against present methods of implementation of these policies by Rao government. They want only reforms and adjustments within the NWO. In essence their opposition to Rao government do not even reflect any serious contradictions among the ruling classes now. Their *Swadeshi Jagarans*, *Swadeshi Abhiyans*, *Save India campaigns* are nothing but gimmicks of election politics. It is getting exposed more and more day by day. All of them faithfully represent ruling class politics and serve ruling class interests.

As far as the voluntary agencies and NGOs

who advocate reforms within the ruling system, those among them who oppose GATT Treaty and some aspects of Rao government economic policies are concerned, they only want suitable adjustments in them as put forward in their alternative budget proposals and *sustainable development* schemes.

In short like the open compradors, all these forces are basically happy with the NWO of imperialism, they only demand certain reforms within it

Are the Left Front parties led by CPI(M) in anyway different from these forces? If their counter parts in the imperialist countries, the social democrats, following Kautskyian—Kruschovian positions have degenerated to social imperialists as Lenin called them, the LF parties in India are nothing but apologists of neocolonialism. By sharing power continuously within the ruling class system they have become full fledged ruling class parties. Their opposition to economic policies and signing of GATT Treaty is nothing but a move to hoodwink the people and to save their left credentials through dubious means. For, they are also not for basically rejecting imperialist world order, not for totally breaking with IMF, WB and GATT Treaty. Like other ruling class parties they also welcome foreign capital and foreign loans, debts. They also give red carpet welcome to MNCs. They do not even dream of breaking away from the NWO of imperialism, and struggling for a socialist world order. They violently oppose if you suggest writing-off imperialist debts and confiscation of imperialist capital.

The proposed NPMO campaign

It is in this context the real intentions behind the proposed August-September campaign by National Platform of Mass Organisations and LF parties, both led by CPI(M), should be seen. Their first phase of campaign concluded with the April 5 rally at Delhi against signing GATT Treaty. In the second phase NPMO propose to observe August 3 to 9 as national protest week, *rail roko* on September 20 and all India general strike on September 29. Alongwith this, CPI(M) and some of its LF allies will launch a civil disobedience movement from August 16 to September 9 except in W, Bengal and Tripura. These programmes are in protest against Rao government's economic

policies and signing of GATT Treaty.

An evaluation of 17 years LF rule in W-Bengal and LF rule in Kerala and Tripura, and the political line pursued by CPI (M) and its allies towards Rao government from its minority days clearly shows that they are for a Dengist type of "socialist market economy" and integration within the imperialist New World Order. Like Dengists in China they have abandoned the path of overthrowing imperialism, realising New Democratic Revolution as part of World Socialist Revolution and heralding a socialist path.

Like the first phase, this second phase of agitation is clearly intended to divert the mounting people's anger against the ruling system to reformist channels like the revisionists are adept at doing from Kautskian days. That the NPMO could rope in even some revolutionary organisations within its reformist programme show the danger posed by revisionists to build up a revolutionary alternative. It shows the urgent necessity of exposing the real intentions of the LF parties and their forging of NPMO. The reformist character of their programme has to be uncompromisingly exposed.

Revolutionary initiative need of the hour

The neo-colonisation process pursued by imperialists in the post Second World war period including 'decolonisation' transforming colonial/semi colonial countries into neo-colonies reveal that as in its colonial phase in the neo-colonial phase also imperialism, as an integrated global system on the offensive in all fields utilising various tools, can be effectively resisted only by firmly pursuing a revolutionary path. We cannot see Rao government's economic policies or GATT/WTO as an aberration. They are part of a whole process.

For example, first the power was transferred to compradors maintaining the state apparatus built up during the colonial period intact. It was not formal or political independence but sham independence transforming a colony into a neo-colony with all imperialist interests kept safe. More and more imperialist and social imperialist capital started entering. Imperialist debt increased. A facade of relative independence was exhibited during the years when the comprador state enjoyed a certain amount of manoeuvrability between the two superpowers. With the beginning of the decline of Soviet

power, IMF—WB penetration intensified along with that of MNCs. Soon the country was in debt trap. And in the name of overcoming the debt crisis and foreign exchange crisis the globalisation and market system as dictated by IMF-WB and which was being implemented in phases earlier was openly and totally adopted from 1991. All the colonial/semi-colonial countries passing through decolonisation have gone through this process of neo-colonisation with certain variations influenced by the concrete conditions there.

The basic reason for the serious setbacks suffered by the ICM from 1950s can be mainly traced to the mistakes committed by the Marxist-Leninist forces in recognising and fighting against this new form of counter-revolutionary offensive launched by imperialism in the post-Second War period. As a continuation of Kautskian, Trotskyist, Zhinovievite, Bukharinist, and then Browderite and Titoist theories which were neglecting or minimising the danger posed by imperialism and the need for a life and death struggle against it, by fighting against which the proletarian revolutionary forces advanced till then, once again surfaced with a new vigour in the post-Stalin years through Krushchovian revisionism. No party could completely save itself from its sway. It was reflected in the 1960 *Moscow Declaration* of 81 parties which on the one hand characterise the colonial/semi-colonial countries which went through decolonisation as politically independent countries contrary to the evaluations of Comintern and Cominform, and on the other hand characterised the era as that of total collapse of imperialism thereby minimising the importance of fight against it. Though the *Great Debate* launched by CPC led by Mao Tsetung exposed these revisionist evaluations and could achieve significant success in once again inspiring the Marxist Leninist forces all over the world to the path of revolution, soon the revisionist theories once again surfaced through LinPiaotist concept of new era, and through the *Theory of Three World*. The usurpation of power by Dengists in China and degeneration of Albanian Party speeded up this revisionist onslaught. Once again, even among many of those forces who once struggled against Krushchovian revisionism the ghost of Moscow Declaration and all forms of reformist thoughts created revisionist illusions. Under the banner of broad unity these forces have started directly or indirectly erasing

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EMS' Opportunist definition of Fundamentalism puts CPI (M) in a fix

After graduating to the status of ruling class party CPI (M), like any other ruling class party, has played many united front tactics in order to come to power in some states and if possible to share power at the centre.

At all India level till recently CPI (M) leadership was theorising and propagating the NF-LF alliance as the real alternative to both Congress and B. J. P. But today this dream is shattered. Janatha Dal has splitted to so many factions that its credibility is reduced to nil. Its politics of 'social justice' is proved bankrupt similar to what happened to the psuedo socialist slogans of the ruling class parties. Except those who joined Congress others have embraced *caste-politics* or dalit-advansi-backward minorities front as the ideology for a new brand of ruling class alternative. In Assam AGP is splitted and has lost its electoral possibilities. In AP, Rama Rao's TDP, though still continues as a possible alternative to Congress, has degenerated further to obscurantism. In TN, DMK has splitted and CPI (M)'s ally Karunanidhi is seriously thinking about a tie-up with Congress. The miniscule Congress (S) has splitted once again leaving only a handful of leaders in CPI (M)'s front. Thus the voluminous writings and speeches by CPI (M) leaders about their NF-LF national alternative are proved meaningless. Even then it will be too much to expect a self-criticism from EMS or other CPI (M) leaders about this setback.

CPI (M)'s relation with CPI is worsening day by day. On the 'creamy layer' question, on 83rd constitutional amendment for the so-called electoral reforms, and on the performance of LF government in WB very sharp differences have surfaced between them. Besides CPI, RSP and Forward Bloc also have openly criticised the functioning of WB government in which they are all partners. These differences have grown to such serious proportions that they have started even threatening the continuance of LF in its present form. It is at such a critical juncture that the interpretations of EMS about religious fundamentalism and the advisability of arriving at a working arrangement with Madani's PDP and Ebr-

ahim Sulaiman Sait's INL in Kerala have given rise to yet another serious difference of opinion within the LDF in Kerala and LF at all India level. Further evaluation of Gandhi as a religious fundamentalist by EMS has given yet another opportunity for all brands of reactionaries to launch a vicious anti-communist campaign also.

What EMS wrote in CPI (M)'s Malayalam daily *Desabhimani* on July 4 is nothing but a shameless effort to give theoretical justification for arriving at some form of electoral understanding with PDP and INL in the future elections in Kerala. What he wrote to justify it has taken him to unprecedented reactionary position. As, even after EMS has served Krushchovian revisionism and through it the ruling class politics faithfully for the last four decades, many among progressive intellectuals, still consider him as, a Marxist theoretician, and as even some *Naxalite* groups refuse to see CPI (M) as a ruling class party, the writing of EMS calls for a serious evaluation though CPI (M) general secretary Surjeet has now openly come out disowning much of it.

