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Joint May Day Statement

The C R C, C P I (M L) Red Flag and C C, Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turkey) have issued a joint May Day statement again this year. The inspiring statement concludes as follows. "Let the revolutionary struggles and militant May Day actions of the world proletariat and the oppressed masses everywhere shake the very foundation of the imperialist system, and let their May Day call reverberate over all continents heralding a new upsurge of world proletarian revolution. Long Live Revolutionary May Day, Long Live International Solidarity of World Proletariat"

May Day Programmes Under T U C I Leadership

May Day was observed at numerous centres in Kerala under T U C I leadership. Rallies and public meetings were organised condemning the imperialist dictated privatisation—liberalisation—globalisation policies. The call for united working class action to resist and defeat these policies, and united international struggles against imperialist system was given. At different working class centres all over the country May Day programmes were organised under T U C I leadership and joining with other like-minded forces. In Karnataka demonstrations and public meetings were organised at many places under T U C I leadership calling for working class solidarity against mounting exploitation and oppression. At Jamshedpur Mazdoor Chetna Manch organised May Day programme.

C I T U Conference Exposes its Political Bankruptcy.

The all India conference of C I T U held at Ernakulam in April last week was significant in one respect. It was fabulously organised showing the money power from the rule of three states Bengal, Kerala and Tripura and the benefits from supporting the U F rule at centre. Many crores of rupees were spent over it which included an all India exhibition also. But these

luxurious arrangements could not conceal the political bankruptcy of this trade union centre which claims itself as the leader of the left T U movement.

When Chidambaram's budget had gone much ahead of Manmohan's in speeding up the privatisation—liberalisation—globalisation policies the Conference had nothing to say how they are going to be combated, or that it has any policy to combat them at all. The days of all India strikes and N P M O called Bharat bundhs are over. Like C P I (M), C I T U has become 'responsible' as they are supporting the U F government at centre. It is shown in the following words of the concluding statement; "To prevent B J P coming to power at centre C I T U is supporting present Gujral government like the earlier Dewegowda government. But it does not mean C I T U support the new economic policies. If Gujral government is continuing Gowda government's policies C I T U will oppose it." The opposition was exposed in both houses of parliament when Chidambaram's budget was passed without any opposition from any party.

CITU conference has self-criticised that communal forces are gaining strength among working class also. But it refuse to admit that it is the so-called left's failure to project a progressive alternate against the ruling class parties that is helping the communal forces to grow. The bureaucratic tendencies which is critically pointed out in the report is making the CITU unions impotent to lead economic struggles, paving the way for first individual TU leaders and now communal forces to gain foothold among working class. Similarly when the report points out the growing influence of NGOs in TU movement, it fails to critically examine how CITU and CPI (M) and its other class/mass organisations have made unprincipled compromises with them, thus helping All India Fishermen's Forum like organisations to gain strength.

The CITU Conference refused to admit that it is its own degeneration and surrender to ruling class politics which has in a big way led to present weakening of the TU movement and growing communal, casteist, NGO and other influence. About three decades ago the split from AITUC was justified in the name of building a revolutionary TU movement. But today like AITUC, CITU also has surrendered to ruling class positions, to economism and opportunism. As a result during last six years

(Cont 23)

EDITORIAL

25th Anniversary of Martyrdom of Com. Charu Majumdar

The Central Reorganisation Committee of the C P I (M L) Red Flag has called upon all Party committees at all levels to observe the 25th anniversary of the martyrdom of com Charu Majumdar from May 25, Naxalbari Day to July 28, All India Martyr's Day. Earlier the International Conference organised by the Joint Coordinating Group (J C G) of Marxist-Leninist Organisations held in October 1996 had also called for observing this occasion. Considering the significance of this occasion the C R C has called for launching an all India campaign with the central slogan "Fight Against All Shades Of Revisionism, Struggle For New Democratic India."

