

RED STAR



PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

Vol. 5

No. 8

August 1996

State terror takes barbarous forms

The brutal killings of comrades Satyanarayana, Bhupal Reddy, Veera Reddy and three other comrades in a fake encounter on 22nd June night in Warangal district of AP is part of the intensifying police terror unleashed by Chandrababu Naidu government of TDP supported by CPI (M) in AP. Till the election results were out he was shaky. In spite of faithful support by the revisionists he was not sure of victory in the Lok Sabha elections. But once he could sideline Laxmi Paravati faction of TDP, gain 16 seats in Lok Sabha and become an important leader behind Gowda government at centre, on the one hand he has given full freedom to police for all criminal acts to suppress people's movements including killing Communist revolutionaries, and on the other hand is taking steps to bid goodbye to all welfare measures introduced by Rama Rao government earlier like ban on liquor and Rs. 2 per kilo rice scheme. AP is becoming notorious for state terror more than ever.

On 23 June com. C. Krishnamurthy A. P. Provincial Committee member of CPI (ML) New Democracy was killed in an encounter. On the next day in the Singareni mines area, when they failed to arrest com. Ramkant, a founder leader of the mine worker's union *Sikasa* from his shelter due to his armed resistance from inside, police covered the house with hay, poured oil, and burnt him and another comrade alive

in front of thousands of people. Again in Kakinada area, a district committee member of CPI (ML) New Democracy was kidnapped by police, tortured for days and was remanded to judicial custody only after a number of days. A district committee member of CPI (ML) Liberation was also arrested and criminally assaulted. These are only some of the police atrocities in a period of two weeks. During this period police raid of villages, arrests of hundreds of 'suspects', their torture, lock-up killings, attack on women and oppressed sections continued. Police in AP is nothing but an organised criminal gang.

On July 10 in Bihar ruled by Janatha Dal supremo Laloo Prasad again with the support of CPI and CPI (M), the Ranbeer Sena of landlords—Bhumihars and Rajputs—attacked Barki Kharaon village in Bhojpur district and mowed down 22 villagers including 15 women and 4 children, and grievously injured 52. Even when this so-called 'banned' goonda army of the landlords were engaged in hourslong operation against the villagers supporting CPI (ML) Liberation, the police stationed just a KM away refused to act. The district magistrate and Supdt of police conspired with the thugs in the killing with the knowledge of BJP and JD leaders.

These are just a few examples of mounting

Red Star

Vol. 5 No. 8
1996 August

CONTENTS

* Chindambarm's Maiden Budget: Intensified Sell-out with Human face	3
* On Caste Politics	5
* Critique of AIPRF Paper on Nationality Question	7
* Ruling Class Parties' Turmoil	14
* French Imperialism and Neo-colonisation in Africa	15
* International Scene	16
* Indian Scene	18
* A New Government in Bangladesh	20
* On Federalism and Gowda Government	21
* The Game of Enron and Cogentrix	22

(From P. 1)

state terror all over India especially in states like AP and Bihar where semi-feudal relations are still continuing in many areas. Neither the land reforms are even nominally implemented, nor the agricultural workers are paid even the paltry minimum wages approved by the state government. As they are getting organised by different radical forces including Communist revolutionaries or when struggles are launched for basic demands the landlords and police act in collusion to suppress them. Hundreds are killed in this brutal police-landlord war against the rural poor and the Communist revolutionaries and other progressive forces who organise them.

These incidents reflect the state of democracy in India even half a century after the transfer of power. The state and all its instruments like police and executive is becoming more and more brutal and autocratic. Even basic civil rights are denied in most of the areas including the right to live.

This situation can be changed only through massive people's movements inspired by democratic consensus. That is, only when the revolutionary forces make the broad masses politically conscious and organise them to launch crippling movements against these criminals in power the situation can be changed. Sectarianism on the side of people's forces will only help the enemy.

It is high time the revolutionary forces and all democratic sections become conscious about the state terror and prepare to fight against it.

RED STAR

Yearly subscription Rs 35

Five yearly subscription Rs 150

Send cheques/DDs/MOs to

P. J. Baby

Red Star, Thyakkattussery-680322
Thrissur, Kerala.

"The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution".

P.J. James

Chidambaram's Maiden Budget : INTENSIFIED SELL-OUT WITH A HUMAN FACE

The Indian budget presented by Chidambaram with no departures from the CMP of the UF government, as expected, has won wholehearted applause from the entire parliamentary spectrum in India, ranging from the Congress and BJP (with its only criticism for not escalating the defence outlay substantially) on the right and a whole set of centrist and leftist parties led by the CPI (M) on the left. However, a closer examination will clearly reveal that while the former set of parties which truly reflects the foreign and comprador capital's interests in India have legitimate reasons to be "excited" and "delighted" (as noted by the FICCI spokesman immediately after the presentation of the budget), the eulogies showered on the budget by CPI (M) after characterising it as "a total break from the previous government's policies" with "no additional burden being imposed on poor sections and the middle class", Somanath Chatterjee's immediate response to the budget are nothing but a mere illusion. No doubt, by incorporating certain apparent rural development and poverty alleviation programmes without speaking out any details for administering and implementing them, Chidambaram has provided ample space to the CPI (M) and its allies to have some face-saving statements as noted above. In the meanwhile Chidambaram has succeeded to insert quite a bit qualitatively new dimensions into the ever-intensifying globalisation process led by global finance capital. This was corroborated by none other than Swaraj Paul, a leading luminary of speculative financial interests who in a post-budget satellite channel talk with Chidambaram has praised him for conveying a "clear signal to the world" through what he called a wonderful "balancing act". Casting aside the intellectual acrobatics performed by CPI (M) leaders ranging from Chatterjee to EMS in justifying UF government's biggest ever surrender to global speculative interests, let us briefly look into the true essence of this "clear signal" sent out by Chidambaram to world imperialist centres.

Fully in consonance with the basic guidelines outlined in CMP, the three most important thrust areas identified by Chidambaram in his

budget are infrastructure, agriculture and poverty alleviation the last one being only of rhetorical significance since throughout the budget utter confusion prevails as to who will administer and implement this so called strategy of poverty alleviation. In a post-budget press release the Gowda government has elaborated that as part of its decentralisation programmes this poverty alleviation and rural development strategy will totally be shifted to the shoulders of state governments and NGOs which means that programmes will remain only on paper. It is hightime that this duplicity engineered by the Gowda government and its supporters are to be exposed before the people of India. In fact, still more deplorable is the complete silence in the budget regarding the exact rural scenario at present including the extent of rural poverty and pauperisation. This being the case, here we are turning to the innovations introduced by Chidambaram in the infrastructural and agricultural sectors and their inter-linkages with global speculative finance capital.

Infrastructural development composed of massive investments in the transport, communication and power sectors of neocolonies is one of the most favourite themes with World Bank and other neocolonial development agencies. As is obvious, this infrastructural development is not in any way intended to develop the backward agricultural or industrial sectors in poor countries. On the other hand, in tune with the recent trends in the global economy, its real motto is to provide a cost-free infrastructure for the large scale entry of so called highly money-spinning 'service industries' such as real estate business, hostels, tourism, brokerage and outright speculation. In fact, the infrastructure build-up for these itself is a money-spinning business for global speculative financiers as is evident from the 'Enron', 'Cogentrix' and similar other notorious fast-track projects in India. It is for expediting and monitoring such Infrastructural projects led by MNCs that an Infrastructure Development Company with a paid up capital of Rs. 5000 crores is proposed in the Budget. As a matter of fact this proposal is not totally new. In his last budget Manmohan had also indicated the need for creating a Regulatory

Authority for infrastructure development. The seriousness of this innovative move by Chidambaram is so conspicuous that in the area of transport alone the outlay has been raised from Rs. 11963 crores in last year's budget to Rs. 15972 crores in 1996-67—an increase of Rs. 4009 crores! Similarly an amount of almost Rs. 10000 crores is to be generated out of the across the board import tax of 2% (despite an average import tax reduction of 10% as required by WTO regulations and based on Chelliah Committee recommendations) is also to be deployed for the development of ports alone. All these are in accordance with the requirements by imperialist capital to push the globalisation of Indian economy to a new higher level.

This basic orientation in the budget is all the more visible if one goes through the proposed agricultural development programmes. To pinpoint the budget's agricultural orientation, Montek Sing Ahluwalia, the finance secretary in his post-budget briefing has reiterated that agriculture and irrigation taken together has received an outlay which is higher by almost 40% compared with the 1995-96 budget. Anyone who reads between the lines can easily grasp that this agricultural orientation of the budget is not due to Gowda's intimacy with peasants as is claimed; on the contrary, it is integrally linked the global machinations of fully integrating India's vast agricultural sector with global agribusiness interests based on WTO provisions. The UP government led by landlords and casteist chieftains are now engaged in a process of extending the 'Karnataka model' land legislations already initiated by Gowda with a view to centralise land in a few hands to suit agribusiness operations. In this background, the various proposals and allocation of funds oriented to agriculture are clearly intended to further develop and transform the landlord-kulak class in India as compradors and junior partners of agribusiness MNCs like Cargill, Pepsi, etc. The provision of subsidised chemical fertilisers, agricultural machineries, irrigation and a host of other concessions and privileges is not intended to increase the production of food and agricultural raw materials needed for domestic industries but aimed at converting agriculture as a highly commercialised export business. In directing unprecedentedly larger credit to rural areas in order to build up rural infrastructure, irrigation and so on, Chidambaram is definitely making a clear departure from his predecessors. The creation of a new Rural Infrastructure Development Fund (RIDF) with a capital base of

Rs. 2500 crores, the raising of the share capital of NABARD from its presents Rs. 500 crores to Rs. 2000 crores and its restructuring and the proposal for the creation of new rural private banks) at the rate of one bank for every 3 districts) are all intended to augment the credit needs of cash crops and commercial agriculture. The last one, ie, the creation of rural private banks, has the objective of demolishing the existing co-operative banks throughout the country; an ingenious move at the behest of World Bank. The spectacular rise in the allocation—about 47% increase, ie, Rs. 4512 crores—for ICAR and CSIR is to be read along with these steps. Its aim is to boost agribusiness agricultural research based on the latest advancement, in the field of biotechnology strictly in accordance with the TRIPs provisions of WTO. Thus Indian agriculture is going to be brought under the control of global finance capital at hitherto unknown levels. In this respect this budget is a clear demarcation from the earlier ones.