In his article EMS first replies to Congress criticism that CPI (M) is forging alliance with Muslim fundamentalist forces. According to him PDP, INL as well as Muslim League (IUM-L) are all religious fundamentalist parties. He very correctly ridicules Congress argument that IUM-L which is in alliance with it is secular while PDP and INL opposing it are fundamentalists. But from there he goes ahead to argue that even though all these three parties are fundamentalist, as PDP and INL are ready to oppose Congress and co-operate with LDF they are taking progressive positions. Then, volunteering posing the hypothetical question, 'will such co-operation between LDF on the one hand and PDP and INL on the other hand not amount to compromising with religious fundamentalism, he replies that there are two types of fundamentalisms.

According to EMS all those who believe in religion and god are religious fundamentalists. He argues that in that sense Thilakan, Gandhi, Abdulkalam Azad and Abdul Gaffarkhan all were

religious fundamentalists. But "the Hindu fundamentalism represented by Thilakan and Mahatma Gandhi, and the Islamic fundamentalism represented by Azad and Gaffarkhan became helpful for the anti-imperialist national struggle." So they were progressive. But even though Jinnah was not a fundamentalist he took a retrogressive position. As such for him there in nothing wrong in co-operating with religious fundamentalist Sait and Madani as they play the progressive role of opposing Congress policies!

EMS should be congratulated for this wonderful invention. By arguing that all religious believers are religious fundamentalists and by bracketing Sait and Madani with Gandhi he has smartly put an end to any form of criticism about forging understanding with PDP and INL. His characterisation of all religious believers as religious fundamentalists and definition of religious fundamentalism as giving fundamental importance to religion in social, cultural and all such issues will definitely be a shock even to the most ardent admirers of EMS. When he misquotes and vulgarises Lenin's statement that Communists should unite with religious believers to build socialism on earth in order to justify his obnoxious stand, it is like adding insult to injury.

The meaning of religious fundamentalism is much discussed in India in recent times. It has got a concrete political meaning. For following religious beliefs in private life we do not call anyone religious fundamentalist. Religious fundamentalism teaches that all individuals have only religious and religion-based social existence, and in all aspects of political and social life religion should be the only guiding force. Similar to the religion-based states of the middle ages, religious fundamentalists now want to constitute the modern states also based on religious teachings and rituals. Making necessary adjustments required in the present circumstances when world is divided into imperialist and neo-colonial countries, religious fundamentalism serves as an ideological tool of imperialism. This is clear both in the Islamic fundamentalist states as well as among the various other religious fundamentalists which are trying to get strengthened in all other countries.

Marxist intellectuals have written much about the dangers of religious fundamentalism in

the recent times. But all of them are particular to differentiate religious fundamentalism from religious belief. And all attempts to convert religious believers in to fundamentalists are opposed by progressive forces. It is at such a time that in order to justify an opportunistic understanding with Sait and Madani, EMS is now depicting all believers as fundamentalists.

EMS has found out another reason also for cooperating with fundamentalists. He writes "If we take the stand of maintaining untouchability with religious fundamentalists we have to sever relation with all religious communities. That is not a Marxist position." He has revised the Marxist position of maintaining relation with people of all religions if maintaining relation with 'religious communities.' It is nothing different from what he is doing for the last four decades confusing *state* with *people* in order to preach his revisionist politics. His quoting of Lenin is not at all helping him as Lenin is categorically talking about religious believers and not about religious communities. Though present day models of religious fundamentalism did not exist during Lenin's time, some of its earlier forms were there. Some of these have even led anti-imperialist struggle in some colonies. But in his *Colonial Thesis* Lenin categorically stated that reactionary movements like *Pan Islamism* and those forces who stood for establishing religious rule like that of middle-ages should be uncompromisingly opposed by Communists. Here EMS is trying to misquote these great teachings of Lenin in order to help his party to share power in Kerala within the existing reactionary ruling system by making atleast a seat adjustment with Madani and Sait like fundamentalist forces who are against all progressive movements.

Even recent developments show that IUML, PDP and INL are not similar while all of them are Islamic fundamentalists. Madani's record as an extremist religious fundamentalist who started by organising ISS as a counter part of RSS is extremely black. How could such forces become automatically progressive if they just co-operate with LDF? The contradiction in EMS' article on this question is self explanatory. To hoodwink his readers he first states that the important aspect is what position these forces take towards national independence, democratic principles and socio-cultural modernisation. (Contd. P. 12)

Expose the Politics of Deception

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of CPI (ML) formation-April 22, 1994—the CPI (ML) *Liberatin group* came out with a special issue of its central organ *Liberation* claiming its credentials as the real continuation of CPI (ML) and calling all revolutionaries to join its ranks. Its pages include few articles of Charu Majumdar also. Except these articles by CM and the revolutionary poems republished, the whole content of this special issue and its call, true to the political line and practice pursued by the leadership of this organisation after the martyrdom of com. Johar in 1975, reflects nothing but a politics of deception totally alien to the Marxist-Leninist approach. While the leadership of this organisation is becoming very vocal in its criticism about others, the fact that like CPI and CPI (M) trends it is dutifully engaged in liquidationism is cunningly concealed. In this politics of deception and renegacy it has not hesitated even to reproduce articles of CM whose revolutionary ideological-political positions it has totally rejected. When the allround developments in our country calls for the coming together of all genuine revolutionary forces and reorganisation of the Party, such a polarisation calls for uncompromising struggle against all alien trends including the one preached by *Liberation group*. That is why we are compelled to comment on the ideology, politics and practice of this group.

Immediately after the 7th Congress of CPI (M) when the Communist Revolutionaries inside it launched a fierce struggle against its opportunist *centrist* line, it was based on the *Great Debate* led by CPC and Mao Tsetung against Krushchovian revisionism. In total opposition to CPI and CPI (M) revisionist—neo revisionist positions CRs led by CM evaluated Soviet Union as a social imperialist country and up held the general line of ICM put forward by Mao. What Hua Kuofeng did in China after usurping power from the socialist roaders through a military coup immediately after Mao's death in 1976, with Deng leading the moves from behind, was to totally negate this general line. The 'Theory of Three Worlds' put forward by this clique was nothing but a continuation of Krushchovian line in new form. It confused state with people, and replaced the people with neo-colonial states in Third World countries as its allies. *Liberation group* led by Vinod Misra was in the forefront

in India to fall for this class collaborationist theory and to denounce the socialist roaders as *gang of four*.

In 1982 when Deng openly took over, sidelined TTW, totally denounced GPCR and criticised the evaluation of Soviet Union as social imperialist, once again this group was in the forefront to swallow all these totally negating CPI (ML) positions based on Marxism—Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought. In continuation to this it continued to uphold Chinese leadership which had totally abandoned the teachings of Mao and degenerated China to capitalist road, praised Grobachev's *glasnost and perestroika* like CPI and CPI (M) as corrective steps to strengthen *socialist* Soviet Union, and degenerated to out and out revisionist positions on international questions. Today on all international issues Vinod Misra emulate the CPI, CPI (M) positions dutifully. *Liberation group* has abandoned all basic anti-imperialist positions and has become advocates of *socialist market economy* preached by Deng. It is now part of the revisionist international which is serving imperialism. Its utterances of anti-imperialism is in no way different from that of Deng and CPI (M).

After the martyrdom of CM in 1972 the immediate task in front of the Marxist-Leninists was to reorganise the Party and make it capable of leading the people's upsurge by fighting against both right and left deviations. Till the martyrdom of com. Johar *Liberation group* was part of this revolutionary stream engaged in reorganising the Party based on MLMT and basic positions of 1970 Programme. But with the degeneration of its international line to Dengist positions, its approach to NDR in India also naturally started degenerating fast. Though it continued to define Indian bourgeoisie as comprador in words, in essence it upheld the position put forward by TTW that countries like India are politically independent. This was the same position taken by undivided Party under the influence of Krushchovian revisionism and pursued by CPI and CPI (M). The rectification process taken up by the leadership of this group was not to reject the mistakes committed by CPI (ML) in the early years under the influence of Lin Piaoism and to reorganise the party as a Bolshevik one pursuing Mao's mass line concept,

but to embrace right deviation in the name of fighting left deviation. In the name of flexibility and not parroting old slogans in new situation it rejected the basic line of Naxalbari.

