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Fourth All India Conference of C.P.I (M. L) Red Flag

The Fourth All India Conference of C.P.I (M.L) RED FLAG was successfully held in Kerala from 21 to 26 April. Delegates from eleven states—Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, AP, Maharashtra, MP, Bihar, Orissa, W. Bengal UP and Delhi—and invitees and observers participated. The Conference evaluated the international and national situation and adopted the International Document, Party Programme and Party Constitution. Evaluating the setbacks suffered by the international communist movement including degeneration of erstwhile socialist countries including China and Vietnam, it resolved to intensify the efforts to build up a platform of the Marxist-Leninist organisations cooperating with the efforts made by the Communist Party of Philippines, Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany, Belgium Workers Party and other fraternal parties. It has called for building up a global anti-imperialist front to fight the neo-colonisation launched by the imperialist camp led by U. S. imperialism.

Within our country we have continued our fight against all sorts of revisionist trends. At the same time the struggle we waged against sectarianism within the revolutionary movement based on our evaluation of the experience of the international communist movement could be taken to a significant victory in this conference. It resolved to utilise all forms of struggle according to concrete conditions for realising the goal of overthrowing existing reactionary ruling system.

The Conference resolved to intensify efforts to reorganise C.P.I (M.L) and to win over all the revolutionary elements from various sections of society. It also resolved to strengthen the united movement with other revolutionary and democratic forces based on anti-imperialist slogans and to launch a country wide movement against the anti-people policies unleashed by central and state governments.

The Conference called for broadest possible unity against imperialists and their agents and to resist the IMF-World Bank-WTO dict-

ated policies pursued by the governments coming to power one after another. This situation was pointed out by us much earlier. The first UF government was put in power at the initiative of C P I (M), CPI like forces in the name of keeping BJP away from power and in the name of consolidating the gains achieved in struggle against Congress Government. But the Common Minimum Programme (CMP) itself had exposed this opportunist politics. It is totally exposed today with the coming of the Gujral Government at the dictate of Congress and with its resolve to follow imperialist dictated policies more nakedly. In this situation the initiative we had taken already with the perspective of bringing together the revolutionary forces in order to mobilise all patriotic democratic forces is gaining strength day by day.

The Conference protested against growing state repression, and state terror. It called for launching people's movements against the deprivation of dalits and adivasis, against women's repression and environmental degradation. It expressed concern about growing imperialist cultural aggression and caste oppression. The Conference decided to launch a countrywide peasant movement based on an agrarian programme taking in to consideration the changes taking place with the entry of imperialist capital and MNCs in this sector.

The Conference elected a new Central Reorganisation Committee with Com. K. N. Ramachandran as its all India secretary. The Conference concluded with the firm resolve to launch all India movements joining with all like-minded forces to overthrow the reactionary Indian state and to realise a New Democratic India.

Kozhikode,
28-04-1997

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

EDITORIAL

A Great Step Forward

The successful completion of the week-long Fourth All India Conference of the CPI (ML) RED FLAG, held at the culmination of a six-month long process in which all the party members and invitees/ observers at different levels were actively involved, in April 1997, marks a great step forward through the adoption of a Marxist - Leninist international perspective and in continuation to it by achieving a significant victory against sectarianism within the revolutionary movement.

The International Document puts forward the root cause for the setbacks suffered by international communist movement in the post World War II period as its weakness in correctly analysing the new phase of imperialism, neo-colonialism, and in developing its strategy and tactics accordingly. The main danger faced by ICM, the Krushchevite revisionism and its various off-shoots, as well as sectarianism, both, emerged from this basic weakness. The document calls for further enriching the understanding of neocolonialism, to develop strategy of world revolution based on it in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and to initiate and carry forward efforts to build up a new Communist International step by step based on the teachings of *Comintern* and *Great Debate* positions, and developing them according to concrete conditions of today. It calls for intensifying an uncompromising struggle against all shades of revisionism and all other alien trends so that the new initiatives to build a new International can be carried forward with a clear-cut Marxist-Leninist Orientation.

The Party Programme and Constitution adopted by the Conference mark a historic step forward. The development of the 1970 Programme based on the study of the neocolonisation of India after the 1947 formal independence shall provide the basis for the reorganisation of the Communist forces all over the country in to a powerful Bolshevik party. It provides a basis for fighting against both right and 'left' opportunist and sectarian positions. It is a major breakthrough and significant victory in the struggle against sectarianism still

powerful within the revolutionary movement. Sectarianism always counterposes its worship of a certain form of struggle and its negation of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat to the Marxist - Leninist understanding developed through the rich experience of the ICM that all forms of struggle should be utilised by a Bolshevik party surrounded by class/mass organisations according to concrete conditions for capture of political power overthrowing existing reactionary ruling system, and for building New Democratic India

The Conference defined the long-term and immediate tasks in front of the Communist revolutionaries at international and national level clearly. At international level it calls for building up of a platform of Marxist - Leninist organisations step by step as a step towards the building up of a new Communist International. As an urgent task it calls for building up a broad anti-imperialist front at global level uniting with all the forces that can be brought together for this cause.

Within the country it has called for the reorganisation of CPI (ML) in to a powerful Bolshevik style party capable of leading New Democratic Revolution to victory as the present strategic task. Side by side it calls for building up a united forum of revolutionary and democratic forces to immediately build up a countrywide movement against the anti-people policies of the comprador governments in power at centre and in states.

On the whole the Conference reflected the ideological-political maturity and the increased organisational strength CPI (ML) Red Flag could achieve from the time of its III Conference in 1994. It was a great step forward which shall inspire in the coming days the speeding up of the reorganisation of the Party, the building up of class/mass organisations at all India level, and the launching of a powerful all India people's movement against the reactionary ruling system helping the building up of a broad democratic front at all India level during this process.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY FOURTH CONFERENCE

1. On Marxist-Leninist unity

The developing situation in the country demands the unity of the Marxist - Leninists all over the country for the re building of C P I (ML) in to an All India Revolutionary Communist Party. It is not just a unity of the different ML groups alone, which shall remain futile in fulfilling the purpose, so long as they cannot basically unite on the ideological - political-organisational line. It is the unity of all the Marxist - Leninists irrespective of the organisation they are in, or they are remaining presently as individuals unconnected with any organisation, or, in short, of all revolutionary forces who are ready to become part of a Bolshevik party. We stress that it is neither the so called unity of parties nor some temporary unity on issues

For this we have to go on with a practical-ideological campaign stressing on the necessity of an all India Party which put forward as its central task the capture of political power leading to the victory of the New Democratic Revolution in India

2 Build united movemen against imperialist plunder and aggression at global level

Imperialist forces have intensified their plunder and oppressive measures at global level to resolve the serious crisis they are facing. But the working class and the broad masses of people of Asian African and Latin American countries and the working class of capitalist-imperialist countries are waging glorious struggles against these oppressive measures of imperialism. In such a situation the 4th All India conference of CPI (ML) Red Flag considers that it is the need of the hour to build up an anti-imperialist people's movement at the international level. The Conference calls up on all the Marxist-Leninist organisations and all the progressive democratic forces the world over to come forward to take up this task unitedly

3 Rally against intensifying state terror

All the social contradictions of our country have become more intensified and the lives of all sections of the people have become more intolerable as a result of the unprecedented crisis which is presently engulfing our country. This situation has compelled more and more sections of people to resort to the path of struggles. But the state is engaged in drowning these people's struggle in blood and in taking away all the democratic rights achieved by the people through prolonged struggles. The state has unleashed a series of suppressive measures including murder in fake encounters and massacres against communist revolutionaries who fight alongwith people. It is neither relectunt to drown the democratic aspirations of peoples of different nationalities in blood nor hesitant to unleash its tools of oppression against the minorities and dalits and adivasis. It has become the order of the day that even the most peaceful struggles of workers are being fired at by the state police. Tens of thousands of people are still detained under the invalidated black act TADA.

In this situation the 4th All India Conference of C P I (ML) Red Flag calls upon all progressive democratic forces to rally against all kinds of state terrorism which is getting intensified day by day

4. Rally against the aggravating atrocities upon women

In an agrarian country like India the present feudal relations, superstitious backwardness etc. have made the lives of women miserable, highly perilous. Alongwith this the neo-colonial plunder, so-called tourism development which is just sex tourism and the vulgar culture spread under the domination of imperialist culture etc. have aggravated the atrocities against women. As a part of this a very dangerous trend is spreading very fast in the society to see women as mere commodities and sex tools.

In this situation this Conference calls upon all progressive and patriotic democratic forces to come forward to fight against all atrocities against women and against all the forces which make the life of women more perilous.

5. Fight against all onslaughts against working class including the Pay Commission Report

Globalisation and neo colonial economic policies are being implemented in all sectors of the country unprecedentedly. As a result the onslaughts against working class and other toiling masses have intensified. Contract labour system, retrenchment, wage freeze, reduction in the number of workers, including increasing workload, black laws against workers etc. are rampant. The latest manifestations of this is Fifth Pay Commission Report which makes serious adverse impact on wage structure of majority of lower level workers and unprecedented gains to top bureaucrats.

This conference calls upon the working class to build up unity of workers and broad masses of people to fight against these anti-working class policies.

6. Unite against the state's policy of suppressing the national aspirations of people of different nationalities

In India, which is a Multinational country, the reactionary Indian state is trampling down the national aspirations of peoples of different nationalities. In a context when most of these movements are utilised by imperialism for its neocolonial aims it is high time that Marxist-Leninists should approach it from a class perspective. The state terror unleashed by Indian state has become more and more ruthless in areas like Jammu - Kashmir and North Eastern states. In this situation the 4th All India Conference of C P I (ML) Red Flag appeals to all the progressive democratic forces to unite against the state policies of drowning in blood the national aspirations of people of different nationalities.

7. New Imperialist policies in agrarian sector

With the help of new economic policy, WTO

provisions and land accumulation and other legislations like the Karnataka model a number of agri - business MNCs and comprador sections are introducing far reaching changes in agrarian economy. This is resulting in its devastation and causing the pauperisation and migration of agricultural workers and peasants to urban centres at an alarming rate.

So, we call upon all agrarian people and progressive forces to launch united broad struggles against this intensive aggression in the agrarian sector by imperialist agencies to accelerate their plunder.