In spite of the above mentioned three thrust areas identified in the budget, as noted by Chidambaram himself, one of his major tasks has been to confront what he called the 'fiscal challenge' imposed on him by the IMF. This becomes all the more crucial in view of the large concessions and subsidies bestowed on foreign, comprador and rich sections. The reductions in corporate surcharge from the existing 15% to just 7.5%, capital gains fare from 30% to 20% and a 10% average reduction import duties are in effect direct resources transfers to comprador and foreign capitalists. That Chidambaram has fixed the fiscal deficit target at 5% of GDP for the year 1996-97 despite the above revenue losses only means that the entire burden is borne by the broad masses of people and productive sectors of the economy. A minimum of Rs. 5000 crores are being proposed to be raised through the disinvestment of public sector units. To expedite this, the already hinted Disinvestment Commission will be constituted shortly. An Expenditure Control Commission will look into the required austerity measures essential for achieving this fiscal deficit target. To further curtail government expenditure, executive's prerogative of printing money is to be completely taken away through an agreement between the government and Reserve Bank of India as per IMF guidelines. As a result, all the rhetorics on boosting government's investment in social security measures are going to be a farce. Quite

(contd. P. 20)

On Caste Politics

If the 1989 elections marked the emergence of B.J.P representing the Hindu fundamentalist forces as a significant power and it gaining strength then onwards replacing congress as the biggest party in Lok Sabha, the 1996 general elections have marked the emergence of caste politics as yet another major factor in the ruling class politics. This question calls for serious attention of all democratic forces as both religious fundamentalism and caste politics are increasingly becoming effective tools in the armoury of the ruling classes and of the imperialist system to divide and rule over the people, diverting them from all basic issues.

Caste is a heinous aspect of Hindu hierarchical system perpetuating domination of few elite sections over vast masses for milleniums in India. Along with the changes in the production relations from the days of slave system, like religions everywhere the caste system in india also has adjusted itself to changing concrete conditions and continue to divide people based on it perpetuating a complex relation between caste and class. It will be unscientific to mechanically link caste with feudal system. Even in areas where capitalist relations under neo-colonisation have developed and landlord tenant relations are replaced by rich peasant-agricultural worker relation caste continue to have its powerful sway. It is in this new context caste politics have emerged as a powerful factor.

In a way Hindu fundamentalism itself is an expression of the efforts by upper castes to perpetuate their domination in the society. The Hindutua forces can also be called Brahmanic forces as they predominantly consists of brahmins and other upper castes. Even while Ayodhya, 'uniform civil code', Hinduta or Bharatiyatha, cow protection etc. are utilised by them as uniting forces, BJP is equally committed to market-system and globalisation like the other dominant comprador party, congress. It stands for integrating Indian economy to international market system and for free entry of international capital. Thus B.J.P represents class interests of the 'Creamy layer' among the upper castes. It represents a powerful section of the ruling classes and for their domination utilises religious myths and fundamentalist slogans with fascist objectives.

By accepting Mandal Commission Report and the slogan of social justice the Janatha Dal under V. P. Singh's leadership consciously utilised them for playing backward caste, dalit, minority politics against the upper caste B.J.P. In this way it tried to dismantle Congress influence among these sections also. At that time itself a glaring contradiction had come to the foreground. Even when reservation remained their main plank for mobilisation, V.P Singh government also carried forward the liberalisation policies of Rajiv government which had started making reservation meaningless. With Rao government introducing the new economic policies of privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation based on the structural adjustment policies dictated by IMF-WB, reservation become more and more meaningless as recruitment to government jobs or PSUs became rare and private sector totally refused to implement it. So to protect reservation, the SAP based NEP had to be resisted. But none of the new caste based parties even mention this aspect in their programmes. They shout reservation, fight for more and more share, but defend and implement the imperialist dictated policies which are making it meaningless.

This is not accidental. All the backward caste parties like J. D, Samajavadi Party of Mulayam Singh, Samata Party of George Fernandez and Chandrasekhar etc. are representing today the creamy layer among these castes. This creamy section benefitted from breaking up of the zamindari system and implementation of partial land reforms in the post-1947 period. They constituting a minority of the backward castes became new landlords. They are for globalisation as they want to integrate agrarian sector with international market to reap rich dividends. And they are vehemently opposed to any meaningful land reforms based on 'land to the tiller, slogan, leave alone agrarian revolution. That is, on basic economic and political policies they are basically similar to congress and B.J.P. So any forms of alliance among them like J. D-SP etc. ruling with Congress support at centre or B.J.P-Samta alliance are quite natural. At the same time, by using caste base they replace already discredited congress rule giving a new respectability and vote bank to ruling class politics, and implement the very

same policies as Laloo Yadav, for example is doing in Bihar.

Another manifestation of caste politics is the emergence of *dalitism* and the Kanshiram led BSP like forces. They appear as the new messiahs for liberation of the dalits. But BSP has no qualms about joining hands with either congress or B.J.P. It never opposes the imperialist dictated economic policies which has made reservation meaningless and pauperised the masses. It never calls for implementation of land reforms even when it claims to represent dalits who are overwhelmingly landless or poor peasants and agricultural workers. In short on economic and political policies it represents ruling class interests and essentially represents only the creamy layer among the dalits. While talking for the oppressed, it is working for oppressor caste/class politics. Thus dalitism of BSP like forces serve to provide a dalit base to ruling class politics.

The approach towards caste system as such exposes the real character of these caste based parties. None of them calls for abolition of castes and work for it. On the contrary they are for perpetuating it as they have no existence without it. The abolition of caste system is possible only by eliminating the economic base on which it rests and fighting at the super-structural level mighty political, social and cultural movements have to be launched against the very system itself. Instead the caste parties are contended with an undefined and hollow 'social justice' to hoodwink the oppressed.

As a result, the caste parties have become very good tools for the ruling classes, and so they are promoted through all means. It shows how the ruling class are finding replacements for Congress which served them so far, once it is discredited. It is replaced by the Hindutva brigade or caste parties, or a combination of them. In this way large sections of people are hoodwinked and led to serve ruling class interests. The votebank politics is continued by new means.

A large section of intellectuals including many of those who were part of the left movement so far are attracted by the caste parties, especially by dalitism. As a result of their frustration with the set-backs suffered by the Communist movement, due to the transformation of CPI, CPI (M) like forces to ruling class politics, and under sectarian and alien influences

leading them to anti-Marxist positions, they have abandoned class politics and have degenerated to casteism.

This deviation from working class politics has influenced many revolutionary intellectuals as well as some 'Marxist-Leninist organisations'. In their haste to embrace dalitism and various brands of Ambedkarism propagated by opportunist forces they failed to recognise that at best dalitism can take them to the position of a Kanshiram or BSP.

The most cruel part of these developments is that it is when so many messiahs have surfaced for the protection of the dalits, backwards and other oppressed social sections all over India, the caste system is reasserting itself in more barbarous new forms, dalits get butchered with impunity by landlord senas and vast majority of them get increasingly pauperised. All these messiahs are working hard to conceal the fact that only a thorough going democratic revolution can create the preconditions for abolition of the caste system and for the liberation of the oppressed.

It is in this context, a serious discussion on the emergence of caste politics along with religious fundamentalism is called for.

Swadeshi - BJP brand

BJP's 'Swadeshi prem' is much exposed these days. If SS-BJP govt. gave ten times bigger contract to Enron, during its 13 day central rule it gave central approval for guarantees to Enron.

It talks much about 'level playing field' for Indian concerns. But what it has done to Anand milk co operative in Gujarat? Nobody will argue that Anand and Amul are not the best of co-operative experiments. Still denying a level playing field to it, when it is struggling to compete with MNCs like Nestle is too much of swadeshi indeed!

BJP government in Gujarat is putting every obstacle before Amul in the name of liberating it from Congress influence. As a result the MNCs in dairy field are immensely benefitted.

political line and AIPRF is the recent example of this glaring mistake.