It is the correctness of the ideological-political line which determines everything. The whole deviation of this group to parliamentarism, and its efforts to form a *United Communist Party* in the Nepalese style joining with C P I (M) and C P I and if possible with fringe groups like *Lal Nishan Party* are natural results of its degeneration from basic Marxist-Leninist positions. Its united front approach itself was opportunistic as seen in I P F experience. Contrary to Marxist-Leninist understanding I P F was inaugurated as an assortment of various organisations including some linked with voluntary organisations, and as a cover to fight elections. Now since the party organisation itself is *declared open* ready to contest elections, I P F is turned in to a loose confederation of all sorts of forces ranging from ruling class groups to foreign funded organisations. This liquidationism and influence of parliamentarism has led its MLAs to defect to Janatha Dal for serving *social justice better*. It is reported in the press that in the first convention of this new look I P F at Delhi in April 3rd week, in response to George Fernandes' suggestion that B J P also should be included in the anti-GATT protest movement, Vinod Misra responded that it can be done provided B J P apologised for demolishing Babri Masjid! VM's line of demarcation with B J P is so slender.

Our criticism that today the ideological-political line of C P I (M L) Liberation is nothing but a carbon copy of C P I (M) line except for occasional militant fake rhetorics by its leaders is proved by its approach to the signing of the imperialist GATT Treaty by Narasimha Rao's government of traitors. It is proved beyond any doubt that atleast from the last days of Rajiv govt in 1989, all the governments at centre including that of V. P. Singh supported by B J P and N F L F combine have contributed to the sell-out of the country's interest to the imperialists. B J P and N F L F parties had *allowed* the minority government of Rao to enslave the country to IMF-WB-GATT trio and MNCs, and to globalisation—market economy policies. When Rao govt had

made clear its decision to accept Dunkel proposals, or when it was going to sign the GATT Treaty none of these parties tried to compel the government to come out openly in parliament, or to force a voting on it. At the most their opposition is nothing but a parliamentary game. Even then instead of trying to build up a platform of forces other than these established ruling class parties, or join the revolutionary forces to oppose GATT Treaty from a clear-cut anti-imperialist position, this group tamely joined the *National Platform of Mass Organisation* (NPMO) practically led by C P I (M).

Moreover as revealed by the reporting on the April 15 protest rally at Delhi in its Liberation special issue it has totally accepted C P I (M) positions. Report says: "It the government has made clear its desperation to sell out national sovereignty and strangle democracy, the working people have declared their overwhelming urge and militant resolve to wage a united resistance for the common agenda of national dignity, economic well being and democratic right." The rhetorics apart it is nothing but an out and out reformist position which even a B J P paper will print, leave apart C P I (M) journals. It is this naked reformist approach which prevented it from demanding and organising a countrywide agitation on April 15, as a resistance to the imperialist GATT Treaty.

There were times when C P I (M L) Liberation used to claim about its international relations with revolutionary organisations. To justify its toeing of Dengist line, it used to quote that Communist Party of Philippines (C P P) leading New Peoples Army (N P A) is also doing the same. Abandoning Marxist-Leninist positions it thus prided itself as part of Dengist international. But experience has taught vast majority of C P P about the counter revolutionary nature of Dengist positions. A real rectification struggle followed in which the Dengists were ousted and the C P P is once again reorganised on M L M T line. The organisation which attended the *International Seminar of revisionist parties* organised by C P I (M) in 1993 was this ousted Dengist section. VM's *Liberation* printed the speech of the representative of this so-called C P P like the speech of many other revisionist organisations as it also agreed with their positions.

On SriLankan Crisis and Coming Elections

General elections to SriLankan parliament is going to be held in mid-August at a time when this south Asian country is passing through a period of unprecedented crisis in all fields. The structural adjustment programme initiated and continued by successive UNP governments from 1977 under the dictates of IMF and World Bank has only intensified the crisis. As a part of this programme all plantations—rubber, tea and coffee—nationalised in early fifties are now sold to private agencies. This disinvestment has taken place in transport and industrial sectors also. Even before formally signing the GATT Treaty, similar to what happened in India, agricultural subsidies were cut. All welfare measures are being wound up. The country is fully opened to MNCs. Promotion of tourism as an industry has led to degradation in all fields including spread of AIDS and promotion of child prostitution for the tourists who are scared of AIDS.

Free trade zones are promoted in a big way.

(from P. 10)

But now CPP has come out with a general declaration on Mao Tsetung Thought signed by it along with other ML organisations denouncing all Dengist positions and upholding revolutionary banner. To hoodwink its cadres in *glassnost* style this declaration was published by VM's Liberation followed by a report by one Narendra Singh. Though a foot-note is given below the declaration that CPI (ML) Liberation could not sign it due to differences, the report did not mention any such differences. VM is trying to hunt with the hunter and run with the deer. He is performing like a man with one leg each in both boats. Before long he is bound to fall in to the water.

There is only one option for the revolutionary ranks in this group. Dare to challenge the revisionist leadership and force a rectification process to drive out Dengist sections like the revolutionaries in CPP have done. In this way only they will be able to join the revolutionary forces and rebuild CPI (ML) in true Bolshevik style and based on Mao's mass line. ●

Even proposals for free ports are seriously discussed. Export promotion is limited to export of plantation, agricultural, leather products and garments. This export policy has increased prices of food and other essential items considerably. Meanwhile MNCs are expanding their market propagating consumerism and bringing all production sectors under their control. Colombo and Trincomalee are opened for the naval fleets of US and other imperialist countries. If *Voice of America* was previously broadcasting using extra facilities of Colombo station of SriLankan broadcasting system, now independent facilities are provided for it in a northern island. Opposition to it was instantly suppressed.

If UNP government introduced IMF-WB dictated programmes of liberalisation-modernisation-privatisation subordinating everything to market system in 1977 in the name of tiding over the debt and foreign exchange crisis SriLanka was facing then, 17 years of these export oriented economic policies have only intensified this crisis further. Imperialist debts are almost tripled compelling regular new borrowings for interest and instalment payments of these loans, which in turn are further increasing debts and accentuating the debt crisis. Even after massive disinvestment and opening service sector also to MNCs, foreign exchange reserve position has not improved. Frantic export drives even neglecting domestic needs have also failed to improve the situation.

As a result vast masses are increasingly pauperised. Prices have gone up considerably. Disinvestment has only increased unemployment. Inflation and wage-freeze have brought down real wages. Even after increased earnings from the massive export of man power to west Asia and other countries the situation has not improved. SriLanka is now exposed as a neocolony in all sense and in acute crisis.

Along with this in order to put down all forms of people's movements the state is fascicised and militarised. Even nominal democratic and human rights are denied. Media is made a totally captive one. Even publication of political cartoons are banned. In this au-

ocratisation U N P as well as opposition SLFP is partners. Any challenge to ruling class system and present state apparatus in any form is not at all tolerated.

In this situation it is not difficult to understand that the August elections is not going to make any change in the present condition. On the one hand, the ruling U N P which is in alliance with Ceylon Workers Congress of Thondaman and some other micro groups are for further autocratisation and neocolonisation, though it has now accepted the reversion to parliamentary system from the Jayawardhane-introduced presidential system. On the other hand, the opposition alliance of SLFP, LSSP, revisionist C P C, Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and Lalith Adulathmudali faction, is trying to capitalise from the people's outcry against disappearance of 60,000 Sinhala youths during the anti-J V P state repression, unearthing of

mass graves, continuing ethnic strife, negative aspects of presidential system and the consequences of I M F-W B dictated policies pursued by U N P government. But it is not basically against these policies, it is not for a democratic solution of Tamil-Sinhala ethnic question, and not for democratisation of the society. If it comes to power it will follow the very same U N P policies with minor changes in form. Similarly the TULF, the EPRLF, a combination of PLOT-EROS-TELO under common name of TUNE, a number of independent Tamil groups and a split away faction of J V P which are participating in the election, have neither anti-imperialist positions nor call for democratisation of the society. In such a situation whatever may be the result of the election, what is going to happen following it is not at all difficult to understand. It is going to be a repetition of what happened in Sri Lanka from the time of 'decolonisation' in late forties

(from P. 8)

In the next sentence in the most unprincipled way he white washes PDP and INL who are against even the slightest changes in *Shariat* or any efforts to democratise the society. In short his argument is no way different from that of Congress leaders. According to Congress leaders all those including IUML who accept their leadership are progressive and secular. Similarly according to EMS all those including Madani and Sait become progressive once they start co-operating with LDF.