8. Unite to resist the onslaught against Adivasi people.

Different sections of adivasi people, who are the most backward section of Indian society are being subjected to various methods of exploitation and are led to a genocide-like situation because of state policies. The new trends and tendencies gaining upperhand in the agrarian sector as a result of the intensified neocolonial plunder, the consequences of the govt. policy to abandon the social welfare measures, and the situation created through the promotion of tourism industry have made the situation more serious. Implementation of the new forest policy, the govt. measures to intensify land concentration and the evacuation for new developmental projects have further intensified their miserable living and social conditions.

In this circumstances the 4th All India Conference of C P I (ML) Red Flag calls upon all progressive democratic forces to unite to resist all kinds of exploitation and oppression against adivasi people.

9 Rally against the new economic policies and the latest Budget proposals.

Under the cover of C M P the UF Govt is intensifying all the IMF- WB- WTO policies initiated by the Rao Govt. The second fullfledged budget of the UF govt. which is in the process of implementation is a naked sell-out to imperialist capital as it throws open the insurance and infrastructural sectors to imperialist capital. The concessions in the form of tax reductions extended to MNCs and comprador classes are severe blows against the vast masses of poor people in the form of even reduction in food subsidies are unprecedented. The

exim policy for 1997-2002 announced in April by the Gowda govt, which was a constitutional non-entity then, took away all import restrictions on 542 products. It was at the diktat of WTO meeting held in January 1997. The new sets of policies including the exim policy and the 1997-98 budget and all other IMF-WB-WTO policies are taking the neo-colonial plunder to a new height.

This 4th conference of the CPI(ML) Red Flag appeals to all democratic forces to join hands with the broad masses of people and come forward to fight against these policies.

10. Fight out Imperialist Onslaught in Cultural Field

The onslaught of imperialism is intensifying day by day not only in politico-economic field but also and more so in the cultural field. The aggressive globalisation policies tend to manipulate the people's conscience so basically that they are being turned easy prey to the diabolic exploitative system. On the one hand the neo-colonial process in India is destroying the cultural identity of various national entities here while utilising the most degenerate reactionary cultural elements in a way to serve its interest on the other. In the realm of values and ideas imperialism pumps in various bizarre strains of thought that blur and distort people's awareness of their own situation against which they are historically up in arms. Through the electronic media, the venomously consumerist market, the vast sections of a slavish intelligentsia, the colonial educational system, the neo colonial religious cults, the vast army of VOs / NGOs and a flourishing culture industry such as tourism imperialism drains out the very idea of social liberation and organised fight for it from the mind of the people. Imperialist infiltration on the cultural front should be the most urgent concern of all the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces in India.

This Conference resolves to take up the task of resisting and fighting the imperialist aggression on cultural front as a major plank of anti-imperialist struggles and exhorts the whole people to join it.

11. FIGHT OUT CASTE OPPRESSION UPHOLD RESERVATION AS A DEMOCRATIC RIGHT

Caste system, the most ancient inhuman and discriminatory social phenomenon still

keeps under bondage and oppression millions of people in India. Vast sections of adivasis, dalits and backward communities who also form the lowest classes in Indian society are oppressed socially religiously and economically, denied right to lead civil life as well as access to political power in the existing class-caste hierarchy. The liberation of the oppressed castes cannot be accomplished in isolation without destroying the basis of the very caste system and material conditions that perpetuate it. A broad anti caste movement aiming at the democratisation of the entire society and essentially leading to the political struggles at ever broader level is urgently required.

This Conference resolves to carry forward the anti caste struggles as part of the New Democratic Revolution more intensely and calls upon the oppressed classes to rally with the process.

We uphold the reservation of jobs constitutionally entitled by the socially discriminated classes as a democratic right and vehemently object to any attempt to dilute and distort the principles ruling the right of reservation by resorting to economic criteria. This conference condemn all efforts to sabotage the concept of reservation based on caste from the part of the upper caste, reactionary and revisionist camps and calls upon all democratic progressive sections to rally to defend the right of reservation in toto.

12. AGAINST ECOLOGICAL DEGRADATION

The so-called development path pursued under neocolonisation has led to severe ecological degradation all over India at all levels and in all spheres. This has posed a major threat polluting the air and water sources. At global level itself during this neocolonial phase of imperialism the environmental questions are posing grave challenges before the world people. In this context, instead of seeing this severe threat as a consequence of the policies of wanton plunder of national resources, of putting profit alone in command, and of promoting consumerism at a mad pace pursued by imperialist system and to fight against it as a part of the overall struggle for demolishing this brutal system itself, coming under the sway of imperialist propaganda or promoted through imperialist agencies ideas like 'ecological imperialism' or 'small is beautiful' are propagated by VOs/NGOs and reformist forces.

(Contd P. 27)

In Memory of Com: Charu Majumdar

[C P I (ML) Red flag has called for observing the 25th anniversary of the martyrdom of Com. Charu Majumdar from May 25, the Naxalbari Day, to July 28, the day a martyrdom of CM which we are observing as all India Martyrs Day from the time of formation of our organisation in 1979, upholding the task of reorganising CPI (ML) in to a powerful Bolshevik party uniting all Communist revolutionaries, capable of leading the New Democratic Revolution to victory. On this occasion we are publishing an article written by Com. Souren Bose, one of the comrades-in-arms of CM and a member of the first CC of the C P I (ML) --RS]

On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the martyrdom of com. Charu Majumdar it has become all the more necessary to stress the importance and relevance of his political contributions. Neither deifying him, nor rejecting him will be of any significance today. He was actually the architect of the revolutionary decade of seventy, which will be always remembered as a golden chapter in the annals of the revolutionary movement in India.

A quite unknown name in Indian Communist Movement till then, com. Charu Majumdar came to the political limelight in late sixties. He was only a member of the secretariat of the Darjeeling district committee of the undivided CPI. After coming out of jail in 1963 he continued his discussions on Khrushchovian revisionism and the revolutionary role of the CPC under Mao's leadership among the party members at Siliguri.

In August 1964, the draft programme of the CPI(M) was circulated. While participating in the discussion on this draft in the district committee meeting he suffered a heart attack. As a result he was almost bed-ridden for a long time and suffered from its after effects till the end of his life. Even then he was enthused about the formation of the CPI(M), which he remarked is a vehicle for the revolutionary elements in the party to unite. He pointed out that when

building a new communist party after coming out of revisionism, one cannot expect a thoroughly correct programme and tactical line. He said that the analysis of the 1947 independence, characterisation of Indian state, determining the stage of revolution as anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people's democratic revolution, giving main stress to agrarian revolution, and demolition of present state structure - these five points were most important. Although talking about 'violence or non-violence', 'armed or peaceful', 'people are ready', 'a situation of armed struggle in this period of civil war' like phrases were ultra-leftist, according to him stressing on the divisions among the people and expressions of pessimism that no struggle are possible were signs of revisionism; and in this way the draft was centrist. He remarked that if the wrong trends could be fought inside the party and defeated, the same party could be a vehicle for revolution.

In spite of this remark com. Charu Majumdar discussed with comrades that the leadership of the party would hatch a conspiracy to bottle up the ideological struggle taking place in the International Communist Movement in a revisionist way. The government also was helping them to create confusion. Once it would arrest the leadership to terrorise the ranks, then it would become liberal in releasing all (even party general secretary P. Sundarayya was allowed to go to Soviet Union for an operation while in jail). But com. Majumdar would say that the anti-revisionist schooling of the rank and file could not be sidetracked by the leadership. He called for looking at the new party dialectically.

In the beginning of 1965 majority of the members of CPI(M) were once again arrested. But com. Charu Majumdar was spared due to his illness. While the party leadership was in jail there were no instructions for work to party ranks. If the party was a revolutionary one there would have been proper line for work when there was growing unrest among the people. Actually in this situation he was compelled to write his historic eight documents from January 1965.

In his first document written on 28 January 1965 he explained the situation in the country in this way that the arrests of the Communists and by disregarding the verdict of the elections the Congress government is attacking on democratic rights and that it is the result of the internal and international crisis of capitalism. And the Indian government is becoming a major partner in helping the US imperialists to spread its hegemony over Southeast Asia. This government has made food crisis a permanent one. This government will gradually increase its dependence on the Anglo-American imperialism. This dependence would further increase the crisis. The arrest of the Communists is to stop the expected outbreak of people's unrest. This unrest would increase gradually and would take the form of mass movements. The coming years will witness not only vast mass movements, it would be years of people's victory also. The Communists would have to shoulder the responsibility to lead these movements and that is possible only when the party organisation is remoulded in a revolutionary form. The pillars such revolutionary party are the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary cadres are those who would be able to analyse the situation with their own initiative and act accordingly. After explaining the situation he gave a directive as to how revolutionary cadres and organisation are to be built. He wrote that an activist group can be built first and it will take up political propaganda. He urged that the main slogan should be to make the agrarian revolution a success.

From the second to the fifth document he kept the continuity of his political orientation clearly which acted as a guideline from the time of Naxalbari peasant movement to the formation of the CPI(ML). Those who are trying to drive a wedge between Naxalbari movement and CPI(ML) deny the role of Charu Majumdar and draw a revisionist conclusion of the whole period.

In these documents he explained that without putting forward the question of capture of political power a Communist party cannot remain revolutionary. Giving one sided importance to peasant organisation and trade union movement submerges the party in to the mire of economism. If the duty of the political movement is kept confined within the periphery of realising some economic demands only party will degenerate to the path of

revisionism and reformism. Thus he emphasised on capture of political power as the central question.

On the other hand he showed that after the defeat of the fascist forces in the Second World War and the success of the Chinese revolution a sense of victory was continuing to have its influence among the masses. So since 1947 people of India are coming forward through numerous mass movements. Simultaneously unarmed people are beaten up and fired upon by government forces. But the Communist party leadership had always tried to lead people's movements towards the path of parliamentary cretinism only. People were not happy about it. The Indian bourgeoisie realising the feeling of the people tried to appease them with talks of socialism and participating in Bandung type conferences. When the people were still not satisfied they attacked China. Starting of ideological struggle inside the party diminished the influence of Khrushchevite revisionism inside the party.