It can be very well observed in the leaflet published by the reception committee of the international seminar on nationality question which declares that N D R of India encompasses agrarian (anti-feudal) movement and movement against oppression of nationalities. On the concept of N D R they are speaking, basically, the same language. In addition to it P. C. C proposes federal concept of state. On this account AIPRF also follows the same line—“Nevertheless it is important to understand the dynamics and essentially democratic nature of the demand for a federal structure, and its reflection of national aspirations of the people of various nationalities. While upholding these demands, the progressive forces have to carry the struggle forward to its logical conclusion of destroying the unitary system and establishing a genuinely federal republic where opportunities exist for every nationality for all round development. (Nationality question in India—page 9 para 3). In short we must look in to essentially democratic nature of the demand for federal structure. In the same paragraph the paper admits that centralisation of power Vs federalism reflects contradiction between all India big bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie of the various nationalities. Thus this demand is essentially democratic for the bourgeois of oppressed nationalities. But is it essentially democratic for the working class and other exploited classes of the oppressed nationalities? We have seen their 'democratic behaviour' with people who are politically opposed to them. When they (AIPRF) call progressive forces to carry forward the struggle to its logical conclusion, they call them to rally behind the bourgeoisie of oppressed nationalities. Considering all these points of similarity in the political line of these two organisations we can simply say that AIPRF is disposing what P. C. C has proposed earlier. The only difference is that they are disposing it with some amount of might, militancy and somewhat better mass base.

Marxist - Leninist Approach

We Communists are consistent democrats and it is our duty to fight against all sorts of exploitation and oppression. Hence, we firmly

uphold the equality of all nations, including their right to secede and we must intervene in it. At the same time we must also maintain that our proletarian internationalism must not be muddled with petty bourgeois nationalism. Theoretical and practical positions taken by our great teachers are our guiding principles.

Lenin unequivocally pleaded for the equality of all nationalities and languages, the impermissibility of all privileges on this respect and right of nations to self determination. On the other hand he always advocated and practised proletarian internationalism, waged uncompromising struggle against contamination of proletarian outlook with bourgeois nationalism of any refined kind. “The slogan of national culture is a bourgeois fraud. Our slogan is international cultural democracy and of the world working class movement”, said Lenin. He further clarified—“Those who seek to serve the proletariat, must unite the workers of all nations and fight bourgeois nationalism, domestic and foreign. The place of those who advocate the slogan of national culture is among the national petty bourgeois, not among the Marxists”.

With this outlook we must proceed and intervene in the problem. We must support those nationality movements which serve the political interest of world proletariat and it (the political interest of the world proletariat) lies in the annihilation of imperialist system and establishing socialism. As a part of world proletariat, in neocolonies, our political interest lies in overthrowing imperialism and its native comprador classes from the seat of power. So we must always try to establish leadership of proletariat in all democratic movements and change them into bastion of anti-imperialist movement. It can be achieved when we rely on workers-peasants alliance as core and organise all other democratic classes around it, because all other classes except this core group may vacillate and form an alliance with imperialism. Making this position more clear Stalin says “Support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism and not to strengthen and preserve it”. This Criteria is the litmus test for any movement (including nationality movement) to examine whether it is progressive or not. No Communist will challenge this formulation. So the point of debate revolves around the present changes in the working pattern of imperialism and its relation with different nationality movements.

As we have discussed earlier that the fight of oppressed nationalities for equal rights (up to the extent of self determination) is the fight of bourgeois of oppressed nationalities against oppressor nationalities. While intervening in this question, as Communists, we must understand the dual nature of this question. On the one hand the bourgeoisie is oppressed, but on the other where the working classes of that nationalities concerned, they are exploiters and oppressors. Secondly on the one hand they want the privilege of oppressor nationality to be finished, but their privilege over oppressed majority in their region to be maintained or to be strengthened. Lenin deals with this problem. "In so far as bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations fight oppressor, we are always in every case and more strongly than anyone else, in favour, for we are the staunchest and most consistent enemies of oppression. But in so far as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations stand for its own bourgeois nationalism, we stand against. We fight against privileges and violence of the oppressor nation and do not in any way condone strivings on the part of oppressed nations." This is the position Lenin taught us, to maintain and apply in our concrete situation. Any appeasement or compromise to such demand of oppressed nationalities will push us in to the ditch of petty bourgeois nationalism and ideologues of AIPRF are in no mood to fight against this trend.

Nationality movement in neo-colonial phase

In the colonial phase due to direct rule of imperialists, the principal target (imperialism) was visible to the naked eyes, and all national liberation movements whether led by Communists, nationalists or even compradors were anti imperialist in varying degrees. Let us take the example of India where anti-British movement was led by comprador bourgeoisie. It was true that their programme was not to fight against the rule of imperialism as a whole. But, still it was anti-imperialist in the sense that these comprador classes wanted to take the reign of power in their hands. This aspect (transfer of power from imperialists to compradors) of the movement represented its anti-imperialist character in limited degree. This limit was decided by the fact that Indian big bourgeoisie and big land lords accepted subservient position in the world capitalist order (subservient to their imperialist masters). Thus

the well trumpeted 'freedom at midnight' or decolonisation (as some say) was in its political essence neocolonisation. And thus, equality of all nations could not be achieved and it can't be achieved without annihilation of imperialism. Even then, it was a revolutionary step, as Stalin put it— "the national movement in other larger colonial and dependent countries such as India and China, every step of which along the road to liberation, even if it runs counter to the formal democracy, is a steam hammer blow at imperialism ie, undoubtedly revolutionary step".

In this neo-colonial phase there are some serious changes in the political scenario of our country. Imperialists' direct rule has been replaced by indirect rule which is not visible to the naked eyes. The limited anti-imperialist role of Indian big bourgeoisie has exhausted. They have become part and parcel of world capitalist system as compradors and ruling class of their own country. This class is the champion of forced and coerced unity of India because it knows, the bigger the market in command, greater the capacity to bargain. With the imperialist master. With the end of colonial phase a new wave of national movements ie, movements for nation states got prominence in the third world countries and Eastern Europe, somewhere being solved democratically and somewhere (esp-in third world) passing through the stage of blood bath. These movements have two targets of attack the oppressor nationalities, and ruling classes of neo-colonies, and imperialist masters. Thirdly at this critical juncture of the movement, the socialist countries and most of the parties in the world Communist movement deviated from the socialist path. As a result these movements are led by petty bourgeois forces who taking the first task militantly, but not the second one, rather they are surrendering, compromising and adjusting within this imperialist order. In their eyes, equality of all nationalities means equality with in this imperialist order ie, equality to reach imperialist capital and freedom to deal with it. We consider the democratic content of this demand and support it; but as Communists we must always strive to put the second task on the forefront, P.C.C-and AIPRF both fail to do it. If any nationality movement fulfils the first conditionality and goes counter to the second one, and as a result supports and strengthens imperialism, our support becomes out of question. In recent past its best example was formation of Bangla Desh. Communists did not

support it because it was after a particular stage instigated and engineered by reactionary, hegemonic Indian ruling classes and Soviet social imperialism. Thus criteria put forward by Lenin and Stalin are still valid and we must apply them according to the concrete situation of the particular case.

Proletarian Class Position abandoned

AIPRF recognises the weakness of the World Communist movement, but instead of fighting these weakness its ideologues propose to search for easy paths like the path of emancipation through nationality movement. The paper says "In the absence of strong Communist movement, it is but natural that the resistance to this exploitation, oppression, suppression and persecution often assumes the form of caste, nationality, region, religion etc. As a result the class identity is being obscured and relegated into the background". It further says "It is in this process (process of nationality movement) and only in this process that class consciousness can be developed and integral part of the struggle waged to transform the society and emancipate it from all exploitation". (Nationality question in India, Nationality movements—some wrong trends in understanding—para-1, 2,—Page 13). We agree that there is absence of strong world Communist movement and overwhelming presence of strong trends of caste, region, religion, nationality movement etc. But we contradict this conclusion that this is the only process to raise the class consciousness to lead the society towards emancipation from all exploitations and oppressions.

Earlier we have discussed, how a party working on MLMT guidelines should intervene into the movement of nationalities. Now, let us see how a Communist should behave in the period of ideological, political crisis. Marx and Engels for the whole of their lives, waged stubborn struggle against anarchists and empiricists and only then they could establish Marxism as guiding principle of working class and dictatorship of proletariat as the path to achieve socialism. In the same way Lenin, in Russia, fought against Narodism and all sorts of opportunism and then he could develop Marxism to suit the concrete conditions of development of capitalism to imperialism. He developed

the strategy and tactics of world Communist movement accordingly and a new chapter was added in the text of Marxism, known as Leninism. This was true with Stalin and Mao too. They tried to answer all the questions of theoretical and practical importance, confronting the movement during their time. Anti-fascist united democratic front is the contribution of Stalin to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. In the course of his fight against right and left opportunists he established basic contents of Leninism. Likewise Mao applied Marxism-Leninism in semi-feudal society like China and developed the concept of NDR and cultural revolution. Due to these achievements and contributions for the World Communist Movement they are placed as great teachers and leaders of world proletariat.

As Communists and disciples of MLMT we must follow this glorious tradition of our great leaders, strive to search our weaknesses and remove them and struggle against all alien ideas, to establish it. But instead of doing this hard work, ideologues of AIPRF adopted a very simplistic path. Frightened by the present adverse situation, they are sitting in the lap of petty bourgeois nationalist like a good baby with red lollypops to illuminate the path of revolution and emancipation of humankind. History has proved time and again that what they think is not a political reality. Thus what they are following is not the path of Marxism but the path of opportunism. Election boycottism and armed militancy are the two masks to cover this opportunism and hoodwink the people. This opportunist ideological deviation is reflected and manifested everywhere in their document.