Like the great Naxalbari struggle, the contributions of Charu Majumdar who provided the theoretical basis for it and led it cannot be erased from the history of our country. As the struggle against Krushchevite neorevisionism took a positive turn with the publication of the General Line and other connected documents by the C P C as part of the *Great Debate* in 1963, the split against right opportunist leadership of C P I in 1964 and formation of C P I (M) was looked upon with great expectation by the Indian people. But its leadership took centrist positions and in effect toed the Krushchevite line. It was during these critical days C M came out with his critic of C P I (M) line and gave the general orientation for building a revolutionary Communist Party guided by Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tsetung Thought. It led to the great Naxalbari uprising, intensification of inner-party struggle within C P I (M), formation of the All India Coordination Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries to the spreading of revolutionary struggles all over India, and later to the formation of C P I (M L).

Though at this stage the sectarian trend dominating within the C P C influenced our Party also like the Marxist-Leninist Parties all over the world and caused severe setbacks, any attempts to belittle the movement and C M's

contributions because of this weakness will be against the interests of revolution. It will not help the reorganisation of the Party and the advance of the N D R. It is the responsibility of the Communist Revolutionaries to take lessons from both positive and negative experiences of the past, to analyse the concrete situation today, and to develop the ideological-political-organisational line and the revolutionary practice accordingly.

For carrying forward these tasks the struggle against all shades of revisionism which is the main danger within the movement is of cardinal importance. Today after the disintegration of revisionist C P S U, Krushchevite neorevisionism has taken the form of Dengist market socialism. Even sections of the erstwhile Marxist-Leninist forces have degenerated to this trend. Refusing to recognise the transformation of imperialism in to its neocolonial phase and to follow the socialist path based on proletarian class line, this trend is serving imperialism as apologists of neocolonialism. Besides numerous other right opportunist and neo-Trotskyist trends refusing to recognise the present neocolonial phase of imperialism are also in effect trying to disarm the proletarian forces ideologically and to deviate them to rightist path. The struggle against all these shades of revisionism is inseparably linked to developing the concrete understanding of present situation when imperialism in its neocolonial phase has intensified its allround onslaughts against the Marxist-Leninist ideology and against socialist path which is the only alternative to the anti-people, reactionary capitalist path. It is in this context the significance of C R C's call to fight against revisionism should be understood.

But sectarianism, or left opportunism as Lenin put it, is creating obstacles to this struggle against revisionism by deviating the movement from proletarian class positions and mass line. Often the so-called militant actions of this trend are nothing but manifestations of

K. N. Ramachandran

Relevance Of The 4th All India Conference

The decisions of the Fourth All India Conference of C P I (M L) Red Flag including the adoption of the international document "On international developments and the tasks of the Marxist-Leninist forces", Party Programme and Constitution are significant steps forward in reorganising the Party on Bolshevik foundations, and in making it capable of leading the New Democratic Revolution to victory.

The international document puts forward an analysis of the international situation in the post - World War II period. It shows how the imperialist system under US leadership adopted neocolonial methods in this period to combat growing socialist challenge and to continue its hegemony in new forms. Neocolonialism is a more heinous and pernicious form of colonialism.

militant economism as they are delinked from the central questions of reorganising the Party at all India level and the capture of political power. Revisionism and sectarianism, or the right and left opportunisms, are two sides of the same coin. Struggle against both are inseparably linked to each other. So today struggle against revisionism which is the main danger within the revolutionary movement includes the struggle against sectarianism also. In the name of upholding old positions, sectarian trends refuse to undertake concrete analysis of the concrete situation and in effect like the right opportunists become apologists of neocolonialism.

To uphold the heritage of Naxalbari and C M today means to uncompromisingly struggle against all shades of revisionism and to once again put the reorganisation of the Party at all India level and the capture of political power leading to building New Democratic India at the centre stage. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the martyrdom of C M let us launch a mighty campaign to win over the proletariat and other toiling masses for carrying forward these central tasks of Party reorganisation and the N D R.

In its neocolonial phase imperialism was not getting weakened but adopting newer forms of exploitation and suppression for prolonging its domination. A concrete analysis of this concrete situation during post - War years including a class analysis of the decolonisation process would have made it absolutely clear that the present era continues to be that of imperialism and proletarian revolution as put forward by Comintern based on Leninist teachings.