To advance the revolutionary line Com. Charu Majumdar pointed out struggle against revisionism as a daily job. Showing the concrete forms of such struggle he said that unmasking the activities of Soviet revisionism which fully supported the Indian ruling class and helped the Indian monopolies to get strengthened by helping the state sector of industries should be a daily propaganda work. Simultaneously the fight against bourgeois chauvinism is also a part of the struggle against revisionism because it confuses the people's struggles by creating enmity with the people of the neighbouring countries. At the same time in the struggle for capture of political power giving main stress on agrarian revolution he told that as the peasants do not belong to the same class analysis of rural classes as a whole, this is of much importance. Categorising the use of revolutionary violence against reactionary violence as a blow against a blow, he said that in the beginning it may not fully enthuse the masses, but gradually they will realise the necessity of revolutionary violence to preserve their organisation and movement.

Com. Charu Majumdar sent copies of these documents to the state headquarters of the party, CPI(M), but the party leadership denied receiving it and began propagating that Charu was a sick man and his ideas are utopian. From party headquarters part of the documents

Dewe Gowda goes, Gujral enters

The crisis created by Congress withdrawal of support to Dewe Gowda led UF government has temporarily ended with the formation of another UF government led by Gujral. The new prime minister has retained the old cabinet and has declared that CMP will be continued faithfully. That is, the *Chidambaram budget*, though Chidambaram and his TMC have not joined the cabinet yet, will be followed up with more naked surrender to IMF-World Bank-WTO directives.

Another aspect of this change of government is the crafty game of Congress to establish its hegemony and control over it. Kesari moved to throw out Dewe Gowda government when Bofors, Dr Tanvir's murder like cases were becoming uncomfortable to Congress Leaders and when they had started doubting whether UF was working more independently. Now these questions are settled.

There will be super cabinet of Gujral with Kesari besides a consultative mechanism between UF and Congress above the UF steering Committee. It is also made clear that as a part of overall reshuffle Congress and TMC may join the government also. None of them are going to shed any tears if the Left Front parties or CPI (M) goes out because of it.

This government change has further exposed the opportunist politics of LF parties. They were claiming that it is for keeping away both BJP and Congress from power they have taken initiative to form the UF. The latest developments have exposed their claims. Even the claims that they will move cut-motions gains at some of the proposals in *Chidambaram budget* like privatisation of insurance sector are swallowed within 24 hours. So either they will be forced to swallow this present claim that they will go out of UF if

Congress joins the government, or they may even split on this question as CPI is too fond of its cabinet berths. Meanwhile their claims about opposing privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation are in words alone while the Gujral government goes forward to implement imperialist dictated policies more nakedly.

Contrary to claims of LF parties, the net-gainer from these developments is going to be the Hindutva forces who may benefit from the consequences of the policies pursued by the Congress supported UF governments. BJP with its pseudo-Swadeshi policies shall only hasten the neocolonial slavery

The quick changes taking place in the ruling class politics calls for serious attention of revolutionary and democratic forces who alone can build up a people's alternative against Congress, BJP as well as UF.

were given to press and following this in September he was arrested from his sick bed.

Before the arrest he was trying to propagate his ideas. As main organisers of the district were in jail he sent students for this. These boys were new and the peasants did not take them seriously. Still his political ideas started spreading among the peasants who themselves were wanting new forms of struggle.

By the end of 1966 all arrested comrades were released from jail. From the beginning of 1966 itself whole of India was in turmoil due to the unprecedented mass upsurge of all sections of people. Food crisis being very acute peasants looted food trains, students and youth broke godowns and workers struck work. Mass arrests could not stop this upsurge. The chauvinistic propaganda of the government against

China was washed away by the mounting tide of mass movements.

Comrade Charu Majumdar explained his line to the released comrades and told them that if they had any criticisms they are welcome to express. Eighteen out of nineteen members of Siliguri local committee accepted it. Thus the path was clear for the glorious Naxalbari movement to start which actually started in May 1967 once it became clear that the newly formed united front ministry with CPI (M) as its major partner was going back from its promises about all progressive policies including land reforms. Com Charu Majumdar in the meantime sent his documents to the rank and file members of the CPI (M) and established contacts in Calcutta. Veteran comrades like Sushital Roychowdhary, Saroj Dutta, Asit Sen, Promode Sengupta etc easily accepted Com.

Majumdar's line. They were already propagating against the revisionist line of C P I(M) and had made a good impression among students and youth of Calcutta.

Naxalbari peasant uprising stirred a hornest nest all over India. Comrade Charu Majumdar's dream of dedicated, self-sacrificing Communists started becoming true. Students and youth in thousands listening to his ideas left education, left homes to be among the peasant masses. Overnight he became the principal deologue of Indian revolution. He led the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) and gave the call for the formation of the revolutionary party, C P I(M L).

In the meantime when the Soviet Union's armed forces invaded Chechoslovakia, Com. Charu Majumdar terming the Soviet Union as social-imperialist said that the Indian revolutionaries now had an added task of fighting against the social-imperialists also alongwith the fight against other enemies, imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism.

On 8th February 1969 the Co-ordination Committee adopted a resolution to form the party. The resolution drafted by Com. Charu Majumdar said "..... For taking the struggle forward it is essential to form an all India party. The Co-ordination Committee cannot fulfill the complex political and organisational tasks arising out of the present stage of revolutionary struggle"

He silenced the critics who said that Party formation should be done when all revolutionaries had consented to do that, and that the Party should be formed with selected cadres. He said that idealist deviations on questions of party building arise as a result of the refusal to recognise the struggle that must be waged within the party. The idea that Party should be formed only after all opportunist tendencies, alien trends and undesirable elements have been purged through class struggle is nothing but subjective idealism. To conceive of a Party without contradictions, without the struggle between the opposites, that is to think of a pure and faultless Party, is nothing but indulging in idealist fantasy

The CPI (ML) the only revolutionary Communist party was formed in this way as a continuation of the undivided Communist movement in India catering to the historical necessity of

giving an alternate path of revolution. What Com. Charu Majumdar told three decades ago that to build a revolutionary party one must not forget the necessity of inner-party struggle, and that the idea of splitting the party on simple differences of opinion is an idealist concept, still hold good

It is the duty of the revolutionaries to hold high the teachings of Com. Charu Majumdar by developing them according to present concrete conditions and to lead the revolutionary struggle forward

TUCI Victory

In the Hindustan Latex Factory at Thiruvananthapuram the TUCI affiliated union is a new entrant. But within a short time it spearheaded the struggle against plans to privatise this public sector factory by disinvesting 74% shares of this profit earning unit. It also successfully led many other struggles including the one against victimisation of women workers by management. These struggles made TUCI the leading union.

Panicked by this development in this factory employing about 1500 workers in the workers' welfare society elections the CITU, AITUC, INTUC, BMS, HMS and a dalitist Democratic Front made a united front against TUCI. In spite of it TUCI candidates won four out of the five general seats with comfortable majority and gained 5 seats in the 7 member council.

JNU Student's March

Students of JNU marched from Jantar Mantar to parliament on April 11 in protest against the killing of former JNU student and two time students' union president com. Chandrasekhar Prasad. They demanded immediate enquiry and punishment to the assailants. Com. Chandrasekhar was shot dead alongwith two other comrades when they were mobilising the masses for the April 2 Bihar bundhagaint Laloo government by the goondas of jailed JD leader Shahabudin.

Some Theoretical Problems In The Building Of A Cultural Movement

1. The Marxist approach to the realm of culture, art and literature has been a subject of constant debates. It is often propagated that of Marxism is opposed to independent cultural activities and creative writings. The partisanship of cultural activities characteristic of Marxist approach and communist party's interferences are often met with allegations. It has been fashionable to presume that creative activists' relation with the communist party should not exceed than the role of a critic. In this context, other concern is also expressed regarding the dearth of comprehensive and authoritative books on the subject by Marxist teachers themselves. For instance, such works are limited to a few studies comprised of the speech by Mao highlighting the tasks of artists and literary activists in a given context in a meeting of artists and literary men, the various observations and notes including the study on Tolstoy in the context of Russian revolution left by Lenin, and the letters, critiques and casual observations by Marx and Engels. At the same time, though Marxism can take credit of having a remarkably rich legacy of writings by eminent Marxist artists, literary men and thinkers, we are bound to approach their authority with a sense of *suspicion* on account of the mutual hostilities prevailing among them. To cap it all, quite often, the art, literary and cultural policies of erstwhile socialist countries, particularly that of Russia and China have been a subject of vehement attacks. In fact, in the global struggle against socialism, it was this issue, including the question of individual freedom which is linked with it, that attracted the greatest attention. In this overall situation, especially in the context of the global set-backs suffered by socialist bloc, it is the challenge before Marxists today to develop a correct and effective policy towards art, literature and culture, capable of confronting the new situation, taking stock of both the positive and negative as-

pects in history.

2. In this epoch in which Marxism, on the basis of its theory and practice, has tried to evolve a proletarian policy and programme in the cultural front, it is a fact that capitalism has also traversed much distance. Of course, during the past one-and-a half century, especially in the latter half of this century, great transformations have taken place in this realm. These changes being named culture industry have already appropriated a major share of capitalist production itself. The developments in cinema, electronics and communication media, computer technology, telematics and similar other sectors have all imparted unprecedented specificities to this sphere. That machines, as in the case of physical work, can, to an extent, replace and even copy intellectual activities, has led to productivity increase several fold. The impact of these changes in diverse micro and macro aspects of human life including the globalisation of capital and its culture resulting from this is certainly unparalleled. This is also an epoch in which all the various ideas with their metaphysical dimensions so assiduously built up and mechanically cultivated by bourgeoisie in its debate with Marxism on matter and thought, economy and culture, propaganda (advertisement) and literature so on have collapsed compelling it to sell the old and worn-out thoughts in new brands with variations. The dichotomy between the romantic dreams and utilitarian interests that had been concomitant of rising bourgeoisie, has already completed a full circle so that it has openly taken refuge in the decaying pragmatism of monopoly capital.

3. Marxist definition on the relation between economy and culture in consonance with the base-super structure characterisation was constantly under attacks. Several efforts at reducing and distorting Marxist positions towards

culture have arisen not only from the ranks of bourgeois idealism but from within Marxism too. Marx's most quoted and renowned interpretation regarding this is in the introduction to 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy'.

"In the social production of their lives man enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, *relations of production* which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which corresponds definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions, the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."

