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Hold High The Banner Of Mao Tsetung Thought

Observing December 26, 1993 to December 26, 1994 as Mao Centenary Year the proletarian revolutionary forces all over the world have initiated an allround counter attack against the camp of imperialism and its lackeys of various hues.

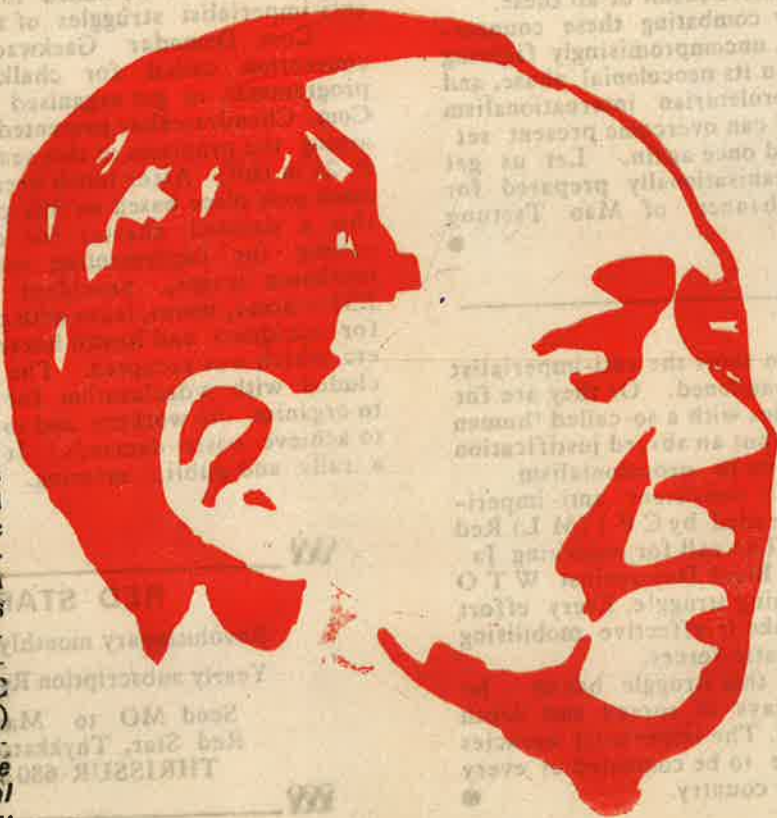
This initiative as reflected in the call by CPI (ML) Red Flag as a result of which numerous programmes including seminars, public meetings, conventions and rallies were organised at a number of places is taken when a large number of erstwhile revolutionary forces have succumbed or are in the process of degenerating to alien positions. In this context the position paper prepared by CRC of CPI (ML) Red Flag on *Challenges before the international Communist movement and the proletarian response* to them presented at the concluding Seminar at Ernakulam is of much significance. It calls for

holding high the red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and to get organised at international level to uncompromisingly fight against imperialism and its lackeys. It upholds the general line of the proletarian

internationalist movement put forward from the time of Marx and Engels calling upon the proletarian of the world to get united to build a new world, a socialist world, with the bright goal of Communism in front us.

These efforts to sharpen the ideological - political struggle at all levels to fiercely combat ideological pollution by enemy classes and their agents of all sorts who have infiltrated the movement, which are now taken up in India and at international level is of cardinal importance. All the serious setbacks suffered by the ICM in

post Second World War period, especially from mid-fifties ate, directly attributable to its weak



JANUARY 1 ALL INDIA BLACK DAY ● KICK OUT IMPERIALIST WTO

Diamond Workers' Convention Calls For Agitation

The Diamond Workers' Convention organised by Diamond Workers' Association and TUCI Bombay Committee was successfully

held at Keshav Gore Smarak Hall, Goregaon West, Bombay on 19 December. About 300 representatives from different areas participated. The Convention started at 11 AM with the welcome speech by DWA secretary com. Balraj and inaugural address by com. M. M. Somasekharan, general secretary, TUCI central committee.

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nesses to properly evaluate imperialism in its neocolonial phase. As a result various trends characterising Marxism-Leninism as yet another method of developing the productive forces faster surfaced. From Tito Krushchov to Deng Tsiaoping repeated heinous attempts were made to erase the line of demarcation between capitalist path and socialist path. Pernicious theories like dicing out of class struggle to peaceful transition to Theory of Three Worlds were put forward. Reformist illusions were created. Proletarian internationalism was abandoned. In this torrent more and more forces were swept away to revisionist whirlpools. Present setback to ICM is the cumulative result of all these.

Com. M. M. Somasekharan explained how diamond sector is a very good example of how MNCs and imperialist capital is looting Indian workers through local monopolies, banks and the comprador government in power. While the industry is getting more and more centralised at global level, here production units are scattered denying even all basic rights to the nearly one million workers. He called for strengthening the organisation and launching a sustained struggle for winning the basic demands. These struggles should be linked to the countrywide anti-imperialist struggles of the working class.

Only by fiercely combating these counter-revolutionary trends, uncompromisingly fighting against imperialism in its neocolonial phase, and firmly upholding proletarian internationalism the Marxist-Leninist can overcome present setback and march ahead once again. Let us get ideologically and organisationally prepared for holding high the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Com. Damodar Gackwad, presiding the convention called for chalking out specific programmes to get organised and to struggle. Com. Chandrasekhar presented a paper explaining the problems in this sector (published on P. 21 in full). After lunch break a lively discussion took place based on this paper. Following this a demand charter for diamond workers calling for implementing acts dealing with minimum wages, provident fund, gratuity, ESI scheme, bonus, leave with pay-compensation for accidents and health hazards, job security etc. which was accepted. The Convention concluded with a declaration for immediate steps to organise the workers and to launch struggle to achieve basic demands. It was followed by a rally and public meeting.

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reciated by them. In short the anti-imperialist approach itself is abandoned. Or they are for the neocolonial policies with a so-called 'human touch'. It is nothing but an absurd justification for becoming apologists to neocolonialism.

In this context the consistent anti-imperialist struggles spearheaded by C P I (M L) Red Flag is significant. The call for observing January 1 as All India Black Day against WTO is part of this continuing struggle. Every effort should be made to make it effective mobilising the patriotic democratic forces.

At the same time this struggle has to be developed in coming days in spread and depth to all over the country. The imperialist agencies and their lackeys have to be combated at every level and all over the country.

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Challenges Before The International Communist Movement And The Proletarian Response To Them

We are today living in a world which is much different from the one in which Marx lived a century and half before. Marx wrote *The Capital* at a time when the society was passing through the youthful stage of capitalism. What Marx did was the examination of the organic structure of the capitalist society in its macro and micro forms, and the comprehensive expression of the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour in all its manifestations. Marx and Engels discovered the labour theory of value from the classical bourgeois economics of Adam Smith and Ricardo, made it faultless, developed it, and provided it a new and qualitatively higher plane of the surplus value theory, which is a powerful weapon for struggle in the hands of the proletariat.

Capitalism from its birth has expressed, along with its efforts for the consolidation of the nation states, its global character also. The mercantile plunder and exploitation of capitalism have played important roles behind primitive capital accumulation and the industrial revolution. The relation between colonial plunder and industrial revolution in Europe is explained in later years by numerous economists. The characteristics manifested by capitalism from its very beginning was the breaking down of other nationalities and subjugating the world to the interest and for the growth of its own nation states. In *Communist Manifesto* it is made clear that capitalism through the plunder, of world market has given a universal character to production.

Again in the first pages of *Manifesto* it is said: "The East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, rapid development". In this way it correctly linked colonial plunder with the growth of capitalism. Marx and Engels explained its consequences at global level as follows: "It compels all nations, on pains of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce

what it calls civilization in to their midst, ie to become bourgeoisie themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image".

In these days when it is written repeatedly directly and indirectly and to the maximum extent that the Marxist teachers did not realise the real extent of colonial plunder, these quotations from *Communist Manifesto* itself are of much relevance. That the central subject of studies of Marx and Engels following *Manifesto* was the anatomy of bourgeois mode of production and thereby the centres of developed capitalism itself do not weaken, on the contrary only strengthen, their comprehensive criticism of modern capitalism. Actually only by rejecting the numerous popular sentimentalism coming out about poverty, colonial plunder and such other subjects in the name of different theories like dependency theory, it is possible to develop a scientific socialist approach. Nothing beyond some remnant liberalism and humanism within the bourgeois economics can be seen in them. At the same time we should not fail to see that even making such a positive statement about them may be dangerous; since most of these economic literatures are only misinterpreting Marxism, while claiming to talk in the name of Marxism.

In his studies on imperialism which is often qualified as the fourth volume of *Capital*, Lenin clearly follows the scientific path of Marxism itself. Lenin made it clear that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, that it depends on the monopoly of capital which has taken shape within the developed capitalist centres, and that the content of the imperialist capital monopoly is the financial oligarchy which has taken shape during the end of last century through the merger of monopoly in the industrial field with the monopoly in the banking field. He also pointed out that this financial oligarchy acted as the basis for making export of capital principal and in the formation of international capital monopolies.

Lenin's theoretical contributions which led *October Revolution* to victory, and the struggles he waged against all shades of revisionism all through his life ultimately depended on these

studies he developed about imperialism. Exposing the political surrenders of *Second International* Lenin put forward the important political aspects of imperialism that the division of world under the initiative of imperialism is completed, and that wars are unavoidable so long as the imperialist system exists. Lenin also exposed the tendencies of those like Kautsky who separated, imperialist economics from imperialist politics. At the same time Lenin defended, Marxism from deviating to theories like those based on under-consumptionist theory about capitalist capital accumulation and crisis put forward by those like Rosa Luxemburg who was praised in the later years as an extraordinary genius by the bourgeois interpreters of Marxism in the name of her so-called emphasis on colonial plunder. It is the scientific outlook on imperialism put forward by Lenin which developed Marxism to a new stage, to the stage of Marxism-Leninism, which led to the victory of October Revolution, to the formation and growth of *Third International*, to opening up the path of revolution in later years in the colonial semi-colonial countries including China, to the formation and growth of revolutionary Communist parties all over the world including in the colonial/semi colonial countries and to around strengthening of the proletarian movement everywhere.

Starting from the understanding developed during the capitalist phase at the time of Marx-Engels that revolution will take place at the same time all over Europe or in a number of countries at the same time, Lenin evaluated that imperialism gives rise to uneven development, and that it creates possibilities for revolution taking place even in a single country and for carrying forward socialist construction there as an integral part of world revolution. It is from this evaluation he developed the understanding about the possibility of revolution in tsarist Russia which was a weak link in the imperialist system. It should be seen that this evaluation was not a rejection of the concept of world revolution put forward by the Communist Manifesto. On the contrary it was a concrete development of this concept in the era of imperialism. Lenin was not separating Soviet Revolution abstractly from world revolution, but concretely putting forward the relation between world revolution and Russian Revolution in the concrete situation of imperialism. He has made clear many times that Soviet Revolution is an integral part of world revolution, and that the progress and vic-

ory of socialist construction in Soviet Union depend upon correctly linking it with world revolution. Lenin's strategy was working for the global victory of revolution while consolidating the victory of revolution in Soviet Union as a part of it. This is one of the principal factors which separates Leninism from the erroneous concepts of Trotsky about world revolution.

Lenin linked the victory of October Revolution not only with the victory of revolution in the capitalist countries, but also with its victory in the colonial/semi-colonial countries. In fact October Revolution paved the way for following the Soviet path even in countries where modern proletariat have not become strong enough, or even in countries where it has not taken shape. Lenin established that with the support of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries following Soviet path democratic revolutions can be realised and socialism can be built up in the colonies and semi-colonies.

Leninism teaches that the victory of revolution in any country and of socialist construction there necessitates a long process of uncompromisingly settling accounts with the capitalist mode of production in the background of the concrete situation both within the country and at global level. It also pointed out that the mistakes committed in continuing class struggle both inside a socialist country and outside weakens socialism and world revolution. The setback suffered by the world socialist camp today should be seen while evaluating based on this Leninist outlook, in the mistakes happened in the strategy and tactics of the struggle against global imperialism and its allies both within the socialist countries and at global level. That is the setback suffered by the socialist camp and the international communist movement as a whole today cannot be seen only as a consequence of the isolated issues, or just as a sum total of the mistakes committed in the struggle against capitalist roaders and revisionism in the socialist countries as well as in the Communist parties. It should be seen as the setback suffered by the international communist movement as a whole in the struggle against world imperialist system as such.

In the course of explaining Leninism, Stalin had correctly pointed out that the present era is that of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Following Second World War the defeat of fascism, the weakening of British imperialism, the victories achieved by international commu-

nist movement, the 'decolonisation' process, the growth of the non-alignment movement which came up following this, and such other factors presented outwardly a picture of a world situation that is facing rapid changes. The confusion created by such a situation was effectively utilised by the revisionists under the leadership of Krushchov who had usurped power in Soviet Union following Stalin's death. They presented a magnified picture about the collapse of imperialism. In this way they underestimated the strength of imperialism and overestimated strength of socialism.

