

RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES



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CAST AWAY PARLIAMENTARY ILLUSIONS GET ORGANISED FOR REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

Election time under existing reactionary comprador ruling system is an occasion to spread illusions among the people for the ruling classes and their political agents. Through calculated disinformation campaign the real issues are concealed. The parliamentary combatants engage in gimmicks. In place of basic issues confronting the masses, periphery issues are projected. Artificial heat and vigour is created utilising money power alongwith rousing communal, casteist, parochial passions. In this way parliamentary illusions are increasingly spread.

But as we are repeatedly witnessing the real issues like price rise, unemployment, continuing feudal exploitation, non-implementation of land-reforms, total subjugation of the country to neocolonisation under the dictates of IMF-WB-WTO and the MNCs, ever-intensifying social and gender inequalities etc. are never made the central election issues. If at all anyone tries to project them it will be drowned in the flood of diversionary politics.

Experience of the nearly half century history of the post-1947 parliamentary politics have repeatedly proved that whichever party or combination of the parties comes to power whether at the centre or in the states, or even in the local bodies, they have to implement policies favouring the comprador bureaucratic capitalist and the landlords. That is, whoever comes to power they will have to serve the rich against the int-

crests of the poor. Election based on universal franchise and all other parliamentary illusions are spread to conceal this fact. Within the existing ruling system the maximum power enjoyed by the people is to vote out a ruling party which is proved corrupt and anti-people. This is what is done by the people repeatedly after initial years when Congress had near monopoly of power both at centre and in the states, including in the latest elections to the four Congress ruled states in which it was practically routed. But the change of governments at the centre and in the states could not put an end to the neocolonisation of the country; it could not even minimise the feudal exploitation. On the contrary irrespective of all these change of governments neocolonisation is intensifying, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening, and the country is getting economically, politically, culturally, socially and ecologically devastated day by day. Corruption has become widespread and reached Himalayan proportions. Communal and casteist conflicts are intensifying. And the state system is becoming more and more fascistic with black-laws like TADA, fake encounter killings, deployment of even army for suppressing different agitations coming up everywhere, and denial of basic human rights to the vast majority.

Now the elections to five more state assemblies, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bihar, Orissa and

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Editorial

The New Year Poses New Challenges

The New Year has dawned when the contradictions both internationally and within our country have further sharpened, with new opportunities opening up in front of the revolutionary forces.

In 1994 also there was no lessening of the protracted general crisis faced by the imperialist countries. In spite of the fact that some of them could make temporary recoveries, the imperialist system as a whole was in turmoil with stagnatory and inflationary tendencies intensifying. Naturally as in the past it called for an allround acceleration of the plunder of the people in the neocolonies and their resources. To cover it up attacks on proletarian revolutionary world outlook, and propagation of imperialist values in all spheres were further intensified. There were bullying of the neocolonies and even military operations by U S imperialism as in Haithi. Iraq continued to be under suffocating sanctions. By the year end Yeltsin's Russia launched massive attack on dissenting Chechnya.

IMF-World Bank dictates continued to devastate many neocolonies keeping them perpetually in debt trap. The GATT Treaty was imposed to be followed by formation of WTO on New Year Day. All these led to global hegemony of imperialist capital and MNCs in all spheres. As a result, the contradiction between imperialists and their lackeys on the one hand, and the people of the neocolonies, and the contradiction between capital and labour in the imperialist countries especially in the context of these states becoming more fascistic has intensified. Besides the contradiction among the imperialist countries is also intensifying creating even possibilities of trade wars.

In short, contrary to what is repeatedly propagated by the imperialists and their lackeys the *New World Order* they were talking about is eluding them. World is in the middle of a great disorder. The imperialist system as such has come under attacks by world people. Attempts to present socialism as a *god that failed* have not succeeded in diverting people from
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Mao Centenary Seminar Successfully Organised

The Mao Centenary Seminar on "Challenges before the International Communist Movement and proletarian response to them" was successfully held at Ernakulam (Kerala) on 26 December, 1994 as the culminating item in the one year long Mao Centenary Programmes organised by CPI (ML) Red Flag all over India. Nearly one thousand comrades actively participated in the whole day Seminar which started with Internationale.

Inaugurating the Seminar com. K. N. Ramachandran, Secretary, CPI (ML) Red Flag called for the revolutionary forces to take up the great responsibility bestowed upon them by history by making active efforts to reorganise the party with in the country and to actively participate in all possible ways in building up a platform of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations at international level. He called for uncompromising struggles against all alien trends by upholding Marxism - Leninism - Mao Tsetung Thought as the guiding ideology for developing a correct ideological-political orientation.

Message of greetings to the Seminar from the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD), support to the Seminar extended by the "Joint Co-ordinating Group of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations" and The Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turky) were then read. Following this com. P. C. Unnichekan who presided over the function stressed the importance of the ideological struggle launched by CPI (ML) Red Flag in the context of Mao Centenary and invited com. M. M. Somasekharan to present the subject for the Seminar.

Com. Somasekharan explaining some of the points put forward in the paper prepared by CRC and published in Red Star January 95 issue stressed the importance of developing the understanding about the neocolonial phase of imperialism. Based on this the strategy and tactics of proletarian world revolution should be developed. The ideological political struggle should be intensified at all levels. Active efforts are called for to forge unity of Marxist-Leninist forces at international level.



Mao Centenary Seminar: Inaugural speech by Com. K. N. Ramachandran

Following lunch break Malayalam translation of Mao's poems and revolutionary songs in different languages were presented. Then com. Ajay Sarma representing Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) extended most warm greetings to the Seminar and to all comrades in India. He explained the developments till the formation of RIM and pointed out reasons for present crisis in it. He called for broader unity at international level fighting against both

opportunist-reformist and sectarian lines. After him com. Nazir representing the Proletarian Vanguard Organisation of Sri Lanka spoke extending warm greetings to the Seminar. The presence of these fraternal delegations and messages and support from other fraternal organisations rendered an international character to the Seminar.

Alongwith this presence of a good number of comrades from other south Indian states, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh and comrades Manasayya (Karnataka), Neendapayanam Sundaram (Tamilnadu) and Dr. Yedu (Madhya Pradesh) participating in the discussion enlarged the scope of this Seminar. Dr. Yedu,

a veteran Communist from 1940, and a strong supporter of the Marxist-Leninist movement even at this advanced age dealt with some of the crucial issues confronting the masses of people as a result of imperialist offensive in neocolonial form. A country wide stir is called for to combat them. He urged the Marxist Leninists to get organised at all India level building up a powerful Marxist Leninist party. Alongwith this energetic steps should be taken to make all possible contributions to forge unity at international level to challenge the imperialist system.

Com. Neendapayanam Sundaram, another Veteran Communist and editor of Neendapayanam (Long March) who also released the new edition of *The Great Debate* called for uncompromising struggle against all alien trends. It is the cancer of revisionism which has weakened the movement continuously. So struggle against all revisionist trends becomes the principal task at ideological level alongwith combating the counter revolutionary ideology of reaction. Com. Manasayya, a leading comrade of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Karnataka also called for exposing and defeating the revisionists of all hues, and for strengthening the Marxist-Leninist party at all India level. As imperialism in its neocolonial phase has evolved new tactics to perpetuate its hegemony over world people, it is the historic task in front of the Marxist Leninists to challenge imperialist system as a whole at international level. With this perspective we have to give added importance to building up unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces at international level also.

Com. Naina Singh of All India Nepali Unity Society extended warm greetings to the Seminar and called for strengthening proletarian internationalism. Com. Somasekharan in his reply urged the continuation of this discussion at all levels in the coming days. Only in the course of intense ideological struggle against all alien trends based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought we can build up the unity of Marxist-Leninist forces both at all India level, and at international level. So the ideological struggle initiated in the course of Mao Centenary should be continued with more vigour.

Com. Charles George, convenor, Mao Centenary Reception Committee welcomed the participants and Dr. Shanmugham Pulappatta, chairman, Mao Centenary Reception Committee,

extended vote of thanks. The Seminar concluded in a militant atmosphere with the lines of Internationale inspiring all.

On the same day a strong rally and then a well attended public meeting was organised at Berhampore, Orissa addressed by Com. Abir Padhy, Dr. Narayan, Com. P. J. Baby and com. Sivaram who called for vigorous struggles against the neocolonial onslaught by imperialism and its lackeys, and for building up the unity of Marxist-Leninist nationally and internationally. Besides from December 26, 1993 when the Mao Centenary Year programmes were inaugurated by Com. K. N. Ramachandran at Cannanore (Kerala) in a mass meeting numerous discussions, seminars and conventions were organised all over India. All these programmes contributed much towards intensifying the ideological struggle against all counter revolutionary and revisionist trends.

As a whole the year long Mao Centenary programmes culminating with the Ernakulam Seminar have given a new fillip to the Marxist-Leninist movement in India. They underlined the significance of the ideological struggle continuously waged under the leadership of C P I (M L) Red Flag in the post-Mao period starting with the uncompromising struggle against Dengist brand of neo revisionism which advocated counter revolutionary "Theory of Three Worlds" against the General Line of the ICM put forward by Lenin, Stalin and Mao and theory of productive forces in the form of "four modernisations". The paper "challenges before the ICM and proletarian response to them" prepared by C R C, C P I (M L) Red Flag is a significant step for giving direction to the ongoing ideological struggle. The Mao Centenary programmes concluded in a positive note with the hope of vitalising the unity efforts of Marxist-Leninists both in India and at international level.

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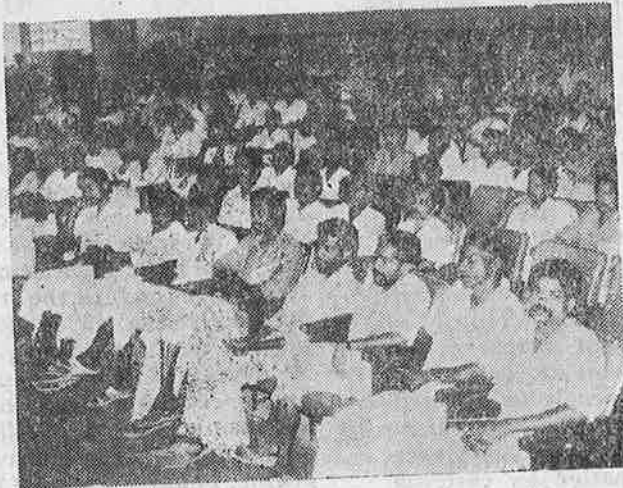
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Inaugural Speech by com. K. N. Ramachandran

Fraternal delegations representing NCP (Mashal) and Proletarian Vanguard Organisation Sri Lanka, Comrades from different parts of our country, Comrades and Friends,

Today we have organised this Mao Centenary Seminar on " Problems Confronting the ICM and Proletarian response to them" as the concluding program of our one year long Mao Centenary Year Programs at a time when both our country and the world as a whole are in the middle of a great disorder. The victory achieved by the imperialist camp led by US imperialism over Soviet Union which had degenerated from socialist path to a social imperialist power contending for world hegemony with US imperialism, the disintegration of Soviet Union, and the much propagated end of so-called *Cold War* have not brought about a period of harmony as the imperialists and their lackeys were talking about. For example take the case of our country itself. It was with much fanfare and publicity offensive Narasimha Rao government had introduced the IMF-World Bank-GATT package of structural adjustments and *new economic policy* of liberalisation-privatisation-globalisation. Putting the public sector at commanding heights and the so-called *subsidy raj* and huge expenditure on welfare measures were blamed for the stagnation in the country. There was a policy reversal and market economy was put at commanding heights. This export oriented market economy with the opening of all doors for free flow of imperialist capital and MNCs was depicted as the panacea for all evils. Ofcourse it has succeeded

in taking the neo-colonisation of our country to most shameful levels very fast. Results : national slavery and pauperisation of vast masses while a handful of compradors and lackeys alone are getting benefitted. It has led to unending people's struggles. These are getting intensified day by day. Side by side the ruling class politics is in acute crisis. Power struggles among them are sharpening. Both at the centre and in the states it is leading to political turmoil. Congress (I) is facing a total rout. B. J. P. advance is halted. People's struggles are intensifying. The country is in great turmoil.