AIPRF papers full of opportunism and inherent contradictions

We have concluded earlier that ideologues of AIPRF are frightened with ideological-political crisis of the world Communist movement and instead of making a serious effort to get out of this crisis they are hiding their faces behind petty bourgeois nationalist forces. This ideological deviation has been reflected in the presentation of the subject. They failed to understand the genesis, development and behaviour of nationalities in erstwhile colonial and present neo-colonial countries, particularly India and secondly they could not grasp the role of imperialism in the development of

national aspirations and their flexible attitude towards the change of situation.

Development of nationalities in India has its own cause and specific features. Contrary to development of capitalism in Europe, Indian capitalism was born and developed under the guidance of British imperialism. It did not grow fighting against feudalism. It grew according to the needs of British imperialism (as its agent) and developed sometimes fighting against, but mostly compromising with it. In this neo-colonial phase there is only marked increase in this inherited character. Even regional bourgeoisie are not totally free of this inheritance. The reason of this contradictory character of the two bourgeoisie (European and Indian) lies in the different character of development of the capital itself. Marx explained this difference in character when he dealt the effect of British rule in India. He observed that capitalism is developed in European countries under the cover of civilisation, but when it entered into colonies it became naked and barbaric. Imperialist capital, even today maintains this character in a very refined way. European capital had to fight alone against feudalism for its growth, but Indian capital (whether at all India level or regional level) is compromising with feudalism as well as imperialism, instead of making latter being the principal target. Ideologues of AIPRF failed to understand this complicated nature of nationalities of India. AIPRF dealing with SAP, globalisation gives full account of imperialist exploitation, oppression and struggle against it, but it fails to understand its real meaning and impact. The paper states: "In many cases also, because the anti feudal tasks of the national democratic revolutions remained incomplete (and still do) even the full development of the various nationalities remained stunted and multinational states, as they had been forcibly created by the colonial powers." (Page 2, 3) It provokes some serious questions. Is feudalism alone responsible for the stunted growth of nationalities? Then what was the role of imperialism in relation to development of nationalities in colonial period? If anti-feudal tasks of national democratic revolution alone remained incomplete, were the anti-imperialist tasks completed? If so, why do they call India semi-colonial? Here we find serious contradictions between theoretical formulations and practical approach. In theory they say India as semi colonial but in practice they treat it as an independent capitalist country with semi feudal

relations. Dealing with impact of imperialism on nationalities their first document says: "As a result of imperialist rule the colonies were most often multinational in character comprising various nationalities almost 'frozen' at different stages of development....." (Page-3). Here they say almost frozen at different level. contradictory to it they write in the same document. "Between 1918 and 1922, during the upsurge of anti-colonial struggle, the movement for creation of linguistic provinces greatly extended its range and embraced most Indian nationalities" (Page - 4). The contradiction between two approaches 'almost frozen' and 'greatly extended' is obvious. Anti colonial struggle represented all India national consciousness and movement for creation of linguistic provinces represented aspiration for national state formation. On both the levels, the national consciousness developed in the period of colonial rule along with comprador character of the bourgeoisie.

To facilitate loot and banditry, British imperialists needed state power which they captured at the point of their sword and secondly they needed a larger area for free economic intercourse and they unified India again at the point of their sword. AIPRF correctly identified this point. But they forget to proceed further to the analysis that they consolidated this unity with expansion of electric wires and railway lines. They did all these things to make Indian market overflowed with British goods and to carry billions to England. But the motion of capital and its effect are not guided by wishes of their masters alone, but according to its own laws. So this unity was the by-product of British capital's activities. Lenin identified two trends of imperialism-coercion and repression of colonies and its unification (opposed to its first phase). As Marxist-Leninists our approach should be to preserve the aspect of unity and remove the remotest possibility of application of force and coercion to maintain it. Thus, we must call all progressive forces to unified India ie, a democratic India based on voluntary unity of nationalities with right to secede under the people's democratic dictatorship led by working class. AIPRF talks about federal polity, but remains silent on the question whether it will be led by proletariat or bourgeoisie?

AIPRF paper tries to analyse the nationality question in class perspective. They put some basic questions "which class is the

essential part of nationality in India? When we say national interest whose interest we refer to"? etc. etc. They answer—"The working class, the peasant and the toiling people constitute the major part of any nationality. Comprador big bourgeoisie who are hand in glove with imperialism can not be considered as part of nationality movement. This answer evades the basic question—essential part and whose interest we refer to. With Marxist point of view we must answer—Bourgeois of that nationality is the essential part of the nationality movement and when we refer to the national interest we refer to the interest of bourgeoisie of that nationality. Contrary to the Marxist explanation AIPRF considers working class as major part of nationality movement. If we accept this position (in conformity with MLM) what will happen to proletarian internationalism? Which class will be the torch bearer of internationalism? By concealing these facts and questions AIPRF's ideologues want to sell out the proletarian class interest to the hands of petty bourgeois nationalists.

To conceal their weakness and opportunism they have started to use some new jargons. AIPRF paper writes—"It (the right to self determination) cannot be achieved within the framework of autocratic system but through the process of national revolution and it is also the part and parcel of world socialist revolution." They don't explain this concept any further. One may explain it as he needs. But we want to put some questions before AIPRF ideologues. Is not this concept similar to that of P. C. C when they feel that when the country is shrouded by emergency measures, national revolutionary forces must survive and grow from their localised bases to fight against this autocratic rule? (FND edit. Jan 1993); or is not this concept similar to CPI's old concept of national democratic revolution? Anyway, we are not going to stretch these questions in future, if not theoretically, practically. These are a few examples of opportunist approaches on the subject and inherent contradiction present in the paper itself. These show the trend, and both the papers are full of such phenomena.

Trends, rise and fall of nationality movements

In this world imperialist system there are different levels of development of societies. On the one hand there are developed coun-

tries of Western Europe and U. S. A and the other there are neo-colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In these countries nationality problems are confronted in different ways. In Western Europe we find unity of smaller nations into one European Union on the basis of capitalist rule. This is unity of capital against the labour i.e., against workers of Europe and the whole world. In neo-colonial countries we find nationality movements demanding democratic solution. All these trends are products of the historic-political development of the given society. AIPRF document overlooks these different trends and presents the problem flatly—"The question (of nationality) confronts every country right from the most industrially advanced to the most backward.....the nationalities continue to bleed demanding immediate democratic solution to the problem", (page 1, para-1). By such presentation (and as we have discussed earlier) AIPRF wants to conceal the basic class nature of the question. It wants to reject and conceal the historical trend that the nationality question is basically a question of bourgeois democratic revolution. Lenin, in his polemics with his opponents quite often cited example of Switzerland where these problems were solved in democratic manner. Soviet Union, offered the solution, better than any bourgeois society can offer. From then onwards that has been the milestone for solving this question. Here we should not forget that CPSU (B) pointed out that it is solving a bourgeois democratic problem.

With advent of imperialism in twentieth century, an anti imperialist petty-bourgeois wave emerged which stood against proletarian view. Lenin could successfully overcome this viewpoint in his party and revolutionary movement in Russia. After the severe setbacks to the world Communist movement this trend became prominent once again within the anti-imperialist movement. That is why we find class struggle in background and issues of caste, region, religion etc. getting undue importance and prominence.

During 70's this trend was at its zenith. After mid eighties this trend started to decline.

Leaders of the national movements led by bourgeois, petty-bourgeois sections and imperialism both compromised and adjusted accordingly. Movements led by Nelson Mandela, (ANC in South Africa) and Yaseer Arafat (for Palestinian homeland) are recent examples of

compromises and adjustments within this system.

In the same way we must analyse the movements in Punjab. The important aspect of study should be the reasons for its collapse. Was it due to the repression of New Delhi alone? No, certainly not. Was it due to the wrong acts and undemocratic behaviour of its activists with people? These may be the partial reasons. The main reason lies in the SAP, liberalisation and economic reforms. A large bout of imperialist capital was pumped to the economy of the state especially in agro industries which by and large satisfied Punjabi agrarian bourgeoisie mainly from sikh community. It may not be fully correct to say that "a lot of investible surplus was created but through various means this was sucked by imperialism and all India big bourgeoisie". In spite of this sucking away an investible surplus remained with agrarian bourgeoisie and capitalist landlord classes of Punjab. These new classes were product of the green revolution. It also satisfied the political demand for greater autonomy to a considerable extent because in this period New Delhi broke the barrier of licence-permit raj which due to its pro-Hindu stand had discriminated Sikhs. The approach of these regional bourgeoisie towards imperialist capital became more friendly. AIPRF fails to understand this aspect of nationality movement today.

In this period of SAPs and globalisation, imperialism is compelling the comprador rulers in neocolonies to liberalise their bureaucratic system further. In this situation the workers and peasants (non-propertied classes) are the losers and face the fascist attack of state power. Thus class contradictions are sharpening and a polarisation on the basis of classes are taking place. In this situation class struggle will not remain relegated to the background rather it will come to the forefront and may reach a new height of revolutionary movement if we Marxists prepare ourselves ideologically, politically and organisationally to match and cope with this situation. Ideologues of AIPRF are not in a position to foresee this development and prepare accordingly. Instead they only observe the past and present and they are resorting to petty bourgeois nationalist positions distorting the banner of MLMT

Conclusions

1. Ideologues of AIPRF disregard the guiding

principle of Lenin and Stalin on nationality question and fail to analyse it with proletarian class perspective.