This led them to make directly and indirectly new evaluations about the contemporary period as different from the period of Leninism and to putting forward their own new strategy and tactics about world revolution including about revolutions in the Asian, African, Latin American countries which were transformed to neo-colonies through the decolonisation process. The *Moscow Statement* evolved as a compromise document of 81 communist/workers parties in 1960 following in the footsteps of 1957 *Moscow Declaration* not only put forward a minimised understanding about the intensity of class struggle at global level by underestimating imperialism and overestimating the strength of socialism, but also neglected the relevance of continuing class struggle in the socialist countries by evaluating that in the changed conditions restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries was impossible. One of the most serious aspect of this *statement* was that even while observing the defeat of fascism in the second World War, weakening of British imperialism and victories gained by the international communist movement, it either did not observe or underestimated the significance of the emergence of neo-colonialism, imperialism entering a new phase of neo-colonialism under the leadership of US imperialism in the post Second World War period, the initiative it gained and its strengthening at global level. This led it to depicting the decolonisation process pursued by imperialism in the former colonial/semi colonial countries as achievement of national independence by them. This also led it to pretending not to observe the evaluation made by the Third International (Comintern) about the character of bourgeoisie in the colonial/semi colonial countries making them incapable of leading the democratic revolutions in these countries to victory. It rejected the observations made by Lenin about the rapprochement arrived at by the comprador

bourgeoisie in these countries with the imperialist bourgeoisie making the old style bourgeois democratic revolutions impossible in these countries. And under the guise of 'the new situation' it gave a pseudo revolutionary character to the bourgeoisie in the neo-colonial countries.

During the *Great Debate* openly initiated by CPC under the leadership of Mao Tsetung with the publication of the document concerning the *General Line of the International Communist Movement* and the nine comments as a supplementary to it in 1963, the international revolutionary movement rejected the above positions, and upheld the theory of class struggle against imperialism and capitalist path. Alongwith stating that neocolonialism is a more 'heinous and pernicious' form of colonialism, the imperialist character of decolonisation as well as the pseudo theory about former colonial/semi-colonial countries gaining political independence was also exposed. Following this, with the initiation of the *Cultural Revolution* in China new forms of class struggle under socialism was developed; the growing relevance of class struggle against capitalist path was stressed. As a whole the *Great Debate* and positive aspects of *Cultural Revolution* gave a new fillip to the international communist movement.

But in the report to the Ninth Congress of CPC held in 1969 presented by Lin Piao once again the above mentioned 'new era' theory camouflaged under leftist phrase-mongering regarding total collapse of imperialism had surfaced. These and similar views exposed the manifestation of different shades of Krushchovian influence continuing as erroneous tendencies persisting in CPC. Even then after the defeat of the Lin Piaoist trend within CPC, in the report presented to the Tenth Congress of CPC held in 1973, the analysis of the world situation started with the categorical statement that it is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Once again it is with Deng Tsiapong's *United Nations Speech in 1974* the Krushchovian garbage regarding the 'third world countries which have won political independence, the 'anti-imperialist role of the governments in these countries' etc. started coming out of China in newer forms. Though the struggle against this trend as well as the theory of productive forces put forward by Deng once again led to his expulsion from all positions of power in early 1976

immediately following the death of Mao Tsetung in the same year the capitalist roaders succeeded in usurping power in China. They put forward the counter-revolutionary 'theory of three worlds' as the strategy of world proletariat and established Dengist revisionism and capitalist path in China.

In the absence of a communist international, during this period it was Mao Tsetung who had defended Marxism-Leninism for long and developed it to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the CPC that had played the role of an international centre for the revolutionary forces all over the world. But with the death of Mao Tsetung, degeneration of CPC leadership, and restoration of capitalism in China, in all sense the world communist movement lost its leadership and centre. In such a situation the international Communist movement is confronting today the serious challenge of building up international solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations, and of establishing the continuation of the Third International, that is the building up of Communist International according to concrete conditions now.

The capitalist imperialist system is presently passing through the most serious crisis in its life. It is in such a disappointing condition that it looks impossible for it to overcome the serious stagnation which had started affecting it slowly from the end of sixties. On the one hand stagnation in the field of production and as a part of it unemployment, and on the other hand inflation is seriously affecting it for the last two decades. Though it could temporarily contain the inflation to a certain extent by the end of last decade due to the severe steps it had taken in between, the stagnation in the field of production continues as a disease without any cure.

US imperialism which is in the forefront of world imperialism today is on the path of decline. It is confronting countless serious issues like a debt burden which is more than half of its GNP import of capital which has started exceeding export of capital, balance of payment deficit, increasing military budget even after the end of so-called cold war, condition of the manufacturing industry which is finding it difficult to cope with those of Japan and Germany, a living standard which is lower than that of previous decades, an economic climate which seeks quick profit through financial manipulations rather than investing in productive fields,

crises and collapses often faced by banking-insurance-stock sectors, increasing unemployment, fall in the productivity of the workers, etc, etc. Though these are general questions confronting all the imperialist countries, they are today seriously affecting mainly US imperialism. Along with the threats to its dreams of Pax Americana there are today manifestations of its increasing difficulties to face the challenge posed by Germany and especially Japan which are continuing to show comparatively better economic indices even in the middle of a generally difficult situation. Even in the military field both Germany and Japan have started showing signs of a new competition.

In spite of the much publicised success of the scientific-technological revolution, the global manufacturing capacity utilization rate is just around 72% even in the beginning of this decade. Instead of the industrial investments which had gained dominance for some time in between, at the global level itself the level of portfolio investments in FDI has started increasing. Similarly the role of service sector has increased considerably compared to that of manufacturing industry. The increase in non-production expenditures, formation of monopolies in intellectual property rights, information blockade, the increasing affinity and closeness shown by imperialist capital towards the medieval like and other reactionary religious, racial, castist, national chauvinist forces and towards drug mafias like forces show that imperialism is passing through its most decadent phase.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the MNCs are controlling major share of the production and trade taking place all over the world. Even in 1983 itself the total share of MNCs in the field of production had reached about one fourth of the GNP of all OECD countries. The gross sales of some MNCs exceeded even the GNP of some imperialist countries in Europe. These MNCs often play the role of supergovernments in the neo-colonial countries. Even in determining the interests and policies of US state which provide political-military shield to the operations of most of the MNCs, they play a significant role. There are leading to growing irreconcilable contradictions between globalisation of capital and production on the one hand and the nations under imperialist domination on the other. This globalisation of production and new division of labour have grown to the extent of making them capable of

decisively influencing the political power structures developed by capitalism. These are pointing towards the relevance of the global crisis and decline of the capitalist system which cannot be resolved within it.

Today imperialism is engaged in lessening the ever intensifying contradictions and crises within it by increasing the neo-colonial plunder. A handful of imperialist countries have established their hegemony over the total resources of the whole world. The monopoly profits or super profits extracted through the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour, especially from the neo-colonial countries, has made the contradiction between imperialism and the people of the neo-colonies extremely sharp. Imperialism is not only plundering the neo-colonies but also making their independent economic-political development impossible, and maintaining them under the clutches of all forms of medieval reactionary relations and forces. The base for the neo-colonial power in these countries is provided by the integration of capital at global level economically and politically, which is built up through the rapprochement between the imperialist bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie in the former colonial/semi-colonial (present neo colonial) countries as observed by Lenin even during the discussion of the 'Colonial Thesis' by the bureaucratic sections brought up under the direct and indirect rule of imperialism and otherwise, by the pre capitalist production relations including feudalism still maintained in these countries, and by the neo-colonial state in the hands of the above mentioned internal ruling classes maintained with the support of imperialism. For maintaining this power structure through growing relations with these forces, all decadent methods including corruption are increasingly utilised.

These global neo-colonial economic-political class relations are existing under the umbrella of vast military political power structure centred on imperialism. It has also got the backing of enormous military-industrial alliance forged by the imperialist states and the MNCs. The extremely centralised high tech information sector has provided it the backing of well-knit propaganda power and espionage activities. The UN, numerous military alliances, military bases etc. are all strings in this neo-colonial political power net-work. Besides, there are institutions and agencies like World Bank and IMF which are serving as main pillars supporting the imperialist

structure and directly control the state-economic policies, budgets and the so called developmental projects of the neo colonial countries. Further through centralised enterprises for controlling the world economic activities like GATT and its new creation, the WTO, imperialism even in its moribund condition is forging newer and newer weapons against world people. All these explicitly and repeatedly make clear that even while strategically imperialism is a paper tiger, any erroneous evaluation of it tactically ignoring the fact that even now imperialism remains a brute force against world people, will only help imperialism as proved in experience.

III

For the victory of the struggle against imperialism and capital forces today, the recognition and rejection of various bourgeois apologetic, revisionist, and petty-bourgeois sentimental theories about imperialism and the capital accumulation which forms the basis of it have become extremely important. The grave consequences of Krushchovian revisionism that underestimated the strength of imperialism and overestimated the strength gained by socialist forces are so explicit presently that they need not be repeated. Starting from the position that world socialism has totally defeated imperialism in the fields of production and economics, they later went to the other extreme of arguing that imperialism has defeated socialism in all fields including that of technological development. Proceeding from this they went on to embracing open capitalist theories. Today as far as the remnant forms of Krushchovite revisionism including the Dengist brand of 'socialist market economy' are concerned, they are trying to prove their capabilities for survival through neo-revisionist theories like 'recolonisation'.

On the other hand the numerous bourgeois interpretations of Marxism like the various categories of dependency theory are still active as intellectual exercises. Eventhough they exist outside all forms of proletarian movements, their socialist pretensions have helped them considerably to infiltrate with in the proletarian movement. Especially in the background of the weakness of the ICM in developing a comprehensive theoretical understanding about the neo-colonial phase of imperialism, there are vast possibilities for the infiltration of such theories with socialist pretensions among revolutionary

forces.

Most of these 'theories' are built upon positions like the theory of 'economic surplus' categories put forward by Paul A Baran, and on theories like 'theory of unequal exchange' which tries to replace Marx's theory of surplus value, and which ineffect helps to put the labour theory of value under a smokescreen. Though these economists have tried to bring out many aspects of colonial plunder by imperialism, the ultimate bourgeois content of their theories lies in covering up the real mechanism of capital activity, the concrete and specific forms of relations of production, and in effect the concrete forms of class struggle itself. Of course it is quite necessary to take the macro statistics of the colonial and now neo-colonial plunder to the people. But as long as the functioning of the micro forms of exploitation within the concrete class relations hidden in them are not brought out, in the present world situation at the most they can provide an ideological basis for the bourgeois/petty-bourgeois nationalism; they cannot accomplish any revolutionary role. This we have already witnessed many times in history. And these economists have proved this many times through instances like their approach towards Soviet Union during its socialist years and after its degeneration to capitalist path, and towards the developments there. Often by quoting Mao out of context and through some sort of orientalist pretensions shown towards some external forms of Mao Tsetung Thought, they have only contributed towards confusing matters among the revolutionary forces. Like in all other fields, in the field of economics also, only by taking a firm stand based on Marxist foundations the struggle of labour against capital taken up presently by the proletarian forces can be carried forward ultimately.

IV

After the dissolution of Third International (Comintern) in 1943 and Cominform ceasing to function after Stalin's time, following the split in the international Communist movement in the 1960s, no efforts were made for the formation of an international organisation of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Though following the Great Debate and the beginning of the Cultural Revolution a large number of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations came up all over the world, CPC did not take any initiative to bring them together. Even then as a result of

the existence of CPC as a revolutionary party and the presence of Mao which provided a revolutionary authority, the absence of an international leadership was not seriously felt at that time. In such a situation the erroneous trends that had come up within CPC had often influenced these Marxist-Leninist organisations. Moreover in the absence of an international theoretical leadership and conscious organisational and strategic efforts during this period, many anti-working class theories which had put on Marxist labels including various New Left trends which were then very active at the realm of thought at international level could infiltrate these nascent Marxist-Leninist organisations. Even while the struggles that took place all over the world against revisionism in the background of the Great Debate and the Cultural Revolution provided new weapons at ideological level to the revolutionary forces all over the world, the absence of an organised international movement to theoretically assimilate these experiences and to develop them, made these organisations incapable of facing the new challenges posed by the present world situation. This continued as a serious limitation. It was at the time of the grave challenge posed by neo-revisionism which usurped power in China immediately after Mao's death, this weakness of the Marxist-Leninist forces was fully revealed. A major section of the Marxist-Leninist forces who were disarmed to a great extent earlier against Lin Piaoism and later against Deng Tsiaoping's 'theory of three worlds' which had tried to come to dominance within CPC during Mao's time itself, soon surrendered to Deng-Hua clique and its 'theory of three worlds' easily.