A view of audience

At the international level the *New world Order* inaugurated by

the camp of imperialism led by US imperialism has not succeeded in bringing an end to the crisis faced by the imperialist countries from mid-sixties. In spite of ever-intensifying neocolonial plunder of the Asian-African-Latin American countries and sucking away tens of billions of dollars from there, everywhere this crisis is persisting. It has sharpened the contradiction between imperialism and the people of the neocolonial

countries in a world divided into a small number of imperialist countries and vast numbers of neo-colonies to acute levels. At the same time the contradiction between capital and labour in the imperialist countries are also intensifying. Simultaneously the conflicts among the imperialist powers for cornering maximum share of the neocolonial plunder and consequent technological and trade competitions are also sharpening. At numerous places local wars are raging. Even after imperialists led by US chieftains are doing the cap of global policemen using the UN banner the situation is not improving. World as a whole is confronting

increasing turmoil.

As a result the camp of imperialism is a little more cautious nowadays about making loud rhetorics about capitalist-imperialist system as the end of history. In spite of the great setbacks suffered by ICM the objective conditions are compelling the proletarian forces to evaluate the past and to start moving forward again. The banner of Marxism Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is unfurled in more and more areas. The spectre of Communism is still haunting the imperialists and their lackeys. So alongwith the intensification of direct attack on proletarian positions, they are concentrating more and more on their tested weapon of attacking the fort from within, that is deideologising and confusing the revolutionary forces in order to degenerate them to renegacy.

II

In order to prevent the resurgence of proletarian revolutionary forces once again the imperialist camp persists in theoretically disarming the revolutionary movement. Services of numerous brands of counter-revolutionary forces are utilised for it. Firstly, utilising the vast economic and technological resources under their command imperialists have launched a multi-pronged offensive in all fields-economic, political, cultural and social-to repeatedly emphasise the hegemony of the ruling ideas of imperialist bourgeoisie. Secondly, they employ their compradors and lackeys in all neocolonies to frustrate and maim the people. Thirdly, all organised religious forces are encouraged to spread fundamentalist poison to defend the private property, to drag people to superstitions, and to divide them communally. Fourthly casteism/racist forces are encouraged to prevent the struggle for the elimination of casteism/racialism and for the democratisation of the society. Fifthly, a host of voluntary/non governmental organisations are promoted with funding from imperialist agencies or by native governments in order to divert people to reformist illusions and sectarian approaches delinked from anti-imperialist struggles. All these are engaged in numerous ways to preach hegemony of the ruling class ideas and to propagate the impossibility of a socialist new world.

Alongwith these, numerous brands of revisionists and New Left schools are engaged in reducing Marxist-Leninist ideas to yet another guide to the development of productive forces. All of them preach socialism and work as apologists of neocolonialism. Wherever they

are in power, they implement imperialist policies. From Krushchovian revisionists to Deng revisionists all are competing with each other to divert potential revolutionary forces to capitalist path. Instead of politics of class struggle all of them put profit in command and advocate class-collaboration nationally and internationally. Some others reduce Marxism to an academic subject divorced from revolutionary practice. In this way through overt and covert methods, all these imperialist agents are engaged in deideologising people from revolutionary path. All these imperialist manoeuvres call for an all out effort to sharpen the ideological struggle to very high levels. Herein lies the cardinal importance of the call made by CPI (ML) Red Flag to observe December 26, 1993 to December 26, 1994 as Mao Centenary Year and to intensify ideological struggles against all alien ideas.

III

The relevance of upholding the revolutionary contributions of Mao Tsetung in developing theory and practice of Marxism Leninism is very important today when the ICM as a whole is facing a serious setback at all levels. Based on the Colonial Thesis of Lenin and Marxist-Leninist positions put forward by Comintern under the leadership of Stalin, Mao developed the theory and practice of People's Democratic Revolution and led the struggle for the successful completion of NDR in China. In this process and later during socialist construction he developed the concept of *massline*. Mao developed the military line as a complimentary to this massline and called his strategy as that of *People's War*. He always emphasised that *people, people alone are the creators of history*. He fought against the idealist concepts like *heroes make history* and adhered to proletarian positions against petty-bourgeois sectarianism.

When Krushchovian revisionism emerged in mid-fifties and degenerated Soviet Union to capitalist path creating serious confusion and setback to the ICM, Mao Tsetung led a relentless struggle against this counterrevolutionary trend. As it was the first major instance of capitalist restoration in a socialist country it took some time for Mao to develop a correct understanding about it and to launch uncompromising struggle against it. By 1963 through the *Great Debate* CPC led by Mao exposed Krushchovian revisionism and put forward the General Line of the ICM based on Marxist-

Leninist teachings. He attacked the Krushchovian general line of class collaboration which tried to disarm the proletarian revolutionary forces by calling for peaceful transition to socialism based on underestimation of imperialist forces and overestimation of the strength of proletarian forces. Mao correctly characterised Krushchov clique as apologists of neocolonialism. Later when Soviet Union under Krushchov-Brezhnev clique talking socialism and practising imperialism attacked Chechoslovakia, Mao called it a social imperialist power contending with US imperialism for world hegemony. Mao called for uncompromising struggle against imperialism and defended and developed the revolutionary general line of the international proletariat. Similary when Lin Piao advanced the new-era theory of total collapse of imperialism and world-wide victory of proletarian revolution deviating from the Leninist definition of this era as that of imperialism and proletarian revolution and advanced sectarian approaches Mao fought and defeated it. He firmly adhered to proletarian class approach and historical approach always.

Following Krushchov, the Liu Shaochi, Deng Tsiaoping like forces in China also tried to advance the theory of productive forces from the sixties itself. For them Marxism-Leninism was nothing but a better theory than capitalism for developing productive forces. In this way they negated the basic content of Marxism, of creating a qualitatively different society without private property and exploitation. As explained already by Mao in *On New Democracy*, in *Yenan Speeches*, and in many other documents and articles, capture of political power by the proletariat was for creating a new Democratic society with a new culture transformation to Communism in the course of protracted socialist transformation coupled with the advance of world revolution. Evaluating the emergence of Krushchovian revisionism in Soviet Union and its followers in China, Mao stressed that once the proletariat captures political power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, bourgeoisie emerges within the Communist Party itself. This bourgeoisie once successful in usurping power as in Soviet Union transforms the dictatorship of the proletariat which ensures proletarian democracy to the dictatorship of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, a dictatorship over the people. To combat it he called for "grasp revolution, promote production". He stressed the need for taking class

struggle as the key-link always. He called for uninterrupted revolution to create socialist new things. He emphasised on relying on people, limiting bourgeois rights continuously, and in abolishing the market system entirely. In this way to fight against the capitalist roaders who were trying to usurp power and to transform China to capitalist path, Mao launched the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In this way Mao defended and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism to a new height in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Mao's contributions are a beacon for the world proletariat which defended socialist China till his last days and showed the path for proletarian advance compating counter-revolutionary forces. That is why the Marxist Leninist forces uphold Marxism Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as their guiding ideology today all over the world. The usurpation of power in China by capitalist roaders immediately after Mao's death and they putting forward counter revolutionary *Theory of Three Worlds* diametrically opposed to Mao's guidelines regarding the general line of the international proletariat in no way belittles Mao's great contributions. Only based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought we can overcome the present setback, develop the theory and practice of proletarian revolution further, and advance towards world-wide victory of proletarian revolution.

IV

With the usurpation of power in China the Deng revisionists like Krushchov revisionists before them put forward the counter revolutionary *Theory of three worlds* to degenerate ICM and the *four modernisations* to transform socialist China in to a neocolonial appendage to imperialism. In spite of Mao's teachings that as we have the experience of Soviet Union already before us, if the capitalist roaders usurp power in China the Marxist-Leninists should immediately come out against it, very few Marxist-Leninists in India and at global level came forward to denounce Deng's counter revolution. This aggravated the setback to the ICM. Necessary lessons should be learned from this.

Now nearly two decades after Mao's death and usurpation of power in China by Deng revisionists, the ideological confusions created by Krushchovian revisionism and then Deng revisionism have their influence still among even most of those who claim to uphold Mao

Tsetung Thought. Some others like the dominant section in RIM have embraced Maoism, a new refurbished version of an admixture of Lin Biaoism, Cheguevarism and New Left ideas. So the task before the Marxist-Leninists is to uncompromisingly struggle against not only the followers of Krushchovian revisionism, but also against those who raise the banner of Mao Tsetung but have degenerated either to right opportunism or to left sectarianism.

Today when imperialism is in its neocolonial phase, with the division of world in to a handful of imperialist countries and vast number of Asian, African, Latin American countries at various stages of neocolonisation, the globalisation has reached its extreme limits. Imperialist capital is dominating globally. In such a situation alongwith building up of Marxist Leninist parties in each and every country, the task of building up international unity of the proletarian forces and developing anti-imperialist struggles at global level have achieved cardinal importance. Both these tasks are possible only if we intensify ideological struggles against all alien trends, and defend and develop our theoretical understanding, organisational building up, and practical works firmly based on the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Mao repeatedly pointed out that only if we can understand the enemy we can defeat him. Today when neocolonial plunder by imperialism can be easily grasped even by the laymen, most of those claiming themselves as followers of Mao refuse to recognise it. They refuse to build up the strategy and tactics spearheading imperialism and linking all other tasks with it. They refuse to analyse the agrarian revolution which is the axis of NDR in the new context. While Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the ideology of the most advanced class, the proletariat, they treat it as a backward ideology from their backward positions. Their approach to Three World Theory and analysis of the strategy of people's war itself is a very good example for this. They have abandoned class approach and historical approach.

This retrogressive approach is manifested in the attempt made by many to organise international conferences also. For example CPI (M) already organised a revisionist international conference at Calcutta. It was a conference of Krushchovian revisionists. Similarly there was a recent conference at Brussels where an ecc-

lectic mix of Krushchoviets and Dengists assembled. These are nothing but revisionist efforts to once again inflict serious blows at any international efforts by the Marxist-Leninists. On the other hand the serious effort to build up an international platform of Marxist Leninist forces initiated in 1980 which reached the stage of RIM have failed to go ahead as a result of the introduction of Maoism as the ideology, as a new era under the leadership of RCP, USA. In this difficult situation the International Seminar on Mao Tsetung Thought held in Gelsenkirchen, Germany on 6-7 November 1993 and its adoption of a General Declaration on Mao Tsetung Thought was a positive step. Such effort have to be continued at international level. A platform of the Marxist Leninist organisations have to be built up at international level for exchange of ideas and experience and for international solidarity actions.

History has bestowed upon us a great responsibility of building up the Marxist-Leninist party in India and in contributing as much as we can to build up a platform of Marxist-Leninist parties at international level as early as possible. Let us hope that the ideological clarity we have obtained in continuous struggles against alien trends will help us in this direction. With these words, I inaugurate this seminar as the culminating program of the Mao Centenary Year.