The document makes it clear that the weakness of the ICM in correctly analysing this situation led to evaluation of the present era as that of weakening of or total collapse of imperialism. Starting with this underestimating of imperialist system and its strategy and tactics adopted during neocolonial phase, the Krushchevite neo - revisionism put forward the class collaborationist 'theory of three peacefuls' including that of peaceful transition to socialism. It went on to reject proletarian class line and dictatorship of the proletariat.

Again in the 1960s, as the ICM was intensifying its ideological struggle against neorevisionism following Great Debate, the sectarian trend emerged first in CPC and then in the newly emerging Marxist - Leninist parties, once again based on an erroneous evaluation of the era as that of total collapse of imperialism. These revisionist and sectarian deviations during the last four decades, inspite of incessant efforts made by the Marxist-Leninists to combat these including the Cultural Revolution led by Mao have caused the present setbacks to the ICM. It is in this context the document calls for uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of modern revisionism from Krushchevite positions to Dengist market socialism on the one hand, and all brands of sectarianism which are making the struggle against revisionism weaker, on the other.

By initiating the evaluation of the experience of the ICM especially during last five decades after the dissolution of Comintern based on the positions put forward by Comintern and

C P C during the 'Great Debate' and on the concrete analysis of present world situation this document is trying to provide a positive orientation to the ideological struggle within the ICM. In continuation to this it is calling for building a platform of Marxist - Leninist organisations at international level as a first step towards reorganising the ICM on a new footing. Side by side, it also calls for building a broad anti-imperialist forum at international level with this platform as its core, uniting all the anti-imperialist forces that can be united.

The *Programme* for the completion of New Democratic Revolution is put forward as a continuation and part of the international document. It is also a continuation of the 1970 Programme. The relevance of this programme was that in general provided a correct analysis of the nature of transfer of power in 1947, character of Indian bourgeoisie, stage of Indian revolution etc. It put forward the capture of political power and building up New Democratic India under proletarian leadership and based on worker-peasant alliance as the central question. Instead of the class-collaborationist stand of neorevisionists it projected the path of class struggle.

But the sectarian trend which had started dominating the C P C for a brief period from 1968 - 69 had its impact on all the Marxist-Leninist parties then emerging in the fight against Krushchevite revisionism. The C P I (M L) was no exception. This Lin Piaoist trend like the Krushchevite trend replaced Leninist understanding about present era (that of imperialism and proletarian revolution) with the concept of an era of total collapse of imperialist system. Underestimating the imperialist system it, contrary to the neorevisionist trend, propagated the concept of quick victory abandoning Bolshevik party building, organising of class/mass organisations, developing of class struggle and mobilising of the masses utilising all forms of struggle, and even omitting the word *protracted* from protracted people's war as CPC used to put it. As at international level internally also it led to a distorted and mechanical understanding about the fundamental contradictions, their mutual relations and about principal contradiction. It led to obliterating some of these contradictions and subjectively substituting one for all the rest. Instead of developing the concept of protracted people's war according to concrete conditions here, the whole concept was reduced to annihilation line or guerilla

struggle alone. The mass line was abandoned. Under sectarian influence the efforts initiated in mid sixties to understand imperialism in its neocolonial phase and to develop strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution accordingly was abandoned. As a result of these erroneous positions the movement suffered serious setback.

Though rectification was initiated in the CPI (ML) movement from mid-seventies due to two reasons it did not go ahead well. Firstly, these organisations which took up rectification was not prepared to settle accounts with all manifestations of revisionism and sectarianism and to understand the transformation of imperialism to neocolonial phase in post - World War II period. Secondly, they failed to grasp the consequences of neocolonisation in India and to develop the party and revolutionary practice accordingly. In this situation, these superficial rectification efforts either led them to the camp of right opportunism upholding Dengist market socialism, or to continuing sectarian line refusing to accept the changes taking place around them.

It is in this context our organisation had taken up the task of developing the Party line and Programme based on a concrete study of the changes in the concrete situation in its First Conference in 1982. But, though a general understanding about neocolonialism could be developed during this period, a section vulgarised this understanding abandoning all proletarian positions. Another section continued in '70 positions. In the course of struggle against these positions those who took alien stand towards neocolonialism split away hampering this struggle. The present programme like the international document is the result of the studies and development of the revolutionary practice during the last one decade.