It was in such a situation from the last years of 1970s the revolutionary forces, though small but inspired by correct revolutionary positions based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, from all parts of the world came forward and initiated efforts for a new international unity. Our organisation then known as CRC, CPI (ML) took active part in this effort on the general line of the ICM and emphasising every tasks upheld during Mao's the revolution. We stressed during the Great time and repeated for the formation of a Debate, and calling for the formation of a platform of the revolutionary forces at international level to begin with. We had also put forward the necessity for a study of the specific characteristics of the world situation including neo-colonialism. (contd P. 10)

On NCP (UML) Victory in Nepal

The victory of the Nepal Communist Party (United Marxist Leninist) as the leading party in the recent elections, its formation of a minority government and coming to power have already evoked two much publicised viewpoints. One is the well known viewpoint of imperialists, their lackeys and the yellow media. According to it even though NPC (UML) has pledged to work within the boundaries of Nepal's reactionary state structure with the king as its head, and has promised to follow the liberalisation process and globalisation market system pursued by the earlier government of Nepali Congress, any party with a communist label, however non-communist it may be, is an unwanted thing today. So as usual it has already started a campaign against these 'communists'. All the failures and weaknesses of NCP (UML)'s rule will be propagated all over the world as yet another crime-record of communism.

The second one is the well known revisionist view point. Revisionists all over the world are happy that communists of their brand have peacefully come to power through elections. They depict it as a victory of communism. For them like rulers in present day China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea, if NCP (UML) implements globalisation-market system within the four walls of world imperialist system, that is socialism and communism in the 'concrete conditions' of present period. In India all the revisionists ranging from CPI, CPI(M) to CPI (ML) Liberation have hailed the victory as a great one and have pledged support to their brothers in Nepal.

As far as the new Nepalese prime-minister Adhikari is concerned, his government will respect the existing system and all treaties signed by predecessor governments. He will respect king's authority in the present set-up. He will follow the IMF-WB dictated policies of structural adjustment. He will respect the new GATT Treaty and join WTO. Policies of globalisation-market system will be followed as done by the Dengists in China. Imperialist debt will be repaid. Imperialist capital will be welcomed and protected. MNCs will get fair play in Nepal. And this is Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of Nepal!

This is nothing but social democracy and sheer opportunism in action under the signboard of Marxism-Leninism. These renegades are creating illusions before the people on the one hand, and denigrating the basic tenets of democratic revolution on the other hand. As a result they immensely contribute towards creating frustration among people and making them surrender before the ideologies spread by imperialists and their lackeys. In this way they function as apologists of imperialism and its neo colonial plunder.

The election results in Nepal show the disenchantment of the people towards both the political party hoisted by the supporters of the king as well as the Nepali Congress. The task before the Marxist-Leninists is to lead this disenchantment towards a positive orientation to struggle for New Democracy; towards a struggle to replace the present reactionary ruling system with a people's democratic set-up. Instead of this revisionists create the illusion that everything can be achieved within the framework of the existing reactionary system; or discourage the people from going beyond it. It is in this way they serve the imperialist system in effect.

The setback suffered by the international Communist movement definitely calls for serious evaluation and finding ways to overcome it. But there is no shortcut to it. The followers of renegade chiefs from Krushchov to Deng who collaborated with imperialists in inflicting severe damages to ICM are now working hard to suggest fake shortcuts to salvage the situation. By pointing out the victory in Nepal and depicting China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea as socialist countries they are doing everything possible to lead the progressive forces astray again and again. The Marxist-Leninists should guard against this.

The NCP (UML) victory is only a victory of revisionists. The Marxist-Leninists everywhere should strive hard for the realisation of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary alternative as a part of world socialist revolution. What has happened in Nepal is only a change of government within the existing reactionary system. To read anything more from it will only lead to a path of reformism. ● (contd P. 11)

(From P. 8)

At that time itself overestimating the possibilities for a new world war, contrary to the declared general line positions of the international Communist movement which declared the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples as the principal contradiction at international level, some of the forces that had taken initiative for this international unity put forward an entirely wrong stand that saw the inter-imperialist contradiction as the principal one. Before the Second International Conference of these forces held in 1984, our organization had put forward the position that presently it will not be correct to go beyond forming a platform for exchange of ideas and possible joint activities at international level till ideological clarity and unity is achieved on different subjects including evaluation of world situation and about the formation of a new international, and till the participants achieve comparatively more maturity through developing revolutionary practice on a protracted basis. Instead, this Conference decided to form a centralised *Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM)* under the domination of the forces who advocated the earlier mentioned wrong position with regard to principal contradiction at international level. It can be seen that this decision negatively influenced the later developments.

RIM instead of becoming a guide for the international movement in a difficult world situation soon adopted the path of going down from one confusion to another. It was not only a question of the setbacks it suffered in the organisational field. It soon went ahead to adopting entirely opportunist new theoretical formulations. Replacing Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought and becoming the spokesperson of Maoism even while becoming more and more weakened in the fields of both organisation and activities, it had put forward positions which look like ultra-revolutionary in words but self-defeating in practice. This is nothing but another example of the continuation of revisionism in new forms which we are observing from the time of Lenin.

This RIM stand which is trying to spread its influence among those limited forces which had come forward taking a stand against the neo-revisionism that had usurped power in China calls for a close examination. Stalin had defined Leninism as the marxism in the era of

imperialism and proletarian revolution. Instead of this today RIM is trying to bring forward a position which was never upheld by the CPC under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. What is really hidden behind this stand is nothing but the old LinPiaoist positions. It was Lin Piao who earlier tried to make the Marxist-Leninist evaluation regarding Leninism and the era obsolete, and tried to inaugurate a new era in the name of Mao. This repetition of Lin Piaoist positions by RIM can only degenerate it to a totally rightist opportunist stand.

All these developments including the serious setbacks and challenges faced by the international Communist movement from the time of emergence of Krushchovian revisionism, and the emergence of revisionist opportunist thoughts repeatedly make the challenges before the world revolutionary movement extremely grave. Lenin had repeatedly made it clear that the essence of Marxism is the concrete analysis of the concrete situation. To be a Marxist today definitely means upholding a concrete outlook about the present world situation. It means having a concrete understanding about imperialism, especially about its neo-colonial phase in the post-Second World War period correctly and comprehensively. It means upholding the all-embracing Leninist teachings about imperialism in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and developing the basic teachings of Marxism Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought according to the concrete conditions of the neo-colonial phase of imperialism.

In other words, we can build up a consolidated strong international revolutionary movement capable of overthrowing imperialism and achieving world wide victory of proletarian revolution only from the recognition of the concrete relations of capital, only from the correct recognition of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Today's confusing ideological atmosphere of course demand prolonged efforts for such a correct and comprehensive recognition, also it demands more effective ideological struggle among the fraternal organisations. The observation of the Mao Centenary Year, and the international conferences, seminars and meetings now being held, should be seen as earnest efforts to play an active role in the irresistible historical process that is taking shape presently in a small way but which is getting strengthened day by day in different parts of the world.

Iranian students protest against soaring prices

Iranian demonstrators directed their anger against the Islamic government and economic policies that have created a crisis of inflation.

During a demonstration this month commemorating the takeover of the U. S. Embassy during the Iran hostage crisis in 1979, nearly 500 students called for the execution of "capitalists" and denounced lawmakers for favoring wealthy merchants over low-income groups.

"Free market economic policies must be corrected," the protesters chanted. "The system must help the poor."

The protest, the second in two weeks at Tehran University, was only the latest example of unrest signaling a crisis of confidence in the government.

In October, 800 students marched to protest legislation that would have required them to pay if they failed a course, although there is no tuition at the university. After the protest, Parliament defeated the bill.

Senior government officials promised to continue a previously announced crackdown on speculators and profiteers hoarding large amounts of food after the government imposed price controls. But the economy has sent few encouraging signs.

War on immigrants in US

These are days when the imperialists and their ideologues are most eloquent about bringing down all barriers to create a new world order with free trade and no tariffs. They preach to the neocolonial countries the need to do away with all remnants of protectionism. The GATT Treaty and now WTO are presented as steps in this direction.

But how much free are these imperialist citadels to imports and immigrants from the neocolonies is becoming clearer day by day. Inspite

of WTO all imperialist countries are maintaining protective laws at varying levels.

With regard to immigrants who are flocking to these imperialist countries from the neocolonies and engaged in working in the farms, plucking the fruits, sewing clothes, scrubbing the dishes, cleaning the tables, mowing the lawns, taking care of children, and in all sorts of sundry jobs, the life has become absolutely miserable. In California lakhs of immigrants are declared unwanted through the anti-immigrant law-Proposition 187. Mere states are planning to enforce such laws.

Already in European countries, in Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand anti-immigrant restrictions are there. In Germany *skinheads* organised fascist attacks. In Britain anti-immigrant lobbies are strong.

Imperialist message is clear and simple—we want only the wealth of your countries, the wealth created by you; we shall be very selective regarding immigrants; others will be kicked out; you open your country totally for our loot, but we shall protect ours from you.

Snail fever rages in China

It is reported that Snail fever, a disease transmitted by parasites has reappeared in China. It is spreading rapidly in human beings as well as in animals. The affected areas include provinces like Hupei, Hunan, Anhui, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Sichuan. Already 6 crores people are affected. It swells the victim's stomach and harms the liver. It can lead to death.

In pre-revolutionary period it was one of the curses of China. But through sustained efforts in the 1950s it was completely eradicated. Not a single case was reported for long. But with the degeneration of China to capitalist path and market system in the 1980s it started making a come-back. As even public health departments were run with profit motive and basic health measures were abandoned as a result of privatisation, the disease started spreading fast. Now it has reached alarming proportions.

Post election Scene: Comprador Politics in Turmoil

The rout of Congress (I) in AP, Karnataka and Sikkim, and its loss of majority in Goa in the recently held elections is an expression of people's anger against Narasimha Rao government's policies. Rao had extensively campaigned in all the four states. He had repeated that reverses to Congress (I) will affect implementation of his economic policies. He had staked his whole prestige in the elections. Besides the whole money power and administrative influence available in abundance with Congress (I) was profusely utilised. Even after all these it suffered a rout, a grave setback.

The reasons for this anti Congress vote is not difficult to understand. All the consequences of IMF WB dictated policies and provisions of GATT Treaty have started adversely affecting the people. Privatisation has made many workers jobless. Contract system has denied them all basic rights. Unemployment is becoming rampant. End of subsidy meant devastation of marginal peasants. Price rise and inflation have cut into real wages of the toilers. Even middle class employees are adversely affected by liberalisation, globalisation measures. Even an offer of a few kgs of rice at Rs. 2 per kilo looked much attractive when ration system and all other welfare measures are taken away. Besides corruption at all levels including scams involving thousands of crores of rupees one after another have eroded all credibility of the rulers. In such a situation it was quite natural that people voted enmasse against Congress (I).

Similarly it was a vote against B J P also. Its bogus claims about getting majority in Karnataka are shattered. Its Hindu fundamentalist platform and acceptance of Rao's imperialist dictated policies got a strong rebuff. As in earlier UP MP Himachal elections the tide is against BJP. The BSP also suffered an ignominious defeat. Its adjustments with Congress (I) and casteist slogans got a rude shock.

As a whole it was mainly a negative vote against Congress (I) as well as the communal-casteist jingoism. It assumes much importance at a time when Rao government is engaged in traitorous acts to enslave the country more and more

to neocolonial plunder. Almost the same pattern may be repeated in the elections to six state assemblies going to be held in February. Together these election results are going to put the comprador politics in turmoil. Rao government may be compelled to slow down the liberalisation-privatisation programme. It may be compelled to call for a mid-term election to Loksabha. Dissensions may grow within its ranks also. All these may lead to Congress (I) once again loosening in the elections and a centrist combine of NF-LF parties coming to power.

But this is also not going to solve the crisis of the ruling class politics. On the contrary, such a centrist combine will also be compelled to implement the imperialist dictated policies as the Janatha Dal governments in Bihar and Orissa and LF governments in Bengal and Tripura are at present doing. Even this change of government is not going to solve people's problems. On the one hand the political crisis will go on intensifying with the acceleration of neocolonial plunder. On the other hand people's anger against this will go on mounting.

In such a situation neither toeing the path of the revisionist leadership nor sticking to petty-bourgeois sectarian positions is going to help in giving a correct orientation to people's struggles. The challenge before the revolutionary forces is that whether they can get organised and mobilise the patriotic democratic forces at all India level to provide a revolutionary alternative to the present rotting neocolonial order.

Spying in ISRO

The espionage activities in ISRO involving top scientists and many others have shaken the space programme in India severely irrespective of the optimistic reports given by its directors. The schedule for developing indigenous cryogenic engine is seriously affected. US, Russia, France like front-runners in space programmes were much interested to know about the stage and achievements gained in India. Now it is clear that

they could manage to get it through an efficient spy-ring working for last 7-8 years with the help of even senior police officers like Reman Srivastava (presently IG of police in Kerala).

With the arrests of two top scientists and few others including two Mali women only the tip of the iceberg has come out. Kerala chief minister tried his level best to protect this I G Srivastava. It shows how corrupt and anti-national the whole system has become. Even if Srivastava is arrested many more may be prote-

cted due to this state of affairs.

Yuvajanavedi organised a march to ISRO centres at Thiruvananthapuram calling for arresting all those who are involved. In a statement it exposed the extent to which the whole system has decayed. On 16 December marches to administrative centres in districts were organised. A bigger statewide campaign calling for the arrest of Karunakaran, chief minister of Kerala, is going to be launched in the first week of January.