This is the level to which electoral politics and ruling class policies have degenerated CPI (M) like forces. By white washing this heinous politics as Marxist-Leninist, CPI (M) leaders like EMS are untiringly working for the perpetuation of ruling class politics. All those who have illusions about building up any progressive movements by uniting with such forces are bound to get disappointed soon. Or they may also become a victim of the very same reactionary line.

The reactionary nature of this line put forward by EMS became so evident and it evoked such a negative response even from those very near to CPI (M) that, CPI (M) general secretary was compelled to come out with a rejoinder dissociating the party from some of the evaluat-

ions of EMS. But this rejoinder itself is a good specimen of opportunism.

To pacify all those who have attacked the the evaluation of Gandhi as a religious fundamentalist by EMS, Surjeet has gone to the other extreme projecting Gandhi as a martyr. In the most opportunist way he has not mentioned the class character of Gandhi for which Marxist-Leninists have always criticised him. Similarly Surjeet has put INL and Sait above PDP and Madani and thus keeping the options for some adjustments in future with Sait. Surjeet has not taken pains to analyse what fundamentalism means today and its relation with imperialism. His arguments are so hollow and superficial when he equates religious fundamentalism with religious fanaticism and when he refuses to identify which are the religious fundamentalist forces presently. He is trying to whitewash the opportunist relations developed by CPI (M) with religious fundamentalist, communal, casteist and obscurantist forces in pursuit of electoral gains. As a whole the rejoinder by Surjeet is only intended to save his party from the difficult situation created by EMS' article. It is as opportunist as that of the positions taken by EMS. To expect anything else from Surjeet, the polit-bureau or CC of CPI (M) will be meaningless as this party as a whole has degenerated to ruling class politics.

when it was turned from a colony to a neo-colony and power was transferred to the comprador ruling classes taking the neo-colonial plunder and pauperisation of masses to new heights. Those who are expecting any changes by a change of government from UNP to SLFP are trying to conceal that it is the governance by UNP following transfer of power and then alternating SLFP and UNP governments and the impotent role of Trotskyist LSSP and Krushchovite CPC (Communist Party of Ceylon) as allies of SLFP which have led to the present situation.

The First crisis

By late sixties the comprador governments led by UNP and then SLFP had led Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) to increasing unemployment, pauperisation of the masses, increasing gap between the rich and poor and intensifying exploitation by imperialist and social imperialist forces. The revisionists and all other pseudo left forces had become apologists of this system. It was in this situation the first revolt organised by the petty bourgeois Chegueverist forces mobilised in JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna) in 1973 shook the SLFP-LSSP-CPC government. To suppress it Sirimao Bandaranaike government took massive military assistance of US, Soviet Union, Britain, India and Pakistan. Thousands of youth were brutally massacred. The revolt was suppressed within a few months. This opportunity was utilised to intensify fascist measures of state terror against all people's movements.

Alongwith these fascist measures, to appease the Sinhala youth and to divert attention from burning economic, political issues confronting the people as a whole, both SLFP and then UNP governments tried to utilise the ethnic contradiction between Sinhala and Tamil people, just like the colonial rulers. The steps taken by the governments virtually reducing them to second class citizens enraged Tamil people. And the ethnic conflict started surfacing from 1974, just an year after suppression of JVP revolt.

In 1977 election TULF openly asked for *Eelam*, a separation from Sri Lanka like separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971. It was a demand supported by all sections of Tamils

including Thondaman. The new government instead of solving this growing conflict further widened it inciting Sinhalese chauvinism and suppressing Tamil demands. It soon gave rise to the growth of Tamil chauvinism and militancy. Youth and student wings of TULF soon broke away from parent body and gave rise to different Tamil militant groups wedded to armstruggle to achieve Eelam. But none of these groups were either prepared to launch a struggle for abolition of feudal relations and caste system, or to take anti-imperialist positions. Though some of them claimed to uphold Marxist positions, it was only in words. All of them were satisfied with a Bangladesh type separation keeping the system intact.

As the state suppression of these militant Eelam groups intensified and Eelam refugees started reaching Tamilnadu in growing numbers, the demands in TN for assistance to this separatist struggle also grew. Even while indiscriminately suppressing the democratic aspirations of various nationalities in India and sending military to crush different movements coming up in different regions linked to this issue from different class positions, Indira Gandhi government opportunistically supported the Eelam groups. It gave them arms training and a generous supply of weapons. Rajiv Gandhi government followed up this more enthusiastically. As far as the Eelam groups were concerned, because of their petty bourgeois positions they were ready to accept arms and aid from all including imperialist agencies.

Soon Rajiv government became an open supporter of this movement in all manners. It was in this situation Jayawardhane government in Sri Lanka was compelled to seek and sign the Rajiv-Jayawardhane accord of 1987. Though LTTE initially agreed to abide by it, it had already started moves to establish its unquestionable hegemony in Eelam movement by starting to eliminate other groups. In this situation the accord failed and in 1988 IPKF was despatched to crush LTTE. Though Soviet social imperialists had already started weakening, its support to Indian government's moves in Sri Lanka and possibility of Trincomalee becoming an Indian and thereby Soviet base alerted US and Britain to manipulate an IPKF defeat. Britain provided all helps to LTTE. Soon the new Sri Lankan president Premadasa was also for an IPKF def-

eat and retreat.

This change in SriLankan government's approach was mainly due to the resurgence of JVP once again, this time with hectic propaganda against Indian expansionism utilising the presence of Indian army and whipping up Sinhalese passions. By himself demanding the withdrawal of IPKF Premadasa wanted to take the wind out of JVP offensive. By expressing preparedness to talk to LTTE and stopping the fight in the north he wanted to concentrate in wiping out the JVP revolt which had spread in the south. Soon Premadasa government started a systematic savage annihilation of JVP which was accomplished by 1989.

But the opportunistic cease fire between Premadasa government and LTTE could not last long. Premadasa refused special status for the combined northern and eastern provinces and LTTE hegemony over it. In 1991 June once again clashes started and inspite of assassination of Premadasa, the civil war is continuing with LTTE controlling most of Jaffna and other groups in control of other Tamil areas with direct or indirect support from the government. The communal card is also cleverly played by the government leading to growing contradiction between Muslims and non-Muslims in Tamil areas. Meanwhile government has started settling Sinhalese families in places bordering Tamil areas also. As a result of all these the Sri Lankan government has succeeded at least temporarily in bringing about a stalemate and in establishing its overall control by almost wiping out JVP, restricting LTTE to some areas of Jaffna, arriving at a compromise with other Eelam groups, and by manipulating the ethnic, communal and caste contradictions.

The New Crisis

But SriLankan government could achieve this only through ever intensifying fascist measures. In spite of elections and other fake democratic make-ups, state terror is felt everywhere. Even name-sake democratic rights are non-existent. The media as a whole is made captive. All religious fundamentalists, mainly Buddhist fundamentalists are promoted. Even if presidential system is once again changed to parliamentary system it is not going to change this situation. The ethnic conflict, presence of armed rebellio-

us groups and growing communal divisions and casteist contradictions among Tamils are providing the government an alibi to continue and intensify its fascist measures. In pursuing this both the main contenders in the election are having similar views. Because both are wedded to continuing the IMF-WB dictated policies. And for this at any cost law and order has to be maintained. The virtual absence of any genuine popular democratic movements is helping them to this fascist oppression in the most savage manner.

In achieving this stalemate the fascist SriLankan government was helped on the one hand by the extremely sectarian petty bourgeois JVP. Instead of a broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movement based on mass line, by resorting to short-cuts to capture power like *foco* actions in 1973 and inciting Sinhalese chauvinism in 1988 JVP was in a way providing a justification for the state to resort to most barbarous fascist methods in the name of providing so-called law and order and peace to the people. Even while the families and friends of the 25,000 dead and 60,000 missing and democratic sections grieved for them, in the absence of a revolutionary line such enormous sacrifice could not leave behind any positive remnants to carry forward the movement as all genuine revolutionary movements always do even after suffering serious setbacks.