The Programme analyses 1947 transfer of power through decolonisation as a part of neocolonisation initiated by imperialist system as formal independence. From colony India was transformed to a neocolony. This neocolonisation has brought many changes in all sectors including the agrarian sector. It demands a new class analysis and the concept of NDR should be developed accordingly.

The Indian ruling classes are the comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big land lords serving imperialism. The Indian

state led by them is becoming more and more anti-people and anti democratic. The present target of NDR is to overthrow this reactionary state, replacing it with a New Democratic state paving the way for socialist transformation. The changes taking place in the agrarian sector calls for a development of the understanding about the agrarian revolution. Evenwhile stage of revolution is still New Democratic, the socialist content of the revolution has increased.

Under sectarian influence 1970 Programme had created obstacles to developing the concept of people's war according to concrete conditions here, in this phase. It limited the movement to replace all other forms of struggle to one form of struggle alone, that is armed struggle. It went against the teaching of the General Line document of CPC (Great Debate) which says "in order to lead the proletariat and the working people in revolution, the Marxist-Leninist parties must master all forms of struggle, and be able to substitute one form for another quickly as the conditions of struggle change". It also stressed; "the vanguard of the proletariat will remain unconquerable in all circumstances only if masters all forms of struggle". Under sectarian influence when even the Leninist concept of party itself was abandoned, no wonder this concept about utilising all forms of struggle was also rejected. Now the Programme stresses: "The Party should utilise all forms of struggle and organisation according to concrete conditions for achieving the strategic goal of overthrowing the existing reactionary Indian state and establishing a New Democratic state". It continues: "According to concrete conditions Party should function both legally and illegally and should develop concrete forms of open and secret organisational and other methods".

Even some of those who accept all other changes made in the Programme may raise a question: is this approach acceptable when all the organisations who started utilising legal, economic, like forms of struggle have succumbed to legalism, economism, like degenerations? By stating this they commit two mistakes at the same time: Firstly, they forget that all the Communist parties who succeeded in capturing political power from C P S U, C P C to Vietnam party and others had followed this Comintern position; they also forget the glorious experience of undivided C P I in the latter half of 1940s. Secondly, the latter day Communist parties degenerated not because they started utilising

all forms of struggle including legal ones, but because they abandoned the struggle against all manifestations of revisionism from Krushchevite neorevisionism to Dengist market socialism, and the central task of overthrowing present reactionary state and establishing a New Democratic state. Another point to be raised in this context is that in all the socialist countries formed following capture of political power through armed struggle capitalism was restored "peacefully." We are living in a period when imperialism has scored victories in ideologically disarming large sections of people through cultural-aggression and other methods. Revisionism cannot be prevented just by turning one's face against some particular forms of struggle. Communists should become capable of utilising all forms of struggle, of meeting face to face the imperialist challenge, and at the same time always uphold their revolutionary task uncompromisingly. Only such a party can confidently lead people to revolution. In this way the Programme gives a correct strategic orientation for carrying forward the struggle for the NDR.

In our country practically all the organisations who claim to belong to Naxalbari stream have adopted this formulation that all forms of struggle should be utilised. Most of them have started utilising all forms of struggle including parliamentary struggles also. But the cardinal question that all forms of struggle should be utilised only according to concrete conditions, and to consciously develop class struggle and advance towards N D R is generally forgotten. As a result possibilities for alien tendencies getting strengthened are growing. On the other hand, even after adopting this formulation some organisations following sectarian path have degenerated to militant economism. They have failed to develop class/mass organisations with a democratic programme or to develop different forms of struggle complimentary to class struggle. So taking lessons from both these deviations Marxist-Leninists should become capable of utilising different forms of struggle according to concrete objective and subjective conditions.

The international document and the Programme adopted by this Conference in no way answers fully all problems confronting the I C M and the Indian Communist movement today. They have to be further developed in coming days with the development of revolutionary struggles at all levels. At the same time they have great importance in the sense that they

Women and Revolution

[Excerpts from paper presented by Communist Party of Philippines (C P P) delegation at the 'international meeting of women' held at Kathmandu, Nepal on November 1-4, 1996-RS]

Some Lessons from the Revolutionary Women's Movement in the Philippines

The Philippine women's movement has gained international repute as being very active. Indeed, it is so. All over the Philippines today, various women's groups have sprouted espousing women's causes.