Nagapur Killing: State becomes fascistic,

The 50,000 strong gathering of Gowaris waited patiently for four hours to present a memorandum to either chief minister Pawar or tribal welfare minister Madhukar Pichad. But these leaders who lick the boots of imperialists or host parties to even mafia-heads had no time even to receive a delegation. As the people then became restive police provoked them and then a made brutal lathi-charge. In this police attack and in the stampede more than 120 people,

public response because they have started realising the real character of the political leaders as well as the state machinery. On numerous occasions Maharashtra police have played the role of hired killers or security guards for mafia gangs in recent days. They rape women, assault people and take open bribe with immunity. The picture is same in most of the places with little variations.

As the contradiction between people and

CPI (ML) Red Flag protests

As soon as the news of the Nagpur killings came out CPI (ML) Red Flag condemned this brutal massacre and called on all democratic forces to protest against it. It put the whole blame for this massacre resembling Jalianwalabag on the police, bureaucrats and the political leadership who have become totally anti-people.

In Kerala numerous protest marchers were organised.

mostly women and children lost their lives.

This incident reminds one of Jalianwalabag. Only an enemy of occupation and its sadistic leaders could perpetuate such a massacre. It shows the extent to which the police is made a criminal goonda gang in India and the fascistic character of the state machinery as a whole.

The *Maharashtra bandh* on November 28 called by the opposition parties get such a good

the comprador state as intensifying, the state as a whole and its oppressive machinery is becoming more and more fascistic. Whichever party or combination of parties preside over the state and its police, their basic character will not change. On the contrary day by day they become increasingly anti-people.

The heinous Nagapur killings call for severe condemnation in the strongest terms.

10 Years After Bhopal Massacre

The rulers call it Bhopal gas tragedy. But it was nothing short of a large-scale massacre. At least 8000 people were killed instantly and another 8000 died slowly over the last decade. The Welfare Commissioner for Bhopal gas victims have registered over 12000 cases of death and over 4.27 lakhs cases of those who survived but were left permanently disabled or ill. Even then the state protected the killer, the MNC, Union Carbide. It was given all possible help to escape from its responsibility to pay compensation to the victims. As a result even now the cases drag on. Those responsible for this worst ever industrial killing are not even touched. Besides Union Carbide was allowed to rebuild and expand. Now it is even permitted to sell itself out and get integrated with another MNC. From Arjun Singh to Dig Vijay Singh at Bhopal and Rajiv Gandhi to Narasimha Rao at Delhi allowed the villains to escape and left the victims to suffer.

Union Carbide was guilty of systematic negligence in operating a plant where both the safety design and maintenance were seriously flawed. Investigative reports showed that the company was aware of these problems but did not act in time. The whole government machinery in the country was bribed to keep silence. In short what happened was nothing but calculated massacre, the Bhopal victims were human guinea pigs for testing the efficacy of UC's toxic gases.

Various studies have shown that UC and other MNCs follows different standards of safety. In imperialist countries they follow strict safety measures while in the neocolonies they abandon them. Moreover plants creating ecological hazards are shifted to neo colonies. With the structural readjustment plans advocated by IMF WB, the MNCs have free entry to neo colonies and they utilise this opportunity to utilise the resources and man-power of them in order to build up dangerous plants with no safety measures reaping huge profits. The comprador rulers, bureaucrats and technocrats from the neocolonies assist them in this criminal act for the benefits they get from their imperialist masters. Bhopal like massacres can be put to an end only when the MNCs are kicked out, the imperialist capital is confiscated and

a New Democratic India is created.

It is this cardinal point which is pushed aside by the numerous voluntary agencies/NGOs working in Bhopal. None of them are ready to make a self-criticism and take uncompromising anti-state, anti-imperialist positions even when the tens of thousands of victims are denied the paltry compensation due to them after ten long years. On the contrary they work overtime to limit the agitations of the affected people within so-called constitutional frame work. They enter in to unending negotiations and organise charity shows. They make the affected people beggars expecting mercy from the state and the MNCs.

The revolutionary forces should seriously ponder over these facts. Especially when numerous Bhopal like disaster areas are existing in many parts of our country, and when their nu-

(Contd P. 27)

Be vigilant against fundamentalist forces

This December 6 marks the second anniversary of the heinous act of demolition of Babri Masjid by the Hindu fundamentalist forces with the all out support of the reactionary Narasimha Rao government. During this period instead of trying to resolve the question creating confidence among the religious minorities, the reactionary government and the religious fundamentalists are engaged in frantically communalising the issue further and dividing the people for their nefarious ends. This has led to loss of thousands of lives and threat of communal strife all over the country. As the government is still not resolving the question in a secular democratic manner, the crisis created by it is deepening day by day.

We call upon the people all over the country to guard against the conspiracy of the reactionary government and the religious fundamentalists to divide the people and to set the country aflame with communal clashes.

1-12-1994

— CPI (ML) Red Flag—

On The Ideology And Practice of NGOs

Nowadays, the NGOs which cover a wide range of organisations variously called as voluntary agencies, action groups, grass root organisations, non-party political formations, philanthropic foundations and a host of so called "peoples movements" are a ubiquitous phenomenon. Their activities relating to almost all aspects of social, cultural and economic life have come to the centre stage of discussion. As a manifestation of their international respectability and legitimacy the leading NGOs now enjoy a 'consultative status' with the UN and its specialised agencies. On account of their humanitarian, philanthropic and charitable posture, a good number of educated youth and well-meaning intellectuals are volunteering themselves to work with them. Meanwhile, NGO theoreticians have gone to the extent of characterising them as "harbingers" of a new social revolution. This social transformation, they argue, is going to take place as 'an alternative paradigm of development' based on what they call a 'participatory' or "people-based" approach. Consequently, this has prompted imperialist think tanks to project the NGOs and their activities as 'a radical alternative' to the working class ideology and its party. All these have enabled vested interests to create maximum confusion and ideological pollution among world people subjected to allround neocolonial oppression. No doubt, by means of NGO ideology and practice, imperialism has succeeded in diverting at least a section of progressive and well-meaning people away from genuine anti-imperialist stand based on a class approach. Now, this note is an attempt to give a brief explanation on the various trends associated with the NGO phenomenon.

A Brief History

The contention of NGO ideologues like Rajni Kothari that the evolution of NGOs is a proof of the failure of communism is far from truth. The roots of organisations known as NGOs today lay deep in the colonisation process that gathered momentum during the latter half of the 19th century, much before the October Revolution. That is, activities associated with NGOs have a long international history dating back to the beginnings of international capital's colonial plunder. Historical evidence shows that

in the scramble among imperialist powers for colonial possessions, relief, rehabilitation and other humanitarian work of philanthropic foundations and charitable organisations based on volunteerism did play a major role. Quite contrary to the propaganda that NGOs are the product of the altruism among people, their true progenitor has been the voluntary activities, nurtured and flourished within an envelop of the parameters set by colonial administration from the last century onwards. For, the biggest 'international monopolies' identified by Lenin as salient features of imperialism, themselves were in the forefront, of establishing philanthropic foundations (Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Foundation, Ford Foundation, etc.) and international funding agencies. These organisations with a humanitarian and charitable veil had been imperialism's answer to the evolving opposition of the people of colonies to colonial oppression. The various philanthropic and charitable agencies who specialised in the problems of poverty and disease created by imperialist domination itself helped US international monopolies to hide their cat's paw and carry on their activities by derailing world people's anti-colonial sentiments to safe channels.

As at present, this political use of voluntary action had another dimension in earlier days too. For, even while communism had been an emerging force, far-sighted US statesmen and leaders of the Christian Church were intelligent enough to grasp the usefulness of non-governmental voluntary action in imperialism's life-long anti-communist battle. The October Socialist Revolution provided an impetus to this trend. The origin and transformation of the World Council of Churches (WCC) with a radical mask as one of the biggest international funding agencies may be cited as a glaring example associated with this trend. It is a generally conceived fact that WCC funding of several leftwing groups has been of immense help to imperialism by deviating them from pursuing a consistent class approach to social problems including imperialist domination. In fact, even during the period before World War II when colonialists could wield direct military and political control over colonies, US imperialist ruler's insistence on the anti-communist orientation of voluntary or non-governmental action has been a widely known

one.

The decolonisation process that brought out a change in the form of imperialist plunder by transforming pre-war direct colonialism into a more 'pernicious and sinister' neo colonialism headed by US imperialism necessitated the creation of new devices together with refinements and modifications in old colonial methods. As everybody knows, under US hegemony, necessary political, military and economic arrangements and institutions were created to carry on imperialist plunder unabatedly. The UN and its specialised agencies, military blocs and associations, the Bretton Woods System (Fund-Bank combine), the GATT, imperialist state aid programmes and above all, the transformation of pre-war international monopolies into MNCs were these major devices which acted as imperialism's neocolonial arms during the entire post World War II period. As an integral part of these steps led by US, voluntary or non-governmental organisations were also given a crucial role. For, the US, which remained as the leader of the neocolonial order as manifested through its power of veto over all political, military and economic institutions of neocolonialism, was quite logically characterised as the "most charitable nation in the world." (Quoted in Editorial Research Papers published by US Congressional Quarterly Inc. 1980, P 922). In fact in the 'Pax Americana' devised by Truman as part of his 'divine mission to save the world from the red peril', philanthropic foundations and voluntary agencies were accorded a prime place. The evolution of Ford foundation as the biggest post war philanthropic agency as well as the creation of a number of global voluntary agencies such as CARE, World Vision, etc. with annual budget running into millions of dollars were all part of US imperialism's prolonged war against communism. For instance, Ford foundation's intervention in the Indian countryside with its agricultural and rural development programme known as Community Development Project (CDP) in the fifties was quite striking. The background for this was the Telengana struggle that shook the feudal bastions in India, the country then considered by Ford as the "key point in the entire East". Summing up the success of Ford foundation's "divine mission" in India two decades later US state Department officials commented thus: "The Ford Foundation's aid dollar was recognised as being significantly more effective than an equivalent amount from another donor" (George Rosen, "Western

Economists and Eastern Societies, Agents of change", 1985 P; 56). However, this is only 'the tip of the iceberg' if we compare it with the extent of imperialist subversion in the form of the so-called non-governmental work going on in India since 1947.

During the fifties and sixties, in line with the neocolonial tasks incumbent upon them various imperialist powers, often competing with US imperialism, initiated steps to perfect the neocolonial device of voluntary action of a non-governmental nature in a manner most suited to them. This period also witnessed the creation of separated government departments or agencies by various countries for funding and coordinating NGO activity at a global level. Examples are USAID (United States Agency for International Development) instituted as part of Kennedy's anti-communist programme, viz. "Alliance for Progress", Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), German Ministry of Economic Cooperation (BMZ), British Ministry of Overseas Development, Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of EEC, etc. The aim of these official and semi-official agencies was to sponsor and finance the global operations of NGOs originating from respective imperialist countries as well as to create their affiliates in Afro-Asian-Latin American countries. In a similar way, in Afro-Asian-Latin American countries, the task of coordinating the activities of NGOs has been entrusted with the Ministry of social welfare and rural development. During the sixties itself, as an umbrella agency coordinating international non-governmental actions, the International Council for Voluntary Agencies with its headquarters at Geneva was also established. Along with this, imperialist research institutions and public policy thinktanks began to initiate global networking and coordinating bodies of non-governmental action so that when the sixties came to a close, there was a rich diversity of NGOs with varying histories of involvement with dramatically different programme orientation and focus.

Ideological Underpinnings

As mentioned earlier, 'non-governmental or 'voluntary action' at both indigenous and international level is one of the most far-sighted tactical moves initiated by imperialist think tanks. Realising the vast scope implicit in NGO

activity in diffusing anti-imperialist sentiments of global people by depicting it as an alternative to communism that identified with the oppressed peoples of the world, ideologues of international capital began to impart a theoretical orientation to the activities of NGOs. Of course, the context for this was provided by the degeneration of Soviet Union and other socialist countries. As a result, in accordance with the neocolonial needs, from the sixties onward, public policy thinktanks in Western universities and research institutions set out to create what is often called "a radical alternative to communism." Often manifested through revelations like "end of ideology" (Francis Fukuyoma's "end of history" is only a latest version of it). These imperialist policy formulators began to propagate that the era of class struggle and class ideology are no longer valid. The aim was to spread a distrust of the organised working class movement by replacing the historical categories of classes and class struggle with the ideas of class harmony. Accusing the communist party as "vanguardist" and "class reductionist" whose only aim was to capture state power, these imperialist experts tried to make mass struggles autonomous from the communist party. In course of time, imperialist penpushers from various parts of the world also joined in this international effort. For instance, the Indian NGO theoretician Rajani Kothari argued that Marxism and ideology of the proletariat are outmoded. In his own words, "instead of the working classes of the world uniting, it is the world middle classes that are becoming conscious of their independence." (Rajani Kothari, 'Non-party Political Formation's, Economic and Political Weekly, Feb, 4 1984). According to Kothari and other NGO ideologues, instead of the working class movement led by the communist party, masses are to be led by "motivated middle class professionals" through a non-party political process."