2. AIPRF do not make any appraisal of P.C C's work on this subject and follow the very same political approach added with militancy.

3. Only by raising proletarian class consciousness and developing democratic movement to higher level the nationality problem can be solved in a democratic manner.

4. On federal concept they fail to clarify whether it will work under dictatorship of proletariat or bourgeoisie.

5. Frightened by the set backs suffered by the ICM, they are resorting to petty bourgeois nationalist ideology.

6. Their departure from Marxist positions is a loss to our movement.

This short polemic is a serious effort to educate the revolutionary masses about the true spirit of MLMT, and to prevent them from ultimately falling into the ditch of petty bourgeois ideology. We consider the basic approach of AIPRF is not in conformity with Marxism-Leninism and Mao-Tsetung thought, and firmly dismiss it. By the method they can not get rid of their present stagnation and frustration because Nationality movement are already suffering from the diseases mentioned above. We strongly uphold that only the class struggle in all fields creating a revolutionary upsurge leading the NDR to its victory can only solve the nationality problem in a democratic manner.

Mass Line Publications

1. Nehru to Rao: Neo-Colonisation Process in India Rs. 100/-
2. Voluntary/Non governmental..... Rs. 45.
3. Foundations of Leninism Rs. 30.
4. The Great Debate: Rs. 100/-

In Print

5. Comintern Documents Vol. I (1919-1923)

33½% Commission to book stalls and agencies

Send Orders/DDs/MOs to:

Mass Line Publications,
TKMC (Bo), Pin No. 691005
Kollam, Kerala, India

ruling class parties in turmoil

As per May 24 directive of Delhi High Court the CBI has filed a fresh FIR in the 'JMM MPs' pay-off case'. The accused includes Narasimha Rao, former cabinet ministers V. C. Shukla, Satish sharma, Ajit Singh, R. K. Dhawan, former Haryana chief minister Bhajan Lal, and industrialist Lalit Suri. Though Rao could pressurise Dewagowda to permit CBI to move a writ against the Delhi High Court directive in the Supreme Court, a division bench of the apex court dismissed it and asked CBI to follow the HC directive. It also refused to interfere with the strong criticism levelled against CBI by the Delhi HC. It has become a big blow to both Rao and Congress at a time when it is facing serious problems following its election defeat.

Close on the heels of this CBI case involving Rao the Urea import scam in which Rs. 133 crore was paid to a Turkish company, Karsan Limited has caused more serious havoc in Congress and to Rao. The company which got the full payments long back paid huge kick backs to many including Rao's son Prabhakar Rao who was involved in the ISRO espionage case also, and at the same time totally failed to supply even a kg of highly needed urea. The authenticity of the company itself is in doubt. It looks like a clear swindle involving Rao's relatives, son of former fertiliser minister Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav, bureaucrats of Fertiliser Corporation and SBI officials. Once again CBI is compelled to move against these well-connected men.

In addition to the numerous scams of Rao days, these CBI cases have further eroded the prestige of Congress seriously. Naturally a challenge against Rao's leadership is gaining strength. Though at present there is no individual capable of leading the anti-Rao forces to a battle to replace him, Rao is going to find it difficult in the coming days to keep both the posts of Congress president and parliamentary party leader with him. He may even lose both as opinion is gaining strength that his replacement will lead to Congress gaining strength and to replacement of the UF regime at an appropriate time. BJP's condition is not different. Though the 13 day wonder that was Vajpayee government created some euphoria among BJP forces for some time many are

doubting now the usefulness of such an experiment. Besides the 13 day wonder created its own problems. Sikandar Bhakt refused to take oath till he got a better portfolio. And at Ahmedabad in Vajpayee's public meeting Vaghela men and their wives were roughed up even disrobing some of them. RSS led Swadeshi manch publically questioned the hasty approval given to Enron, though it is only a publicity stunt. Besides it was proved that with its present Hindutva image it is almost impossible for it to get a majority in Lok Sabha even with the benefit of protest votes against Congress and the UF in the next election. Naturally BJP is in search of a better image and seriously involved in settling its internal dissensions.

Though the turmoil in both Congress and BJP, the principal representatives of comprador politics in India, provided a good opportunity for the UF, with the release of the CMP and its promise to follow and expand Rao's policies, and its naked reliance on Congress support has already started causing discontentment against it. Besides its chief constituent, Janatha Dal, is in perpetual turmoil as reflected in the expulsion of Hegde and in the serious dissensions in many of its state units. The LF parties, mainly the CPI (M), are also going to face serious internal problems in the coming days as the real class character and political orientation of the Dewagowda government are going to be exposed.

The basic reasons for these turmoils in all shades of ruling class parties are not difficult to understand. All of them have accepted the globalisation—market system package imposed by the capitalist system, though there are variations in their levels and methods of acceptance. But as these NEPs SAPs are against the interests of the masses and they are coming up in numerous struggles challenging them, all these parties are compelled to put on many facades like stability, Hindutva, social justice or market socialism to hood-wink their ranks as well as the masses. While the class character of the leaderships compel them to adopt comprador politics and become apologists of neo-colonialism, compulsions of electoral politics compel them to search for populist images and slogans. This dichotomy has degenerated and corrupted the ruling class.

French imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa

Whether it was dictatorial De Gaulle or socialist Mitterand the French neo-colonial policy in Francophone Africa, in the countries which were once French colonies, continued and still continue unabated. Under defence agreements France maintains military bases in many countries, not for meeting external threats but to suppress people's revolts against nepotic regimes. Recent French intervention in Central African Republic (CAR) using Mirage fighters and helicopter gunships to bring revolting populace and army men to submission killing hundreds and destroying parts of capital Bangui is just one of these heinous neo-colonial acts.

In the African countries while the earlier colonial rulers continue their plunder through neo-colonial methods with US imperialists reserving the right to intervene anywhere, even neo-colonial brand of elected governments are not tolerated and even the slightest people's protest actions are brutally suppressed. It is especially so in Francophone Africa.

French imperialists helped King Hassan of Morocco many times to put down people's struggle for democracy. It abetted annexation of Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic by the Moroccan regime. It helped subversion of the elected government in Tunisia. French and Moroccan troops helped Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire to continue in power becoming one of the wealthiest ones in the world while people there continue to die of starvation. In Cameroon it

politics as a whole, and all these parties to various levels. Under moribund capitalist influence nepotism, favouritism, corruption, selfishness etc are increasing among the leaders and cadres with rocket speed. And in turn this degeneration afflicts all strata of society especially the upper strata of all classes and sections degenerating even the once radical sections to all capitalist vices. They are getting divided more and more to fight for the spoils. They are united only for one thing: fighting against the spectre of socialism and Communism.

In the present situation, as neo-colonisation intensifies the ruling class politics is going to face ever-intensifying turmoil. People are going to witness most unprincipled coalitions, fronts and adjustments to carry forward the ruling class political system. While the revolutionary forces should study this development and

props up authoritarian Paul Biya regime. In Ivory Coast virtually French imperialists are running the government by putting comprador frontmen like Houhet Boigny. In Gabon dictator Omar Bongo is ruling from 1968 with French assistance.

At the same the slightest opposition to this imperialist domination is ferociously crushed down. In Burkina Faso with active French connivance Thomas Sankara was ousted from power. Hostility towards Sekou Toure of Guinea continued till his death in 1986. After that an obedient comprador regime is backed.

From 1960 France has intervened once an year in Africa on an average. Present president Chirac has pledged to continue Mitterand's policy in Africa under which France has troops in Gabon, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, CAR, Chad and Djibouli. There are military agreements with Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Tongo, Equatorial Guinea, Congo, Zaire, Rwanda and Barundi. French and Belgium governments played important role in arming Hutu's racist regime in Rwanda which was involved in the anti-Tutsi genocide. France sided with those forces in Liberia who were thwarting the African peace keeping forces. These neo-colonial acts by French alongwith other imperialists have gone to the level of western commentators unashamedly calling for keeping whole of Africa under Western trusteeship.

become capable of utilising the minutest contradictions among the ruling classes and ruling class parties for building up a people's alternative for a new democracy and socialism, they should cast away all illusions that by uniting with any of these ruling class sections or parties basic social change can be realised.

The capitalist imperialist system as a whole is in grave crisis. As a result, the comprador politics also is in great turmoil whether in India or other neo-colonies. This situation is bound to degenerate further rotting the society as a whole. But any hope that because of this crisis, degeneration and rot the ruling system shall crumble and disappear will be illusory. It shall remain and continue to rot till it is overthrown. This is the challenge before the democratic forces.

PAKISTAN: IMF PRESCRIBED BUDGET

The anti-riot troops and barbed wire surrounded government buildings on June 23 when public protest against Benazir government's anti-people budget proposals paralysed commercial centres and emptied the streets all over Pakistan. It is now normal in Pakistan like other neo-colonies that parameters for new budget are received from IMF. Benazir government had very little option but to implement it.

A crisis erupted last year when Pakistan was unable to bring down the deficit, the rate of new money creation and inflation down to the levels required by IMF. To tide over the crisis when Pakistan approached IMF, it conceded only a steadily arrangement of \$ 600 million at terms tougher than those in previous agreements. And the money had to be returned in 15 months, with interests at 15%. Besides IMF imposed a 3% budget deficit goal for 1996-97.