At the forefront of this movement, undeniably is the national-democratic women's movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (C P P) under the ideological guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The C P P has been consciously advocating and struggling for the liberation of women since its reestablishment. It has recruited into its ranks and developed the leadership of an

give correct orientation to evaluate past experience, to analyse the present situation and to carry forward the movement. In uniting the Communist revolutionaries all over the country for reorganising the Party these documents adopted in Fourth Conference shall be of immense help.

In this way the Fourth All India Conference of C P I (ML) Red Flag is a significant step forward in helping the reorganisation of the international Communist movement as a continuation of Comintern and Great Debate positions and based on concrete analysis of present global situation, and in reorganising the Indian Communist movement fighting against both revisionism and sectarianism, concretely analysing present Indian situation and developing the theory and practice of N D R based on them. At both levels the ideological-political-organisational line put forward by this Conference is going to play a significant role in coming days.

ever growing number of women in the struggle for national and social liberation. It has unleashed the revolutionary initiative of women in various spheres of work, whether in the line of armed struggle and the agrarian revolution in the countryside or the democratic protest movement in the cities.

No Party member can talk of revolution and leave the women behind. The national liberation struggle cannot be won without the participation of the female half of the population. This reality strikes every revolutionary in the face. Thus every revolutionary's credo is to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses and this includes women.

This is a belief that comes from the realization that women, especially from the basic exploited classes, bear the brunt of the worst exploitation and oppression from a comprador-ruling system subservient to U S imperialism.

In the countryside, peasant women along with their families are being dislocated in larger numbers as they lose their lands to export crop plantations, real estate developers, and mining concessions. In the cities, women workers lose their permanent jobs as subcontract labour and labour-only contracting has become the norm under the auspices of monopoly capitalist globalization.

On top of this, women are also at the receiving end of the worst physical, sexual and mental and emotional abuse, with no redress under the ruling system.

The oppressed condition of women is the basis for organizing them. Our nation's history has consistently witnessed women taking up arms—in the struggle against Spanish and American colonial rule, against the Japanese fascist invaders and against landlord oppression and exploitation. In these struggles women have fought side by side with the men and, in many instances, outstanding women fought as leaders of the struggle.

This revolutionary heritage has been translated exponentially in the current struggle for

national and social liberation, of which the women's struggle for emancipation is a part.

Thus, we witness women guerrillas in the New people's Army, peasant women huddled in meetings and trooping to military camps and government offices in protest actions, picket lines of women workers, community women— young and old—barricading their homes against demolition teams, female students fighting against tuition-fee increases, minority women with kids in tow bravely fighting military and police serving ejection orders for them to leave their ancestral homes to make way for some multinational or government "development" projects. These are all too commonplace to mention.

It is in the course of these struggles that women emancipate themselves. Their participation in economic and political struggles have enabled them to raise the status of women and gain certain concessions even within the ruling system. This has resulted in the elevation of more women to higher positions, in the punishment of violators of women's rights, in more attention to child care, in more interest in women's education, in the increase in women's committees and other women's organizations, in songs, skits and publications that celebrate the struggles and victories of women.

In the Party, policies have been laid down as early as the '60s to involve women in armed struggle at par with the men, to organize them into separate associations at the barrio level, to have them duly represented in the organs of political power.

In the book *Philippine Society and Revolution*, the Party's founding chairman Amado Guerrero recognized that women suffer from male oppression in addition to their class oppression and that to emancipate themselves they must participate widely in the people's democratic revolution, performing regular as well as special tasks.

The New People's Army at its founding in 1969 declared as a cardinal rule respect for women and strongly stood against their exploitation.

Heeding the Party's call, mass organizations from among the peasantry, workers, and petty bourgeoisie have recruited as many women members as possible. The last two decades have shown a marked increase in the recruitment

of women not only into mass organizations but also into the Party as compared to its early years.