On the other hand LTTE through its extreme intolerance towards other Tamil groups, its own fascist methods of annihilating them and even civil right activists and supporters of Eelam movements like Rajani Thiruvagama and Sabaratnam Sabalingam is also providing an alibi for the state to resort to fascist oppression. It started and continues as a terrorist organisation. Its banning of even Tamil films from TN and propagating RAMBO like films reflects its basic character. For more than 5000 prisoners under its custody life is so miserable that they may prefer government jails. Even when neo-colonisation of Sri Lanka has reached a new zenith, LTTE has not opposed these policies including signing of GATT Treaty. Even when a northern island is made a Voice of America station, LTTE has not done anything against it. Its argument that so long as it has the authority to decide about the use of the arms it gets, what is there in it even if it is from imperialist powers shows

its compromising character towards imperialism. It is its negative approach towards proletarian forces and anti-feudal, anti-caste questions which has prevented support of Tamil plantation workers to the Eelam movement. Along with these its autocratic administration of areas under its control, coercive methods of money collection and negative approach towards democracy in general have led to its brand of liberation losing all revolutionary character. At the most to the people it becomes replacement of Sinhala oppressors by Tamil oppressors.

And the record of TULF, EPRLF, PLOT, TELO, EROS, EPDP like Eelam groups are also not much different. As they are also not anti-imperialist and democratic, when faced with intolerant terroristic attacks by LTTE, they refuse to counter it by mobilising the masses on democratic lines however difficult it may be. Instead they depend on either Indian or SriLankan government or both to escape from LTTE wrath. Forces like EPDP has become lackeys of SriLankan government and all of them see LTTE as their main enemy. In this process they have abandoned even their reformist struggles against SriLankan government.

This situation has provided an excellent opportunity for the government to utilise the contradiction between LTTE and other groups to extreme levels. The political approaches and military tactics of all of them have provided the government sufficient grounds to resort to most autocratic and brutal administrative and military actions. In short LTTE and all these groups have totally failed to give an anti-imperialist and democratic orientation to the movement for the right of self-determination of Eelam people. The boycott of coming election by LTTE or participation by other groups is not going to make any difference in this context.

Revolutionary alternative still lacking

The above brief analysis clearly shows that SriLanka can be saved from the clutches of imperialism and its lackeys, the democratic unity of Sinhala and Tamil people can be achieved based on the right of self-determination including the right to secede, and people's prosperity can be realised only through a revolutionary alternative. But like in most other neo-colonies, in Sri Lanka also Communist movement is yet to be reorganised as the real vanguard of the proletariat in order to provide

orientation and leadership to such an alternative.

Though the Communist Party of Ceylon formed during the colonial days participated in and led many anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles, like in India, in Ceylon also it failed in the concrete analysis of the concrete situation, in developing the theory and practice of NDR accordingly, and in providing leadership to it. So it became an easy victim to Krushchovian revisionism and became an apologist of neo-colonialism. It started tailing behind ruling class parties.

Struggling against revisionist leadership and upholding Marxism - Leninism - Mao Tsetung Thought CPC was reorganised in 1966 under the leadership of com. Shanmugathan. Though it tried to organise the trade union movement on revolutionary lines and led an anti-caste struggle in Tamil areas, no serious effort was made to build up a Marxist-Leninist organisation based on Bolshevik principles. In the absence of such a party organisation and failure to evolve a concrete line for developing NDR, including the resolution of right to self-determination of Eelam people as a part of it, when the country was facing acute crisis, the CPC failed to take any initiative. As a result the serious developments in the country sidelined it.

Once again, though com. Shanmugathan could take a correct ideological stand towards the developments in China immediately after Mao's death, towards class collaborationist *Three Worlds Theory*, and towards degeneration of Albanian leadership, CPC under his leadership failed to apply these lessons to concrete developments in Sri Lanka and to play any role in the political scene. An idealist approach towards developing practice and indifference to party building was haunting it. It is this basic weakness which reduced to a name sake organisation, and led it to embrace the idealist positions including its new concept of *Maoism*, and to reject Engels and Stalin from its banner.

This situation has posed a challenge before the genuine Marxist Leninists in Sri Lanka to make an evaluation of the past developments and reorganise the Communist Party with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as its ideological basis. Only under the leadership of such a proletarian vanguard the NDR including the right of self-determination of Tamil people can be realised. As far as the coming election is concerned it is only going to further intensify all internal and external contradictions.

Who defeated fascism?

Imperialists are rewriting the whole world history in a hurry. They want to erase the memory of proletarian offensive in all continents to create a new world. They are doing it savage vengeance, with extreme hatred towards the forces of revolution who dared to challenge the citadels of imperialism once.

Take for example what they are doing to the history of the Second World War period. They are trying to erase all that happened just 50 years ago and to rewrite history as if they were the only heroes who defeated fascism.

On June 6 all the imperialist chiefs got together and celebrated the 50th anniversary of Normandy landing by 150,000 U S and British forces to fight the armies of Hitler. The media dominated by imperialists and their lackeys repeat the lie that it was this D-Day invasion which turned the tide of SWW. Is it true?

No, the real turning point in the war against Hitlerite forces came in the Soviet villages, towns and cities where Nazi's invasion force of 30 lakhs troops, 3300 tanks, 7000 big artillery guns supported by 2000 aircraft launched a barbarous aggression. After quickly grabbing Chechoslovakia, Poland, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway the German imperialist army was in a murderous mood. On June 22, 1941 it invaded Soviet Union to end the challenge from the east once for all. Also it wanted to wipe out Communists from this globe.

While the German armies were the most modern military force in the world then, Soviet army was much less equipped as the socialist country was concentrating its whole energy on socialist construction, and not on armaments. Moreover the capitalist roaders who were in top positions in the party, administration, and army against whom the C P S U under Stalin's leadership had to wage a fierce struggle to defend the proletarian dictatorship had weakened the army considerably. So while Hitler expected a quick victory, U S and British imperialists hoped that Soviet Union would be totally exhausted taking brunt of the German attack. With this intention they delayed the opening of the second front in western Europe.

Germany's military strategy was *blitzkrieg*

or lightning war. Hitler's goal was to overthrow socialist rule, enslave Soviet people and to destroy the base area of world revolution. Nazis adopted extremely brutal means for a quick result. Nazis burned whole towns and villages and left bodies of the murdered inhabitants unburied. Out of the 57 lakhs Soviet soldiers taken prisoners, 33 lakhs died in German prison camps of cold, hunger and execution.

Initially Soviet Red Army suffered severe setbacks. It had to retreat. Slowly Communists started mobilising the masses in a life and death struggle. They were fighting not just for the Soviet people, but for the liberation of all people groaning under fascist oppression. Guerrilla tactics were adopted harassing the invaders. People's weapons like grenades and molotov cocktails were used against tanks. Whole factories were taken apart and moved to Siberia to continue production. Soviet cities like Moscow and Leningrad were turned into military strongholds.

Nazis failed to clinch the quick victory and soon the winter months came. They were bogged down far inside Soviet territory. They had to defend thousands of miles of supply lines. This bitter fighting and brutal winter cost the Nazis atleast 15 lakhs casualties.

In the mid-1942, dropping the idea of a general offensive for the time being Hitler ordered 15 lakhs troops and equipments to launch an offensive to Soviet oilfields in the Cacus mountains in order to cut Soviet oil supplies and to utilise them for his army. Greatest possible force was concentrated to take the city of Stalingrad. It was as Mao said "a final offensive on which the fate of fascism hung".

80 days of bitter street fighting took place after German tanks, aircraft and heavy artillery smashed down much of the city in the attack launched on August 23. Tens of thousands died in these attacks. Nazis wanted to push Soviet army against Volga river and destroy them. But Red Army was getting ready to defend Stalingrad. Communists organised the people to help the war efforts and to run civil administration. Workers, both men and women, came forward to fight alongside regu-

(Contd P. 19)

P. J. JAMES

Post-Uruguay Trade Trends: Imperialist Rubeff to Indian Lackeys

Before April 15, the official trump card in the pro-Uruguay round campaign had been the projected gain worth \$ 2 billion that India was going to gain immediately after the conclusion of talks, mainly on account of the expected spurt in exports to developed country markets. Though differences existed among the various official penpushers as to how this gain is arrived at (for eg. some believed it to be the result of enhanced agricultural exports, especially rice, while others stressed the possibility of opening up of export markets for pharmaceuticals, etc.), led by Pranb Mukherjee who represented Indian ruling classes to sign the biggest ever betrayal at Marrakesh, they were unanimous in clinging to this figure throughout their hectic pro-GATT propaganda. These people have been spreading the illusion that being a 'developing country' India stands to get "special treatment" at the proposed World Trade Organisation (WTO). Even after Marrakesh, the traitorous sections in India went on highlighting these imminent benefits. For instance, participating in a Seminar, viz. 'GATT-Treaty-94-lts prospects for India in the 21st Century' in New Delhi on May 21, Mukherjee reiterated that under the new treaty Indian farmers would be benefited as they would be able to sell their products to rich nations which had an import obligation while India had no such obligation on account of her balance-of-payment problem. In another seminar, 'GATT

Agreement and Emerging World Rice Scenario' held on June 22 in New Delhi, again he repeated that GATT treaty "is a boon for rice export." In the same vein, the camprador business organisation FICCI in a recent study entitled "impact of GATT on Indian Economy" ascertained that India stands to gain \$ 4.6 billion from GATT accord by the turn of the century. The specific daims of the study include substantial tariff reduction on a number of agricultural and industrial products in developed countries leading to an increase in Indian exports of these items.