Now Rs. 41 billion new taxes are imposed cutting down salaries of workers and spiralling prices of many items up to 18% to reach this target. Previous sales levy exemptions of sugar, edible oil, petroleum products, processed food items and farm produce are lifted. For implementing IMF conditionalities only the masses are taxed, the rural and urban rich are only going to become richer 80% of the new taxes are indirect penalising the poor.

Meanwhile defence spending is hiked by 14%, that is about 25% of budget expenditure earmarked for defence. The other significant hike in expenditure is for debt servicing, reaching about 35% of budget. At the same time expenditure for development and for social welfare sector is drastically slashed.

In spite of these anti-people measures the budget deficit could be brought down only to 4% of GDP. The IMF is annoyed about it and what new conditionalities it will impose is anybody's guess. It is likely that IMF will come down heavily, and further intensification of the crisis appears inevitable.

ISRAEL: NETANYAHU REFUSES "LAND FOR PEACE"

As expected with the victory of Likud Party leader Netanyahu in Israel's May elections the

"land for peace" agreement brokered by Bill Clinton is facing a crisis. Though Netanyahu is willing to talk to Arafat without preconditions, he has implicitly rejected the "the land for peace" agreement with Palestines and returning Golan heights to Syria or allowing a Palestine state. Meanwhile Republican presidential aspirant in US, Bob Dole has extended support to Netanyahu's stand.

At a summit in Cairo, the Arab leaders have warned that they would reconsider normalisation with Israel unless it agreed to give back Arab land in exchange of peace. They also insisted that Israel accept creation of Palestine state with Jerusalem as capital. But though majority of the Israelis are for peace, the howks led by Netanyahu are for confrontation.

These developments prove the evaluation of the progressive forces that the US brokered peace is not going to become a real one so long as imperialists are thrown out of West Asia and the peace forces in Israel gain dominance.

TERRORISM IN SAUDI ARABIA

The truck bomb explosion outside Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia in which more than 20 US army men were killed and over 250 injured is projected all over the world by the imperialist backed media as intolerant act of terrorists. Shocks are expressed by many neo-colonial governments over this. Efforts are made as usual to picture the Yankees as innocent victims and the attackers as heinous killers.

But it is never asked what bloody business the Yankees have in Saudi to maintain their military presence. Even after the end of so-called cold war, against whom are they maintaining these armies in these countries? Is it not for crushing all possible people's resistance against the hated rulers like Saudi king who serve imperialist interests?

These imperialist propagandas against terrorism deserve nothing but people's scorn. It is imperialism and its compradors who breed terrorists everywhere. So until imperialism is overthrown the terrorism it breeds also will not come to an end.

UF and the MNCs

The 13 day rule gifted to BJP resulted in the hasty approval to the shady Enron deal first

signed by Sharad Pawar's Congress government and now promoted by the SS-BJP government. Rightly BJP was strongly criticised by many including the UF constituents for this hasty and unprincipled move. BJP's *Swadeshi* was exposed once again.

When UF took over some of its supporters at least, and the intellectuals backing LF parties hoped that this wrong will be corrected. Instead, what we are witnessing is complete silence by UF on this issue. Naturally Enron is pushing ahead with its activities. On 15 June Dewagowda government which had given approval to a similar deal at Mangalore (Karnataka) for another US power giant Cogentrix for a 1000 MW thermal plant immediately after coming to power, has now provided environmental clearance also to it.

The CMP envisages hundreds of billion dollar foreign investments in infrastructural sectors like power, telecome, railways, roads, ports etc. As these sectors are mainly under public sector presently, contrary to claims by LF spokespersons there will be large scale disinvestments and privatisation. Enron and Cogentrix are only the beginning. Hundreds of similar MOUs, power purchase agreements and sell outs are soon going to materialise if powerful people's struggles are not going to be organised against them.

Habitat II

Twenty years ago UN sponsored Habitat I Conference in Vancouver had declared: "Adequate shelter is a basic human right". When Habitat II was celebrated at Istanbul with participation of thousands of governments' delegates and many more thousands of NGOs/VOs numbering altogether 16,000 delegates from June 3-14, "this Conference has disowned what its parent conference accepted 20 years ago" even according to Justice Rajinder Sachar, UN special Rapporteur on Housing. There was not even a mention of the reasons for the uncontrolled urbanisation making billions homeless.

The enormity of the urbanisation is such that "between 1990 and 2030, the global population is projected to grow by 3.7 billion and 90% of them will be in urban areas of less developed countries" (Frontline, July 12). According to demographic projections in India more than two third of the population will be living in the urban areas by that time. Or, the migration of rural people to urban centres due to loss of

livelihood is increasing at frightening speed. Most of the Latin American countries have already reached this critical condition. Without focussing on this issue, the billion dollar jumborees like the UN Conferences on environment, population, women and now on habitat are organised only as exercises to hoodwink the masses.

In the conference US emphasis was on making "market forces" the main mechanism by which to ensure access to urban infrastructural facilities. It simply means that those who can afford can enjoy housing facilities. Others go to hell. So all grandiose plans for housing will be left to individual countries to be carried out by private sector or other "partnerships" at local levels. In short let the builders lobby and co-operative mafia provide housing at a price.

As usual the government representatives of the neo-colonial countries pleaded for assistance from the imperialist master countries. Addressing the jumboree, Fidel Castro complained: "Those who have almost destroyed the planet and poisoned the air, the seas, the rivers and the soils are presently showing little concern over saving mankind. Why is it that in the so-called post-Cold War era, millions of dollars are being spend on weapons and military activities?" what an innocence? Castro is pleading for a change of heart by the imperialist vultures!

Once again NGOs/VOs reached in big numbers. Their aim was to get maximum funds in the name of changing the poor people's world. They are proving themselves as more and more useful instruments of the rules of both the imperialist and neo-colonial countries in deviating people from the path of struggle.

Olympics for comraderie or MNCs extravagance?

As the extravaganza at Atlanta (US) is staged in the name of Olympics what is absolutely lacking is the comraderie and international fraternity which are claimed to be the essence of this supreme international sports and games event. When people in many African countries and in other neocolonies are dying due to starvation and tens of millions of children are undernourished and die in infancy itself, the athletes from Lesotho, a small African nation, were horrified by the sight of large quantities of food being thrown away. One athlete said

Toxic dumping in India continues

Old governments may go and new ones come. But toxic dumping continues. Now it is the turn of Australia. During last two years it has exported 9034 tons of highly toxic zinc and lead ashes to Mumbai, Calcutta and Madras. Australia has become the number two waste exporting country behind number one US which exported 11,857 tons and ahead of number three Canada with 7270 tons. These exports to Asian-African-Latin American countries from the imperialist countries are taking place in violation of Basel convention. When compradors like Rao, Vajpayee or Gowda rule why bother about conventions?

How the MNCs serve?

Hindustan Lever (subsidiary to Uni Liver)

"it is incredible how much food we have seen being thrown away".

But the MNCs and US tycoons who practically conduct the Atlanta Olympics are least bothered. Further the two US Colas, Coca-cola and Pepsi are engaged in a battle for supremacy which is the talk of the city. Before first results of this olympics is out Coke has already won the cola-war. The administration patromises it so well that "the dentists recommend their patients nirse with Coca-cola." This is but natural. Atlanta is the corporate headquarters of Coke. And it has decisive role in conducting this extravaganza.

A number of other MNCs are also playing dominant roles. In short Atlanta Olympics is another attempt to show the world how rich are the rich imperialists and their MNCs. Agents are at work even to purchase best and promising athlets from the poor countries at fabulous sums. Through fabulous advertisement campaigns consumerist culture is taken to unprecedented heights. In the end the MNCs will reap ten times more for every dollar spend.

And about sports? It shall continue to remain at the level we witness in India. A country with a billion population quite often not capable of winning even a single medal. Sports and games are reduced to imperialist extravaganza.

has expanded its spread in consumer sector by extending the sale of its iodised salt and atta to all states. To start with it plans to market 70,000 tons of salt and many times more atta reaping huge profits.

Education to be auctioned

In his budget speech C P I (M) finance minister of WB's LF ministry has announced that "a certain number of primary and secondary schools will be set up under the supervision of panchayat samithis and municipalities where teachers will be employed on contract. He also proposed employing doctors also on contract basis. Taking inspiration from this, the Economic Times editorially commented that "it should be welcome and implemented not only by the state governments but even by the centre. Slowly this principle of contracting services should be extended to other services including administrative services" (26 June). The comprador rulers and media are happy that C P I (M) is leading in finding new methods for putting the market forces in command everywhere, in every sphere.

Petroleum price_hike

As expected prices of all petroleum products are hiked massively to yield Rs. 9700 crores in the coming 9 months. While facing country-wide protests, though the diesel price hike is reduced to 15%, the overall impact of this hike is disastrous for the already pauperised masses. The prices of all essential commodities and charges of all essential social services are going up further. Gowda government is bent upon taxing the masses to serve the elite within and the imperialists.

One more jute-mill closed

The jute-mills in Calcutta are closed one after another. Those reopened work for few weeks and are again closed. Now the New Central Jute Mill employing 11,000 put out a notice of "suspension of work" on July 1. While the factory is closed the leaders of the CITU expressed ignorance about it when contacted by the journalists. Such ignorance is a bliss when the CITU leaders have to defend the LF government.