These developments were supplemented by a wide array of concepts and ideas that originated in various Afro-Asian-Latin American countries during the sixties itself. Of course, the objective basis for this new line of thinking was the intensifying neocolonial oppression and plunder in these countries. Paulo Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed," (Brazil) Saul Alinsky's "theory of empowerment," (Philippines) Schummacher's "small is beautiful," Guitierrez's "liberation theology," "Black Consciousness Movement" (Africa), neo-Budhist

and neo-Gandhian ideologies in Asia, and Youth politics and Green Movements in Europe were the major strands of thought that got worldwide attention during this period. By properly merging the already devised class collaborationist ideologies from imperialist research institutions with these indigenous ideological trends imperialist thinktanks could easily create an eclectic theoretical mixture that might be used as an ideological basis for evolving what is called a "participatory" or "people-based" approach to social issues. This was followed by a mushrooming of various "peoples' movements" based on different methods of organising masses with little concern regarding the class essence of social relations, fully backed by international sponsorship and funding. International media eulogised these "action groups" as pioneers of a new social revolution. Their profuse use of names such as Freire, Alinsky, Guitierrez, Gandhi together with resonances from Che Guevara and even Gramsci often provided them a leftist and radical posture which was enough to create confusion among even well-meaning people there by derailing them from a correct and consistent anti-imperialist position. The intellectuals associated with these agencies were though adept in using Marxist tools in the analytical space, were conspicuous in negating a class approach in the political sphere. Since the high-sounding jargons like "mobilisation," of the masses" "empowerment" "liberation of the oppressed" etc, used by them lacked the required class essence of mass struggles, their ultimate objective was to mislead the masses away from the essential task of revolution by diluting grave social problems through elaborate academic exercises.

The evolution of these "peoples' movements" were given alternative interpretations too. Some called them as "comprehensive process of intervention in the historical process" (Kothari, op. cit) while some others characterised these agencies as "having the potential to blossom into a macro movement for alternative development" (D. L. Seth, "Grass Roots Initiatives in India", EPW Feb, 11, 1984) Highlighting the role of action groups in social change, the recent Right Livelihood Award Winner and world famous NGO activist H. R. Sudarshan, whose activities in India are funded by Dutch and German agencies, opined: "Social transformation can be achieved through non-violent means, using persuasion, education, empowerment and finally

self-sacrificing protests". Some of the NGO theoreticians have gone to the extent of suggesting that these "people struggles" or "peoples movements" world "enrich" Marxism with "the concepts and words from different cultures and ideologies" (Ponna Wignaraja, Sage, 1993 P. 39).

In brief, the NGOs and their theoreticians have no reluctance in openly admitting that they are engaged in preventing the people getting organised under the communist party.

Structural Adjustment/Globalisation and the New Role of NGOs

The ever-intensifying imperialist crisis that got an unprecedented dimension since the late sixties and imperialist attempt to shift this crisis to the shoulders of Afro-Asian-Latin American people through Fund-Bank combine's notorious structural adjustment programme (SAP) that increased MNCs global plunder to gigantic proportions together with the globalisation moves culminating in the new GATT treaty that has brought the neocolonial plunder to its zenith have also necessitated an enlarged new role for the NGOs at global level. The grass root organisations and local action groups who were formerly involved in relief and welfare activities were required to perform a variety of activities that made them an adjunct of the SAP. The wide array of theories of 'peoples participation' mentioned earlier have been revived with appropriate modifications by incorporating the organisational forms, management techniques and research methods to suit the new situation. During this period, drawing intellectual resources from diverse sources ranging from class collaborationist to neo-Marxian theories, several NGOs began to specialise themselves in the analysis of poverty, oppression, repressive measures, human rights, peace, environment, women's issues, child labour, etc. Which, on account of their proximity to imperialist centres of information, have yielded a flood of literature on all these aspects. For instance, when the anti-people orientation of SAP gathered momentum, the USAID, the official US funding agency, channelled billions of dollars through some fifty NGOs since the eighties "to generate widespread discussions and analysis of the root causes of world hunger and poverty, to extent and reinforce a constituency for public and private development assistance programmes and to expand the

network of organisations involved in development education." (USAID, "Guideline for Development Education Project Grants. Fiscal Year 1987: Washington D. C.) The aim of this exercise, no doubt, is to mislead the masses away from the essential task of anti-imperialist revolution.

Of course, as a concomitant of SAP, several NGOs transformed themselves into "development organisations" through what they call "community involvement", "micro-level planning" etc. In proportion to the intensification of SAP as manifested through government's abdication from its role as initiator of development and supplier of essential social services, the so-called "development NGOs" started projecting themselves as more efficient conduits for development inputs than the discredited Bretton Woods institutions as well as self-help projects. Recent evidences also show that the successful completion of a number of neocolonial projects by World Bank and international agencies requires the active involvement of NGOs. Several World Bank projects include supportive provisions incorporating NGOs as "partners in development" and debtor governments are obligatory to ensure proper funding and encouragement to NGO sector. As is well known, by its social forestry programme, the World Bank strengthened the hands of several NGOs specialising in ecology (or "deep ecology") through the former's directive to the Ministry of forestry.

During the "Africa famine" (in countries like Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan etc.) of the eighties, the comparative effectiveness of NGOs in undertaking and combining relief and development work was once again proved. During this period, African NGOs received frequent entreaties for accepting surplus US food grains in relief work while others were busy with a "consciousness raising" effort under the label "USA for Africa". No doubt, the political use of NGOs has been so crucial in the new world order that the UN, the leading political weapon of US led imperialism accorded a 'consultative status' to NGOs by mid-fifties. Together with this the UN/NGO Liaison committee, the World Bank/NGO committee etc, were also formed for international networking and coordination of NGO activities.

"Partners in Development"

Since the eighties onward various imperialist funding agencies (USAID, Ford etc.) have est-

ablished separate "missions" in various Afro-Asian-Latin American countries to develop what is called "pilot projects" which act as "social learning school of planning". These are used as "new approaches" in developing novel organisational techniques needed for mobilising people by NGOs. Initially, such projects associated with various rural programmes in irrigation, water management, forestry, non-formal education etc. are on an experimental basis. Through its liaison with NGOs the World Bank can collect information on all these aspects; after processing and scrutinising such information the World Bank can again recommend them as "new approaches" or "people's alternative" at global level. Large-scale evidences are forthcoming on World Bank's "cost recovery schemes" and "self-financing schemes" in education and health which are effectively carried out under the label "participatory development" or "community involvement" or with the help of NGOs. Imperialist ideologues themselves have characterised that NGOs perform a dual role; one as facilitators or catalysts of neo-colonial projects and two, as deviating people's wrath against imperialism.

Alternative Paradigm of Development

Quite recently, the NGOs along with their theoreticians have made a relatively new entry into the realm of professional economics by preparing and propagating alternative economic policies such as alternative budgets, alternative economic surveys, etc. (In 1993, if it was VANI that published the alternative budget, this year's alternative budget was released by a more broad-based preparatory committee for Alternative Economic Policies-PCEAP). Of course, the objective is to cash the rising political consciousness of the people resulting from ever intensifying neocolonial oppression at the same time to divert their attention away from a political solution. In fact, preparation of alternative economic policy documents, conducting of alternative summits etc. by NGOs are a phenomenon having a global dimension. For, as we witnessed in Rio and Cairo summits, on account of their consultative status with UN, international NGOs have a coveted position in international meetings and fora. (It is reported that in the earth summit at Rio, Thai Buddhist monks, Bahai International Ramakrishna Mission and Christian missionaries, played a significant role in providing inputs to

various sessions.) Another trend is with regard to the 'parallel' meeting being conducted by World NGO Forum whenever the Fund Bank joint annual meetings take place. NGOs have also constituted an International Forum for Action Against Structural Adjustment (IFAASA) composed of hundreds of global NGOs and their affiliates which are being funded and sponsored by the very same sources who implement the SAP. This international coordination of NGOs has recently called for the emergence of an "alternative paradigm of development based on indigenous systems" as a solution to SAP and globalisation. According to some NGO ideologues, the only answer to the present problems is the evolution of an "alternative model of development based on environmentally sound principles and peoples' participation" or what they call "sustainable development". As a manifestation of their affinity to this theme, the NGOs have put forward the suggestion for constituting an "Independent Commission for Sustainable Development" in the context of the forthcoming World Summit on Social Development in 1995. However, all these international and indigenous efforts by NGOs conspicuously lack even a casual reference to the demolition of the neo-colonial state and capture of political power by the people.

New Breed of NGOs

As the neocolonisation process during the post World War II period has reached its zenith, a number of neocolonies are going through unprecedented mass upsurge and various forms of struggle against imperialists and local ruling classes by various sections of the people. Several Afro-Asian-Latin American combines are in a process of political and economic destabilisation. As a result in various countries including India, a "new breed of NGOs" is now engaged in unique task that purely belongs to the political sphere. While all round neocolonial degeneration including corruption and cultural degradation of hitherto unknown levels has become an integral part of political life, this new generation of NGOs is directed to foster the "infrastructure of democracy" in these countries. With the backing of international sponsorship and propaganda, "dissidents" and "committed members of the intelligentsia" are proped up to create what modern NGO literature calls "democratic spaces" in various neocolonies which are in the process of process of destabilisation.

Eminent poets, philosophers, economists, bureaucrats, scientists, environmental activists and the like who are liberally funded from imperialist centres or having the full backing of imperialist think tanks are seen engaging in "providing spaces for ideological debate" while the much trumpeted parliamentary democracy in these countries is becoming a luxury. Their fight against corruption and autocracy is too superficial and hollow since it is totally delinked from the neocolonial class relations. However, as the Latin American experiences show, in accordance with the diversionary tactics of imperialism, in a critical situation, these 'highly placed trained personnel' who are engaged in a "redemocratization process" in the NGO garb may be allowed to occupy governmental positions

In consonance with their tactic of making working people's struggles autonomous from the communist party, NGO activists have started entering trade unions too. Of course, this is not a new phenomenon. For, years ago, the Harvard Foundation had initiated a Harvard Trade Union Training program with a view to create "a corps of staried anti-communist trade unionists" ready to do the bidding of the State Department". (Sheel Bhadra Yayer, "CIA, Manipulating Arm of the US Foreign Policy," Criterion Publications, New Delhi 1987, p. 72). Instances in India and other countries show that now this task is entrusted with many a NGOs specialised, in building up "free" and apolitical trade unions in the traditional and modern sectors

New-found Alliance between Revisionism and NGO Ideology

As is obvious imperialism is using NGOs as a vehicle to counter and disrupt the working class movements all over the world. In the neocolonial period, whenever the neocolonial state and the existing social order in various countries confronted acute challenges from various sections (eg. students, workers, peasants etc.) of the people often led by the working class party, imperialism has been coming forward injecting new dynamism into the NGO stream. In the specific case of India, the immediate context for Ford foundation, CDP, the Bhoodan movement of Vinoba Bhave and similar other NGO activities was the Telegana struggle. Similarly, it was the Naxalbari struggle and the formation of the CPI (ML) in 1969 that

necessitated a large-scale influx of a wide array of imperialist-funded NGO activity into student, youth, peasant and workers movements with the explicit purpose of derailing them from a class approach. Gandhi Peace Foundation's outfit AVARD (Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development), the Chhatra Sangharsh Yuva Vahini that originated in the J. P. movement, the WCC-sponsored Urban Industrial Rural Mission, Delhi Forum, Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development, Rockefeller funded 'Lokayan' of Rajai Kothari are few familiar names among the countless NGOs that appeared in various parts of India to ease the ruling class tension arising out of Naxalbari struggle. No doubt imperialists and their henchmen could reap rich dividends from these efforts. These NGOs with pseudo-radical ideology and posture could attract a number of progressive and well-meaning people who were earlier gravitated to the revolutionary movement. Certain M-L groups who ignored the need of a consistent ideological struggle and who lacked a correct theoretical and political orientation have also fallen into the trap set by NGOs. The degeneration of these groups is so pathetic that we even witness the strange spectacle of their sharing common platforms with internationally acclaimed NGO activists and ideologues in India. No doubt this is a grave situation which calls for an uncompromising ideological and political offensive on the part of revolutionary patriotic and democratic forces.

However, the fall of CPI (M) and other revisionists into the quagmire of NGO ideology and politics is more striking. For instance, the further degeneration of CPI (M) from a position of mere "apologists of neocolonialism" to actual implementors of all the neocolonial policies in those states ruled by it has prompted its theoreticians to put forward a "non-class" or "above-class" approach to development as a justification for its actions. Several mass organisations led by the CPI (M) have become catalysts of various neocolonial projects of World Bank and other imperialist agencies as manifested through their involvement in the so-called "participatory" projects in health, education, etc. As a matter of fact their leftist mask bestows them a comparative advantage over the other ruling class organisations in carrying out the 'cost-recovery' and 'self-financing' schemes recently devised by imperialist think tanks under the label of "people's participation".

Basic Problems Confronting Diamond Workers

The Diamond sector as a whole all over India presents now an extremely complex picture. On the one hand from the beginning of modern Diamond industry in India in the 1960s this sector has developed very fast. Even though the growth of internal market for diamonds is still sluggish, the export has increased from Rs. 10.58 crores in 1966-67 to Rs. 11310 crores in 1993-94. This phenomenal growth has made it the biggest export item from India. Compared to any other sector it is unique. About 70 percent of world's demand for processed diamonds is exported from here.