However, Indian ruling classes' claims regarding the expected gains from Uruguay round are to be evaluated in the context of emerging global trends in tariffs and trade.

Data from GATT

In fact the recent estimates released by the GATT Secretariat at Geneva have totally shattered all the illusions propagated by Indian agents regarding the Marrakesh treaty., Quick estimates regarding the forth coming changes in tariff structures on selected commodities in various countries released by GATT experts clearly show that contrary to earlier propaganda, tariff rates on products like textiles, clothing and leather goods in which developing countries, possible

Pre and Post Uruguay Tariff Rates for Selected Goods.

(in percentages)

Table (1)

Country	Commodity group								
	Textiles & Clothing			Leather goods			Fishing		
	Pre-Uruguay 1	Post-Uruguay 2	% reduction 3	Pre-Uruguay 1	Post-Uruguay 2	% reduction 3	Pre-Uruguay 1	Post-Uruguay 2	% reduction 3
USA	19.58	17.45	10.8	9.99	9.25	7.4	1.37	1.16	15.3
EEC	9.94	8.30	16.5	7.21	5.91	18.0	6.79	6.22	8.4
Japan	10.39	6.83	34.2	10.53	8.54	18.9	5.54	4.18	24.5
Third World	12.10	8.78	27.5	11.04	7.12	35.5	6.63	4.99	24.7

Source: GATT

gain lies, are still higher in developed countries. The table (1) is computed from data provided by GATT itself in the post-Uruguay situation.

The above table is computed by taking only three commodity groups in which 'third world' exporters are supposedly having comparative advantage. A glance at the table clearly shows that as per column 3 in each category, the percentage tariff reduction is the least in USA and highest in third world countries including India. This means that relative tariff rate in imperialist countries (with the exception of Japan in textiles & fishing) has gone up and that in neocolonies has gone down following Marrakesh treaty thereby making the latter's position more vulnerable. Thus contrary to the much trumpeted opening up of imperialist markets for the export products of poor countries, actual tariff reduction has taken place in poor countries enabling the MNCs to dump their synthetic textiles and other items in 'third world' markets like India. That is, the Uruguay round has resulted in further intensifying imperialist's protection of their markets against goods from poor countries on the one hand, and further integrating the poor countries, economies with global market on the

Post-Uruguay Tariff-cut Commitments by Various Countries (in percentage)

Table (2)

Country	Tariff cut
India	15.0
Argentina	13.3
Mexico	12.1
New Zealand	11.6
Brazil	11.5
Australia	10.7
Thailand	9.9
South Africa	8.2
Austria	4.7
Turkey	4.1
Canada	3.6
Malaysia	2.9
Japan	2.5
Philippines	2.4
United States	1.6
Hong Kong	0.0*

* Cuts offered by Hong Kong are zero, for, being a free port, it has nothing to cut.

Source: Indian Express, Kochi, June 27, '94-

other. If we take the case of other commodities also regarding which GATT data are available, the emerging picture for poor countries would be more gruesome.

Apart from data given by GATT, during the last week of June 1994, in an analysis of post-Uruguay global trade, the US Treasury has given a brief sketch of the tariff cut commitments by various countries. Its conclusion that takes into consideration almost all items "covered" by industrial trade is given table (2).

The table is self-explanatory. By far India has made the biggest tariff-cut commitments. It only shows the extent to which Rao and Company has gone in betraying the country and its people. As per the table, through her commitment to have the biggest tariff-cuts, India is going to be the biggest loser while imperialists especially US imperialism remain to be the largest gainer out of international trade talks. To be precise, she is going to be a dumping ground for all kinds of goods produced else where by MNCs. In fact, this is the true essence of the much trumpeted "special treatment" that India is going to get from the international market.

Ofcourse, a serious argument being put forward by exponents of Marrakesh betrayal is the expected rise in Indian rice exports to imperialist markets. Leaving apart those cases of starvation deaths which have of late become a usual phenomenon in India on account of unavailability of food grains at reasonable prices, the question is whether it is possible for India to secure even a millionth part of the global rice market in the context of the emerging trade trends. The irony is that contrary to official propaganda in India, the European Union has recently imposed a tariff of 200 percent on Indian rice exports to Europe, while Japan the only imperialist country where any substantial tariff-reduction has taken place recently preferred to import one million tonnes of rice from USA, China and other countries. All these are happening at a time when the Rao government has identified rice-export as a major thrust item in post-Uruguay especially in the context of an upward-trend in world demand for rice.

US Manoeuvres

During the bilateral talks with US on textiles held in Geneva preceding Marrakesh, Indian lackeys had offered to reduce its average tariff

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on textiles from 146% to 46% over a 10-year period. As pointed out earlier (see Table 2), as estimated by US, India had cut import duties by 15% to start with. Mean while, as a consequence of the expiry of India's bilateral agreements on textiles with US, on December 31, 1993, the US has taken away India's access to the former's textile market under the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP-"preference given to poor country exports to developed country markets as per UNCTAD regulations). The Rao government is incapable of making even a feeble protest against this. It is a fact that, while official Indian agents are hoodwinking the people with highly inflated figures on the expected rise in export earnings from imperialist markets such as USA, almost all Indian exports to USA still confront one or another form of trade sanctions. For example, the GSP withdrawn on Indian

chemical exports in 1992 still continues. Recently, using the official state apparatus, US intellectual property industry has once again urged action against India under special 301 for 'failure to provide adequate protection to intellectual properties. While testifying before a Senate Panel on June 24, 1994, the spokesman of Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America said: "We believe it is necessary that a strong message be sent to India since it remains one of the bastions of global piracy".

Despite these concrete evidences, the traitorous Indian ruling classes are still upholding the view that India being a 'developing country' with a balance-of-payments problem is eligible for 'special treatment' under the post-Uruguay trade regulations. Here we leave it to Mickey Kantor, the US Trade Representative himself to shatter this illusion. In a recent interview with
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lar army. The war-cry of the revolutionary fighters was "Stalingrad will be the grave of Hitlerism". Though Nazis in Germany were boasting about the imminent fall of the city, the revolutionary fighters had other ideas. They fought for every inch of land day in and day-out. Battle continued. But even then by September 24 most of Stalingrad was in the enemy hands. But resistance continued. On October 14 Nazis tried a final assault. By October 30 Red Army had only three pockets along Volga, but still the Germans could not defeat them. Another Nazi offensive on November 11, and fighting went on for every yard of earth, for every brick and stone.

Women fought alongside men everywhere in the war. In every field they were fighting. Even some of Soviet Union's most famous night-flying bomber pilots were women.

On November 19 the great Soviet counter offensive started. Over a million Soviet troops started the offensive with incredible speed. In four and half days they encircled the whole of German army numbering 3.5 lakhs. Fighting continued till January 31, 1943 when the German general and his headquarters were captured. It was the greatest military victory in history. The street fighters of Stalingrad stunned the whole world. Even U S general MacArthur had to admit "the scale and grandeur of the effort make it as the greatest military

achievement in all history".

Stalingrad was the beginning of the end for Hitlerite Germany. The Soviet march towards west started. Nazis had to flee leaving the countries and peoples they had conquered and enslaved. Key to this victory of Soviet Red Army was the leadership of the Communist Party and under it people were making the war their own

Soon the imperialist think tanks in Washington and London realised that without a successful Western allied invasion of Normandy in France it was only a matter of time before the Red Army reached Atlantic wiping out Hitlerite forces enroute. That is why the much delayed opening of Second front was taken up and Normandy landing was organised on June 6, 1944.

Now imperialists are celebrating this day as the turning point of SWW to cheat world people. Revolutionaries should expose this heinous game of the hated imperialists. They should salute the heroic Soviet people, the Soviet Red Army, C P S U and great Stalin who made the victory of Stalingrad possible braving immense obstacles which dealt a telling blow to Nazis leading to their ultimate defeat. They should get prepared to recreate this history in the changed circumstances of today by launching a new uncompromising offensive against imperialists and their lackeys of all hues.