21 people massacred in Bihar village

The Ranveer Sena of the landlords attacked Bathani Tok hamlet in Bhojpur district, burned houses and killed 21 people majority of them women and children on July 11, continuing its murderous attacks on the poor and landless peasants who support CPI (ML) Liberation. Accusing the Janatha Dal government of Laluprasad Yadav and BJP for collusion with the landlord sena, and demanding the immediate suspension of district magistrate and superintendent of police, Liberation supporters blockaded roads and organised Bhojpur bandh on July 14. It led a gherao of Bihar assembly on July 22. The Bihar assembly witnessed uproarious scenes with members charging criminal collusion of JD and BJP leaders with the landlord forces.

LIC, GIC EMPLOYEES PROTEST

All India Federation of LIC and GIC employees announced that it would protest against entry of private and MNC companies to insurance sector. On July 12 mass demonstrations were organised. But with CPI leaders controlling the federation, a Telecom like betrayal can be expected any time from the leadership. It is reported that while CPI leader Gurudas Dasgupta MP is talking about resisting privatisation of insurance sector, MNCs and Indian monopolies like Tata controlled insurance companies have opened offices in major cities.

ENRON AND CONGENTRIX CEALRED

Gowda government has cleared in haste the Enron and Cogentrix power projects in Maharashtra and Karnataka against which the progressive forces were struggling for a long period. Swadeshivalas of RSS, and CPI, CPI (M), JD like forces are silent on this sell-out of country's interests when these MNCs are provided contracts to build power units at three times the rates per megawatt generally given to NTPC, even without provisions for environmental protection.

India emerging as big market for US

India is emerging as a big market that will provide huge business and employment opportunities to US.

This view was expressed at a congressional

hearing here by Raymond E. Wickery, US Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Development and some top American as well as NRI businessmen.

They also warned at a joint hearing of the sub committee on Asia and the Pacific and that on international economic policy that India is a market where the US faces stiff competition from Canada, Britain, France, Germany, Japan and other countries.

In a prepared testimony for the subcommittees, Tarun Das, Director General of the Confederation of Indian Industry, said that in June this year, the Confederation will be bringing to the US a 60-member business delegation to promote investment and joint ventures with India.

India's economy, he said, is demonstrating its ability to sustain a competitive environment. Opportunities exist for American companies, he said, in every sector.

Observers of the Indian scene are unanimous that economic reform is irreversible.

The Enron and Kentucky Fried Chicken cases brought out the advantage of doing business in India.

The US, is the leading foreign direct investor in India. Total Foreign investment approved by the Indian Government between August 1991 and December 1995 was valued at \$ 18.7 billion and of this, 26 percent—or four times the nearest competitor, Israel—is American.

Liberia: Divide and rule

Liberia was 'founded' as a republic in last century under philanthropic supervision by Yankees for rehabilitating some of the freed blacks who went back seeking their roots. Till 1980 when a military coup by a junior officer disturbed the neocolonial arrangement 5 percent of Americo-Liberians ruled over 95 percent natives with US capital and MNCs dominating the economic field overwhelmingly.

This military regime was overthrown in a rebellion in 1989. Now Liberia is divided under numerous war lords fighting for domination. As usual UN is playing the role of a cover for imposing US hegemony. When Monrovia and even hinterlands bleed continuously US interests are well protected. The divide and rule game launched once the Americo-Liberian dominance was questioned is perpetuating the neocolonisation with no peace in sight in the foreseeable future.

A New Government in Bangladesh

The Awami League leader and daughter of Mujibur Rahman, Sheikh Hasina Wajed has taken over as the new prime minister of Bangladesh. For a country which was formed through a 'liberation struggle' assisted by Indian government and Soviet social imperialism and led by Mujibur Rahman in 1971, and which was witnessed three military coups, murder of two presidents and thousands of political leaders, 18 attempted coups, and two years of continuous mass struggles led by Awami League against the government of BNP leader Begum Khaleda Zia leading to the June 12 elections, this peaceful change of government itself may look extra ordinary.

But for this country which is one of the poorest in the world with 80 percent of its population absolutely poor and for Hasina government coming days are not going to be smooth. Through a constitution amendment just before

the elections, the so-called neutral president who is not at all neutral but take sides with the army, Abdur Rahman Biswas is vested with the ministry of defence and armed forces. Even though the Islamic fundamentalist Jamaiti Islami get a very bad beating in this election any effort by Hasina government to make Bangladesh secular will be utilised by it to whip-up fundamentalist frenzy. BNP itself will not sit idle for long as Hasina govt. pursuing its predecessors IMF-WB dictated SAPs and privatisation-market economy is going to provide enough issues to agitate for. Besides neither Bangladesh govt. nor Indian govt. is ready for a radical breakthrough to solve bilateral problems including sharing of Ganges water, the relations between the two will continue to remain worse calling for increased defence expenditure.

So this change of government is not going to bring about any relief to the pauperised masses.

(from P. 4)

logically, in the budget, there is no mention on employment generation or industrial development.

On the otherhand, the de-industrialisation process inaugurated under Rao-Manmohan clique has got a further dimension through this major policy statement of the UF government. Within a short span of time several leading domestic companies will be swallowed up by MNCs. To facilitate this Chidambaram has resorted to several steps. The volume of equity of an Indian company that can be cornered by an FII (ie; a foreign share market speculator) has been doubled from the existing 5% to 10%. In the same vein, the list of 35 industries in which MNCs can have automatic stake upto 51% shall be expanded expeditiously. Past experience indicates that the resulting accelerated inflow of foreign speculative capital will definitely speed up the deindustrialisation process already set in. These anti national and anti-people steps aimed at destroying whatever left of domestic industrial base are to be monitored by a revamped Foreign Investment promotion Board under the ministry of industry.

All these initiatives by Chidambaram are to be viewed in a broader context too. Quite

conspicuously the outlay for interest payments in this budget with a total expenditure of Rs. 204698 crores is maintained at the same level as in the previous budget. This only shows that the capacity to borrow and repay of the Indian state is steadily declining. The resulting foreign exchange gap is to be filled by highly volatile speculative inflows from abroad. The various measures enlisted in the budget to attract foreign capital are to be evaluated in this perspective. In short India has already entered the threshold of a Mexican type scenario. Chidambaram's maiden budget is a sound proclamation of this gruesome fact.

LAL THARA

Revolutionary monthly in Hindi

Single copy Rs. 3/-

Yearly subscription Rs. 35/-

Contact address:

F-56, Harkesh Nagar
Okhla Industrial Area Phase II
New Delhi - 110020

on Federalism and Gowda government

The CMP of the United Front of 13 parties had declared that it will strengthen the federal character of Indian polity and ensure positive approach towards providing autonomy under clause 371 provisions of Indian constitution to Kashmir. The media presented numerous reports and articles by columnists explaining a new dawn of federalism under Gowda government with regional parties playing a significant role in government formation at centre. It was even contrasted with the Akhand Bharat concepts of BJP. The so-called left intellectuals and spokespersons of the LF led by CPI (M) were in the forefront in painting this rosy picture.

It is a fact that though Indian constitution guaranteed it to a large extent, during the days when Congress had total dominance over centre and state governments this federal nature was continuously diluted. Administration was run on a unitary form in the name of national integration. Many of the rights of the state governments were taken to central list. As neocolonisation intensified this centralisation also went on. And now conforming to 'globalisation' state governments are vested with very little powers and rights for independent action even in areas which were once under state list.

It is this centralisation violating even the 1950 constitutional provisions coupled with the growing uneven development under neocolonisation which has led to many a movements for state autonomy, formation of new states etc. The Congress government continued a policy of repression against these movements starting with suppression of Naga people from the 1950s. It has only led to the surfacing of more movements for more rights or autonomy and a corresponding intensification of brutal state repression against them often deploying military for long periods including imposing of military laws as in Kashmir and NorthEast. Insensitive to the Indian reality of existence of various nationalities and the fact that India is a multinational country both Congress and BJP are harping on national integration which is nothing but a cover for their authoritarian Akhand Bharat concept.

In this context, many progressive forces

were elated that UF govt will reverse this trend and strengthen the federalism as it promised through the CMP. Rightly they knew that it is the only way in which the unity of multinational India can be maintained. It is already proved beyond doubt that state repression including military deployment alongwith mad centralisation will only lead to the growth of fissiparous tendencies often led by sections of ruling classes themselves for a better share in power.

Easier said than done. The columns are disappearing from the media. No more the leftist euphoria over UF government's federalist character is heard. Congress led by Narasimha Rao has managed to give necessary home-work to Gowda to faithfully follow the beaten track. And Gowda has reversed his path from the promises in the CMP. Forget about devolution of power to the states, Gowda even forgets to consult his UF constituents before taking even most important decisions as now repeatedly complained by CPI (M). Gowda is not bothered about these complaints as he very well knows that these complaints are only meant for the gallery.

The interesting thing is that the regional satraps like Karunanidhi, Chandrababu Naidu, Assam's AGP like forces have not made any move to compel Gowda to respect at least CMP version of federalism. As comprador rulers they are happy with the globalisation and the further centralisation of Indian economy and polity. Like Shiv Sena in Maharashtra is contended by renaming Bombay as Mumbai, Karunanidhi is happy by changing Madras to Chennai. It is the extent to which the federal concept of these compradors can go.