For any one making a scientific study of the manufacturing scene in India it will look strange. For such a vast country with immense natural resources and great man power, the development of such a sector which almost entirely depends foreigners for raw materials, market and capital to the present level will be baffling.

In this imperialist era of globalisation and monopolisation, compared to any other sector in the Diamond sector monopolisation has reached a much higher level. De Beers, the multi-billion dollar MNC controls 80 percent of

In fact, the convergence of NGO ideology and revisionism has been more pronounced in the realm of preparing alternative policy documents as an antidote to Rao governments' economic policies. Of course, in 1991, the CPI (M) led West Bengal government did release an 'alternative policy document' prepared by its own experts. However, since economists associated with NGOs specialised in 'professional economics' are better suited for accomplishing such illusory academic exercises, from 1993 onwards instead of preparing their own alternatives, the CPI (M) theoreticians started supporting alternative policy document put forward by NGOs. This was the background to CPI (M)'s wholehearted support to the 'alternative budget' published by VANI (Voluntary Action Network of India) on the eve of Rao's third Fund Bank budget in India in 1993. It was quite well-known that this 'alternative budget' was prepared by leading NGO theoreticians like Rajni Kothari as an integral part of IFAA-SA as mentioned earlier. This year, instead of supporting the NGO alternative, the CPI (M) went a step ahead and became an active member of PCAEP (Preparatory Committee for Alternative Economic Policies) constituted by the NGOs. Its polit bureau members actively participated in the so-called 'Citizen's Assembly' enacted by PCAEP at Delhi which drafted an 'alternative budget' too. These shameless acts on the part of revisionists shows their proven degeneration into imperialism's diversionary tactics. That is, the line of demarcation between revisionism and NGO ideology is non-existent now.

Conclusion

As we have outlined above, the modern NGO phenomenon is a complex one. An objective enquiry into the logic behind the origin, development and transformation of NGOs clearly reveals that it is inseparably linked with the laws of motion of global capital. In recent years, in direct proportion to the neocolonial plunder reaching its zenith, the NGOs have got a new boost for derailing the simmering discontent of the broad masses of people against imperialism and its agents to safe channels. This is accomplished through a variety of programmes ranging from the provision of relief work to the formulation of alternative models of development. Co-operation with NGOs has been a hall mark of governmental programmes in various neocolonies. For instance, quite recently, the Rao government has constituted a national level committee comprised of the leading NGO ideologues and activists to draw out "an action plan for poverty eradication" with the sole aim of hoodwinking the people. All these developments including the major trends in NGO activity as pointed out earlier urgently call for bold intervention on the part of progressive people. While the neocolonial order of imperialism is discovering newer and newer avenues of non-governmental action, it is incumbent on the patriotic and democratic forces to come forward exposing this diversionary tactic of imperialism based on a correct ideological position firmly rooted in a historical understanding of the ideology and practice of NGOs.

world's diamond trade. De Beer's marketing arm Central Selling Organisation (CSO) and Diamond Trading Company (DTC) which is the agency for world-wide trade in roughs (the unprocessed diamonds) controlled by it dominate the diamond sector almost entirely.

By storing diamond supply during slumps in demand and releasing it during surges, this MNC with world-wide monopoly maintains artificially high prices. Even when De Beers is not controlling the mining as in Russia, China or Australia, all the big producers sell only to CSO to maintain the prices. While CSO and DTC earns huge profits as middlemen, the producers benefit because De Beers guarantees a stable market for their gems at a price far higher than they could ever get in a free market. Through this incentive all producers are kept within the cartel. De Beers assures the cartel members that even during periods of recession it will not lower the price at which it buys roughs from them.

Wherever new diamond mines are found, as in Raipur (MP) in India recently, De Beers immediately takes possession of it or bring it under its cartel system to control the production of roughs. It is this MNC's policy to let the diamonds remain either below the earth or in its vault to be released in a controlled manner. The object of this stockpiling is to control supply of diamond and its price. It is no free trade as government of India or GATT/WTO assures us.

For example in Angola De Beers is having a mining contract for last ten years. Still mining is not taken up. Same is going to happen to the surrender of mining rights to De Beers at Raipur by MP Government, though it is in the name of speedy development of the mines Narasimha Rao Government encouraged this sell-out. If this is the tactics employed by De Beers in neocolonies it employs different tactics in the imperialist countries.

The single largest producer of rough diamonds in the world today is not South Africa, but Australia. Diamond mining in Australia is controlled by Argyle Diamond Mines Ltd. (ADM) and its Argyle Diamond Sales Ltd. (ADS). A large proportion of its production is industrial diamonds and these require certain skills in processing and marketing as natural industrials are facing increasing rivalry from synthetic diamonds. Though through Indo-Argyle Diam-

ond Council-a partnership between Argyle and Indian diamond manufacturers-it has gained an edge over other countries in terms of cost utilising the cheap but expert labour available in India, it is also compelled to route its supply of roughs and global sales under control of DTC and CSO in order to maintain global prices.

De Beers employed a different tactics with erstwhile Soviet Union. It released the same quality of diamonds that were being mined in Soviet Union thereby creating a glut in the market. Alongwith this De Beers continued to acquire through its subsidiaries all the uncut diamonds that Soviet Union wanted to sell in the open market. The object was to prevent the country from selling its diamond to other buyers who could stockpile and prove a threat to De Beers. As a result even Soviet Union had to fell in with the MNC's terms. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, Russia continues as a member of the cartel controlled by De Beers.

To maintain its monopoly over global diamond market De Beers is capable of borrowing as much as 2 billion dollars to spend on stockpiling roughs as well as processed diamonds. Or it may be able to tap the 2 billion dollars in cash held by Anglo American and Minorco, sister companies linked to De Beers by a web of cross shareholdings. When Yakutia, an autonomous region of Siberia where most Russian diamonds are mined tries to assert its independence, immediately De Beers intervenes for a rapprochement so that its diamond monopoly is not broken by Yakutia flooding world market with its produce. It manipulates the elections in Angola so that it produce a government that can bring the country's produce back under its control.

All these are made possible through the utilisation of the enormous fortunes it has made through its monopoly in diamond sector. For protecting it, it is ready to go to any extent. To meet the unionisation of workers and consequent rise in labour costs in any country it is always on the look-out for developing processing areas in a number of countries where labour is cheap. As a result while US, Belgium and Israel continues as the centres for processing top quality diamonds, for processing lower quality roughs and industrial diamonds the MNC has developed alongwith India many other centres like China, Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka Malaysia etc.

Thus this MNC with backing of imperirlist

agencies and global commercial banks reigns supreme in diamond sector. It controls diamond mining all over the world. It brings all mining in neocolonies under direct control and brings production in imperialist countries under its cartel system. It maintains processing at the cheapest level possible by developing alternate areas far it continuously. It promotes mechanisation wherever necessary for this purpose. It controls the global trade in diamonds. In this way by plundering the natural resources at global level, by looting the cheap labour in neocolonies and manipulating the world market rates De Beers reaps enormous fortunes. It is an example for the way in which monopolisation at global level will cut the wages of workers and loot the world resources for the benefit of MNCs.

II

As mentioned earlier the modern diamond industry started in India in the 1960s. At this time government of India formed GJEPIC for promoting export of gold ornaments and diamond jewellery. Out of this council's 31 members, 27 are representatives of the industry, 3 are government nominees and one coopted by the council. It works entirely for the interest of the industrialists.

Diamond mining in India was nationalised in 1961 and brought under NMDC. As the processing sector was mainly depending upon imported roughs through DTC and as the government of India (GOI) did not make efforts to develop mining of diamonds, NMDC's production went down to 11000 carat by 1982-83. During this period apart from formerly known mining sites in Rajasthan and Panna in MP, new sites were found out in Kalhandi, Karaput and Sambalpur in Orissa and Krishna Valley in AP. Recently a rich mining area is found in Raipur district of MP. Rather than developing these sites scientifically with the aim of achieving maximum production of natural diamonds in order to achieve as much self-reliance as possible, GOI has encouraged MP government to hand over Raipur mining area to De Beers. That is production of natural diamond is left to the mercy of this global MNC as well as to unscrupulous merchants who corner the roughs at a pittance from the local people who extract it. If effect as in other neo-colonies in India also De Beers has succeeded in bringing the diamond mining under its virtual control by manipulating the comprador government and the market.

With the intention of organising import of unprocessed diamonds MMTTC was formed in 1972 by GOI. Up to 1978 MMTTC continued as a site-holder of DTC. It grew to the extent of doing Rs. 50 crores business annually. But in conformity with its policy of promoting privatisation DTC stopped business with MMTTC at this time. MMTTC was forced to depend on the open market of Belgium and later Diamdel, a subsidiary of DTC. As a result MMTTC got marginalised in import of diamond roughs.

In 1978 at the initiative of GOI Hindustan Diamond Corporation (HDC) was formed at Bombay under the control of big merchants who had direct dealings with DTC. It is functioning with the assistance of Bank of Bermuda, Indian Investment Trust Ltd etc. Majority of shares and control of HDC is in the hands of foreign monopolies mainly De Beers. Thus the trade in unprocessed diamonds is brought under the sway of foreign and local monopolies almost entirely.

Foreign as well as Indian banks invest heavily in this sector and reap good dividends. Almost all deals in this sector is handled by banks. Bank capital operates mainly as working capital. The Export Credit Guarantee Corporation (ECGC) also do exchange through banks. Even while the foreign commercial banks handles a lion's share of this business in the diamond sector and reap huge profits, the Indian banks also have increased their foreign dealings dozens of times through this.

A few monopoly families in Gujarat mainly control the huge diamond processing sector in India collaborating with the global monopoly De Beers with its arms DTC and CSO, the foreign and Indian banks, and GOI. While the diamond sector in India process about 70 percent of global demand for processed diamonds, these Indian monopolies earn vast fortunes, and GOI earns huge sums as taxes and tariffs. These affluent Indian monopolies have more than 50 offices in the 47th street which is the centre of New York's diamond industry and trade. They have more than 100 trade offices in Antwerp, the diamond centre of Belgium. Now their trade is developing to Singapur, Srilanka, Nepal, Japan and other countries also. In Israel itself about 10 processing units of Indian monopolies are working. All these show close links of comprador Indian monopolies with the world monopoly De Beers and international and Indian bank capital in order to share the vast fortunes in this sector. The GOI play the role of the middle-

man in this collaboration between imperialist monopolies with Indian compradors.

III

The diamond industry in India continued for long as a highly specialised business run in a dynastic manner. But from latter half of 1980s big, organised forces are entering the scene or some of the already entrenched sections are developing fast. All want a share in the ever expanding diamond business with the export alone expected to touch Rs. 13000 crores this year. In spite of the recession in the imperialist countries as a whole, demand for diamonds in major international markets like Japan, US, Germany, Hongkong, France, New Zealand and Belgium is steadily on the rise. There is no dearth of work for the Indian diamond industry that has distinguished itself by providing the best quality and least expensive workmanship in cutting and polishing the stones.

About 70 percent of world requirement of diamonds is presently cut and polished in India. DTC is keen on raising the quantum of roughs offered to Indian industry because of the availability of cheapest and skilled labour. DTC is also offering advanced cutting techniques and tools for the modernisation of Indian Industry. As the traditional methods of cutting and polishing result in higher weight loss and poorer quality the call for modernisation is on the rise. But the high cost of machinery and infrastructural inputs involved prevent the vast numbers of small units from modernising.

Presently more than half of total processing of natural diamonds is done in small units. There is a proliferation of such units as investment per labour is much less. For example the capital investment per labour required in chemical industries is Rs. 2 lakhs, Rs. 20,000 in textiles while it is only Rs. 1000 in diamond industry. Also there are prospects of becoming richer fast. In Surat, the major centre of diamond industry, alone there are nearly 20,000 small scale units. Besides in Ahmedabad and Valsad in Gujarat, Northern Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, Coimbatore in TN and Thrissur in Kerala there are more than 25,000 such units. But with the increase in the number of major mechanised units, various restrictions imposed on providing roughs to these units by HDC resulting in closure of many such units for long periods and insufficient support by banks is these small units which

employ nearly two thirds of the 6 lakhs regular and 3 lakhs irregular workers in this sector are under constant threat of closure. Still vast majority of the owners of these small units are not yet ready to oppose the domination of the global monopoly De Beers and Indian monopolies and the step motherly attitude of Banks, HDC and GOI. Besides almost all of them till side with the Indian monopoly companies in denying minimum need based wages and other basic rights to the workers. Even then the growing contradiction between these small producers with the monopolies, however slow it is at present, should be taken in to consideration.