Here Marx was making a statement on his own materialist position at a time when philosophical idealism was dominant. At the same time, it would be an epistemological error to treat this general statement in philosophical discussions as if it is a precise mathematical formula or a specific law in literary criticism. Moreover, debates on this issue often take place at the level of distorted perception about the economy. There is another trend which call it a sin to characterise creativity superior to a heap of statistics. This kind of thinking is even accepted by the various schools in bourgeois scientific approaches to history. It is through the study of humankind's means of production and material constructions that archeology formulates the history of past cultures. It is upon the economic base or language of material life formed by the means of production, and the relations of production emanating out of it that, the intellectual life which is the world of human beings' emotions and thoughts are built up. And this general principle is gaining philosophical recognition in the words of Marx. Over and above this, the link that the various forms of cognition and thought are having with the economic base is not identical. Further the relationship maintained by each specific social formation and system with superstructural forms is also not similar. Thus each of them keeps up a number of specificities which cannot be comprised in a very general statement. The role played by the superstructural forms both

in the sustenance and revolutionary transformation of a specific social order well exemplifies the complex dialectics implicit in this. Several examples can be quoted from Marx and Engels themselves to unravel this complexity. The mutual inter-relationship among politics, religion and wealth producing base in feudal structure is different in capitalism where the economy assumes a more dominant role. A glance at the religious rule of ancient pharaohs of Egypt and the Brahmanical order in India will reveal this. In other words, the relation among them as referred earlier is not mathematical in nature. In fact, the creativity of Marxism implies in blossoming out of the complex specificities implicit in the unique relations in each society.

4. It may generally be stated that each branch of human knowledge is in the pursuit of developing to universal stature seeking newer and newer dimensions and traversing newer and newer tracks. The usage cultural superstructure, in the general sense means the totality of all knowledge acquisitions and intellectual discourses attained by a society. Relations among them are mutually interpenetrating and interdependent. This can be seen in the relations among the diverse categories of the superstructure. History, politics, philosophy, art, literature, religion and so on exist mutually interacting and influencing each other and all others, and the one as part of every other. This does not construe to mean that all of them are identical. Each of them incorporates culture and knowledge at different levels and realm. Among them, the sector which is specifically called cultural activity where such creative activities as literature and art flourish is fundamentally different from other forms of knowledge. In a sense the art and literary forms of various units in society try to convey the intellectual and emotional aspects of life's totality in specific forms of (*Conscious*) *impression*. Art and literature reproduce each and every aspect of human life as such in its own context, which in turn are being acquired by other forms of knowledge and which form their domain. Literature and art assesses the concrete life in all its details and contexts, instead of ferreting abstract ideas out of concrete realities. In that sense art and literature in a manner unique of their own, acquire all different forms of knowledge relating to politics, history, sociology, economics, anthropology and similar other fields, with the feeling of their concrete presence in life.

5. "Literature is the subjective reflection of objective realities" says Lenin. Further, in his

well known study of Tolstoy, Lenin had characterised him as the mirror of Russian revolution. This Leninist idea on reflection is also subject of much controversies. Here also, as in the case of the base superstructure debate, it is a question of the emphasis given to certain metaphors in the use of language instead of ideas. Given the fact that literature is based on objective realities that are reproduced in the world of languages, except as a media related simile, the mirror reflection usage has no other relevance. Ofcourse, we can reflect reality in diverse forms even in a Kaleidoscopic manner. In fact cinema-like art forms are directly making use of these wonderful possibilities of reflection. It is not the external surface of material reality, but all the micro and macro aspects and unfathomableness of human life including the multifarious facets of mental world that art and literature try to reflect.

6. The tendency to negate or neglect the epistemological content of art and literature from the standpoint of formalism has always been there. Today, the same is visible in post-modern literary thought. On the one hand, there is the denial of the very same literary language itself and on the other, some form of an extra-literary meaning is attached to it. In fact, this is an issue which was distorted in the old 'form-content' discussion itself. We have seen how art and literature, through reproduction, concretises models of life in the world of language, picture, sound and others. Nothing becomes art which lacks the touch of imagination in relation to real life. In art and literature, form is not merely an inert means to formulate the content but an active technique to acquire the same too. That is why every enquiry in art and literature transforms itself into a search related to form too. Form is also the track, the orbit of his/her movement that enables the writer to step into unexplored levels, contents and contexts of life so as to make new formulations. Today, it is pertinent to once again emphasise the mutual inter-relationship and difference among life, art, literature and various other epistemological forms. Post-modernist thoughts denies the specificities among them and negate the cognitive content in each of them. It makes a non-issue the cognitive content in each of them. It makes a non-issue of the debates that took place regarding the relation and difference between life and art.

7. Like these, the question of relationship between commitment, ideology, literature and propaganda literature is another controversial issue. Now-a-days the general slogan of post-

modernism is "I shop therefore I am". It could very well be stated that the demarcation line between art and advertisement art has eroded in bourgeois post modernism; same is the case with art and commercial art. In other words, this deserves special discussion in this new situation which 'kills' ideologies and obstinately stands for the non-existence of ideologies which work for liberation from imperialist decadence. Generally speaking, ideology consists of a general perspective on historical development or changing the society. There is no art or literature which does not raise the question 'Is today's life enough?'. All the literary and art works carry a positive or negative answer to it. Embedded in it is a perspective, a plan, to reconstruct life, at least in the most indirect or resonant way of recreating it. In the history of literature instances are there in which techniques and means of art which an artist acquires and develops have led such works to truth and knowledge perhaps excelling the author's conscious personal identity. Marxism theorises that proletarian ideology is the only ideology capable of encompassing all the grand truths and knowledge of this epoch. Commitment is implicit in the process of dis-entangling the threads in the paths of the truth of art on the one hand and proletarian ideology and class-struggle on the other.

8. Socialist realism began from the approach that life is subject to permanent and constant transformations. In this sense it is a negation of all movements and one which surpasses all variations among movements. Revisionism and other deviations in Marxism, by their characterisation of it as form-based and metre-restrictive, have rendered ample opportunities to the opponents of Marxism to depict it as lifeless and retrogressive. The struggle for the grand path that begins from life and that arrives at a higher plane of life after traversing diverse paths is also a struggle for living Marxism.

II

9. These general thoughts about culture and art and literature assume many specific dimensions in a country like ours which is passing through the present neo-colonial phase. The problems arising as part of imperialist degeneration in capitalist world also attain the form of national servitude in the neo-colonies. Therefore, the thoughts coming from developed capitalist countries have to be subjected to the criterion of strict class considerations in the

course approaching them. Today revolutionary culture can develop in this country only by mercilessly disowning everything that are not anti-imperialist and not in consonance with proletarian internationalism

10. In capitalist countries, modernism was built upon a great advance of the renaissance, revolutionary nationalism and democracy which had fought against medieval feudalism and its theocratic power structures. On the other hand, in colonial India, a tail of national servitude is visibly present behind almost all our renaissance ventures and democratic movements. Even the limited growth of modernism occurred in these countries was on the fragile foundations of compromises with medievalism and imperialism. Every new western trend, which comes through the urban middle class intelligentsia, since turns its face away from this historic backwardness, by itself reproducing servitude.

11. It is generally agreed that in the economic and political field in India what is needed is an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal new democratic revolution. But this general statement is applicable to all the Asian-African-Latin American countries from the days of colonisation and is not capable of explaining the new facets of imperialism in its neo-colonial form. Moreover, it is incapable of explaining the specific political, economic and social conditions in connection with the national specificities in the cultural realm of each country.

12. Imperialism and the new possibilities and all the schools that it has brought up today in the realm of culture and thought have strengthened different forms of fundamentalist forces in alliance with all pre-renaissance, pre-enlightenment and medieval religious, casteist, ethnic, family and national factors in these countries. The new post modernist ideas are in this way very much helping it. The post modernist policy adopted by imperialism today negates the relations among the socio political-cultural life and the historically evolved differences among them and develops fundamentalist forms which are multiple possibilities of 'liberation' totally at variance with the production-reproduction relations thereby negating historicism itself leading to a fragmentation of society. As a matter of fact, we have to view it as an antidote to overcome the response of different sections of the people resulting from the imperialist policy pursued to strengthen its globalisation and liberalisation in all spheres of real political economic and cultural life. Its policy is to attack and destroy at one stroke socialism and democratic nationali-

sm in the sphere of thought and, at the same-time, continue to generate national servitude in the neocolonies. In essence, it is the neocolonial incarnation of corporate nationality that forms the basis of all anti essentialism and antifoundationalism which negate all universalisms of humankind. Its service to capital implies in denying the role of imperialist domination in the class structure of production process as the root of all social issues and in making the various segments of society as foundation and essence in themselves. It is of paramount importance to identify the various forms of flexible specialisation propagated by neocolonialist global capital in the sphere of thought just as in the sphere of production.

13. The art-forms of culture industry dominated by computers and electronics are appropriating, the myths, epics and history of a nation and its people which should act as the strength of the inner structure of life and marketing them as cultural products in the form of advertisement arts devoid of content; they dominate the life as 'colonial ghosts' devoid of the national content of medieval religiosity. We can cite a number of manifest examples for what we have discussed in the foregoing paragraph. It is pertinent to grasp these various manifestations of monopoly capital that begins with printed media itself and devise the needed people's cultural resistance against all these.

14. It would be a vulgar form of Marxism to seek the same base-super structural relation and the mutual interrelations among them as seen in capitalist countries in the context of neocolonies where pre-capitalist socio-economic relations still exert their influence in life to a large extent. A best example is that of caste in India. Caste is one rooted simultaneously in various levels of divisions of labour, marriage-blood relations, ritualistic heirarchical orders and in various stages relating to production-reproduction, faith, tradition and soon all in connection with economic and cultural realms. It can not be resolved through the mechanical application of some formulas of capitalist Europe. One can find similar specificities in the other fields of religions or different primitive worship forms or customs and rituals. This points to the theoretical necessity of creative development of Marxism with regard to the national and historical specificities.

15. The most powerful factor upon which the proletarian liberation ideologies can depend in

Post Modernism: A Product Of Imperialist Degeneration

Post modernism has become the most hotly debated issue in the art and literary front, though the definition and understanding of it

these countries is the progressive and anti-imperialist historical trends in them, however weak they may be. It would be impossible to build up a national democratic culture without the solid backing of a positive approach like this towards history.