To Our Readers

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**Message of greetings from
Joint Coordinating Group
of the International Conference
of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations**

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Joint Coordinating Group of the 4th international Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations I wish you much success in carrying out your Seminar. I thank you very much for your kind invitation and deeply regret not being able to attend. Your Seminar is entitled "Challenges for the international Communist Movement and the Proletarian Response", and this is indeed a question which is being debated by Marxist-Leninists worldwide.

One year ago, an International Seminar on the 100th anniversary of Mao Zedong was held in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, by initiative of the Center for Social Studies in Utrecht (Netherlands,) the Workers' Education Center in Gelsenkirchen (Germany) and the Joint Coordinating Group; it was attended by 900 participants from 33 countries. The written and oral contributions are now being documented in two volumes and will at first be published in German and English. Also, a video film was made on the course of the Seminar, and we will enclose it in this letter.

The 4th International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations, which was held successfully earlier this

year with 17 participating organizations and further supporters, has put the JCG in charge of coordinating and preparing the 5th International Conference. This Conference is a forum and is meant to serve the gradual unification of the Marxist-Leninists. The 4th International dealt with questions of the latest international developments in the general crisis of capitalism, the development of class struggle in the dependent countries for national and social liberation, the tasks of the Marxist-Leninists in their struggle against revisionism after the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the situation of the international revolutionary movement and the perspective of the International Conference. The General Declaration informs you on the results of the degree of agreement which could be achieved and you can acknowledge it. The International Conference seeks exchange and cooperation in theory and practice with all revolutionary forces in the world. In this sense, on behalf of the JCG, I wish you much success in your Seminar and all the best for the New Year.

With revolutionary greetings

Stefan Engel
Chairman of the JCG

**Message of greetings
Marxist-Leninist Party Deutschlands-MLPD**

To the CPI (ML) Red Flag and to the Participants of the Seminar "Challenges to the International Communist Movement and the Proletarian Response" on December 26th, 1994, in Ernakulam (Cochin), Kerala, India
From Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD)

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD),

I cordially thank you for your kind invitation to participate in the International Seminar "Challenges to the International Communist Movement and the Proletarian Response"; I wish you much success in carrying out the Seminar. Unfortunately, it is not possible for MLPD to attend the Seminar which deals with the burning questions of the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement. MLPD considers today's special challenges in the following issues:

Speech by com. Ajay Sharma, Representative of NCP (Mashal)

Mr. President, Speakers and friends,

First of all on behalf of Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) let me extend our thanks to the organising committee of this seminar on "Challenges Before the International Communist Movement (ICM) and the Proletarian Response to this" for giving us an opportunity to present our views. The subject of this seminar organized on the occasion of Mao Centenary is really relevant. We have to find out the problems

that have appeared before the ICM under the revolutionary guidance of the Mao-Tse-Tung Thought.

I

No improvement could be achieved in confronting the unprecedented problems that have appeared in the ICM after the death of comrade Mao-Tse Tung and restoration of capitalism in

*The internationalization of the capitalist mode of production raises new questions which have effect on the process of the international revolution and the strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninists. The analysis of these questions and its conclusions demand an international exchange of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary forces on their experiences, research work and positions.

ism, as for example the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, but only to combine it with new attacks on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Thus, the principled debate is a challenge to the Marxist-Leninists all over the world.

*Worldwide the working class and the peoples oppressed by imperialism are facing the internationally organized monopoly capital increasingly as their common enemy. That is why ways and forms of organizations have to be found in order to coordinate and revolutionize the international struggles of the workers and the peoples' masses. Therefore, also an ideological-political unification of the Marxist-Leninists has to be developed which is only possible in the unity of theory and practice in a gradual process and without any kind of petty bourgeois claim for leadership.

*The experience with revisionist degeneration of former Marxist-Leninist parties shows that verbal adherence to Marxism-Leninism did not prevent the degeneration and hints at the basic importance of the ideological struggle to make the proletarian mode of thinking prevail over the petty bourgeois mode of thinking. We think that today, class struggle can be led successfully, the party can be built successfully and genuine socialism can win only on the basis of the proletarian mode of thinking. In this question as well, we wish and need an open and unprejudiced exchange of experiences and opinions with other revolutionary forces.
Dear comrades,

*The overthrow of bureaucratic capitalism in the Soviet Union and other countries has sharpened the general crisis of capitalism and has deprived modern revisionism of its center. The time of defending Marxism-Leninism against revisionism belongs to the past. The Marxist-Leninists are able to and must start to attack. Genuine socialism can only grow into a credible alternative for the masses if the reasons for capitalist restoration are being worked out. However, a neorevisionist current again is dimming the difference between Marxism Leninism and modern revisionism. It adopts some parts of the Marxist-Leninist criticism of modern revision-

The MLPD sees the great importance which India has today for the international development and that the revolutionary movement in India can make an extraordinarily important contribution to the worldwide struggle to overthrow imperialism. Also in this aspect, the Seminar will certainly be able to give important impulses. That's why we hope to get informed on your results.

We wish you much success in the Seminar! With revolutionary and militant greetings for the New Year,

Stefan Engel
Chairman of MLPD

China. Proletarian revolutions or National Liberation movements could not march ahead satisfactorily in any part of the world except in Peru. The condition of the proletarian movement in capitalist countries is miserable. In semi (neo) colonial or dependent countries also condition of the national liberation movements is not at all different. Many Communist Parties having long revolutionary history have fallen to revisionism long ago. The condition of those which are able to defend their revolutionary line is also not good. Most of them are existing as small groups or fractions as a result of several splits. World imperialist system is able to re-establish itself as the only "successful" system after having been able to disunite and degenerate the strong world socialist system. Dangers of deviations and liquidationism have increased in the world proletarian movement. In short, condition of the ICM is really weak.

With this state of the world proletarian movement, the bourgeois philosophers and intellectuals are claiming that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought is proved impractical.

The conclusion drawn by the opportunists regarding the situation is also not qualitatively different. They present a distorted picture of the world. With this, they suggest that the basic principles of Marxism Leninism such as class struggle, armed struggle, proletarian dictatorship, party leadership, democratic-centralism, two lines struggle, and Proletarian internationalism are things of the past. They claim that those principles are impractical in the "new" world situation and demand their modifications. They cite fall of Soviet Union and the Eastern Europe as examples. These opportunists think that the above fundamental principles are responsible for those setbacks. According to them, we can save ourselves by keeping aside those principles which are impractical in the "new" world situation. This trend is completely wrong. For the developments in Soviet Union and East Europe, the responsibility goes not to the principles of Marxism-Leninism but to the policy of the parties and the leaders there who adopted capitalist path leaving aside the above principles. The developments in East Europe and Soviet Union on the contrary justify the validity of Mao-Tse-Tung Thought more than ever. In this condition the attack on the basic Marxist-Leninist principles by imperialists and opportunists is a serious challenge to the revolutionary communists of the world and the ICM.

It is the great responsibility of the world proletariat to fight resolutely against this challenge. It is not the first crucial moment in the history of the ICM. Problems like these have emerged time and again in its history. World proletariat have achieved victory over them one after the other. We are sure that the world proletariat will be able to face this serious challenge to the ICM.

II.

Marxism is a philosophy to understand and change the world. Concrete analysis of present situation of International Communist Movement and a revolutionary solution to it are possible only by upholding Marxism. Any attempt to understand the present weak situation of the ICM and to change it abandoning basic Marxist-Leninist principles will lead to other deviations. This fact is proved in the history repeatedly.

The history of the ICM not always a history of only weaknesses and failures. It is also full of grand and glorious victories that have astonished the world. Several turns in the history of the world. Several turns in the history of the world proletariat have proved its world shaking strength and ability and creative power. Great workers movements, long tradition of socialist thinking, emergence of Marxism, establishment of the First International, Paris Commune, establishment of the Second International development of Leninism, the great October Socialist Revolution, establishment of the Third International, the role of proletariat especially Soviet proletariat in defeating fascism, formation of the powerful socialist camp, National Liberation Movements, great theoretical struggles against modern revisionism, development of Mao-Tse-Tung Thought, the great proletarian Cultural Revolution of China, and the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) are all part of this glorious history. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought is the product of this whole period.

Present obstacle and challenges are not the complete picture of the ICM. It is only a part of the picture. Continuous launching of proletarian and national liberation movements in different parts of the world and the attempts on the part of Marxists-Leninists, however limited, to change the situation make the other part of the picture.

After restoration of capitalism in China, the people's war launched under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru is a good answer to those who say that socialism has ended. Besides, proletarian and national liberation movements are advancing in the different parts of the world. In many countries of America and Europe true Marxist-Leninists, whatever may be their limitations, are trying to organize the proletariat and lead the communist movement ahead. Movements against imperialism and feudalism are going ahead in different ways and levels in Nepal, India, Phillipines, Bolivia, Colombia, and elsewhere.

In this context, the attempts by the true Marxist Leninists all over the world to face the problems and challenges confronting the ICM are remarkable. International Conferences of Marxist-Leninists were organized in 1980 and 1984 leading to organization of RIM. In spite of serious differences among the participant parties and organizations, the committee has been performing a remarkable role in leading the world proletarian movement and we believe that its role will be further effective in the days to come.

These facts give us satisfaction about the world proletarian movement. At the same time certainly our achievements are far below the historical needs.

Under modern capitalism, that is imperialism, the contradictions between productive forces and production relations are getting sharper, the intervals of economic crises to imperialism are getting shorter. The Contradiction regarding the markets, the source of raw materials and the areas of investment is getting more and more hostile among imperialists. The problem of unemployment has intensified in the oppressed countries. As a result of the law of uneven development in capitalism, the inequality in the imperialist countries is growing faster. Naturally this has sharpened the contradiction among them. This growing contradiction among them is markedly evident in the American strategy of the "New World Order" and the emergence of different regional trade blocks. Imperialist exploitation and domination have increased to extremes after WW 2 in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The world imperialism has caused allround destruction, economic, political, and social. This situation is maturing the objective condition in the oppressed countries of the third world in favour of national

liberation movements against the world imperialism, especially against US imperialism. This objective situation once again will give rise to a revolutionary tide and the socialist and national liberation movements will advance in large parts of the world.

Marxist-Leninists should not be passive hangers on waiting for the revolutionary upheaval to appear by itself. In the present context when bourgeoisie is stumbling through the great revolutionary crisis, for a successful revolution, for a victorious revolution, the revolutionaries should have sufficient consciousness, militant organization, mass contact, determination and ability to utilize the objective situation. These things cannot get ready in a few days. They require long and strenuous labour and struggle. True Marxist-Leninists of the world must devote themselves to the preparation of this prerequisite for the successful revolution, the victorious revolution.

III

Success or failure at any particular moment cannot be the determining factor to tell of the future of the proletarian movement. It is the objective law of social development that serves as the criterion. A victory however powerful it may appear at a certain time, if it is not in harmony to the objective laws of social development, its success can not be permanent. Ultimately it must fall down. The history of the struggle between capitalism and feudalism is in front of us. Capitalism was consistent with the objective laws of social development. On the the contrary, feudalism was against the objective laws of social development. Hence, in spite of several failures capitalism could gain world wide domination and the victories of feudalism proved temporary. The same is true about the struggle between capitalism and socialism. Socialism has been defeated several times by capitalism during the struggle lasting 150 years. The defeat, however is not permanent as socialism is consistent with the objective laws whereas capitalism is not. As a matter of fact however great the victories of capitalism may be at present, ultimately it will be defeated in the struggle against socialism.