Women have also been escalating their struggles. In fact, towards the end of the Marcos dictatorship when victory seemed almost within the people's reach, women were going out of their homes and their workplaces in ever larger numbers and intensifying their attacks against the ruling system. The installation of the Cory Aquino regime gave even more impetus to women's actions even as the regime was erroneously perceived initially as liberal-democratic.

Halting the advance of the women's movement

All told the women's movement seemed to be heading towards greater heights. But not quite.

The combined initiative, visibility and activism of women throughout these years could not conceal the fact that the advance of the revolutionary women's movement was being halted, even pushed back, by errors in the political line that affected the entire revolutionary movement in the '80s until the early '90s.

The errors of premature regularization of the people's army, military adventurism and urban insurrectionism dealt more damage to the national-democratic movement than the most ferocious attack of the enemy. Serious questions were raised regarding the analysis of Philippine society as well as the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. The central leadership of the Party was riddled with disagreements. Disorientation on the movement's strategy and tactics seeped down into the rank and file, opening the floodgates for the entry of ideas and influences that emanated from various models abroad.

The revolutionary women's movement particularly in the cities was not exempt from these errors and deviations as vigorously implemented policies from the Party. However, apart from this, Party cadres in the women's movement contributed its own disorientation into the entire movement by flirting with bourgeois feminism masquerading as socialist feminism and obliquely attacking Marxism.

The general climate of disorientation

became a fertile ground for bourgeois feminism to flourish specially as it brandishes what it called the best insights of feminism and socialism in a new category termed "socialist-feminism"

Before long, quite a number of city-based women cadres were referring to Marxism as "orthodox" and borrowing their analysis on the woman question from various socialist-feminist readings. Some comrades got hooked on to the socialist-feminist line that found Marxism wanting on the woman question without as much as making a serious study of Marxism, and henceforth distorting Marxist analysis as well

In due time, the socialist-feminist analysis had influenced theoretical, political and organizational questions in the revolutionary women's movement and led to various distortions and disorientation on the woman question.

Such disorientation took various forms and influenced a lot of cadres who by this time were not even keen on spending time to study the theoretical works of Marx and Lenin and had almost forgotten Mao. Worse, for years, they even stopped to conduct concrete social investigation, mass work and summing-up of practical work

In the backdrop were the bourgeois funding agencies, UN institutions, the academe and nongovernmental organizations pushing their eclectic wares of supraclass feminist theories. Because of the general lack of ideological work within the Party, many cadres became uncritically attracted to feminist studies and "gender development". What is common among these theorizing is the elevation of gender as a supraclass issue and the downplaying of the class question. The idea is to "mainstream" gender issues clearly along the reformist path and mainly serving the imperialist ideological offensive against the proletariat, class struggle and revolution. Funding would come easy for as long as the women's organizations or the women's movement could be drawn into the path of co-optation.

Bourgeois feminism in several guises seeped into the Party largely unopposed. It pitted gender against class and glossed over class divisions among women in the name of sisterhood. Either women's oppression was viewed as either biologically determined or simply as a question of "power relations" between men and women, or as both.

If class relations were acknowledged at all, this was treated at par with gender, race and ethnicity. Comrades who would continually raise the class question as decisive in the resolution of the women question were derided as vulgar Marxists, class reductionists, productionists or instrumentalists.

The question of class and gender

Downplaying the class struggle while over-stressing the common interest of women as women had led to compromises. The effects are most apparent in political work

For example, the idea that women share common oppression regardless of class brought together women into single organizations, with unremoulded upper class women, at times even landlord-comprador women, assuming leadership over the broad masses of working women. Also in one such case, by venturing into women's alliances or coalitions without a clear understanding of class interests, the basic demands of lower class women such as land reform were set aside in deference to landholding women who were deemed allies.

"Coalitionism" in fact resulted in the proletariat's surrender of its leadership to the bourgeoisie. With little or no sweat, bourgeois feminist leaders gained ascendancy in women's mass organizations which cadres of the proletarian party had labored to set up, and were allowed to peddle every variety of bourgeois feminist notions.