16. In India we have a great tradition of anti imperialist struggles and the renaissance movements. The positive synthesis of these two were made possible through the great proletarian ideology. And we have a great history of the progressive movement in the field of Art and Literature which stood as part of it. We also have a legacy of the ideological struggle that took place in the field of Art and Literature along with the rich intellectual revolution led by this movement. The strong part of these movements which were tested historically have already become the inevitable part of our progressive history, though they have their limitations. We can move forward only by standing firm in this progressive revolutionary tradition which is already discarded by the revisionists in the name of Glasnost.

17. The active participation of the great men of Art and letters in the progressive Art and Literature movement in India can be taken as a yardstick to measure the height of that movement. The internationally discussed subjects which we have pointed out in the first part of this paper, are already being discussed in different languages in India in one way or another. Progressive Art and Literary movements have grown in different languages in India by defeating the old aesthetics concept such as 'Art for Art's sake' with all its limitation the role played by this movement in the history of Indian art and literature is tremendously great.

18. The historical awakening in the field of culture in India is related very much with the various international resistances against the diverse forms of capital's domination. The progressive cultural movement in India can be continued only by a movement which is rooted in proletarian internationalism, which finds
(contd. P. 16)

remain controversial. As the title implies, it makes a fundamental departure from all pre-existing literary movements including modernism as is exemplified in the specificities in its appearance. In fact modernism appeared and established itself with the voice of protest comprising a sense of negation and rebellion. On the contrary, post modernism sees itself in everything and everywhere converting even those who oppose it as post modernists. It is very strange that even a section among the self professed Marxists who at a time was the staunchest critics of modernism has now become exponents of post modernism. Of course, in a period characterised itself as 'information age', such non-sensical illusions are justifiable indeed! Along with every literary movement, philosophical schools and socio-political undercurrents directly relating to or indirectly influencing it have always been there. Perhaps, more than anything else post modernism maintains itself as a philosophical and political stream. However, here each and everybody often interprets post modernism in his/her own ways having no resemblance with European concepts of modernism and postmodernism. Contrary to the general impression that is being propagated, post modernism is not an avant-garde in art and literature but an all-embracing stream of thought including philosophical, social, political, historical, economic and cultural spheres it evolved in the west. Even when postmodernism emphasises in culture, in the post modern perspective it has a quite different economic and social implication. Besides in western post modernist discussions, modernity is a chronological concept linked itself with democratic revolutions, industrial revolution and enlightenment philosophy. Moreover, it is the negation of this enlightenment philosophy that constitutes the most striking common characteristic of post modernism, though there are exceptions.

Negation of enlightenment thoughts

Enlightenment was a socio political stream that strived to remould the ethical concepts and pattern of life of old European society in the light of virtue, justice and scientific knowledge. Fighting against the church and religious obscurantism, it played a significant role in formulating the social consciousness of eighteenth century. In the enlightenment tradition there is a

long list of architects of modern age namely Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Schiller, Goethe and so on. The roots of post modernism lay deep in the negation of this stream of thought that stressed the ultimate goodness of human beings and humanitarian progress and modern industrial democratic society which is part of it. On the other hand post modernism visualises Marxism also as an inalienable part of enlightenment itself. If enlightenment thought generally saw sociopolitical evils and the paths of virtue and justice needed to overcome them as based in consciousness and humanbeing's own limitation in identifying his/her nature, Marxism stressed the basis of sociopolitical vices and virtues in society's economic production process. Post modernism denies both enlightenment humanism as well as the stream of thought centered around the production process as represented by the classical economists like Adam Smith and Ricardo, and Marx. Along with this, it openly repudiates any concept of society in toto and any sort of humanism and instead stresses in those marginal issues which it considered as so far neglected such as gender, race, caste, youth, ecology, parochialism etc. It localises all concepts of resistance and propagates emancipation from all sorts of emancipatory philosophies. This is implied in the negation of all grand narratives, historicism etc. and in the so called new formulations such as end of ideologies, end of history etc. etc.

Post modernism begins with the premise of the failure of grand projects and dreams regarding democracy and socialism in continuation of its negation of enlightenment philosophy and Marxism. At one level it delinks power from state itself. Issues such as power, oppression, fascism etc. are not state centred but being established through numerous marginal discourses, it argues.

Capitalism, the last word

The focal issue in the discussions on post-modernism is to be centred around the questions such as: Has human progress occurred? Whether the limit of human progress has reached? Is the move forward impossible? It is at this juncture that Francis Fukuyama, former official of US state department who was specialising on middle east and earstwhile Soviet matters joins hands with post modernism, traversing another track. Drawing inspiration from Hegelian meta narrative thoughts he declares the end of grand narratives-that is his end of history.

Fragmentation of Thought

Mainly there are two schools of thought in post modernism. One is the French school generally called post structuralism. Second is the American school that evolved through the so called cultural studies now identified itself with the philosophical trend of new pragmatism of Rorty. Both these schools are characterised as anti essentialist and anti foundationalist. The French school led by Derrida in the name of de-mystification makes his philosophy a variant of linguistic mysticism. In fact Derrida tries to sell the old wine of bourgeois empiricism in new bottles. On the one hand it negates the specificities and differences among life, external world, literary constructs, science etc. which are different cognitive forms and makes all human constructs as texts; and on the other deconstructs the structures and elements within it there by dismembering their inter relations. For the fragmentation of life and thought, Derrida uses his magical weapon of "the other" as a metaphysical category. Derrida's deconstruction through its anti essentialism and anti foundationalism shares common platform with the new pragmatism of degenerated American bourgeoisie who is reluctant to see anything beyond its day to day interests. By negating the universality of inter relations these schools of philosophies in effect turn out to be the philosophy of the denial of philosophy.

[Paper presented for initiating discussion on post-modernism in the three day camp of cultural activists, writers and intellectuals at Kannur in March 1997]

(From P.15)

common cause with the economic, political and social movements and their activities. This itself is the present day reply to the decadent, global monopolistic capitalism that is based on the total negation of all human values.

[Paper presented by M. M. Somasekharan in the three day camp of cultural activists, writers, and intellectuals at Kannur, Kerala in March 1997]

DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE AGAINST IMPERIALIST GLOBALIZATION

(Quezon City, Philippines, November 21-23, 1996)

We, participants in the People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization, representing people's organizations, nongovernmental organizations, solidarity groups, movements, networks and individuals from 34 countries in Asia-Pacific, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, North America and Europe, have come together to confront a common danger and respond to a common challenge.

Monopoly capitalists, frontlined by multinational/transnational corporations (MNCs/TNCs) backed by their respective states, are in haste to expand and tighten their rule in the world. They have created the bandwagon of "globalization" with its three elements: trade and investment liberalization, deregulation and privatization. These monopoly capitalists, invariably called modern-day imperialist or neocolonial powers, use globalization to extricate themselves from three decades of recurring prolonged recessions induced by the international debt crisis and the crisis of overproduction.

In the post-Cold War era, the traditional imperialist powers that have long divided the world among themselves—the United States, the leading states of the European Union and Japan—are colluding more than ever. They connive, using their MNCs/TNCs, to exploit and oppress the peoples of the Third World and of the former Soviet bloc, and their own workers too. But in the inevitably intensifying rivalry, each power plots to penetrate and take over the other's domains and redive the world.

Thus, the promised "new world economic order" of prosperity and peace is far from coming. Emerging instead is a new world disorder far more destructive of the lives of billions of peoples, in industrial and non-industrial countries alike. The prescribed path, free trade, is not free at all.

To advance their unified goal, the major imperialist powers have harnessed various instrumentalities. Chief of these are the United Nations Security Council, the International Monetary Fund-World Bank tandem and its nefarious structural adjustment programs, the

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, lately restructured as the World Trade Organization (WTO), as well as international, regional and bilateral military alliances and agreements. Reactionary regimes, particularly of imperialist client-states in the Third World, have conspired with imperialism to further this goal.

The major and minor imperialist powers are using regional free trade blocs—principally the European Union, the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)—to speed up the WTO trade and investments liberalization timetable. Meantime, they secure their national and regional markets. With NAFTA in its tight grip, the US has seized the initiative in APEC to regain economic preeminence over Japan in Asia-Pacific, check China's growing influence, and consolidate American geopolitical hegemony in the region.

In face of this situation, we, participants in the People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization, hereby resolve collectively to oppose globalization in every way and by every means possible in our respective countries and worldwide.

We denounce and oppose the subservient client-states for selling out their people's interests. They connive with imperialism in promoting distorted concepts of "democratization," "civil society empowerment," and "sustainable development" in a bid to disarm the people and co-opt their organizations into the imperialist strategem.

We oppose imperialist globalization because the schemes it promotes worsen the uneven development among and within nations, intensify the exploitation of peoples, and deepen inequality and social polarization. They accelerate the concentration of wealth in the handful of imperialist states, their MNCs/TNCs and the billionaire-owners, and drive the majority of nations into deeper impoverishment. These schemes also foster mindless consumerism and trash Western culture that warp, marginalize or efface the cultures of Third World peoples and debase their humanity.

Globalization schemes are wiping out jobs and livelihoods in industry and agriculture, both in industrial and non-industrial countries. Evidence we have seen undoubtedly show that globalization is causing mass layoff of workers via "downsizing," "labor flexibilization," "labor-only contracting" and other management designs; massive landlessness and worsening forms of feudal and capitalist exploitation of peasants and farm workers; displacement, commodification and modern-day slavery of women; eviction of the urban poor; deprivation of indigenous peoples of their ancestral lands and patenting of their human genes; wanton human rights violations and political repression; commodification of migration; razing of the environment; de-industrialization and bankruptcy of small and medium enterprises; cutdown or total absence of state social services; rising costs of consumer goods and services and declining levels of income and standards of living of the majority of the people. They also aim to deprive the toiling masses of their capacity to organize and effectively fight for their rights and survival and to resist imperialist domination.

No wonder workers and peasants of many countries, men and women alike, have raised their banners in defiance. They and their fellow oppressed represented in this conference — indigenous peoples, women, youth and students, intellectuals, the middle classes, among others — are determined to shatter the myths and expose the false promises of globalization by showing its all-too-real adverse impact on peoples' lives and environments. More than that, they are waging varied forms of struggles to frustrate globalization.

By its own rapacity and cupidity, monopoly capital is fast bringing together the world's exploited and oppressed peoples to share their common pains as well as their common struggles and aspirations. In more and more countries, they are developing new means of struggle or taking up proven ones, including the revolutionary recourse to armed struggle. Having resisted and survived state reaction and brutal repression, the people are resolved to win.