Imperialists are trying directly or indirectly to defeat socialism and communism for ever. Their attempts may gain some victories for the time being. However, all these victories will be proved meaningless. Had the strength of

for such developments under the general laws of class struggle. This is not to say that revolutions and counter-revolutions are alternatives. Failure of a revolution or success of a counter-revolution is a temporary event. Reoccurrence of such events are not consistent to the objective laws of social development. Ultimately class struggle leads to the victory of the class that is consistent with the objective laws of social development i. e. to the victory of the proletariat and socialism and communism shall come in to existence as the future world system.

V

In the process of discussion on the challenges to the ICM, the mention to the challenges from the external sources is not complete. Several non-Marxist-Leninist ideas and tendencies as well must be mentioned in the process which are emerging within the world proletarian revolutionary movement. Today on the one hand, imperialists, revisionists and opportunists are been attacking Mao Tse Tung thought, on the other hand, within the world proletarian movement several parties and organizations have been presenting his contributions isolated from the concrete stage of social development under the pretence of a higher level of evaluation. Under the pretence of higher level of evaluation of Mao-Tse-Tung's contributions they have devalued Leninism. They have presented Mao's contributions as third and superior stage in the developing process of scientific socialism. According to them, in the present conditions we need Marxism Leninism-Maoism, specially Maoism. What is the meaning of 'specially Maoism'? Our party takes this evaluation to be wrong. Communist party of China had resolved this problem about what way the contributions of Mao-as-an-ism or a thought should be upheld during the time of Mao itself. As comrades Stalin and Mao have said this is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution i. e. the era of Leninism. According to the concepts of Maoism this era is not the era of Leninism, as analysed by Stalin and Mao, but the era of Maoism. This explanation is absurd.

As Maoism or Mao-Tse-Tung Thought is not simply an intellectual discussion, It has a direct relationship with practice. In whatever form the contributions of Mao is accepted, whether as an-ism or a thought, we must apply it in practice to change the social behaviour. If

the contributions of Mao are not generalized objectively, it cannot guide the social practice. If the explanation and analysis are purely subjective, it cannot lead the social practice, it rather makes a negative impact.

Most of the parties and organizations have not been able to adopt a correct understanding about the preparation for the armed struggle, participation or boycott of the reactionary parliament, mass struggle, and the mass organizations, and about the major contradictions at the international level. They completely neglect the Leninist procedure regarding the preparation for armed struggle. They take the mass organizations and mass struggle as right wing activity. This thinking is not correct. Keeping away from the formation of mass organizations and launching mass struggle cannot help in advancing armed struggle or in making it successful. Mass struggles and mass organisations have an important role, firstly, for the preparation for armed struggle; secondly to advance the armed struggle. Their weakness regarding the issue of participation or boycott of parliament is that they reject the possibility of utilizing it in semi (neo)-colonial countries. They have an absolutist thinking of boycotting the parliament in such countries. Needless to say such a thinking is completely against the teachings of leninism. The basic difference between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism is that while the latter take mass struggle to be fundamental and rejects armed struggle while it advocates that it is possible to transform capitalism in to socialism or semi (neo)-colonial or semi-feudal socio-economy into new democratic system through parliamentary means. Marxism Leninism takes armed struggle to be fundamental and the mass struggle to be complimentary. As far as there is the question about which of these two is primary, on long term basis armed struggle is the major form of struggle. Conditions in which both subjective and objective preparations are not mature, mass struggle is major. The opportunists take the parliamentary path to be the fundamental road to socialism from capitalism or into new democratic system from semi (neo)-colonial, semifeudal society whereas the Marxist-Leninists take it to be tactical. Participation or boycott as a necessary tactics. It completely depends on the concrete political situation. Boycott or participation in parliament is a tactical question, not a strategical one. The understanding they have adopted on the above issues is certainly a matter of deep concern.

More than that a matter to worry is that they claim their understanding to be based on the thought of Mao-Tse-Tung. This claim is completely wrong. Mao was a great Marxist-Leninist thinker. To put forward such non Marxist-Leninist approaches as Mao's thinking is not a high level evaluation, but a devaluation of Mao.

Some parties and organizations within the International communist movement have wrong understanding with reference to evaluation of the present world situation. They have stated that in the present world situations the concept of principal contradiction has no existence at all. In their analysis, the contradiction between imperialism and people of the oppressed countries is no more the principal contradiction. These parties and organizations had drawn wrong conclusion in the past also. After 1975, they had concluded that inter-imperialist contradiction (the contradiction between US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism) as the principal international contradiction. Opposing their explanation as non-objective, and subjective, our party at that time declared that the contradiction between the imperialism and the people of the oppressed countries was the principal contradiction. That analysis of those parties and organizations was proved wrong by later developments. Our party holds that the understanding that there is no principal contradiction in the present world is wrong. At present, like before, the contradiction between imperialism and people of the oppressed countries is the principal international contradiction.

Those parties and organizations who are claiming that the concept of principal international contradiction is no more valid, are claiming themselves as the true followers of Mao; who advocate Maoism. The fact is that such a thinking goes against Mao-Tse-Tung Thought. Mao-Tse-Tung Thought teaches that from among different major contradictions, there is always one principal contradiction, at a particular time.

The wrong thinking within the international communist movement calls for two lines struggle against them. We hope that we shall be able to arrive at correct solutions through the two lines struggle. Let us hope it will not become an antagonistic struggle, on the contrary it will help to win over those who are presently influenced by a wrong understanding

To understand such challenges to International Communist movement at present which

have come up from both inside and outside it, and to be able to fulfil our share of responsibility, it is necessary to follow Mao-Tse-Tung Thought. The challenges faced by the international communist movement today in the main are basically same as these appeared after 1956. The responsibilities we have to share today are mainly the same which Mao had shouldered during the great struggle against the neo-revisionists during which Mao had developed the theory and practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. On this occasion of 101 birth anniversary of Mao, let us declare with firm determination that we shall fight against the challenges before the International Communist Movement consistently following the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and fulfil our share of revolutionary responsibility.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought.

Urbanisation becoming faster

In the past 50 years cities in the neo colonial countries have mushroomed at a phenomenal rate. In 1940 only one person among eight lived in urban centres. Only one in 100 lived in cities with over one million population. But by 1980 one in three was urban dweller. Now this urbanisation is becoming much faster as millions flee impoverished rural areas and due to natural internal growth. Already in all Latin American countries majority of the population, in some countries as much as two thirds, live in urban areas. By 2001 in India urban population will be 35%. And by 2021 urban population in India in present conditions is expected to reach 55%. That is, vast majority of the population in neo colonies as in the imperialist countries will be divorced from agriculture. This very fast urbanisation under neocolonial conditions calls for serious studies.

Speech by com. Nazir, Representative of PROVO (Sri Lanka)

We salute all those who are participating in this Seminar on the occasion of Mao Centenary.

The capitalist-imperialist and all reactionary states have continuously launched vicious attacks on the one hand against Marxism, and on the other hand against the vanguard organisations of the proletariat and the class struggle consciously led by them. Likewise the elitist sections within the proletarian class with their opportunist and revisionist theories have aided the capitalist-imperialist forces in attacking Marxism and in deviating the proletarian forces from the path of revolution. Nowadays all the enemies of the proletariat are unitedly shouting that "Marxism is dead and gone, it has become extinct from history." The history of the International Communist Movement shows that it has overcome this kind of vile propaganda through intense revolutionary theoretical struggle and by developing class struggle to higher levels. The theoretical leadership given by Marxism-Leninism to the great Soviet socialist revolution, to the socialist revolutions which followed it, to the New Democratic Revolution in China, and to all national liberation movements which erupted following October Revolution has inspired the proletarian vanguard organisations all over the world. People in great numbers accepted this guidance. Thus Marxism-Leninism became the most powerful theory of praxis in the world. People of the world witnessed the great socialist construction and its unique socio-political-economic-cultural growth created by the proletariat.

In all countries where revolution did take place the imperialist reactionary classes who have lost their political power have made numerous attempts, both direct attacks upon the socialist states from outside as well as indirect attacks from within utilising the counter revolutionary forces to eliminate the political power wielded by the proletariat. At the same time the exploiting classes, the oligarchy and their representatives who could worm inside went on trying to deviate these states from socialist revolution and to make capitalist restoration possible. In this context the *Great Debate* launched by Mao in order to beat back the

revisionist line put forward by the Krushchovite clique and the capitalist roaders in China, and the struggles he waged upholding the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism in order to consolidate and develop socialist revolution by defeating the enemies of socialism and for marching forward to Communism have become great contributions in both theoretical and practical fronts not only to the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people, but also to the ICM as a whole. His contributions both at theoretical level and in practice in continuing the class struggle in a socialist society against the forces of revisionism engaged in capitalist restoration are of great importance to the ICM.

In China, immediately after Mao's death both inside the party and in the state Hua-Kuofeng-Deng Tsiaoping clique usurped power. They deviated China to neo revisionism and capitalist path, and tried to drag the ICM also to a path of class collaboration. The Krushchovite brand of revisionism which came up with slogans like "peaceful co-existence, party of the whole people, and state of the whole people", the Dengist brand of revisionism which came up with "Theory of Three Worlds and Four Modernisations," alongwith other revisionist theories of various hues which originated from the above revisionist trends continuously tried to distort the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to deviate the class struggle from revolutionary path. The imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists are jointly attacking the revolutionary ideology and practice with all their might.

As a result the proletariat and the people of the world were confused and were made directionless. But ever intensifying exploitation and suppression are compelling them to open their eyes. Once again the proletarian forces are compelled to wage struggles against imperialism and domestic reactionary states. But in distinguishing the enemy which has sneaked inside the movement distorting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and in fighting against and defeating this enemy the proletarian vanguard forces are still facing numerous difficulties; they have yet to get over the stagnation.

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How Not To Remember Com. Charu Majumdar CPI (ML) Liberation's Opportunism Knows No Bounds

The call of CPI (ML) Liberation group for funds to build 'Charu Bhavan' in Delhi "in the memory of com. Charu Majumdar and other martyrs" and its registration as a political party under the *Representation of the People Act, 1951* took place almost at the same time. This absurdity, this self contradiction is evident in every aspect of its preaching to praxis from calling itself CPI (ML) even after it has totally abandoned all basic ideological-political orientation of CPI (ML) to claiming to uphold Charu Majumdar's memory even after totally negating all the political positions for which he fought till his martyrdom.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Party formation in a call to the Communists group had stated: "We have neither denounced the revolutionary heritage of the party nor parroted old slogans in new conditions". But it has never specifically stated which are the heritages it upholds and which are the old slogans it has renounced. It claims today to the heritage of CPI (ML) is not in anyway different from CPI's and-CPI (M)'s claims to the heritage of the early phase of undivided communist movement in India when it was part of the ICM led by Stalin. It is very clear to understand if one tries to recollect the basic ideological-political positions for which Charu Majumdar and CPI (ML) fought for, and Liberation group's approach to them today.