(From P. 22)

Similarly, the targets projected in the CMP with regard to poverty removal, employment, housing, land reforms, decentralisation of power based on federalism and democratisation are nothing but false promises so long as the NEP and SAPs are followed, and when the UF government is allowing foreign capital and MNCs entry and when it goes ahead with the more than Rs. 60,000 crores debt servicing per year obediently, alongwith ever-increasing defence expenditures.

The game of Enron and Cogentrix

Once again Enron and Cogentrix are much in news. The ruling class politicians are making allegations, and counter allegations, taking totally variant positions depending upon whether they are in power or in opposition, making the debate quite unrelated to basic issues involved.

It was Sharad Pawar led Congress govt. in Maharashtra which signed the contract with Enron, a US MNC, to produce electric power at a rate unheard of till then. The contract involved a counter guarantee by Rao government at centre also. In 1994 assembly elections anti-Enron campaign was one of the important factors which helped Shivsena—BJP alliance to come to power. But once in power the SS-BJP government after an initial drama of cancellation of the contract signed a much bigger contract with Enron at more lucrative rates.

Meanwhile Gowda government in Karnataka signed another contract with another US power MNC, Cogentrix at almost same rates with almost same conditions. The JD, CPI or CPI(M) who were opposing the SS-BJP contract with Enron pretended not to have seen it. By this time all state governments including those led by LF, BJP, JD and other parties started numerous similar contracts with MNCs for power projects. The campaigns organised by these parties wherever they are in opposition against these projects while themselves contracting these projects wherever they are in power got reduced to something like an 'absurd drama'.

Then came the 13 day BJP government supported by Samatha, Akalidal and Shivsena. Even before winning vote of confidence it gave approval for Enron contract in a hurry. As a ritual not only JD, LF and other UF parties but even Congress opposed it. Next came Gowda government. With absolute ease it gave final approval to Enron including counter guarantee while UF constituents were continuing to oppose counter guarantee and creating trouble in Maharashtra assembly. Simultaneously Gowda govt. gave final approval for cogentrix project at Mangalore. It is opposed by BJP, Samatha. And for Menaka Gandhi Cogentrix is bad for environment, but Enron is not. George Fernandes who was going to any extent the other day to keep BJP in power and did not oppose

Vajpayee governments approval to Enron is now vociferously opposing Cogentrix.

In this game each and every party including Congress, BJP and its allies, and the UF constituents including LF parties exhibiting one-upmanship in the most opportunistic way while the MNCs are strengthening their stranglehold in all vital sectors including the core-one. ●

50 Years After Transfer of Power

After 50 years of mainly Congress rule transforming itself from 'Avadi socialism' to putting privatisation and market as the gods in Rao government's NEP, when the UF regime has put forward a CMP it can be scientifically analysed only in relation to the present ground realities in India.

The percentage of population below poverty line has increased to 39. The literacy rate of those aged above 7 years is only 52 percent when it is 89 in Sri Lanka. Female literacy much below. Only 28.1% of females and 48.6% of males above 6 years age have completed primary education. In Rajasthan not even 15% of women had completed primary education. So with the paltry financial allocation for primary education and growing expenses of it, the CMP claim of full literacy by 2005 AD sounds hollow.

As regards India's record in health services average life expectancy here at birth is 59 compared to 71 in China. Infant mortality rate (IMR) (per 1000 live births) is 79 here compared to 31 for China and 18 for Sri Lanka. Even the modest target of 60 by 2000 AD looks quite far away. So the CMP target of a primary health centre for every 5000 population in 5 years time when existing PHCs are not provided with doctors and medicines looks false. With privatisation and cost of healthcare spiralling the health record is going to worsen as reflected in the spread of contagious diseases in addition to the new entrant AIDS.

[(Contd P. 21)]

Anti price agitation

A joint movement was launched by CPI (M L) New Democracy and TUCI at Calcutta against price hike. On July a road block was organised at the junction of Lenin Sarani and Rafi Ahmad Kidwai Rd. Effigies of Dewagowda and Jyothi Basu were burnt. Before the blockade comrades Arup Majumdar (TUCI), and Babu Dutta (CPI (ML) New Democracy) addressed a good gathering of the people there.

CPI (ML) Red Flag Bombay area committee is organising public meetings at W R stations in the evenings explaining the impact of budget proposals and against price-hike. A joint move with the Maharashtra P. C. of CPI (M L) Janasakthi is planned by the area committee at Mumbai.

Anti-price rise protest meetings, posterings, distribution of hand bills and agitations are reported from different places in Kerala, Karnataka and TN also.

(from P. 24)

it. Well attended public meetings were organised at Seddah, Calcutta in protest against the killings of Red Flag and New Democracy in AP jointly by CPI (ML) Red Flag comrades CPI (ML) New Democracy. Speakers condemned growing attacks on Communist revolutionaries and declared the resolve to fight fascist threat.

With the banning of CPI (ML) PW once again, and a brutal lathi charge on 18 July against a rally organised by "Prohibition and welfare Measures Protection Committee", this state terror in AP has reached a new peak. So-called encounter killings and brutal suppression of all people's movement have become the order of the day.

It is high time a broad democratic state wide movement is launched in AP against growing state terror and plunder of the people.

"The chief endeavour of the bourgeoisie of all countries and the reformist hangers-on is to kill the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it owes it not to its own merits, but to the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and scepticism"-Stalin.

"As Moscow Declaration of 1957 points out the social source of modern revisionism is surrender to external imperialist pressure and acceptance of domestic bourgeois influence. Like the old line revisionists, the modern revisionists answer to the description given by Lenin ".....objectively, they are a political detachment of the bourgeoisie.....they are transmitters of its influence, its agents in the labour movement." The economic basis of the emergence of modern revisionism like that of old-line revisionism is in the words of Lenin "an insignificant section of the 'top' of the labour movement". Modern revisionism is the product of the policies of imperialism and of international monopoly capital which are both headed by US. Terrified by the policy of nuclear blackmail and corrupted by the policy of buying over, the modern revisionists are serving as the paws of US imperialism and its servile followers in opposing revolution"-CPC, From Browder and Tito to Krushchev.

RED STAR
Thrissur - Kerala - 680 322

R. No. D2. 9359/91 KL/TC 206
Price Rs. 3.00

budget: an anti-people exercise

The Economic Survey 1995-96 and the Budget proposals of Gowda government are mere continuation of Rao government's economic policies and a violation of the people's mandate reflected in the general elections. Naturally these are wholeheartedly welcomed by the MNCs and the corporate organisations. The reduction of import duties and tax reliefs besides proposed amendments to Companies Act, infrastructure development by inviting Enron, Cogentrix like MNCs, further disinvestment of PSUs and liberalisation measures to "vigorously promote and approve foreign direct investment keeping in view the objective of attracting atleast \$ 10 billion every year" will only intensify dependence on foreign capital and MNCs. Promises made for agricultural sector are going to help only kulak or comprador agricultural bourgeois sections who are eager to integrate the agrarian sector to international market system. There is no mention of implementation of even the existing land reforms.

Contrary to what was promised in the election manifestos of the UF parties there are no provisions for making right to employment as a fundamental right, to check contract labour system, to ensure democratic rights of workers, or to guarantee educational and healthcare facilities. On the contrary, privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation are accelerated. The interest and debt payments have reached 40% of budgetary income. Plan expenditures are going down while defence expenditure is going up.

In short, this budget nakedly favours the MNCs and foreign capital alongwith native monopolies and the kulaks. Side by side, increasing liberalisation is going to give rise to many more scams. And, as the vast masses are concerned, they are going to be further pauperised through unemployment and price-rise.

The Left Front parties as constituents of UF steering committee have openly betrayed the people by becoming a party to whatever policies they were claiming to oppose till now.

In this situation, we are appealing to all progressive democratic forces to come out against these anti-people budget proposals of Gowda government.

All India Secretarya
CPI (ML) Red Flag.

Protest Against AP Killings

Reports about widespread protests against the fake encounter killings of comrades Taduri Satyanarayana, Bhoopal Reddy, Venketesh alias R. V. Naidu, Sreenivasulu alias Rami Reddy, Veera Reddy, and Marennia on 23 June in Warangal districts of AP from many places in Kerala are given elsewhere. Along with the press statement of com. K. N. Ramachandran, all India secretary, condemning the killing of our comrades, the statement of com. Unnichekkan, Kerala state secretary of CPI (ML) Red Flag also were published. People from different walks of life joined the protest movement in the state.

In protest against the killings and increasing state terror Rasta Roko was organised in Nellore

town on 29 June. On July 7 Anantapur district bundh was organised. While these programmes called by RYF was successful, the 30 comrades on bundh day and implicated in false case are still in jail. Protesting comrades smashed a telephone exchange and damaged two state buses in Karimnagar district.

CPI (ML) Janasakthi state secretary in a statement condemned the killings and joined the bundh call. At local level CPI (ML) PW and other organisations condemned the killings, put up protest posters and joined the bundh. At Ananthapur a hall meeting condemning the killings was organised on 15 July with Virasom, APCLC, OPDR and RYF comrades addressing

(contd. P. 23)

Printed and Published by P. J. Baby from Comrade Printers, Thrissur-680 322
Editor : M. M. Somasekharan