We hereby resolve to carry out the following actions:

- Fully expose and vigorously oppose the deceptive slogan, destructive schemes, and the programs and policies of globalization in our own countries and worldwide;

- Junk APEC, NAFTA, the European Union and the WTO as imperialist instruments to further subjugate and exploit the toiling masses and peoples of the world;

- Fight for the dismantling of imperialist military alliances, the abrogation of Cold War-vintage security agreements, and the withdrawal of overseas US military bases and troop deployments.

- Struggle to establish a social, economic, political and cultural order in our countries that shall ensure freedom from foreign domination and domestic exploitation and oppression. Develop our natural and human resources for our peoples' well-being. Foster international cooperation based on equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit,

- Resist imperialist economic, political, military and cultural aggression, political repression by reactionary states. Campaign for the freedom of all political prisoners, and demand justice for the victims of all human rights violations;

- Strengthen our anti-imperialist solidarity, perseveringly build our national organizations and alliances and enhance our capacities to carry out both independent and coordinated action programs. Forge strong solidarity links among ourselves and with other anti-imperialist and progressive organizations to further advance the world's anti-imperialist movement.

(Approved and adopted in plenary session by the participants, People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization, November 23, 1995.)

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Statement Of The National Democratic Front On The World Peasant Summit And The People's Anti-APEC Conference

(November 11, 1996)

We, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, hereby express our admiration and commendation to the organizers and participants of the following:

- The Anti-Imperialist World Peasant Summit (November 10-13);
- Peasant Demonstration at the Food and Agriculture Organization (November 13);
- Program of Exposure of Foreign Delegates to Philippine Social Conditions (November 13-20);
- The People's Anti-APEC Conference (November 21-23); and
- People's Caravan from Manila to Subic and Nationwide Protests (November 24-25).

Coming ahead of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders' Summit, the Anti-Imperialist World Peasant Summit fittingly serves to stress the fact that the Philippines is still a semicolonial and semifeudal country and the majority of the people of the world are still peasants suffering the ravages of neocolonialism under foreign monopoly capitalism.

The Philippines has become more deeply agrarian and semifeudal under the dictates of the imperialists through bilateral relations with them as well as through the dictates of the multilateral agencies like IMF, World Bank and WTO.

There is no land reform. Land monopolization by a few is accelerated. So many devices are used to deprive the people of land, like production for export, pasture lease, land reclassification and conversion as industrial and commercial, real estate development, forest management and mining concessions.

Food security is under destruction. The prices of imported agricultural inputs are rising, the agricultural surpluses of the imperialist countries are being dumped on the Philippines,

the production of food for domestic consumption is cut down and food imports are rising, while the country is pushed to produce certain special crops for export, like cut flowers and asparagus, which are in the process of global overproduction.

It is appropriate that the participants in the World Peasant Summit and other people hold a demonstration against the FAO on the occasion of the World Food Summit in Rome because the FAO has been a tool of the imperialists for rationalizing and promoting monopoly capitalist control of agriculture and food supply for the purpose of profit maximization.

We condemn the devastation and disorder wrought in the world by the rapid concentration and centralization of capital in a few imperialist countries by the multinational firms and banks and the imposition of extremely exploitative capital and the dumping of surplus manufactured and agricultural goods on the semifeudal and dependent countries under the neoliberal slogans of free trade and investment liberalization.

The APEC is a framework of "free trade" which is dominated by the US and Japanese monopolies at the expense of the other member-countries and the proletariat and people. At the same time, it is the framework which the US is using to keep Japan in subordination to US monopoly interests and prevent the initiative of Japan in any other regional formation, like the Asean Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) and East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC).

Amidst the worsening crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system, there is the tendency of national productivity and profit rates to fall in industrial capitalist countries and the sharpening competition among the imperialist countries, especially the US and the European Union. The US is thus pushing further its economic hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region. It is trying to overcome its accumulated foreign

debt and trade deficits, expand its manufacturing capacity for export and consolidate its national market and its regional market like the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA).

The APEC Leaders' Summit is held at a time that a global overproduction in garments, consumer electronics and similar types of goods produced by the sweatshops of East Asia is becoming more and more conspicuous. All the "tigers" of East Asia and all the ASEAN countries dependent on low value-added and low-wage fringe processing of commodities for export are conspicuously afflicted with rising foreign trade deficits and foreign debt.

It is absolutely foolish for the Ramos regime to think that the way to realize the status of a "newly industrialized country" is to avoid national industrialization and land reform and to join the ranks of countries overproducing consumer goods for the recessive economies of the imperialist countries.

The big-comprador promotion of export-oriented manufacturing and import-dependent overconsumption in China has also undermined the industrial foundation previously established under socialism.

A major thrust of the US in the APEC Leaders' Summit is to bring pressure upon China to further deregulate its investment and export-import policies and to remind her that she cannot join the World Trade Organization unless she makes a bilateral agreement with the US, allowing the US monopolies further investment and import privileges that can cause the shutdown or privatization of Chinese state enterprises.

Going into an exceedingly great expense of effort and resources, the Ramos regime is proud to be the host of the chieftains of monopoly capitalism and the relatively more favored agents in the region. But the Philippines is still among the most exploited and impoverished neocolonial adjuncts. It has come late into the game of low value-added manufacturing of certain consumer goods for the imperialist countries and is compelled as ever to export live human beings as the actual main source of foreign exchange from abroad, more than any kind of commodity export.

We reiterate our condemnation of the unjust and terrorist measures being undertaken by the US-Ramos regime to present a false face to foreign visitors, to secure the 18 chiefs of state and to discourage and suppress the mass protest movement against the APEC Leaders' Summit.

We condemn without cease the violation of human rights already committed by the Ramos regime against the workers, peasants, urban

poor and other people in preparing for the APEC Leaders' Summit. If the Ramos regime does worse against the people who are carrying out protest mass actions against the APEC, it shall be jeopardizing the continuity of the formal peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the NDFP.

The claim of the Ramos regime that armed actions will be carried out by the revolutionaries against some chiefs of state is false and absurd. It is a psywar trick to rationalize military, police and paramilitary suppression of the legal mass actions.

It is preposterous for the US-Ramos regime to overconcentrate more than 40,000 troops and police in areas where the legal mass actions are expected. In fact, the regime is unwittingly giving the armed revolutionary movement ample opportunity to undertake offensives where enemy forces have been thinned out, far away from Manila, Subic and the highway linking these two points.

The forces of the armed revolutionary movement will not carry out tactical offensives wherever the forces of the legal democratic mass movement carry out protest actions. But the revolutionary armed forces can take advantage of the thinning out of the reactionary armed forces in so many other areas of the country.

We also condemn the special agents of "low-intensity conflict", including covert agents of US imperialism and the Trotskyites, who pretend to be critical of APEC but whose main objective is to offer themselves as alternative to the revolutionary movement, lead the people astray and submit reformist recommendations to the imperialists and local reactionaries.

We look forward to the success of the People's Caravan from Manila to Subic and the nationwide mass protest actions of at least 200,000 people. Once more it can be demonstrated that the forces of the national-democratic movement are the most resolute and most militant in the legal struggle for the basic rights and interests of the Filipino people.

We hope that the Anti-Imperialist World Peasant Summit, the Conference Against the APEC and the militant mass protest actions can be consolidated on an international scale through the formation and development of global networks for carrying forward the people's struggle for independent, democratic, just and prosperous societies against imperialism.

(Reproduced from *REBOLUSYON*, central organ of CPP, Special issue 1, January 1997)

Joint Ventures (JVs) Or Easy Way For MNCs To Take Over ?

When the Rao Government introduced full scale liberalisation—globalisation process, almost all the corporate houses—big, medium, as well as small—rushed to enter into joint ventures with the MNCs true to their comprador character. What happened to them? Overwhelming number of them have ended up in the MNCs gobbling up the Indian corporate partners. The following report published by Times of India dated 14 February 1997 expose the fate of these JVs:

.....P&G-Godrej, Tata-Unisys, Modi-luft, Hiram Walker-Jagatjit Industries are just a few of the numerous alliances that have broken up over the oft-repeated reason of "irreconcilable differences". More often than not, these differences springing from fights over managerial control have sparked off corporate wars between the partners with the foreign company trying to hike its equity stake in the JV and its Indian half trying to stave off the attack. Whether it is Mr Dhruv Sawhney of Triveni Engineering trying to fight off an attempt by GEC, Alsthom to raise its stake in their turbine manufacturing JV, Mr Pradeep Wig, of Kwality battling HLL, or, Parle chief Ramesh Chauhan refusing to hand over 51 per cent equity in his bottling company to Coke after selling of his popular brands Thums UP, Goldspot and Limca to the same, the JVs have the sparks flying before long.

Industrialists of the so-called Bombay club have blamed the government for not giving them a "level playing field." At the World Economic Forum at Davos this year, industrialist Rahul Bajaj stated that MNCs entered India as junior partners in JVs and then muscled out the domestic company to grab control of the JV.

Such insecurity stems from the fact that what starts out as a 50:50 JV slides into the MNC camp when the Indian partner is unable to fund his share of additional equity to pursue expansion plans or cover losses. The MNCs of course have deeper pockets. It either considerably hikes its stake, as Gillette did to Indian Shaving Products and Electrolux did to Maharaaja International, or, simply buys the Indian arm out as the US multinational, Fuller International did in its JV with the Chennai-based KCP Ltd

after two years of fervent bids. Moreover, the foreign partner invariably walks off with all the goodies when the deal falls through. Sample P&G which got a prize catch of Godrej's original marketing and distribution network plus a few of its popular brands when the P&G-Godrej venture wound up.

However, this phenomenon is not unique to India. A McKinsey worldwide study of 200 alliances (principally JVs) over the past few years shows that the median life span is only seven years. In more than 80 percent of the cases, it ends in one partner selling out to the other. Given this lopsided equation, loaded in favour of the MNCs, what makes Indian companies rush into JVs with the foreigners?

It is the simple philosophy of 'if you can't beat 'em, join 'em'. Having enjoyed undisputed hegemony in the protected domestic markets earlier, the Indian companies are now feeling threatened by the way the markets are slipping away to the MNCs. JVs with the competitors thus appears to be the easiest solution. Indian companies cannot hope to match the financial muscle, technological knowhow and management culture of the MNCs. While for the MNCs the only incentives in the JV are some real estate, government contacts and distribution network provided by the Indian partner, for the Indian companies a JV is more of a compulsion than a choice.