The worst case was the full support given to president Aquino in the first six months in office not only because she was deemed a "liberal-democrat" (in fact and in essence still a landlord-comprador) but also because she was a woman. It was only after Aquino "unsheathed the sword of war" against the entire revolutionary forces in 1987 that the revolutionary women's movement in the cities understood the full meaning of class interests over gender.

Also by viewing women as one monolithic group and apart from classes, the revolutionary women's movement tended to treat itself as parallel to the national - democratic movement. Calls were issued to make the women's movement entirely and exclusively of women's organizations and to raise primarily specific women demands rather than develop the women's movement within the framework of the class movement and the entire national-democ-

matic movement

Women in other revolutionary organizations such as the New People's Army, for example, were in effect excluded from the revolutionary women's movement even as they exemplify liberated women. And simply because theirs is not a women's organization.

In education, the study courses tended to overlook the fact that women belong to various classes and have diverse situations. The tendency was to stress the common oppression of women as women, oblivious of the fact that gender issues affect women from different classes in different ways.

Such issues as sexuality, domesticity, child care, rape and other forms of violence against women could impact differently on different women. A poor peasant woman who labours in the fields along with her man but still has to assume a larger chunk of domestic chores is miles and miles away from a ruling class woman who does not only share the privileges of her own class but has a retinue of servants to do the housework for her. And yet culturally, as women, they are both expected to attend to household chores.

Alas, de-emphasizing class distinctions among women blurs understanding of the national-democratic line that draws the line between the masses and their enemies. What comes to the fore are women pitted against men, where the problem stops at patriarchy (a problem that defies a single definition and is interpreted or understood differently by as many groups of feminists as there are).

In the case of the Philippine women's movement, reducing women's oppression to anything and everything as patriarchy has had the effect of turning nonantagonistic contradictions among the masses into antagonistic ones. Even within the revolutionary movement seeds of dissension are planted by insinuations and irresponsible comments that the Party and the New People's Army are bastions of patriarchy.

Also, the so-called "feminist perspective" had led to further confusion and demagoguery, as this took on a peculiar world outlook based on gender which saw the world divided between men and women, and adherents went overboard in stressing that different issues impact on different genders, without so much as conducting concrete social investigation. In this light, people's issues that made no mention of the word women, or in short "gender-blind", were

deemed not issues of women. What matters only is what matters for women.

Such sectarian view relegates the proletarian world outlook to oblivion. In fact even the tried and tested method of social investigation and class analysis in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses had become alien to new recruits to the Party. What sparked interest was a new research instrument called social gender analysis that refused having anything to do with discussing classes and social contexts but focused almost entirely on monitoring or making random surveys of the changing roles of men and women.

The push to "mainstream" feminist issues, including making the reactionary state "gender-sensitive", also became the overriding reason why certain Party-led women's organizations had been co-opted by the reactionary government into entering into partnership with its various agencies, and thus helping create the illusion that the reactionary government is pro-people, and particularly pro-women.

Instead of exposing the reactionary state and isolating it from the people, these women's organizations were used as props by the reactionary state to refurbish its image under the guise of "democratic consultations" and "people empowerment." Aquino's landmark Philippine Development Plan for Women, for example, got its ideas from progressive women's organizations which so willingly aided the regime in drafting the document through a series of consultations between governmental and nongovernmental organizations.

But unknown to these women, the regime was more interested in going through the motions of consultations than into putting into effect their proposals that were screened anyhow to suit the pro-landlord, and pro-imperialist medium term development program of government.

The activist nature of women's organizations also collided with foreign-funded programs for women that required "professionalism" and "management skills" (read, bureaucratism) in the running of organizations termed "NGOs". The bundy-clock system, locator charts, fixed schedules, job descriptions, salary increases and benefits transformed women's organizations into institutions where employer - employee relations became dominant.