Charu Majumdar initiated the ideological struggle against CPI (M) leadership from early 1965 immediately after the Seventh Congress when it became crystal clear that CPI (M) leadership was also pursuing the Krushchovian revisionist positions in essence by taking a centrist line unlike the open advocacy of it by the CPI leadership. CM based his ideological struggle on the *Great Debate* documents, on the polemics of CPC led by Mao against Krushchovian revisionism. In the course of this struggle CM categorically stated that with the usurpation of power by Krushchov clique Soviet Union degenerated to capitalist path. It advocated a class collaborationist general line of 'three peacefuls' as the general line of the ICM calling for aband-

oning class struggle both at national and international level. Soon it degenerated Soviet Union to a social imperialist super power contending with US imperialism for world hegemony. It transformed SU into bureaucratic state capitalism calling it a *state of the whole people* while imposing bureaucratic capitalist dictatorship over the people. It was nothing but socialism in words and imperialism in deeds. Denouncing and rejecting Krushchovian revisionism and the later adaptations of it during Brezhnev period, CM upheld the general line of the ICM put forward by Mao and named Soviet social imperialism alongwith US imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism as one of the main enemies of Indian people. CM upheld Mao Tserung Thought including Mao's contributions in developing the theory and practice of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the course of the Cultural Revolution as not only a concrete application of Marxism-Leninism in China but also as a development of it which is applicable universally for the world proletariat. Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought CM correctly evaluated the character of Indian state as a neocolony, the character of Indian bourgeoisie as comprador, the enemies and friends of revolution, the present stage of revolution as New Democratic or People's Democratic, and the strategy of revolution as People's War. He led the struggle against economism and parliamentarism, fought against all erroneous trends which negated the need of party formation, gave leadership to formation of CPI (ML) in 1969, and put forward a Party Programme in the Eighth Congress held in 1970.

Eventhough some of the strategic concepts and the tactical line developed during the years after the ascendance of Lin Piaoism in the CPC, which advocated the coming in to a new era of total collapse of imperialism and worldwide victory of proletarian revolution and Mao Tsetung Thought as the Marxism-Leninism of this new era, in the main the strategic concepts of NDR in India put forward under the leadership of CM have stood the test of time and are still

guiding our revolutionary thinking. CM's categorical statement that after Paris Commune, October Revolution and Chinese Revolution, the Cultural Revolution developed in the course of struggle against the bourgeois elements coming up in the socialist countries as well as in the Communist parties everywhere in the socialist countries who erase the line of demarcation between socialist path and capitalist path, who reduce Marxism to yet another brand of theory of productive forces, who replaces class struggle with class collaboration and eventual surrender to imperialism, and who restore capitalism in the socialist countries and degenerate Communist parties to revisionism is still relevant. That is why CM continues a beacon for the Communist revolutionaries in India, and inspite of

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Revolutionary Communist parties and proletarian organisations are making serious efforts to face this challenge. The commemoration of Mao Centenary and the international seminars are part of these efforts.

We hope that this Seminar shall contribute in advancing this aim. Upholding ML MT as the theoretical guideline which leads us, we should fight against all anti-Marxist, dogmatist, idealist, anti dialectical views which make negative impacts upon philosophical and ideological orientation. They also affect the development of Bolshevik practice which help the creation, consolidation and development of the Communist parties, their unity, and the development of revolutionary practice. We should firmly uphold the basic tenets of ML MT which give the correct orientation to the revolutionary practice. The revisionist theories of various hues including the old and new brands of them which are continuously worming inside the movement falsely using the banner of ML MT should be thoroughly exposed and overthrown. We should wage this theoretical struggle uncompromisingly and based on firm class approach. Only with a thorough understanding of the essence of ML MT this struggle can be successfully waged. We have to encourage such a process at international level. Relationship among Communist parties should be developed on fraternal basis. Any deviation from the Marxist Leninist general line of the international Communist movement should be exposed and fought against.

We hope that for facing the serious challenges confronting the ICM unity of the Com-

repeated attempts by forces of right opportunism and left sectarianism the name of CPI (ML) still inspires the proletarian forces in our country.

What CPI (ML) Liberation group under Vinod Misra's leadership is trying is to vulgarise this glorious history and hijack the illustrious names of CM and CPI (ML) for its reformist, parliamentarist aims. This is very clear from the present political line pursued by this group.

For it Mao Tsetung Thought is just a concrete application of Marxism-Leninism in China for accomplishing democratic revolution and building socialism in a backward country (see VM's speech, Liberation, April 94). Against the teachings of Mao for this group SU continued as a socialist country with some abe-

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minist forces at international level can be achieved based on equality, mutual help and comradeship. We hope all of us will give importance to building up this international unity.

It is sure that the vanguards of the proletariat in different countries, which are steadfastly fighting against imperialism and domestic reaction with a clearcut understanding of ML MT will defeat the anti-Marxist theories and march forward along the path of uncompromising class struggle to the end, concretely applying the basic tenets of ML MT as a social science in the concrete conditions of their respective countries and in developing concrete forms of struggle in the coming days New Democratic revolutions and socialist revolutions will take place more emphatically. World proletariat and world people shall surely embrace revolution. People, people alone will, be the victors eventually.

The revolutionary people will prove that the ideology of ML MT is invincible. This Mao Centenary Seminar is definitely going to contribute in the pursuit of the above mentioned goal. Upholding ML MT and marching forward along the path of world revolution are the prime duties of the Marxist-Leninists everywhere. Let us declare this more firmly on this occasion of Mao Centenary.

Long Live Marxism Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Long Live World Socialist Revolution.

Politbureau

Proletarian Vanguard Organisation.

Sri Lanka.

rrations. The formulation Soviet social imperialism was entirely wrong, Gorbachov's glassnost and perestroika were attempts to give new life to socialism in SU. The Cultural Revolution was a great failure. Finally some persons who were in no way Communists seized power in the party. "Eventually in 1976 Mao had to declare the end of Cultural Revolution and bring back Deng Tsiaoping" (ibid). Does it look strange from a 'follower' of CM! To justify his rubbish even history is distorted. Deng was taken back after self criticism in 1974 and once again expelled as arch, unrepentant capitalist roader in April 1976 under Mao's guidance, that is what history tells us.

Immediately after the death of Mao when this arch, unrepentant capitalist roader using Hua Kuofeng as his front paw for the time being usurped power through a military coup and introduced the counter revolutionary *Theory of Three Worlds* as the strategic line of the world proletariat and the *Four Modernisations* and the *blackcat, white cat theory* for capitalist restoration, totally negating Mao's teaching, this group was in the forefront to embrace Deng. Later when the revisionist leadership in China improved relations with Soviet imperialists and abandoned *Three world Theory* which had targeted SU principally and made amends for calling SU social imperialist this group also faithfully followed it. When the revisionist leaders of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba have degenerated these countries to various conditions of neocolonisation this group like CPI, CPI(M) leaderships still calls them socialist countries. Closely following Krushchovian-Dengist teachings, this group calls India politically independent and has entered the "main stream" of parliamentary politics.

The ideological struggle led by CM paving the way for Naxalbari struggle and formation of CPI (ML) was a clarion call for a basic rupture from Krushchovian revisionism spearheaded in India by CPI-CPI (M). The basic task of the Marxist-Leninists in India in the post CM years was to carry forward this struggle anchoring firmly on the ideological guideline of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and CM's positive contributions to develop the theory and practice of NDR in India in the neocolonial phase of imperialism fighting against all alien trends.

But what could this group achieve in the

last two decades after the martyrdom of comrades Jogdish Mahato and Johar? From the time it embraced Deng revisionism it has degenerated from one pragmatic position to another. It has abandoned the ideological political positions advanced by CM and which became the basis for CPI (ML) formation totally.

In the course of its pragmatic ventures it formed IPF as a united front under its leadership. All sorts of opportunistic elements were admitted in to it. It was under this banner elections were first contested. Now this process is reversed. IPF, supposed to be a united front, is now merged in to the party! A strange exercise. Now the party itself is registered for trying parliamentary path! And after dissolution of IPF, with this group itself as a constituent, a National People's Front as a platform of eleven parties including breakaway groups of Janatha Dal, Trotskyists, voluntary organisations etc. are formed. In conformity with its ambitions to become another CPI (M), it is aping whatever is done by CPI (M), this time forming NPF in line with the NF-LF alliance promoted by CPI (M). But as always happens in history such repetitions become first a farce and then a tragedy. Already in the assembly elections this is getting proved. And as the leaders of this group are pragmatist enough they have already started telling their cadres that they have no such illusions of sharing power. In a *feed back* column in the December 94 issue of *Liberation* it is written: "In the background of this discussion (on party building) all of us felt that the Party has done well in bursting the aspiring bubble of forming a front with Janatha Dal (G), JMM and the hope of sharing power thereby. All of us were of the opinion that the party deserves praise for rejecting pragmatism inherent in such talks. A comrade very succinctly put.....what happened with some of our MLAs? An ignominious experience indeed. There is no point in repeating it". The poor cadres! Who has created this aspiring bubble of NPF? Some enemies? Even after the 'ignominious experience' who is repeating it? The leadership is neck-deep in pragmatism and at the same time preaching virtues to cadres!

It is this organisation today trying to hijack the names of martyr comrades and the name of the party for their selfish opportunist aims. It should be exposed uncompromisingly. The struggle against such neo-revisionist trends should be pursued vigorously.

'The Great Debate' Released

A reprint of *The Great Debate*, the polemics on the general line of the International Communist Movement, was released on 26 December during the Mao Centenary Seminar held at Ernakulam by com. Neendapayanam Sundaram by giving a copy of this book to com K. A. Mohan Das, president of the *Janakeeya Kala Sahitya Vedi*.

Releasing the book com. Sundaram pointed out the historic importance of the Great Debate launched by CPC under the leadership of Mao Tsetung against Krushchovian revisionism which had usurped power and degenerated Soviet Union to capitalist path. He cautioned all against approaching it as some academic debate delinked from practice as the erstwhile TNOG, CPI (ML) did. They published a Tamil translation of Great Debate. While releasing it he had criticised TNOG for not even Charu Majumdar who had tried to concretely apply the lessons of this debate in developing the theory and practice of NDR in India. This ahistorical and non-class approach ultimately led TNOG to its dissolution and embracing

national chauvinist positions. At a time when the ICM as well as the Marxist-Leninist movement in India is in the middle of intense ideological struggle, the publication of this book is very timely.

Receiving the book com. Mohan Das pointed out how non-Marxist outlooks are propagated even by those who are claiming to uphold ML-MT. He cited the example of the attempt by a well-known revolutionary poet to eulogise anarchism in present social context presenting a distorted understanding about Cultural Revolution. The cardinal importance of the Great Debate documents of CPC is their class and historical approaches. As a whole they exposed Krushchovian revisionist positions and contributed much to the revolutionary upheaval all over the world including the Cultural Revolution in China. When once again Dengist revisionism has succeeded in inflicting a serious setback to the ICM conspiring with the imperialists and joining hands with all alien trends, the polemics of the 1960s shall help us a lot to advance along the revolutionary path.

Infight within ruling classes and Congress (I) intensifies

Resignation of Arjun Singh from central cabinet is a reflection of acute ruling class crisis and the consequent bitter power struggles.

The liberalisation-privatisation policies implemented very fast by Narasimha Rao government have already led to shameful national slavery and pauperisation of vast masses. The share-sugar scams etc. are the index of degeneration of ruling class politics. Against all these working class, peasantry and common people are engaged in numerous struggles. Already all India general strike and bandhs have successfully taken place. Agitation against mortgaging the country to MNCs, against GATT Treaty, and against WTO which is coming in to existence on January 1 are intensifying. Agitation in the education

field in Kerala was a part of these. The rout of Congress (I) in the recent assembly elections was also a result of these. In such a situation crises and feuds among ruling classes as well as in Congress (I) are naturally intensifying. All these have led to inevitable acute power struggles including the resignation of Arjun Singh.

We appeal to all patriotic democratic forces to correctly evaluate these developments and to intensify united struggles in all fields against the invasion of imperialist capital, and against those ruling at the centre and in the states who have taken neocolonisation of our country to most shameful levels.