Technology is easily the strongest incentive for Indian companies. The lurking threat that Indian brands will not survive against the superior brand power and patents of the MNCs also make them ally with the competitors. The Kwality-HLL and Lakme-Lever tie-ups or Parle's sellout to Coke, Glaxo's family products to H J Heinz and TOMCO to HLL only proves that Indian firms lack confidence in the ability of their local managements to hold on to the market share of their brands

But it does not mean an end to the JVs. On the contrary, the Indian major corporates like Tata, Godrej, Modi etc are still queuing up for more JVs with the hope that if one fails, there will be others to cushion the impact. What more can we expect from these compradors who are mortally afraid of taking a nationalist stand even when MNCs are exercising increasing domination in every field?

GROWING COMMUNAL CHALLENGE

After the 1996 Lok Sabha election when no party gained majority, the CPI(M) led Left Front played a major role in putting the United Front government led by Dewagowda in power. Its main argument was that it is the only way to prevent BJP from coming to power and to weaken it. Under the very same argument CPI(M), CPI and their LF partners have decided to support this year's budget proposals 'politically', while they are repeating that the 'economic' content of the budget is anti-people.

But the political developments after UF government took over have disproved their claims. As Dewagowda government is implementing very same policies of Rao government at an accelerated pace with the support of Congress, instead of getting weakened, BJP and its partners are gaining. Even though they are implementing the very same policies in the states where they are in power, and are going to implement them whenever they come to power at centre, as the opposition in Lok Sabha they are getting the benefit of the negative votes. This has become evident in Punjab elections where Akali-BJP alliance won with large majority in the by-elections, in the elections to local bodies in Maharashtra, and in the formation of the BJP-BSP ministry in UP. In spite of the internal problems in BJP, it has gained whereas both Congress and UF are losing. That is, though the formation of the UF government could keep BJP out of power for the time being, it is only increasing the possibilities for it come to power in coming election. The opportunist politics and class betrayal of CPI, and later CPI and CPI(M) from the time they adopted Krushchevian class collaborationist line are today fully exposed. If they played the role of apologists for the comprador politics of Congress so far, now they are making things easier for Hindutva forces through their opportunist and negative political line.

A glance through the post-1947 political scene prove that the Hindutva forces have emerged as a significant force in the realm of comprador bourgeois politics as a negative result of the consequences of the reactionary, communal and casteist policies pursued by Congress governments, and in the absence of any other cohesive ruling class parties capable of utilising the vacuum created by the degeneration of Congress. When it is so, the opportunist claims of the CPI(M) Led LF that a hotch-

potch UF dedicated to pursue Congress policies could weaken and frustrate the better organised Hindutva forces were bound to prove hollow. This is what is happening now.

Alarmed with this development and the growing discontentment within their ranks the CPI(M) and CPI have started playing another opportunist tune that only because UF government is not following the Common Minimum Programme (CMP) it is facing disintegration. It is nothing but another opportunist exercise. The CMP is a compromising document camouflaged with populist phrases. It has no clear cut direction distinct from the IMF-WB dictated one. So it can be interpreted any way one likes. So while Dewagowda and Chidambaram claim present budget as in line with CMP, the LF disputes it. But the people are not interested in these interpretations, but in the consequences of UF government's actions. As they are proved against their interests they naturally resort to what they can do within the bourgeois parliamentary system during elections. They exercise their negative votes against these in power. Naturally BJP and its partners get the benefit.

What CPI(M) and CPI, and others like them refuse to admit is this limitation of the bourgeois parliamentary politics on the one hand and the class nature of the policies pursued by them in the states where they are in power as LF or LDF, or by the UF government at centre. The policies pursued by them are benefitting the comprador bourgeois-big-landlord classes and serving imperialist system. They refuse to admit it and parade their policies as 'socialism with today's characteristics' in the true Dengist style. As a result, whatever jargons they dish out against imperialism, against ruling class etc are nothing but attempts to fool their cadres and the toiling masses in general. So, if anyone hopes that the comprador bourgeois-big landlord rule can be fought against, Congress can be prevented from making another comeback, BJP can be resisted from coming to power, and communal-casteist forces can be combatted uniting with the CPI(M), CPI like forces, those shall remain mere illusions.

Today BJP can be prevented from coming to power only by putting forward a positive politics of uncompromisingly opposing the imperialist plunder through the comprador bourgeois-big landlord state from clear cut anti-imperialist, anti-feudal positions. An alternate secular

PRESENT SITUATION IN TURKEY

Major Challenge

Before Communist Revolutionaries

The situation in Turkey/North Kurdistan continues to be very tense at present. The war against the Kurdish nation is being further intensified by the fascist Turkish State. The villages are vacated, bombed, people killed or expelled. In metropolitan slums the Kurdish people live without an earning, without prospects for the future and suppressed.

The ruling parties, the Refah Party (Islamist party) and the DYP (the Party of the Right Path-Tansu Ciller), are under permanent fire from the other wings of the comprador bourgeoisie. Scandals and involvement particularly of the DYP and Ciller with the Mafia, death squadrons and corruption are taken as a pretense to bring this government to fall and other Kemalist parties to government. The alliance of the Kemalist Ciller with the Islamist Erbakan appears to have hardly any future. The military threatens openly with a military coup, if the "foundations" of its state understanding such as laicism are put in question stipulating that no veil may be worn in the civil service.

The oppressed popular masses tend increasingly towards the Islamic currents. Through corruption, bribery and terror the Kemalist sovereigns are fully finished for good. But people still believe the Islamic party which during Ramadan a short while ago distributed free meals for the poor and is trying to anchor itself

democratic political platform should be projected for a future New Democratic India with federal nature. Vast majority of the toiling masses and all patriotic democratic forces should be mobilised around it. Only the revolutionary forces with such a clear cut vision can take the lead in building such an alternative. All the genuine left forces should be polarised around it. As the country is facing the triple threats of militarisation-fascisation, communalisation and even Balkanisation under intensifying neocolonisation, discarding all reformist, short-cut way-outs, the revolutionary forces should take the bold initiative to build the people's alternative for democracy and socialism.

in the slum areas politically by creating certain infrastructures there, could perhaps be an alternative.

The economic situation is worsening increasingly. The inflation is running up to 90%. Food prices are climbing rapidly, wages are stagnating.

The working-class movement is developing. Also demonstrations and indignation of the poor peasants, and other toilers, above all, also of the small civil servants against price increases, destruction of the environment etc. are growing. Particularly the female workers strike, demonstrate and try to wage their own struggles. But reformism still prevails.

In the prison the fascist terror rages as always. Despite repeated resistance actions by the revolutionary prisoners the state always rescinds its promises and worsens the situation in prisons.

Each and every expression of free democratic opinion is suppressed by the State authorities, to say nothing of revolutionary and Communist opinions. Journalists like Metin Goktepe are murdered treacherously to reduce them to silence.

Communists are standing before huge tasks. They must make use of the current political crisis of the ruling classes to show the toilers that no wing, no current and no party of the ruling classes is a real alternative. They must continuously speak out against the war of extermination against the Kurdish nation, combat chauvinism and fight for the right to secession. The problem is to carry the socialist consciousness that we have to fight and smash the whole system into the masses, above all among the workers. For this it is necessary to push the construction of the Communist Party, forward, to anchor their forces among the proletariat, to broaden mass base among peasantry, and to make agitation and propaganda among the broad masses.

Attak on Gaddar

Gaddar, the revolutionary cultural activist was attacked on 6th April evening by four gangsters who came in a car. Five bullets were fired at him from close range. It happened before his wife in his house. Com. Vimala, wife of Gaddar and Gaddar himself after he was operated upon and regained consciousness alleged that the assailants were plain-clothes policemen. It is reported that though the firing was from close range, now he is out of danger.

Of late Gaddar was engaged in rousing people's anger against the repeated criminal 'encounter' killings in AP. Like earlier Congress government present TDP government has given licence to torture or kill anyone suspected to be Naxalite. In the name of suppressing People's War group, not only its cadres and sympathisers, activists of other groups, like the state committee members of Red Flag earlier, and even civil liberty activists and ordinary people are finished off in the name of encounters. It is developed in to a large scale licenced crime by AP police and the paramilitary sections aiding it. Recently Gaddar was actively involved in mobilising the masses against it. For demanding a proper post-mortem and handing over the bodies of two youth who were killed in fake encounters, to their relatives he alongwith seven civil rights activists were recently arrested and remanded. But Gaddar refused conditional bail and demanded unconditional release. Finally government had to intervene and release him before he creates anti-government sentiments within the jail.

These exposures of the police raj in AP had enraged the khaki-clad killers. As in the case of Dr. Ramanatham, an APCLC activist earlier, now Gaddar was attacked to silence him. This criminal action calls for most severe condemnation by all progressive forces.

In AP as soon as the news of attack on

Gaddar spread there was spontaneous peoples' protest. Thousands got mobilised soon. On the next day there was total bandh at Hyderabad. Various organisations protested against this heinous acts. Protest actions are reported from all over India reflecting people's anger against this criminal attack.

In Kerala CPI (ML) Red Flag state committee severely condemned this heinous act by the criminalised police force of AP and called on all progressive forces to come out against it. CPI (ML) Red Flag has called on all its state committees to protest against this criminal attack and to unite all democratic forces against growing state terror.

Janakeeya Kala Sahityavedi, Kerala condemned this attack on Gaddar who is also an executive committee member of ALLRC. It has send telegram to AP chief minister demanding immediate enquiry in to this dastardly act masterminded by the police. Under its initiative a joint statement by prominent writers, artists, poets, intellectuals was issued condemning this act and demanding immediate enquiry and punishment of the assailants. The statement said: "The AP police has the notoriety of killing the famous human rights activist Dr. Ramanatham at his clinic. In such a context the possibility that the AP police could be behind the attempt on the life of Gaddar cannot be ruled out altogether. This attempt on the life of a person who is a poet and a cultural activist known across the country is a matter of serious concern. Still grave is the suspicion that a government which claims to be adhering to principles of democracy is involved in it." Demonstrations were held at many places in Kerala condemning the attack.