Palestine Revolution Betrayed

After months of hard bargaining during which Palestines continued to get killed and the Israelis continued to show their arrogance and Zionist fascism a so-called *limited Palestine self-rule* has now come in to existence in the Gaza strip and in Jericho town in the west bank. Israeli police is replaced by Palestinian policemen. Shortly an elected council in this area with local administrative powers also will be formed. While the imperialists and their lackeys everywhere including the revisionists of all brands are hailing it as a great victory, most of Palestinian revolutionary masses and revolutionary groups consider it a sell out, a surrender.

People's Front for Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) has condemned this surrender and called for renewed struggles for the liberation of Palestine. It is this organisation which represented Palestine in last year's regional seminar of Marxist-Leninist organisations and progressive sections from West Asia held in Turkey. It calls

for the overthrow of the Zionist Israeli state and the realisation of a democratic Palestinians including Muslims, Christians and Jews. In order to carry forward the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist struggle forward PFLP calls for the revolutionary unity of all Palestinians.

The Anti Arafat stand is put forward by most of the Muslim fundamentalist organisations also. They are supported by Saudi, Jordanian Iranian, Libyan fundamentalist rulers or having some other fundamentalist backers. Though they at present oppose the *West Bank Deal* arrived at by the PLO faction led by Arafats none of them take anti-imperialist positions. They are calling for the replacement of Zionist, rule by a Muslim fundamentalist rule. At the same time they are antagonistic to each other, fighting and killing each other like the sordid events in Kabul and in Afghanistan as a whole after the so-called *Islamic liberation* of that

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the US senate committee on Agriculture he said: "The successful completion of Uruguay Round Negotiations does not mean a free ride for developing countries which will have to follow the same trade rules as developed countries....

The new agreement opens up major areas of trade and provide a dispute settlement system which will allow the US to ensure that other countries play the rules", (emphasis ours). He also pointed out that the Uruguay Round will create hundreds of thousands of high-wage high-skill jobs in the US and that increased trade will pump \$ 200 million into the US economy every year. According to him, with the new agreement, US agricultural exports are expected to increase by \$ 1.6 billion to \$ 4.7 billion in 2000 and \$ 4.7 billion to \$ 8.7 billion by 2005. It is quite revealing that this statement by Kanter being the last nail in the coffin of so called 'special treatment', no Indian Minister, nor any official economist has come forward with any clarification on this US arrogance.

'Exports Lose Steam' - Official Confession

Even while it is trying to cover up the

US-led imperialists manoeuvres against neocolonies especially, India, on July 6, 1994 the Indian government has come out with some kind of a confessional statement on the 'sharp fall in export growth' in the post-Marrakesh scenario. "The euphoria over accelerating exports has abruptly collapsed in to gloom" was the comment from ruling class quarters. That is, export growth during the two months (April-May) immediately following Marrakesh treaty has plummeted to just 9% compared with the claimed high growth of 20% during the corresponding period last year. official circles also point out that the rise in agricultural exports which contributed high overall exports last year, cannot be sustained this time.

This means that, of late, the Rao-Manmohan-Mukherjee company has also begun to realise the stark reality confronting Indian exports which we have elucidated above. But their traitorous mission does not allow them to declare this openly. Instead, true to their comprador class character the Indian rulers, who have already been won over by imperialists, are now engaged in a frantic propaganda to cover up all the imperialist machinations against the Indian people in the post Uruguay period.

Sugar Scam: Who Are Responsible?

From the days of Nehru to this day governments at the centre and in the states must have ordered thousands of enquiries—judicial enquiries, executive level enquiries and enquiries by parliamentary or assembly committees—for finding the truth about numberless scandals, atrocities and corruptions. What happened to all of them is known to all. Enquiries of all sorts are means to cover up crimes and corruption and to save the guilty. What happened to Bofors and stock scam enquiries by the highest level parliamentary committees are latest proofs for the most heinous ways in which the higher-ups were saved inspite of numerous evidences to book the guilty. So the latest enquiry ordered by Narasimha Rao to bring out the truth about the thousands of crores *sugar scam* is not going to enthuse any. For this enquiry Rao has resurrected one Gian Prakash who had retired as CAG more than a decade ago. This hand-picked man will do to Rao what the earlier parliamentary committees did for Rajiv and Rao. If even after this laughable exercise the opposition is happy, and is ready to wait for the enquiry report, it shows how even many among them are also benefitted by the present multi-crore sugar scam.

India is advertised as the top most producer of sugar by the government. Last financial year it produced more than 100 lakh tons. If it is equally distributed each of the 90 crores of Indians

can get one kilo sugar per month. Even during this year 5 lakh tons of sugar was exported at Rs. 3.50 per kilo by government. Till recently price of sugar in international market including shipping charge was 200-225 dollars per ton which means Rs. 6.50 per kilo. These details show that even if sugar was to be imported it could be made available to the people at Rs. 6.50 or Rs. 7.00. But what is happening is quite the opposite.

From the total production of 100 lakh tons more than 50 percent is utilised for manufacturing pastries, chocolates, ice-creams and other luxury items devoured mainly by the rich. 5 lakh tons were exported at Rs. 3.50 per kilo even when sugar selling at more than 4 times this price in order to maintain the export credit-worthiness as stated by Pronab Mukherjee. Meanwhile government was helping the powerful sugar lobby of manufacturers and big traders by propagating the lie that there is shortfall in production and prices may go up. In a planned way hoarding took place. In tune with this price of sugar distributed through ration shops was enhanced. Within weeks the government and the sugar lobby could easily manipulate a price rise to Rs. 15-17 per kilo fetching thousands of crores to be shared by them. In this the sugar-cane cultivator was totally kept out and the masses were fleeced.

At this time in international market sugar price was only 200-225 dollar per ton including shipping charge. So the government could import and provide sugar at Rs. 7 per kilo even in open market. But the government leaders and bureaucrats had different ideas. They went on debating which agency should import. Meanwhile the five or six MNCs led by Cargill who have international trade monopoly in sugar and food items joined hands with these traitors providing them necessary commission and enhanced international prices to 400-450 dollar per ton, that is Rs. 12 to 13 per kilo. Only then the imports began. Remember it was taking place at the very time India exported 5 lakh tons at Rs. 3.50 per kilo.

Many departments of the government of India including prime minister, ministers and bureaucrats, the sugar lobby and the MNCs are involved in this scam through which about Rs.

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country. Anytime these groups can be utilised in the interests of imperialists and their lackeys against the revolutionary forces fighting for the real liberation of Palestine. Imperialists are playing the criminal game of making the people fight on fundamentalist lines—Zionism Vs Islamic fundamentalism—to divert them from revolutionary path and a socialist future. In this situation PELP and all those who are aspiring and struggling for the people's liberation have to uncompromisingly fight against imperialism led by US imperialism, the Zionist state, and the reformist-opportunist sections led by Arafat like forces on the one hand, and expose and struggle against Islamic and other fundamentalist forces on the other.

Rao government's open appeasement of Hindu fundamentalism

Addressing the rally organised to celebrate the third anniversary of Rao government at Delhi Narasimha Rao has declared that his government will take initiative to construct Rama temple at Ayodhya. His silence on reconstruction of Babri Masjid was significant. Finally Rao has decided to appease Hindu fundamentalism in order to get a better share of the majority Hindu votes in coming elections to a number of provinces. In this process he has ultimately decided to write off Babri Masjid. There is nothing surprising in this considering the communal appeasement policies of the Congress (I) governments from Nehru's time to present day.

On 1949 December 22 when Hindu fundamentalists illegally installed a Rama idol inside Babri Masjid, where namaz had taken place till that day, instead of removing the encroachers the provincial and central government allowed the closure of the Masjid calling it a disputed place. The case to settle the dispute was allowed to drag on. Then following an "open the lock" agitation by RSS and its Hindu Parivar forces Rajiv government allowed 'darsan' of Rama idol. Once again in 1989 just before Lok Sabha elections Rajiv government allowed performance of 'Sila Nyas' at the disputed place. Following this the Hindu Parivar had called for starting

5000 crores are estimated to have been pocketed by all these. It is this huge crime which is going to be uncarthed by an old hand-picked hag. Like stock scam, the sugar scam is only the beginning of such scams we are going to witness in the coming years as a result of implementation of IMF WB-GATT-MNCs dictated policies until we get totally accustomed to them. If Rao and company are enthusiastically opening up for globalisation and market system it is because in numerous ways like this they are generously benefitted.