Ernakulam,
25. 12. 1994.

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

Revisionism to open social democracy And now to comprador politics

The CPI (M) leadership is pragmatic enough not to take any immediate action against Nripen Chakravarty, a polit bureau member, for his recent outbursts against his party's policies. The 15th Congress is being held in April and it is a more convenient time to ease out such irritants. But what Nripen said in an interview to a Bengali weekly in Calcutta about present policies of CPI (M) especially those of its Bengal unit which is leading a left front government there continuously for last 17 years may affect atleast a tiny section within the party ranks who still see their party as a Communist party.

Nripen, an octogenarian who is also a former chief minister of Tripura stated that his party today does not deserve to be called a Communist party. It has degenerated to that extent. Most of the wholetimers in Bengal are engaged in corrupt practices to earn money. The industrial policy is a total surrender and an election stunt. Bengal unit's organ 'Ganasakthi' is run on capitalist lines. His criticism went on like this.

For the CPI (M) hardcore it will not create any heartburns or shockwaves. But for the fellow travellers and the masses who support it, Nripen's criticisms alongwith the policies pursued by CPI (M) led left front in Bengal are buttressing what they were discussing atleast among themselves for some time.

The new industrial policy statement of Jyothi Basu government has categorically proved that CPI (M) is reduced to a regional party in Bengal totally implementing the IMF-WB-WTO dictated policies of Rao government whatever may be the utterances of its CC against these policies. Biman Basu, a central Committee member of CPI (M) justified it as follows: "During the left front days of late '60s, there was an effort to drive out industries from W. Bengal. A multinational firm like Philips shifted from Calcutta to Bombay. The traditional hosiery industry was lost to Tamilnadu. We cannot allow such things to happen any more". So today Bengal government is competing with other state governments to open doors to MNCs completely and to foreign capital. The workers'

rights are restricted to facilitate this.

According to the statement of one of those closely connected with the formulation of this policy: "since the left front has been vocal against the centre's new economic and industrial policy and also against GATT accord, potential investors, both Indian and foreign, wanted some assurance from the chief minister that they would be allowed to function without hindrance. The policy statement is a signal to them that they are welcome in W Bengal" (Times of India, October 5, 1994). Jyothi Basu summed it up saying "I am all for the revolution, but not in my backyard". As a result his government is trying to be in the forefront in implementing the liberalisation-privatisation policies and in inviting MNCs at any cost. NRI and foreign capital alongwith Indian big industrialists are given red carpet welcome. All in the name of "development".

Naturally the Congress (I) leader Somen Mitra has called Jyothi Basu policies as "belated wisdom". He said "it is sheer hypocrisy on the part of the left front to oppose the centre's new economic policy and invite foreign investment on the other". Now at all India level for justifying the neocolonisation taking place in the country all the reactionary force have found an easy justification to confuse the people: "first look at what even the Communists are doing in Bengal". At international level they ask: "what is wrong in joining WTO when even China is queing up for its membership?". So what Deng revisionists are doing in China and CPI (M) revisionists are doing in Bengal have become excuses for the imperialist lackeys to confuse the people while dragging the country to WTO and perpetuating national slavery.

CPI (M) general secretary Surjeet has shamelessly justified it by saying: "we are not building a socialist system in W. Bengal. We have to work within the capitalist framework and develop the state." EMS also justified it saying that the left front government has to achieve maximum gains within the four boundaries of central policies. If there is emphasis in giving concessions to MNCs in its policies it is part of the emphasis given by Rao govern-

ment, he added.

For any one who knows the ABC of Marxism it is not at all difficult to understand that what is presently existing in India is nothing but a comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-big landlord state framework. Though Surjeet and EMS calls a *capitalist frame work* the CPI (M) party programme still calls it a *big bourgeois-big landlord state*. At least in theory CPI (M) says that our country is in the stage of *people's democratic revolution*. And they repeatedly assures their followers and people that they are persuing the parliamentary path, forming left front ministries led by them, or working for a democratic secular left alliance at centre in order to utilise the existing system in a progressive manner and to change it wherever possible to bring maximum benefits to the people.

CPI(M) CC and politbureau have repeatedly pointed out that the economic and industrial policies pursued by Rao government, the GATT accord and WTO are against the interests of the vast masses. It claims to spearhead agitations against them. Including the September 9, 1993 and September 29, 1994 all India general strikes, and August 94 civil disobedience movements, numerous agitations were launched against these policies with its mass organisations in the forefront. Now the most cardinal issue coming up is should CPI (M) which calls itself the largest Communist party in India should reconcile itself to accepting the existing ruling system and implement its imperialist dictated policies obediently as it is doing now, or utilise its role as leader of the left front to progressively transform the existing system which is professed by it as its goal?

CPI (M) is opposing the economic industrial policies of Rao government as they are against the interests of the masses. How can the very same policies become pro-people if they are implemented by its left front ministry? It is in no way different from the claims of the BJP or any other reactionary party that if it comes to power ousting Congress (I), it can do wonders for the people.

It should not be missed by anyone that CPI (M) led left front is enthusiastically implementing the traitorous policies of Rao government when already its evil consequences are seriously felt by the people. Under market system the imperialist capital will be invested and MNCs

will enter W. Bengal only if comparatively maximum returns and security can be assured to them. If as Surjeet and Basu claims W. Bengal was not getting a fair share of capital investment the reason is simple the imperialist and native investors were getting more profitable areas for investment. To reverse it Jyoti-Basu government should make W. Bangal more profitable comparatively. It means more concessions to investors and more exploitation of the workers. This is called development of the neocolonial variety. By embracing it, the mass will be pauperised. Now at masses expense, CPI (M) has opted for this evil path.

CPI (M) and its left front partners may have a hundred explanations to offer to justify this comprador path. What they are engaged in is a double talk similar to the RSS-BJP game of preaching *Swadeshi Jagaran* while implementing the imperialist dictated policies wherever they are in power. That is why the parliamentary left led by CPI (M) should be exposed for faithfully implementing neocolonial policies like their Dengist counterparts in China. In the name of the compulsions of working within the *capitalist framework* they are obliterating the line of demarcation between capitalist path and socialist path. They are projecting "development" as something above class.

Today the critical condition in our country where vast masses are impoverished, unemployment is accelerating and the contradiction between the reactionary state and masses of people are intensifying day by day definitely calls for the unity of all genuine left forces and countrywide anti state movements. Such a broad left front and countrywide movement can be realised only if illusions about uniting with leadership of CPI (M) like forces are cast away. If the revolutionary left can come nearer and launch countrywide movements vast sections of the ranks and file of the parliamentary left as well as other patriotic democratic sections will come forward to unite with them. That is why we have consistently criticised NPMO like pseudo exercises and have repeatedly called for the platform of revolutionary forces as the core leading countrywide people's movements.

As the leaderships of CPI (M) like forces are getting exposed more and more the possibilities for building up a genuine left platform are becoming brighter day by day.

May Day Workers' Centre Dissolved All Trade Unions Join TUCI

May Day Workers' Centre was formed by K. Venu in 1988 after splitting CRC, CPI (ML) in 1987 and later forming Kerala Communist Party pursuing national chauvinist slogans. Very soon at ideological political and organisational level degeneration set in and CRC, CPI (ML) was dissolved by him. The K C P itself faced a serious crisis soon and Venu deserted to JSS, a casteist outfit formed by K. R. Gowri, an expelled leader of CPI (M). The crisis and degeneration of K C P affected the *workers' centre* also. It could not take up any programmes when the working class as a whole is facing severe challenges following Rao government's open surrender to imperialist dictated policies. Coupled with this most of its state level leaders deserted either joining casteist or

reformist organisations, or becoming inactive. As a result for some time this workers' centre's activities were confined to Cannanore district.

Now the district general council of the *Centre* took the decision to dissolve it and affiliate all 10 unions with Trade Union Centre of India (TUCI). Announcing this decision in a press conference at Cannanore on 8 December, district secretary of the now dissolved *Centre*, com. C. P. Vijayan announced that this decision was adopted by the council as the *Centre* has lost its orientation, and as workers' cause calls for uniting under a revolutionary trade union centre. While this step practically eliminates all remnant activities of K C P, it gives a boost to the revolutionary activities now spearheaded by TUCI in the workers' front in Kerala.

ISRO Espionage: Agitators Lathicharged

Statewide mass agitation is organised by Kerala state Committee of CPI (ML) Red Flag calling for resignation of chief minister Karunakaran for shielding the traitors and for the arrest of I G P Ramon Srivastava, the kingpin in the spycase. When Narasimha Rao made an unscheduled visit to Thiruvananthapuram during his hectic election campaign in Karnataka and AP and ordered a CBI enquiry in to the case in the second week of December many expected that the culprits will be arrested. Instead Karunakaran went on declaring the innocence of Srivastava who was found guilty by I B. Besides CBI started pleading for the culprits instead of arresting them. Newspapers extensively reported that all these cover-ups were due to Srivastava's threat to expose Ravindra Reddy, a leading business man of Hyderabad who has taken big fabrication contracts from ISRO and who is a very close business partner of Prabhakar Rao, the prime-minister's son. Eventhough various political forces called for speedy action including the arrest of the I G P, both state and cenral govts. continued their cover-up game. It was in this situation CPI (M L) Red Flag called for a secretariat march to Thiruvananthapuram starting

from Kasargode in the north on 4 January and culminating on 19. The march aroused massive people's response. While hundreds attended the numerous junction meeting enroute, thousands participated in the concluding meetings every evening, reflecting the people's mood. And on 19 January hundreds participated in the marches at Thiruvananthapuram, Thrissur and Kozhikode. At Thrissur the marchers to collectorate were lathi-charged. In the clash many comrades were injured.

Meanwhile though under strictures from High Court the I G P was suspended from service, CBI moved fast declaring that all the six accused already were arrested and the IGP is innocent. It pleaded for bail to the accused. Instead of charging the guilty, CBI under orders from Delhi was protecting the spies. Intentions of state and central governments are clear. They want to save these traitors who have sold the ISRO's secret findings about cryogenic engines to foreign powers as they are linked to Karunakaran and Rao. Our country has reached a stage when a chief minister and even the prime minister are seriously under cloud for their cover-up operations to traitors.

(Contd P. 31)

International Scene

Yeltsin's War On Chechnya

Under Czarist empire Russia was once a prison of nations. After October Revolution USSR was formed based on voluntary union of different nationalities at two levels. One, a union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Second, all these republics especially Russian Republic (RSFSR) formed with numerous smaller nationalities as autonomous republics within them. Though there were minor aberrations this arrangement functioned democratically so long as Soviet Union pursued socialist path. But once Krushchovian revisionists grabbed power and degenerated SU to capitalist path once again *great Russian chauvinism* started dominating. All these republics as well as former socialist countries in eastern Europe became neocolonies of the new Czars in Moscow. This led to the disintegration of SU and its hegemony over eastern Europe in 1989-91 period.

Once SU disintegrated and Yeltsin came to power as desired by US imperialists and its allies, Yeltsin regime was allowed to have dominating role in the former Soviet republics as its area of influence. That how CIS is allowed to continue its precarious existence.

But within these republics especially within RSFSR different nationalities have started demanding secession. During 1991 itself Chechnya, an autonomous republic within RSFSR had declared independence. Now after settling his affairs atleast temporarily Yeltsin has launched an invasion on Chechnya in the true Czarist style to establish Russian hegemony.