In Mumbai under the banner of 'Daman Virodhi Manch' revolutionary cultural activists
(contd. Page 26)

But the left or revolutionary left or Marxist-Leninist, whichever way we may call it, movement is mostly comprised of sections under the influence of right opportunism or extreme sectarianism. They fail to analyse the concrete situation, to reorganise the movement, and to lead the masses towards a NDR in the concrete

situation of Turkey. This helps the Islamic fundamentalists to pose themselves as the alternative utilising the growing degeneration of ruling class political system. These developments pose a serious challenge to the Communist revolutionaries.

BSP-BJP ALLIANCE IN UP

That the fundamentalist BJP and casteist BSP are ready to go to any extent to come to power within this ruling system is once again proved in UP. In this 'game of chairs' they have outsmarted Congress and the UF including Mulayam Singh Yadav. In other words the alliance between 'Manuwadi' BJP and so-called Bahujanwadi, or Manuvadi or dalitist BSP expose the extent to which comprador bourgeois politics in India has degenerated.

The 13 day Raj has convinced BJP that in the caste-ridden Indian society it is not possible to repeat the feats of Islamic fundamentalists here. So it has resorted to most opportunist and diverse alliances with different forces in different states like ShivSena in Maharashtra, Akali Dal in Punjab, Haryana Vikas Party in Haryana, Samta in Bihar and TND-NTR of Laxmi Parvathi in AP. The one with BSP is the latest addition. The new tactical line is to come to power at Delhi through these *Machiavellian* methods and then consolidate it.

As far as BSP is concerned dalitism or Bahujanwad is nothing but a pretext for its opportunist politics. See how it is keeping mum when under privatisation-liberalisation regime the question of reservation itself is made meaningless. Or its silence towards radical land reforms to make the dispossessed agricultural workers and landless-poor peasants who constitute vast majority of the Bahujans own the land they cultivate. It is led by the neo-rich among the dalit and backward sections and serve the comprador bourgeois-big landlord interests.

This BJP-BSP alliance with 50-50 sharing of chief ministership and all other loaves prove that the ruling class parties in their quest for power are ready to sacrifice even all the so-called bourgeois democratic values. It is but natural in this era of moribund or decadent capitalism, that is imperialism, especially in the neocolonies like India.

Anti-Imperialist Day Observed

The 66th Bhagat Singh Martyrdom Day was observed as 'Anti-Imperialist Day' jointly by several militant organisations at Berhampore, Orissa. On this occasion a massive procession with the portrait of revolutionary Bhagat Singh led by Abir Padhy, Ramesh Patel and Avaya Kumar Padhy marched in the town shouting slogans like 'Imperialism down down, Ruling class parties down down, Communalism-feudalism-casteism down down, Oppose imperialist plunder, Scrap NEP, Quit WTO'.

Addressing the rally the president com. Abir Padhy said that Bhagat Singh endowed the revolutionary movement with three slogans- Long live revolution, Long live proletariat, and Down

with imperialism. Not only the first two slogans have been dropped today by betrayers of socialism, the World Bank, IMF and the leading multi national companies like Enron, Nestle Union Carbide, Cogentrix, Cargil, etc. are allowed to penetrate in all fields of the country to plunder crores and crores.

Com. Padhy condemned all ruling class parties from Congress and BJP to the UF parties for supporting the World Trade Organisation, and the anti-poor 'New Economic Policy' in one form or other.

Paying glowing tributes to Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev, Rajguru Com. Padhy said that today when our country is passing

through a critical period Bhagat Singh's writings should inspire all patriotic forces, especially the youth to fight against imperialists, communalists, feudalists, casteist forces, betrayers of socialism, and liberate mortgaged India from the hands of imperialist forces and protect the unity and integrity of the country.

Advocate Kishore Chandra Sahu, Trade Union Leader I.N.Rao and others also addressed the rally. ●

ON NEPAL DEVELOPMENTS

On March 12 a coalition ministry led by Lokendra Bahadur Chand, leader of a breakaway faction of the Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) which gives full backing to King Birendra was sworn in in Nepal. This followed the defeat of the Nepali Congress (NC) ministry as Chand faction withdrew support. Chand who is very close to the monarchy has taken over with the support of the biggest party in the Pratinidhi Sabha, the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist) and some splinter groups. This realignment of the political forces in Nepal has raised many serious questions before the progressive forces.

Both RPP and NC are counter revolutionary parties who were implementing IMF-World Bank dictated economic policies faithfully through their coalition government. They are protecting the monarchy and feudal forces also. Defeat of the coalition led by NC leader and coming to power of another coalition led by a RPP faction does not bring about any change in policies. On the contrary the new government has promised to follow earlier economic policies with more efficiency. By becoming part of such a coalition the CPN (UML) has once again exposed its real class character. It is shamelessly playing the role of apologist of neocolonialism and is serving the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie and feudal forces. In this it is a replica of the arch-revisionist parties CPI and CPI (M) in India. Even after the bitter experience of the last four and half decades from the days of the rise of Krushchevian revisionism which started the severe setback to the international Communist movement, if parties calling themselves "Communist" pursue such

and democratic forces united to condemn this criminal attack on Gaddar. In a demonstration culminating at Hautama Chowk they demanded immediate enquiry and punishment of the culprits. They condemned the growing state terror, especially growing attacks on revolutionary forces. Comrades Sanjay Sanghvi, Mohan Das, Sudhir and others addressed the demonstrators. A well attended protest meeting was held at Dadar in which representatives of different organisations spoke.

reactionary policies, it shows the necessity of the uncompromising struggle against them at all levels.

When CPN (UML) is exhibiting such extreme example of class betrayal, on the other extreme a fringe group calling itself CPN (Maoist) launched a few isolated petty-bourgeois 'actions' in a most sectarian way. This farcical imitation of the Lin Biaoist deviation of late 1960s and early 1970s under the banner of 'Maoist era' and hailed by the sectarians in India as 'initiation of people's war in Nepal' reveal that in Nepal also both right opportunism and sectarianism are creating obstacles to build up a Bolshevik style proletarian party capable of leading the toiling masses there towards New Democratic Revolution. These developments once again prove that only by fighting against both these deviations the Marxist-Leninists can advance the cause of the people

Successful AP Bandh

In protest against the heinous attack on Gaddar on wednesday, 9 April, AP observed a successful bandh. The call was given by all the revolutionary organisations, their mass organisations and numerous democratic forces. As a result unlike previous bandhs called by CPI(ML) People's War or other organisations its influence was not limited to north Telengana or any districts. It was the first state-wide successful bandh called by revolutionary forces. In a predictable response to the assassination attempt on Gaddar, who is popular not only among revolutionary forces but among the people at large also, the bandh become very successful. *Indian Express* wrote its leading editorial on 11 April titled "Naxalites strike back." Other papers were also compelled to comment similarly. The revolutionary forces should take lessons from the big success of this bandh call given by all of them and try to launch a state-wide movement against growing state terror and for democratic rights.

Growing Imperialist Menace Creates Excellent Revolutionary Situation

The Albanian people's armed revolt compelling the president to take shelter in neighbouring Italy or the mass upsurge in Ecuador which dethroned the president who pursued the IMF-WB economic package contrary to the election pledges a year back are not isolated events today. Even the much praised 'Asian Tiger' South Korea witnessed weeks of workers and students revolt in January against privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation policies. The whole of North and Sub-Saharan African countries are in turmoil. As lakhs perish in continuing famines and civil wars which get publicity in the media only when the imperialists wish, the comprador regimes are still pursuing the 'structural adjustment policies' which have created havoc to the masses. Though in varying degrees, in all the neocolonies the people have started rebelling against the imperialists and their compradors. As the consequences of the neocolonisation are getting more and more manifested this contradiction between the people of the neocolonies on the one hand, and the imperialist forces and their compradors on the other hand are bound to intensify further. It shall give rise to more revolts and upsurges.

But this discontentment is not limited to the neocolonies. During last six months practically all the imperialist countries faced many workers' revolts and general strikes. Some of these strikes as in France continued for weeks. These erupted in response to the monetarist policies which took away all welfare policies and denied the economic and political rights won by the working class through past struggles. As the general crisis within the imperialist system is intensifying, when in addition to the plunder of the neocolonies the monopoly bourgeoisie are compelled to increase the exploitation of the toiling masses in their own countries also this contradiction is getting accelerated more.

At the same time the New World Order under a unified US command propagated by imperialist ideologues is nowhere to be seen. Even while united against the world people, the

(From P 6)

The Conference calls upon all progressive forces to recognise the imperialist manoeuvres to disarm ideologically and derail the struggle for ecological protection, and to unitedly build up people's resistance against environmental degradation linking it with the overall anti-imperialist movement.

imperialists are contending in different fields for their own hegemonic spheres and better share of the booty.

Even after many round of negotiations the trade conflicts between US and Japan, and between US and the European bloc led by Germany and France have not eased. The WTO while making easier the further plunder of neocolonies has not eased the above conflicts. The creation of trade blocs like NAFTA, APEC etc has only intensified these conflicts.

With the dissolution of Warsaw Pact after disintegration of Soviet Union, the NATO led by US and European powers remain the surviving military bloc at international level. If the huge quantity of the literature produced by imperialist think-tanks during the so-called 'Cold War' years are to be believed, with the disintegration of Soviet Union, NATO also should have been dissolved. The five lakhs US military men in Europe must have returned, and the nuclear installations disbanded. On the contrary the latest move by Clinton administration is to expand NATO by including Hungary, Poland and Czech republic to Russian borders. It exposes US intentions. On the one hand, through this US wants to maintain its hegemony in NATO countering increasing French and German opposition. On the other hand, it wants to expand its areas of direct influence to East Europe also with the idea of preventing any Russian challenge even in distant future. US imperialism is thorough in its hegemonic efforts.

This development has compelled Russian government of Yeltsin even in its present dilapidated situation to raise protests and seek strategic alliance with China and India. The above facts show that even after 'Cold War', rather than getting diluted, the inter imperialist contradictions are only sharpening.

These developments have given a new dimension to the contradiction between socialist forces and imperialist forces at global level. The objective conditions for the advance of the New Democratic Revolution in neocolonies and socialist revolution in capitalist imperialist countries, the two streams constituting world socialist revolution, are becoming more and more favourable. As the subjective forces of revolution in these countries, the proletarian parties, are once powerfully rebuilt once again the socialist forces are going to turn the tide against imperialist camp.

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