Diamonds go through a number of stages in processing. Rough diamonds come in irregular shapes, usually containing blotches known as *naats*. Weight and quality are the main deciding factors in pricing. As the use of laser technology in diamond processing is progressively decreasing weight loss, it is increasingly utilised especially in cutting. While lasers are imported as is most of the hardware, the software has been developed indigenously. Indian manufactures have now introduced laser machines needed by local diamond industry. As the new technology has virtually wiped out mechanical kerfing or cutting, it has had a major impact on labour. Eventhough the cheapest and simplest way to cut and saw some types of roughs still is the mechanical one, that is manually, introduction of laser technology has reduced the number of workers drastically especially in the cutting section. Alongwith introduction of mechanisation the managements have started demanding more productivity from workers. Wages are also cut down in the name of compensating for the expenditure on mechanisation. Though the total number of workers in this sector has not shown any significant variation as a result of nearly 40 percent of annual growth rate of the industry, the whole burden of mechanisation is imposed on the workers, and the benefits like reduction in the loss of weight etc. are reaped by the managements.

The increase of 1500 times in three decades in the export sector is not a small gain for any industry. The Diamond industry in India could achieve this mainly on the strength of a highly skilled work force available at very competitive rates, that is at a rate almost lowest in the world. It is capable of producing jewellery-grade diamonds from otherwise low-priced ind-

ustrial stones. The amount of value that the labour in India adds by polishing smaller diamonds is for more than what India's competitors add by polishing bigger stones. As Indian diamond industry is mainly processing smaller diamonds it is still in increased demand and not affected by the growing recession in imperialist countries. As a whole these are factors strengthening the diamond industry here. As many more opportunities are gradually opening up including the completion of the biggest bourses or diamond trading centres in the world at Bandrakurla in Bombay and at Surat, Indian diamond monopolies are bound to flourish more in the coming years. The steady increase in internal market also will add to their profit.

With this De Beers has started squeezing a much bigger share of this profit by creating difficulties and dictating terms to Indian diamond industry. As it is spreading operations to more areas right quantity of quality roughs are provided only restrictly. In face of increasing competition from China and many other countries, Indian Industry is forced to sell the processed stones to CSO at lesser rates. Israel aided by technological advancement is also targeting the a smalls' segment making the competition tougher. Even while talking big about free trade, US has just imposed 96.5 percent import duty on polished diamonds. The cumulative effect of these pressures is that the Indian manufactures transfer all of this burden to the workers and make selective closure of units resulting in lower wages and denial of basic rights. That is, even while the industry as a whole is remarkably prospering both internationally and in India, even while the global monopoly as well as Indian monopolies reap huge and increasing profits, even while both foreign and Indian banks collecting bigger dividends and premium every year, and even while the GOI is getting bigger shares of tariffs and taxes, the nearly one million workers engaged in the sector are subjected to ruthless and ever intensifying exploitation. It is yet another example of the growing contradiction between imperialist agencies and their native compradors on the one hand and the labour in the neocolonies on the other with the former having open licence to loot the latter as they wish.

But this huge profit earned by the Indian monopolies never gets reflected in their open or official accounts. Almost all dealings in this sector are done based on agreements secretly

arrived at. Nothing is recorded. As a result most of the profits turns in to black money strengthening the underworld economy. It helps them to avoid taxation also. Disputes among diamond monopolies as well as among all the industrialists in this sector is settled in courts of their own on which the Indian courts have no control. As the monopolisation is increasing in Indian diamond industry competition among the major operators is disappearing and it provides them a better opportunity to exploit workers more.

The complexity of these problems and ever increasing monopolisation in the diamond industry and trade is making the condition of the workers in this sector worse day by day. None of the rights and privileges earned by the organised working class in the course of continuous struggles making many sacrifices are allowed in the diamond sector.

The demand for eight hour working day raised by working class at Chicago in 1866 is still align to workers in this sector. In 1923 the Compensation Act was accepted in India after many struggles. In 1941 Factory Act the maximum working hours for men was reduced to 12 hours and for children to 6 hours. In 1948 Canteen facilities were declared compulsory where 250 or more workers are engaged. In 1948 Minimum Wages Act was also approved. In 1952 acts providing provident fund and ESI facilities were adopted. In 1961 maternity leave with all privileges was also adopted need based minimum wages and automatic increase in dearness allowance according to wholesale price-index also is accepted. Many other privileges and rights to workers including right to organise, right to strike were also accepted. But none of these acts are enforced in diamond sector. In spite of many assurances both GOI as well as state governments do not bother to take steps to get them implemented in this sector. The labour department and its officers work hands in glove with the managements so that workers repeated appeals are not heeded. It is the jungle law of "hire and fire" as and when the management likes which is dominating in this sector.

The GOI presents awards every years to the biggest exporters in this sector. Many more privileges, concessions, and exemptions are showered on diamond monopolies. Even when they evode taxes, accumulate fabulous amounts of black money, spends tens of crores of rupees for marriages of their daughters and for other

extravaganzas etc government closes eyes towards them. When De Beers stopped dealings with NMDC and started direct dealings with private agencies, the GOI surrendered before the MNC, HDC is allowed to accumulate huge profits in collaboration with the global monopoly. At the same time the diamond magnates are allowed to break all labour laws. Even while these industrialists exploit the workers criminally and deny all democratic rights to them, the labour department and police take their side against the workers.

All these are clearly proving that the GOI and state governments are nakedly protecting the interests of a global monopoly like De Beers and the Indian monopolies in diamond sector. The Indian banks are openly supporting these monopolies while denying even paltry loans to workers. So the struggle of the workers should target the government and various government agencies which are protecting the interests of both global and Indian monopolies and acting against the interests of the working class. The imperialist capital alongwith Indian state capital including bank capital and private capital are acting hands in glove to exploit the workers and to extract their last drop of blood. Only through an uncompromising struggle against the combination of these monsters, the workers can really succeed in achieving their basic demands.

V

Though the diamond workers are one of the most exploited sections very few of them are organised. Out of the nearly one million workers even one percent are not members of any trade unions. Though occasional mobilisation and agitations have taken place the management could easily defeat them because of their predominantly unorganised condition. Only in Trissur district of Kerala where about 10,000 workers are employed in this sector any significant struggles have taken place. By organising and struggling they could win atleast partial demands.

The piece-rate or contract system predominant in this sector is one of the most important factors preventing the organisation of workers in to trade unions. As a result of this system the management promotes the 'Survival and success of the fittest' theory. Besides, pointing out the set-back suffered by the working class movement at global level and the degen-

eration of even the leftist trade union centres like AITUC and CITU, reactionary forces have succeeded to a great extent to spread frustration among workers and to make them struggle fearing. Constant uncertainty about job security and threat of unemployment also compels most of the workers to keep away from trade unions. Alongwith all these the general tendency among many workers to go on changing place of work in the anticipation of better income prevents them from joining unions. The betrayal of many trade union leaderships, their surrender to managements and the all pervading ill effects of trade unionism and economism are major factors making the trade union movement weaker presently. As a result not only in diamond sector, in many other sectors also vast majority of workers remain unorganised. Managements who are well organised and who act always collectively utilise this situation to impose their unscrupulous terms and conditions on the workers.

Only through a strenuous and continuous campaign to educate the workers about the condition of the diamond industry, about the vast profits earned by managements by exploiting them and about the benefits of getting organised by raising short term demands as well as long term goals the present depressing situation can be overcome. It calls for a long-term struggle for liberating the workers from the clutches of economism which is leading them to a blind alley and for politicalising atleast the advanced sections among them about the need to develop anti-imperialist, anti-state struggles for the basic resolution of their problems. Progressive democratic forces have to play an important role in this direction.

"To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organisation"

— Mao

"Practice Marxism, and not revisionism, unite, and don't split, be open and above board, and don't intrigue and conspire"

— Mao

Kerala: UDF ministry retreats before mighty people's struggle

The students, youth and progressive forces have succeeded at least for the time being in giving a crushing blow to the Congress (I) led UDF ministry in Kerala which was trying to impose privatisation in the education field. The attempt was to convert education field also another profitable business. Fees were increased five or six times. 71 unaided and self-reliant colleges were allotted to communal and casteist management as capitation fee institutions. Many more professional colleges were also going to be started in this way. The intention was to convert pre-primary to highest level institutions as business establishments. In line with what Rajiv Gandhi government started at central level a decade back at the dictates of imperialist agencies for privatisation of education field, in Kerala also an elitist education plan was chalked out. But due to many struggles waged by students, youth and progressive forces till now this scheme could not be implemented in toto.

Now Karunakaran ministry decided to implement it in a big way. Using this it wanted to kill two birds at one shot. On the one hand the imperialist agencies' dictates can be obeyed. On the other hand by giving such profitable business the communal, casteist leaderships can be appeased with an eye on next election.

But the progressive forces had other ideas. Students, teachers and the progressive people as a whole opposed it. It is known to all that in Kerala the percent of school and college ed-

(From P.14)

number is increasing as a result of all out liberalisation and privatisation. When market system and profit at any cost is in command human beings become cannon fodder for the imperialist monsters and their native lackeys.

Tenth anniversary of Bhopal was observed as a ritual by the state and the numerous VOs/NGOs. For the MNCs it was a non-event. But for the revolutionary forces it should be a reminder to intensify the struggles to overthrow these monsters. ●

ucated, that is formally educated, people are quite high. It is because expenditure for education is very low and because government or aided institutions are available everywhere.

Privatisation liberalisation was going to cut at the root of this system and destroy along with other measures like making rationing meaningless and free medical treatment a thing of the past, the present quality of life achieved even by the poor sections in the state. So the struggle against it spread very fast. Along with student and teachers organisations of LF parties, Kerala Vidyarthi Sanghatana (KVS) and Yuvajanavedi were in the fore front of struggle.

The UDF ministry let loose a reign of terror against this mass movement. Students showing black flags before ministers were lathi charged. Students blocking roads were mercilessly beaten up. When this state terror reached a new high with the police firing at Koothuparambu in northern Kerala leading to the death of five comrades the whole state witnessed massive militant mass upheavals. Thousands of people attacked 17 police stations. Ministers were compelled to cancel public programmes. Along with the total 'education bandh' on November 26 a total state bandh was observed. When Karunakaran tried to communalise the issue and seek the support of communal forces it was exposed. RSS which came to the support of UDF was exposed and isolated.

State retaliated by asking army to make flag marches. Rapid Action force was deployed at many places. Police and para military forces were given full freedom to suppress the struggle.

Even then the students and those who supported them persisted in struggle. It was a mass upsurge not seen in Kerala for many years. Finally UDF ministry had to retreat. The fee-rise etc were called off. The fate of unaided/self-reliant colleges were left to the decision of Supreme Court. The month long struggle is withdrawn from the time being.

For the LDF parties led by CPI (M) even while remaining in the forefront of the struggle it was a severe test case. When LDF was in

Seminar against NGOs and their ideology

At present a whole range of organisations called voluntary agencies or NGOs (non governmental organisations) are flourishing and functioning all over the country claiming themselves to be motivated by service objectives. Of late they and their ideologies have started influencing even so-called revolutionary organisations. Some front organisations of even some revolutionary groups took over responsibility for distributing imperialist alms to flood or earthquake victims. In such a situation an exposure of the ideology of these NGOs had become urgent. So the Seminar on politics and role of NGOs organised by Bombay Democratic Forum on 27 November at Poddar College, Matunga (E) was very timely.

The Seminar presided by Thomas Sebastian and welcomed by Sathish was inaugurated by com. K. N. Ramachandran. In his inaugural address the activities of NGOs often centred round 'people-based', or 'participatory' development strategy in the name of non-party political processes were briefly mentioned and the need to make a historical analysis about them along with an ideological exposure was stressed. It has become an urgent necessity as they have

intensified their de-ideologising activities leading astray many well meaning people. Even organisations calling themselves revolutionary have started getting influenced by them and talking about people's empowerment. So the revolutionary forces should launch an uncompromising struggle against these imperialist tools.

The paper presented by Prof. P. J. James (see page 15) gave a historical and political-ideological analyses about these organisations and called for vigilance against them. Participating in the discussion Rajani Desai, Prof. Sapna Banerjee, com. Deepti and others agreed with the positions put forward in the paper and cautioned against foreign fund and voluntary ideology polluting a large number of progressive individuals and even some revolutionary organisations. Examples of these ideological, fund pollutions at Bombay were cited.

May more from the audience participated enlivening the discussion. Prof. James while replying to the discussion once again reiterated the ideological-political positions, pin-pointing how the parliamentary left has started fully aligning with these organisations. Com. Chandrasekhar expressed vote of thanks.

Power they had started implementing many of the IMF-WB dictated policies. The LF ministry in WB is not behind any other state ministry in implementing Rao government's anti-national policies. But in Kerala they were compelled to lead a mighty struggle against the very same policies. So when they come to power in next elections in 1996 or earlier, which is a certainty as it looks now, they are going to face a real problem.

C P I (ML) Red flag and class/mass organisations led by it have played a significant role in compelling the LDF to take the present course. They have a consistent record of anti-imperialist struggles Right from the time AdiSeshiah Commission report, Resource Mobilisation Committee report and Navodaya Schools, the revolutionary left has opposed these imperialist dictated policies. So KVS/Yuvajana-vedhi was actively in struggle through out the period. Even when R S S goondas attacked the *pandal* where comrades were on fast, KVS/Yu-

vajana-vedhi comrades were in the fore front in resisting it. They have declared that the struggle against converting education in to a business will be resisted uncompromisingly.