The role played by the most loyal opposition parties in this whole business shows their total degeneration to the status of apologists or partners in these. BJP is rather silent except for occasional outbursts due to their close relation with sugar lobby. The almost extinct

Kar Seva for building the temple.

Rao government which took over in 1991 continued this naked appeasement of Hindu fundamentalists. Under the cover of Supreme Court's permission for a token Kar Seva on December 6, 1992 RSS Parivar mobilised lakhs of Hindu fanatics at Ayodhya. When the 110 companies of para military forces deputed by Rao government declaring that the Masjid will be protected at any cost and the UP police force controlled by Kalyan Singh govt was impotently looking on these Hindu fanatics demolished the Masjid. Even after the resignation of BJP provincial govt and take over of UP administration by centre, Rao allowed the Kar Sevaks to complete their task of erecting a temporary structure with Ram idol inside it at the place where the Masjid earlier stood. This was nothing but a clear bid by Rao to appear as the real Hindu leader and to push BJP backwards.

But when the whole people in the country except the Hindu fanatics condemned this heinous act and communal riots erupted everywhere Rao promised that he will reconstruct the masjid within a year at the same place. Soon he corrected it saying both masjid and temple will be constructed without specifying where they will be located. Now after one and a half years later he has spoken his real intentions to build only

National Front's constituents or the Left Front parties are not basically different. None of them questioned the export of sugar at damn cheap rate, resisted enhancing the price of rationed sugar, tried to expose the hoarding they very well know, and exposed the import muddle. Instead they as well as the media spent most of the time in blaming one minister or other or bureaucrats and refusing to link the scam with the present economic policies and to those responsible for them. In this way like what happened to stock scam they are helping Rao government and other real culprits to escape.

Bringing sugar price is not possible so long as the traitors are in power and opposition play the apologist's game of maintaining this totally corrupt, anti-people, neo-colonial system intact.

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democratic revolutions in the countries under imperialist domination can become successful and advance along revolutionary path only if they are organised and led forward as part of world socialist revolution.

Kim Il Sung did not become an open Kru-shchovite. But by refusing to openly come out against revisionism, rejecting proletarian internationalist positions and taking an ostrich like attitude of Korean self-reliance and prosperity, and taking a mechanical approach towards the theory and practice of continuing class struggle after capturing political power his and Korean Party's vision was reduced to that of national chauvinism. Through this negative experience he was once again proving the correctness of Marxist-Leninist stand that even genuine national liberation, realisation of right of self-determination, and national unity can be achieved only by fighting against and defeating imperialism and its lackeys. In spite of Kim Il Sung's Juche and confining whole attention to Korean unity for last 4-5 decades it could not be realised only because of the deviation of the Korean Party to the path of narrow nationalism from that of proletarian internationalism. Taking a centrist position meant nothing but opportunist surrender to revisionism. It is this surrender to revisionism by Korean Party like other parties and the consequent setbacks suffered by I C M which kept Korean unity a distant dream, and which has allowed U S imperialism to survive as a bully still threatening to invade Kim's Juche sanctuary.

By abandoning all basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism Kim Il Sung had transformed the people's democratic dictatorship which came in to existence after liberation of DPRK in to a

benevolent dictatorship. Unlike in most other Asian-African-Latin American countries under his leadership people enjoyed much more social welfare measures. Still Korea has not opened up to globalisation and market system as even China has done. The ordinary masses are enjoying a comparatively better life than in South Korea, which is projected as an *Asian Tiger* by imperialist propagandists. As a result when Kim died there were large scale expression of grief in the south which was brutally crushed by the neo-colonial regime there. But all these do not change the fact that DPRK is not a socialist state, and that it is also on the path of neo-colonisation.

The expression of grief by overwhelming majority of DPRK people in the south and the comparatively egalitarian life in DPRK should not confuse us from recognising this reality. We definitely uphold the positive aspects of Kim Il Sung's life, in organising the Communist Party in Korea, in leading the people along the path of anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggle, and in establishing people's democratic dictatorship of DPRK. But in carrying forward the democratic revolution to socialist revolution, in transforming people's democratic dictatorship to dictatorship of the proletariat by pursuing and developing the theory and practice of class struggle further, and in upholding Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism he committed extremely serious errors which degenerated Korean Party and state to capitalist path, which in a world dominated by imperialism today means degenerating the party to apologists of neo-colonialism, and the state to a neo-colony. We should take lessons from the positive aspects of his revolutionary life, as well as from the grave errors and deviations from Marxist-Leninist path which ultimately reduced him to a benevolent dictator. ●

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the temple.

He has two objectives in doing so. One, to divert people's attention from the burning issues created as a consequence of the policies pursued by his govt at the dictates of IMF-WB-GATT. Two, to win as many votes as possible from the Hindu majority. For this he is ready to abandon the reconstruction of Babri Masjid and put on Hindu fundamentalist attires. Even if it leads to alienation of minorities, whose support he is

not confident of getting, Rao is openly appeasing Hindu fundamentalism. He is engaged in a friendly competition for Hindu votes with BJP now. Tomorrow it may lead to even closer co-operation between the two as both have no basic differences on any fundamental issues.

Progressive democratic secular forces should condemn this Hindu communalist policy of traitor Rao. They should demand reconstruction of Babri Masjid at its old site at Ayodhya. ●

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Martyrs Day Observed

Revolutionary Communists all over India observed July 28 the day on which twenty two years ago the reactionary state murdered com. Charu Majumdar, the first general secretary and founder-leader of CPI (ML), as *Martyrs Day* remembering the tens of thousands of people's heroes who sacrificed everything for overthrowing the exploitative system and for liberating the masses from the clutches of imperialism and its lackey's. As far as CPI (ML) Red Flag and Marxist-Leninists organised under its banner concerned this day has special significance. It was CPI (ML) Red Flag, previously called CRC-CPI (ML), which for the first time called for observing this day as *All India Martyrs Day* in 1979 at the very time of its formation uniting all those Marxist Leninists who had denounced the usurpation of power by the Deng-Hua clique of capitalist roaders in China immediately after Mao's death and its counter-revolutionary *Theory of Three Worlds*, upheld the socialist roaders, and rejected the opportunist line put forward by Albanian leadership. In spite of repeated efforts by various brands of liquidators,

advocates of right and left deviations, opportunists and those preaching *New Left* ideas, Marxist-Leninists could persist in upholding the great banner of Marxism Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought raised by the martyr comrades, resist all efforts to degenerate the Party, and carry on the anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggles, meantime intensifying the ideological struggle against all alien trends.

Based on CRC, CPI (ML) Red Flag call Martyrs Day was observed at many places especially in AP and Kerala. programmes were organised in other states also. In all these programmes the paramount importance of intensifying ideological struggle against all alien trends and of building up the Party based on Bolshevik style in order to make it capable of taking up the tasks of NDR better were highlighted. Speakers at all programmes called for vigilance against bourgeois pragmatism like Dengist theory of "Black cat white cat" as it has made many revolutionary organisations incapable of differentiating between Marxism and revisionism, between socialist path and capitalist path.

Call for continuing anti-imperialist independence struggle

Yuvajanavedi which is in the forefront of anti-imperialist struggles in Kerala from the time of its formation eight years ago, which has launched a number of militant mass movements against neo-colonisation of the country has now called for observing this August 15 as a day of anti-imperialist campaigns with the central slogan "Continue struggle for independence of the motherland, Unite against the rule of GATT/WTO." On that day Vedi will burn the effigy of imperialist monster at all district head quarters in the province. It shall mobilise the youth to pledge for continuing the independence struggle which was betrayed in 1947 by the comprador forces and their agents. Vedi declared that it will continue the struggle till the real liberation of the people is realised.

Orissa: 'Jhuta Azadi Birodhi' Black Day

Orissa Democratic Front has called for observing this August 15 as *Jhuta Azadi Birodhi* Black Day. In a statement its convenors Mr. Abir Padhy and Dr. Narayan said that with the signing of GATT Treaty on April 15 by Rao government even the namesake sovereignty and the Indian constitution itself have become meaningless. The ruling class parties and government machinery is cheating the people by observing August 15 as independence day. It is sham independence. So people should observe it as a black day. In addition to a propaganda campaign a rally is organised at Bhubaneswar on August 15.

ODF has decided to campaign about the consequences of GATT Treaty and coming WTO all over the state with the goal of bringing forward masses of people in a sustained struggle against neo-colonisation.

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