As the imperialist camp has demarcated CIS and RSFSR as the backyard of Yeltsin regime like Latin America is for US imperialism, there is not much talk about human rights and what not. It and its monopoly media allow the death of Chechen people by Russian imperialists calls for severest condemnation by world people.

Danger signals from Mexico

Even a month after it erupted, no solution is in sight to the foreign exchange crisis of Mexico. Though the Mexican Government has announced a sweeping programme to bolster the value of its currency, the peso. drawn on a \$ 9

billion line of credit from its North American Free Trade Arrangement partners, the U.S. and Canada, and entered into negotiations with the International Monetary Fund for a large stand by loan, the Mexican currency continues to be under siege from foreign investors. In the meanwhile its reverberations are being felt in the rest of South America, with stock market prices falling in Argentina and Brazil and the price in the secondary market of external debt paper declining in value. The ripple effect of the Mexican crisis has even reached Europe, where bond prices in some markets have fallen in recent weeks.

Since Mexico until very recently was held up as a model for other developing countries to follow in the path of structural adjustment, questions are naturally being asked if a similar crisis large-scale withdrawal by foreign investors, a plunge in the value of the currency and the likelihood of a default on repayment of external debt-can happen in India very soon.

Ghali plans for more UN powers

UN secretary general Ghali has put forward a new plan to further strengthen the security Council in order to help it to interfere in any country in the name of maintaining peace. Already with the present powers UN and Security Council are acting as international mercenaries in the interest of imperialists. Each and every operation undertaken by it is to buttress the neocolonial hegemony of imperialists.

Ghali's plan contains "recommendations on all aspects of *international peace*, (that is peace as defined by imperialists) and security ranging from improving peacekeeping procedures, sanctions as a means of keeping peace and improving the tools of preventive diplomacy, including initiating good offices and sending field missions to troubled areas". Already the purpose of these sanctions, and peace keeping is clear in Iraq, Somalia, Haiti and numerous other countries. Imperialists are trying to make UN and its SC a more effective political tool to intensify their neocolonial domination everywhere. Ghali's plan is yet another exercise in this direction.

Indian Scene

People block Kaiga Project

When the concrete of the reactor dome of Kaiga Atomic Power Project (KAPP) collapsed on May 13 last year serious doubts were once again raised against building this project. But discarding people's protest movement, authorities went ahead with erecting transmission lines and other works. Even after Janatha Dal which had opposed this project coming to power in Karnataka there was no effort to stop it.

In this situation, on December 29 thousands of people converged at Bobbikoddalu village in Sirsi taluk of North Canara district and militantly disrupted the function organised by Power Grid Corporation of India to lay foundation for the first tower. They pushed down heavy earth moving machines in to deep ravines. Mango saplings were planted on the site where *bhumi puja* was to be performed by government officials. To ensure that the work is not started again, villagers in large numbers have started a relay dharna at the site.

Punjab: a police state

In Punjab police and paramilitary forces continue to have their own raj. During the years of Khalistan militancy, police had become accustomed to earning large sums of money as rewards won in encounters in which they caught or killed militants. Now the state government and police chief Gill is claiming that militancy is wiped out. So police has created new sources of income to continue their lavish life style spawned during militancy.

More and more youths and their relatives are picked up from all over the state especially from Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozpur districts, tortured, and huge amounts are forcefully collected for their release. It payment is not done he or she will be another encounter victim. Numerous blood-curdling reports of police brutalities and fascist attacks on whole villages are now coming out of Punjab. Like Kashmir, Punjab still continue as a killing field for the state with its executioners led by KPS Gill amassing huge wealth.

This is a most favourable situation for MNCs like Pepsi Cola to tighten their grip over the states economy and the native comprador elites to fleece the toiling masses. The primary task

in such a condition is to mobilise the progressive sections for a broad democratic movement challenging the police raj.

Indian military: A criminal gang

Indian police is already recognised as the most organised criminal set-up in the country. Even Courts have mentioned it in their orders. Now Indian military increasingly utilised for law and order maintenance is also proving that not only in the foreign lands but even in Indian soil is not behind police in its criminality. The common characteristics of both these oppressive apparatus of the state is that if individuals or groups react against their atrocities and in that process even a single member of their force is affected, irrespective of the fact that their men might have indulged in the most criminal actions, they indulge in most brutal retaliatory actions against the local population as a whole. These heinous acts along with the most vulgar record of Indian military in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka prove how much brutish and criminal this force has become.

Indian military is having a most murderous record in Nagaland for last five decades. Now on December 27 the 16 Maratha Light Infantry laid siege to Mokukchung town and went on rampage burning down shops and offices, residential houses and vehicles. Religious centers were also attacked. According to *Ao Senden*, the apex council of the AO tribe of Nagaland, militarymen committed "genocide, arson and massacre of human lives." All this was in the name of retaliation against an attack on their commanding officer.

Such acts are a daily feature in Kashmir occupied by Indian army. Genocides, rapes, arson, loot, massacres are almost daily features there. Hundreds of such largescale criminal acts perpetuated on common people are reported in last decade. Recently in AP, in the name of retaliation to extremist attacks, the Punjab Commandos indulged in massive arson and rape in large number of Adivasi villages. In all these cases, very few come to light. Media do not publish it even when facts are available. Even of such acts come to light no action is taken against culprits. It is part of the military code to terrorise and maim the enemy. In these cases, for the Indian military the masses of Indian people are their enemies.

US: A monstrous and diseased society

While globalisation-market system is increasingly advocated as the panacea for removing backwardness, and the political-cultural value system of the imperialist west especially that of US is imposed in an ever-intensifying manner everywhere, there is a criminal conspiracy to wage a disinformation campaign to conceal what is the real picture of present US society, the citadel of imperialist values.

The crime level in US is leaping up every year. Already over 20,000 are murdered in US each year, much more than the victims in most conventional wars. From 1974 to 1994 in 20 years the population inside jails have increased from 218,466 to 925,247. Alongwith this the fear psychosis is intensifying day by day. No Solzhenitsins are writing about this American gulag. Children cannot go anywhere unaccompanied. Either they talk to their friends by telephone or computer, or lose themselves in the endless autism of videogames and cable TV. More and more women dare not go out especially after nightfall. Old people will not open the door to callers. Public amenities like parks and gardens have become no go areas in many cities.

It is a curious freedom which inhibits people from going out of their house; a strange mutation in a mobile society which immobilises so many; a bizarre form of choice that leaves people with no option but to carry guns for self-defence against their fellow human beings.

There were 640,000 violent crimes committed with firearms in 1992. 67 million handguns are owned by private citizens. *Smith and Wesson* reports that sales of its *Lady Smith* rosewood-grip guns doubled in 1993. In children under 16 rate of gunshot wounds doubled between 1987 and 1990.

An average child has watched 8000 televised murders and 100,000 acts of violence before finishing elementary school. Study of high school students between 13 and 18 showed that 47% had seen a stabbing, 61% had witnessed a shooting, and 45% had seen someone getting killed in real life. It is also found that 12 out of 14 juveniles on death now had long histories

of severe beatings and sexual abuse, sometimes by drug-addicted parents. The abusers all, to some extent, were reenacting childhood traumas.

The fear psychosis, fed on by dramatic media coverage, urged on by TV programmes which have to increase their ratings or perish, whipped up by newspapers threatened with extinction if they do not provide ever greater levels of sensation, is a powerful servant of a society which sees people only as individuals, and as if to prove it separates, isolates, atomises them so that they scarcely trust even their nearest and dearest, let alone the stranger on the street.

This fragmentation is necessarily reflected in heightened economic activity, as people learn to defend themselves and take such consolations as society offers them, in the privacy of their own space. Thus monstrous social evils are transformed in to economic good of the ruling elite. In such an alienated atmosphere married couples with children now make only 26 % of US households. One in three households consists of a single person.

It is a society of deranged and damaged individuals. It is this society which is promoted as a model of progress, a forward society, as model of social peace. Like its every other products, it also imposed on the world people by the imperialist system. ●

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Demise of NPMO

When Rao government which was in minority launched the economic policies surrendering the country openly to IMF-WB dictates, instead of getting the ministry defeated in the parliament, the NF-LF parties were playing a game of musical chairs with BJP to save this government of traitors. At that time to cover-up this heinous game the LF parties formed a *National Campaign Committee* in the name of opposing Rao government's economic policies through mass campaigns. Nothing is heard of this Committee which attracted even sections of self-styled revolutionary groups like CPI (ML) Liberation nowadays. As the structural adjustment and liberalisation-privatisation-globalisation policies further intensified, CPI (M) and its LF allies launched a *National Platform of Mass Organisations* in the name of opposing them. It launched a countrywide civil-disobedience movement and an all India hartal on last September 29. It was yet another game of hunting with the hunter and running with the rabbits a game of implementing IMF-WB dictates wherever they are in power and pretending to oppose them wherever they are in opposition.

But once again not only Liberation group, but also some other left groups were attracted towards NPMO in the name of joining the broadest front to oppose anti-people policies. Some of them came out with theoretical justifications for joining NPMO also. They accused those who are not joining it as ignorant of united front tactics. When CPI (ML) Red Flag pointed out that we can joni the agitations called by NPMO remaining outside it and side by side exposing the opportunist politics of LF parties, it was laughed at.

But now the game is over. The LF government in W. Bengal cannot allow such luxuries as NPMO and agitations by it. So it is facing a sad demise though it may not be formally announced. None can save these groups who are still hoodwinked by the illusions created by Krushchovite revisionists.

BSP's discovery in AP.

There is a proverb, the mountain gave birth to a mouse. The much publicised, helicopter-

trotting campaign of BSP supremo Kanshi Ram came to a sad end in AP. It could not get a single seat. Only in one place its candidate got deposit back. So BSP and its backers have found that unlike in UP the parliamentary game is sour in AP. They are now busy in giving explanations for this rout. According to them Telugu Desam got a thumping majority because it promised rice at Rs. 2 per kilo for the poor. BSP is angry with such promises. It says that it stands for making dalits capable of purchasing at Rs.9 per kilo.

In this way it exposes its true colours. When the present neocolonial policies are making life increasingly miserable for the dalits and other poor sections, it is natural that they will vote enmasse against Congress (I) and for anybody who promises rice at cheaper rates even when the real class character of TD is known to them. Kanshi Ram is angry with this because he is neither against Congress (I) nor the imperialist dictated policies dictated by it. BSP's real class character is becoming clear day by day in UP where it refuses to implement even land reforms or any welfare measures, besides its collaboration with Congress (I). It is also clear from its support to the imperialist policies which call for an end to all subsidies and welfare to the poor. The opportunist characterisation of BSP as a *democratic party* by CPI (ML) Janshakthi like groups is fully exposed.

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Opportunists of the worst category

The ridiculous "unity declaration" published in the November 1994 issue of 'Janashakthi', organ of CPI (ML) Janashakthi group, except for the great prominence it is given and its antagonistic character, do not even deserve a passing reference.

This group is only a namesake outfit in Kerala which generally surfaces only at the time of elections fielding one or two candidates for panchayat or state assembly always having the record of collecting much less than the invalid votes. At the same time CPI (ML) Red Flag in Kerala is an organisation with a fairly good spread and depth all over the state as proved by the success of the statewide bandh call it gave on 15 April against imperialist GATT Treaty. It has also a consistent history of struggling against the opportunist politics of *Janashakthi* like groups which still uphold the counter revolutionary *Three World Theory* and refuse to recognise the ever intensifying neocolonisation of the country. A handful degenerates including 2 area committee members were expelled from Red Flag in one district for their anti-party activities even after they refused to rectify their mistakes inspite of repeated efforts from the part of the district committee. It is the joining of these degenerates in to Janashakthi which is now hailed as a great merger of CPI (ML) Red Flag Provisional Committee with Janashakthi!