UDF led by Congress (I) is trying to defeat this people's offensive by communalising the issue and winning support of casteist leaders. A large number of schools and colleges are allotted to these forces to gain their support. But C P I (M L) Red Flag is exposing this game by pointing out that these institutions are against dalits/adivasis/backward sections/minorities as reservation principle will not be followed in them. Besides the neocolonial content of the educational policy as such is opposed.

The battle lines are clearly drawn. In coming days the struggle for a national, democratic and scientific education for all is bound to intensify as the revolutionary forces have already become an organised political force to be reckoned with in Kerala.

Trade Union (Amendment) Bill, 1993

Muzzling The Working Class

The current onslaught on the working class has not come all of a sudden. Since the late 1980s, we have seen the rise of the 'militant employer' in the organised sector. Now, instead of workers presenting the management with a charter of demands, it is the management that comes with a charter of demands to the union—freedom to use contract labour (and substitute permanent with contract labour), freedom to get work done by outside contractors, productivity-linked wages, no interference by the union in any change in production patterns or deployment of workers, retrenchment (under one guise or the other), etc. Many large profitable firms have taken care to set up a number of production centres, so that agitations by workers of one can be crushed by getting production from workers in the remaining (to which end, any attempt at uniting the various centres is brutally crushed).

In many of the traditional manufacturing industries (eg. jute) workers have been blackmailed into deals which impose increased workloads with substantial cuts in wages. Resistance by the workers of Nellimarla (A.P.), Titagurh and Kanoria (West Bengal) have been met with lathis, bullets, and systematic starvation.

The wave of closures has included even profit-making firms which see a larger, super profit in the sale of land than in productive activity. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra

quite openly states that he wants to rid Bombay of industry, and replace it with financial sector activity. Presumably, a handful of the workers so retrenched are to find jobs as temporary office peons, and others are to retire to their villages with the ridiculous pittance they get as 'voluntary retirement' payments.

In the public sector, not only has fresh recruitment stopped, but contractualisation of jobs has gone on apace; over 80,000 have been officially retrenched since 1992 in the name of 'voluntary retirement'; many more are in limbo, with firms such as the National Textile Corporation simply not paying wages for months. The referral of 58 public sector firms to the BIFR signals a massive wave of closures, retrenchments and privatisations in the near future.

All in all, the large industrial employers and contractors have been assured of the full support of the State machinery in their assault on the rights won by the Indian workers in a century of bitter struggle. This is the significance of the massacre of workers in Dalla, the murder of Niyogi and the subsequent massacre of contract workers at Bhilai, the use of the Army on agitating Himachal Pradesh employees, and so many other instances.

Legal changes afoot

The last six or seven years, then, have been ones of worsening of terms, and growing insecurity for the working class. Remarkably, all this has been achieved by the Government and the industrialists without any major changes in the legal structure. For whenever such changes have been proposed (eg. the Industrial Relations Bill of 1988), the established trade unions in order to maintain their credibility among the workers, and for their very existence have opposed them. Thus the Industrial Disputes Act still contains sections whereby large units have to seek the permission of the Government for closure and retrenchment. A peculiar stalemate persists: owners are *de facto* closing down units by means of indefinite lock-outs; the Government is giving *de facto* permission for

(From P. 28)

As a whole this seminar was a small beginning to a major task to be taken up by the patriotic forces in the coming days. That it could be arranged at Bombay, a major centre of voluntary organisations is really important. This work should be continued with more vigour in coming days as the voluntary organisation/NGOs are playing a bigger role today in perpetuation of imperialist plunder by leading astray possible anti-imperialist forces. Even the espionage aspect calls for a close scrutiny as they are one of the most important sources of materials for the imperialists. ●

this by refusing to intervene on behalf of the stranded workers; established unions are carrying on only nominal activity on such issues; and yet the fear of a potential backlash from the workers prevents the Government taking steps to give legal sanction to such closures.

Nevertheless, the Government cannot afford today to take its time in bringing about changes in the law. The World Bank, whose conditionalities determine such details as the price of electricity, bus and rail fares, fees in public hospitals, import tariffs, financial sector reforms, privatisation, and so on, has made its views clear long ago. In its late 1980s document *India: Poverty, Employment and Social Services* it spelt out its complaints against Indian labour law (pp 112-118). These include "regulations restricting retrenchment of workers and closure of factories...the statutory payment of annual bonuses and other benefits...the substantial over-indexation (sic) of wages which occurs through the system of 'dearness allowance'...the ease with which tiny unions can be recognized, and the lack of a clear framework for a single union to gain undisputed authority to represent a firm's labour force...."

The Bank demands in the same document that "trade union" recognition should be based on a minimum proportion of a factory's workforce; collective bargaining should be conducted by a sole bargaining agent approved by a majority or at least a large share of the workforce; and the Government apparatus for industrial dispute settlement should be reorganised...restrictions against retrenchment and closure should be eliminated...adjustment would be facilitated by well-designed programs for retraining and placement of workers subject to retrenchment or closure. Insolvent firms will find it easier to satisfy all creditors and provide adequate compensation to workers if they are allowed to reap the full benefit from selling off assets which they control. Hence there should be no restrictions...on the sale of land or other assets by these firms". This, in a nutshell, is the package the Government has been trying to implement in recent years. Foreign investors have been bluntly demanding the speedier implementation of these 'reforms'.

T. U. Amendment Bill

It is against this background that we should see the Government's introduction of the Trade

Unions (Amendment) Bill, 1994. The salient features of the Bill are as follows.

(1) Whereas under the Trade Unions Act, 1926, just seven workers are needed for a trade union to apply for registration, under the new amendment registration will be given only to a union whose membership is *at least ten percent* of the workmen in the establishment or industry. The Ramanujam Committee (1990), on whose recommendations the Bill is supposed to be based, had recommended that the minimum required membership be 10 per cent of the employees or a hundred, *whichever is less*. The words "or a hundred, whichever is less" have been deleted.

Contemplate the consequences. For example, let us say a union is working in a public sector corporation with worksites spread over many locations and a total workforce of 20,000. To become a registered union for this corporation the union would have to *prove* membership of 2,000 workers. This would make it virtually impossible for any new trade union to enter any particular worksite. And if the permanent workers' union does not offer them support, the contract workers of any large establishment might find it impossible to get unionised.

In the case of a *general union* of a particular section of workers (say, steel workers) the union would have to first demonstrate membership of *ten percent of the workers in that industry* (eg. the steel industry). The Bill does not even bother to clarify whether the union has to prove ten per cent membership in the industry all-India or within notified regions.

A *general union of workers* would presumably have to prove ten percent membership of *all* workers in the particular area of their operation! Even a large union such as Datta Samant's Maharashtra General Kamgar Union would not fulfill this criterion.

And it is difficult to imagine what the bill contemplates for unions in the unorganised sector, where the number of workers is not even tabulated.

It is revealing to contrast the rhetoric of liberalisation in the corporate sector with what is being dished out to workers. Whether companies are to survive or close down is supposed now to be decided solely by 'competition' whatever the cost of this theory to the nation's capital resources, and to the workers; but free

competition is not to be applied to trade unions. Those unions which establish themselves in the eyes of officialdom are to be provided sturdy protection against new entrants. The barriers to entry of new unions make the industrial licensing system pale by comparison.

(2) Every application for registration of a trade union must be accompanied by (a) the names, occupations and addresses of the members of the trade union and (b) the names, occupations and addresses of the workmen engaged or employed in the establishment or industry with which it is connected.

The first provision is simple to fulfill if the minimum membership is seven; if the minimum is ten per cent of the establishment/industry, it becomes impracticable. The second provision is absurd: presumably trade union activists are to become census-takers, listing the names and addresses of *every worker* in the concerned establishment/industry! This an activity not even the Government undertakes.

This amendment is indeed not based on the recommendations of the Ramanujam committee or any other committee/conference.

(3) The bill requires that no more than one-third of the total number of office-bearers, or two, whichever is less, shall be outsiders. The rest must be actually employed in the concerned establishment/industry. (The existing provision allows upto half the office-bearers to be outsiders. The Ramanujam committee recommended that the proportion be reduced to one-third. The provision "or two, whichever is less" is seen for the first time in the bill)

This is an offensive amendment to an offensive provision. For a union is an organisation of workers, and workers have a democratic right to choose anyone they wish to represent them. In the first place the Government has no right to stipulate *anything* about whom workers may choose as their representatives. The proposed amendment takes the existing restriction to absurd lengths by requiring that *not more than two* of the office bearers be outsiders.

Ironically, this gross interference in the workers' own organisations is justified by the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the bill as "promoting internal democracy". In fact the object of all these provisions is clearly to take away workers' right to organise, from their own unions, and elect their own representatives.

The Government's intentions

However, given that the first two provisions mentioned above are impracticable even for the large, established trade unions, the question arises: is the bill meant at all seriously? There is no sign that the Government intends to attempt de-registration of virtually the entire trade union movement in the country. On the contrary, in order to implement the structural adjustment package, it requires the tacit consent, or at least passivity, of a major part of the leadership of the established trade unions. Then what is intended by the introduction of this bill?

One possible interpretation is that the bill was merely drafted in a ham-handed fashion without application of mind. No doubt several legislations are indeed drafted in such a fashion, yet it seems insufficient as an explanation of this legislation. For there is a conscious decision to drop certain aspects of the Ramanujam committee's recommendations (eg. the phrase "or a hundred, whichever is less"), and add new provisions not mentioned by that committee.

A more plausible explanation is that the Government knows that any amendment to the Trade Unions Act, as part of an effort to restrict the freedom to form trade unions, would face stiff opposition. Hence certain absurd provisions have been introduced to be conveniently discarded later, in a great show of concessions, to produce some 'compromise draft'.

Whatever be the answer to these questions, the latest bill is clear signal that the Government wishes, along the lines of the World Bank's recommendations, to restrict the formation of new unions, and bring about a situation in more and more sectors which resembles the Bombay Industrial Relations Act. Those who have seen the Bombay textile strike will remember the miracle of that legislation: two and a half lakh workers were on strike under the banner of the MGKU, the textile industry of the city had come to a standstill, and yet the R M M S, hiding behind the skirts of the Registrar, maintained its status as the officially recognised union. This is the actual intent of legislations purportedly designed to prevent "multiplicity of trade unions".

Against this background, it is vital to demand the complete scrapping of the proposed amendment, and to expose it as part of the overall efforts being made to muzzle the Indian working class movement.

(to be continued next issue)

Oppose Ratification of WTO By Rao Government Observe January 1 As All India Black Day

Narasimha Rao Government has ratified the agreement establishing WTO on January 1 when people are already facing the evil consequences of the GATT Treaty signed on April 15 coupled with the dictates of IMF and World Bank which have led to the hegemony of imperialist capital and MNCs.

Now creation of WTO superseding GATT will further worsen people's lives. Implementation of patent laws, bringing service sector also under imperialist capital, stopping all welfare measures, and bringing all sectors under globalisation and market economy alongwith ever increasing imperialist debts are accelerating the devastation of the country. GATT/WTO are nothing but imperialists' manoeuvres to shift burden of their own crisis to neocolonies like India.

Strong opposition to these anti-national policies of Rao Government is already expressed through observation of All India Black Day including successful bandh in Kerala and some other areas on April 15, successful All India General Strike on September 29, and now by the crushing defeat suffered by Congress in the elections to four states ruled by it. In spite of these, the decision by this Government of traitors to ratify WTO is an arrogant autocratic act, an insult and challenge to the people. It calls for uncompromising struggles to put an end to this comprador rule.

We call upon all patriotic forces to strongly protest against the ratification of WTO by Rao Government by observing All India Black Day on January 1 in a most effective manner.

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

Intensify anti-imperialist Offensive

Imperialists and their compradors have intensified their neocolonial onslaught against world people further by launching WTO from January 1, 1995. Thus the process of globalisation at GATT level through Uruguay Round of talks, Dunkel proposals, Dunkel Draft Treaty and the GATT Treaty signed on last April 15 is completed by internationalising trade, patent rights, trade in services etc to a new level—through WTO. Its dispute settlement body has supra governmental authority to impose hegemony over the neocolonial countries. Alongwith IMF World Bank, MNCs, UN, NATO and other global arrangements in all spheres WTO marks another step towards the imperialist New World Order. As far as countries like India are concerned all these steps including WTO have taken neocolonisation to a new zenith.

Its evil impact on the life of vast masses of our people are already evident every where. Manifested through the so-called *New Economic Policy* of Rao government in naked forms

these neocolonial policies are devastating the country. As a result numerous people's resistance movement against these are coming up. Conscious opposition to them took place through the All India Black Day including total bandh in Kerala on April 15 against imperialist GATT Treaty, and the all India general strike on September 29. The rout of Congress (I) in recent assembly by-elections is yet another reflection of people's opposition to it. Even then Rao government has gone ahead ratifying the agreement on WTO making our country a member of it when it is formed on January 1. It shows the extent to which the Rao clique is ready to sell the country's interests. It has degenerated the state machinery and the political leaderships of ruling class parties to unfathomable debts.

In spite of all these none of the opposition parties have opposed this traitorous act. Even the parliamentary left has refused to act on it. The significance of joining WTO is not app-

(Contd P. 2)