At a time when CPI (ML) is divided in to many groups, and quite a few of these groups are led by opportunists, it is easy

for degenerates leaving one organisation to get accommodated in one of these opportunist groups. This is evident from this news item in Janashakthi. It does not mention a single political reason these individuals have raised against Red Flag and joining Janashakthi, when they were also part of the uncompromising ideological struggle waged by Red Flag against the opportunist line of Janashakthi for long.

This "unity declaration" very well exposes the real character of the so called, much propagated, merger of seven groups forming Janashakthi and later the merger of S. R. Bhaijee group with it. These are nothing but opportunistic alliances of a few careerists which bring ridicule to the movement among the people. These quantitative miniature efforts do not contribute in any way to the qualitative development of the movement.

The reorganisation of CPI (ML) as a Bolshevik Party, as the vanguard of Indian proletariat, call for developing the ideological-political line based on MLMT according to the concrete conditions in our country today in the present neocolonial phase of imperialism. CPI (ML) Red Flag is engaged in this great task. The real unity of genuine Marxist-Leninist forces will definitely take place as a part of this effort. The sham efforts of mechanical unity by opportunists like Janashakthi group shall only make them look ridiculous.

Local Satraps Prove Royalty to Imperialist Masters

That Telugu Desam in AP and Janatha Dal in Karnataka could win due to anti-Congress mood among the people was abundantly clear. This created apprehensions both at Delhi and at imperialist's headquarters, especially in Washington about the future of the globalisation and market economy imposed in India. So there was a flurry of visitors from US to India to get reassurance. They not only discussed with Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh but also went to states' headquarters especially to those ruled by opposition parties.

H. D. Dewe Gowda in his deliberations with US Commerce Secretary Brown proved that he is not behind anyone in totally embracing the imperialist dictated liberalisation. He also promised protection to all installations of MNCs in Bangalore and elsewhere. Telugu Desam ministry in AP has praised the virtue of these policies including privatisation in its

first governor's speech. Both Biju Patnaik in Orissa and Lalloo Yadav in Bihar are open votaries of these policies. Jyothi Basu leading the LF ministry in W. Bengal is exuberance personified in supporting the reforms. He is ready to do anything to attract foreign capital even opposing the right to a token strike by the workers. It is being done to cultivate a 'work culture'.

But US Secretary of State Robin Raphel was not satisfied with Jyothi Basu's assurance. She got it *countersigned* by Somen Mitra, W. Bengal Congress chief. Now she is assured of Basu's trustworthiness. Thus even while pretending to oppose Rao's policies for public consumption, all these parties faithfully implement the imperialist dictated policies wherever they are in power. Then, they ask pretending innocence, "what else they can do?".

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(From P. 1)

Arunachal are announced at such a time when the liberalisation-privatisation policies implemented by Rao government at centre, and by the governments led by different parliamentary parties and their combinations in the states have already led to unprecedented national slavery and pauperisation of the masses. In spite of numerous people's struggles against these policies including successful all India general strikes and bandhs, this neocolonisation is taken to a new zenith by making India a member of imperialist WTO. With this the MNCs will have total sway over our country. That Rao government already facing serious internal feuds as reflected in the resignation of Arjun Singh from central cabinet and which suffered a rout in the recent assembly elections still goes ahead by implementing these policies prove that a direct or indirect understanding exists among the different parliamentary parties with regard to the IMF-WB-WTO dictated policies irrespective of their different postures before the people.

In this context all populist slogans shouted by the different parliamentary parties or their alliances are only intended to create parliamentary illusions among the people and for concealing the grave crisis confronting them. Day by day it is repeatedly proved that only by overthrowing the existing social system and bringing about revolutionary transformation of the society people's basic problems can be resolved. For this the patriotic democratic forces should get united and launch vigorous anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles for basic democratisation of the society. While the reactionary forces, opportunists and revisionists are hoodwinking the people projecting parliamentary alternatives, the patriotic democratic masses should get mobilised for a revolutionary alternative to the existing anti-people system.

We call upon all progressive forces, all patriotic democratic sections to cast away parliamentary illusions, to intensify anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggles, and to get organised for revolutionary alternative.

10-1 1995

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

Anti WTO Convention At Coimbatore

On 7th January 1995 *Convention Against World Trade Organization* was held at Coimbatore in TamilNadu by Anti-GATT Forum. Patriotic democratic forces from various sections of the society participated in the Convention. Kovai Gnani, Com. P. J. James, Com. P. K. Venugopal, Com. Neendapayanam Sundaram, Mr. Thamizharusi Manian (Janathadal), C R. Ramasamy (AIBEA) and Mr. Mani. (PUCL) Spoke in the Convention. Com. N. P. Kumar presided.

Kovai Gnani called for relentless struggle against the imperialist plunder and onslaught upon Indian people by various means especially by IMF-WB-WTO trio and MNCs. Com. P. J. James pointed out that only an anti imperialist movement which take correct ideological position against neo colonialism, against imperialist lackeys and their state apparatus could wage a struggle to liberate the country from the neo colonial yoke.

The convention culminated by forming a State organizing body for the continuation of activities and struggles with the slogan 'Throw out Imperialist WTO.'

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Editorial

(From P. 2)

revolutionary path. In spite of the heinous efforts by imperialists and various brands of revisionists, once again in numerous countries the revolutionary forces have started effectively reorganising.

Within the country 1995 has dawned at a time when Rao government is facing ever increasing people's resistance against the liberalisation—privatisation policies taking neocolonial plunder to extreme levels. It is not socialist path but the neocolonial policies of imperialism and the capitalist path which are getting exposed, as *the gods that has failed*. The compradors constituting hardly 10—15 percent of the population are only benefitted. Vast majority are getting increasingly pauperised. They have started opposing the government policies in different ways. It is reflected in their increasing participation in the anti-state struggles. Congress (I) suffered a severe mauling in last assembly elections to four states. It is going to be repeated in coming elections to six states also. Resignation of Arjun Singh reflects the extent of feuds within it. All these clearly lead to Congress (I) getting reduced as a regional party soon.

The Hindu fundamentalist RSS-BJP combine is failing to get benefitted from this anti-Congress (I) wave. There are dissensions within it also. In the absence of any alternate to Congress (I) policies, and its basic agreement with the IMF-WB dictates besides its sectarian fundamentalist policies, its growth is already checked. Its chances at all India level are already receding visibly.

In spite of the victory in UP, the casteist forces are also failing to score any further significant victories. The dalit-backward-minorities formula is not clicking. Their refusal to take anti imperialist positions even for name-sake and to raise any challenge to Congress (I) is making their chances recede as seen in AP and Karnataka.

Even the centrist forces who have made some headway and the parliamentary left who is continuing to have its sway in some states are also seriously suspected by the people. In the ultimate analysis all these forces are working as either protagonists or apologists of the imperialist dictated policies. All of them are affected by serious dissensions and are getting alienated from the people. Directly or

indirectly they contribute to ever-intensifying fascisation of the state apparatus in order to perpetuate the neocolonial slavery.

In this context the New Year has posed a great challenge before the Marxist-Leninists within the country and at international level. The internationalist content of proletarian revolution today is more than ever. In order to settle accounts with the imperialist vultures once for all, they have to be wiped out internationally. For this the Marxist-Leninists have to strive hard to forge revolutionary unity at global level. The positive experience of Mao Centenary programmes during the last one year shall contribute greatly in this. Let us not spare any efforts to rekindle the spirit of international unity of the proletarian forces.

In order to contribute to the maximum extent to fulfill this task, the Marxist-Leninists in our country should build up a mighty Bolshevik style party with all India sweep based on firm ideological-political line capable of spearheading uncompromising anti-imperialist struggles and linking all other struggles to it. Parliamentary illusions created by the reactionaries and revisionists alike should be cast away. The patriotic democratic forces in their millions should be mobilised for realising the People's Democratic alternative. Let us dare to take up this great challenge posed by the New Year with all our might. ●

(From P. 23)

Of course, when these compradors are selling the vital interests of the country to imperialist masters, there is nothing much to be surprised if they cover-up the ISRO spies also. But mobilising the already agitated public on the latter issue will help to make them recognise the comprador character of our rulers who sell our country's vital interests for commissions. In this sense the campaign and agitation organised by CPI (M L Red Flag) is significant. It is helping the polarisation between the traitors and the patriots. As such the state committee has resolved to carry forward the agitation more vigorously in the coming days joining with all progressive forces who demand the ouster of Karunakaran and the arrest of the IGP. ●

Janashakti group splits

CPI (ML) Janashakti group formed in 1992 by the merger of seven groups has split. A major section including N. V. Krishnaiah, ex. M. L. A, AIFTU all India president and member, CPI (ML) Paila Vasudeva Rao group, and former UCCRI (ML) leaders G. Vijayakumar and Mandla Subba Reddy with their followers have left Janashakti and formed a new group. It is reported that opposition to the political line pursued by Janashakti leadership with regard to caste question including upholding *Ambedkarism* and giving all out support to BSP in AP elections characterising it as a 'democratic party' is the principal reason for the split though organisational questions like selection of Chalapathi Rao as the candidate in Sirsila constituency in place of Krishnaiah are also mentioned. The opportunist approach towards caste question and BSP, and the total rout of parliamentarist illusions spread

by the leadership accelerated the split.

With this the much trumpeted unity of seven groups and formation of Janashakti is now fully exposed. At that time itself the opportunist character of this unity without daring to face the live issues faced by the ICM and the Marxist-Leninist movement in India was pointed out by the Marxist-Leninists. This criticism was proved to be correct when one of the merged groups soon separated. Now this major split has paralysed this group.

This is yet another lesson for the Marxist-Leninist forces in our country. Only by taking up the challenging issues faced by the revolutionary movement in the neocolonial phase of imperialism and fighting against all alien trends, the revolutionary movement can be reorganised in our country. Any other attempt is bound to create only further degeneration.

Militant Protest Against Imperialist WTO

Militantly protesting against the ratification of the agreement establishing WTO and making India its member by the Narasimha Rao government *All India Black Day* was observed in different parts of the country on January 1, by CPI (ML) Red Flag activists mobilising patriotic democratic forces.

In all districts of Kerala during December numerous rallies, propaganda jathas and public meetings were organised. Anti GATT Committees were reorganised as *Anti WTO Committees* mobilising large number of patriotic democratic forces. On January 1 hundreds of black flags were raised. Rallies were organised in all district headquarters. People responded positively reminding the massive support given by them to the April 15 Kerala Bandh call by the party protesting against signing the imperialist GATT Treaty.

In Bombay a very good campaign was orga-

nised against WTO by CPI (ML) Red Flag comrades. On 31 December a day long dharna was organised at Hutatma Chowk. On January 1 black flags were raised.

In Tatanagar, Bihar, a militant campaign was organised including extensive wall-writing against WTO. On January 1 CPI (ML) Red Flag and JYS activists organised a demonstration carrying black flags.

In Calcutta extensive wall-writings against WTO and imperialist plunder was carried out. People were called upon to protest against WTO. In Orissa, in Bhubaneswar and Berrhampore propaganda campaign was organised calling for observing January 1 as Black Day.

In MP, Karnataka and Tamilnadu also similar campaigns were organised. At all places CPI (ML) Red Flag comrades pledged to intensify countrywide anti imperialist struggles in the coming days.