As women's organizations relied heavily
(Contd P. 23)

Impact of liberalisation in beedi sector

The beedi sector is a major informal sector in AP, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, M. P., Maharashtra, Tamilnadu, UP, and W Bengal employing more than 60 lakh workers. In addition another 40 lakhs are estimated to be seasonally engaged in tendu leaf collection. While about 90 percent of the beedi workers comprise of women and children, tendu leaf collection is predominantly done by tribals. The liberalisation policies initiated from early 1990s have posed a grave threat to the sector as the MNCs and native monopolies engaged in cigarette industry have increased their mini-cigarette production from 100 million sticks a month in 1994 to 500 million in 1995 and to over one billion sticks by end of 1996 utilising the reduction of excise duty per 1000 sticks from Rs 120 to Rs. 60 for cigarettes less than 60 mm in length (minis). What are the consequences of this liberalisation in beedi sector?

The big business circles including the dominant MNCs and the pro-liberalisation press enthusiastically supported this liberalisation policy as a step in right direction. Thus under the title "phase out biris" *The Economic Times* editorially wrote that this measure is "a greater incentive for cigarette companies to use India as a global production base. The odium that tobacco use carries in the west, as well as higher production costs, will gradually prompt the relocation of substantial chunks of the cigarette industry from developed to developing countries. This means an opportunity for countries like India to expand production and export of cigarettes."

But contrary to what TOI like monopoly media propagate, the MNCs are coming mostly to plunder Indian market. When a packet of 10 minis priced between Rs. 1.75 and Rs. 2.00 is equal to the price of a bundle of 16 beedies, with the enormous advertisement drive behind them, the MNCs see the prospect of a thriving Indian market. As the excise duty varies more and more, with that of cigarettes with less than 60mm length nominal (Rs. 60 per thousand) compared to Rs. 950 for filter cigarettes of 70 to 75mm length, most of the cigarette companies like ITC (contributing almost 60 percent of the total

production), GTC, VST and Godfrey Phillips jumped in to the fray to produce 59 mm minis on a large scale.

Thus liberalisation has posed a major threat to the beedi sector employing nearly 10 million workers including tendu leaf collectors. Will this wiping out of beedi sector in a not too distant future, and creating possibilities for the around growth of cigarette monopolies help the working class and the ordinary people in any way, except for the so-called elevation of social status from smoking beedis to cigarettes? The answer is a definite no. As the history of ITC shows when its production has jumped many times the strength of the workers has not increased in any significant manner as more and more sophisticated and automotive equipments are imported and installed. On the contrary, instead of cutting down working hours and reducing productivity of the workers, with the installation of new machines the working hours have not changed and more productivity is imposed over workers. In some areas regular workers are dispensed with and contract labour system is introduced. So except for nominal increase in the wages of a small number of regular workers, and nominal increase in overall workers' strength, the destruction of beedi sector and phenomenal growth of cigarette industry (as cheerfully reported by monopoly press) is only going to make millions unemployed. Only the MNCs and native monopolies are going to gain through this liberalisation.

Another consequence is that utilising the growing danger faced by the beedi sector the beedi barons have already started squeezing the beedi workers more and more. A process almost similar to what happened in the handloom sector earlier is now happening here. As a result of the fall in the demand of the beedis the beedi companies are reluctant to continue production at the previous scale. As a result, firstly the factory level production is almost getting completely stopped. Already to avoid giving benefits to the workers the beedi barons were reducing the number of factories. Eventhough the payment was made piecewise (that is, for every thousand beedies) the worke-

rs were enjoying many rights as a result of their past struggles. The first casualty due to invasion of minis is the closure of remaining factories also. Even co-operatives like the giant Din-esh beedi Co-operative of Kerala is facing crisis and is warning that many of the present rights and rates will be cut.

Secondly, the agents of beedi companies have cut raw material supply to those working in their houses leading to reduction in the number of days of work, that is from six days a week to 3 or 4 days. The threat of the minis is used as a pretext by the managements and their agents to harass the workers who are predominantly women and children to accept lesser wages. Thus the minis have accentuated the already insecure situation in beedi sector further. The millions of workers in this sector are faced with the only alternative—challenge the liberalisation leading to invasion of minis against beedi sector.

But does this mean that the beedi workers should stop all struggles against the beedi barons for better wages and living conditions and start collaborating with them, or accept their leadership as some of the trade union leaderships advise? Thus can the workers enter in to an understanding with their immediate oppressors? Or can the workers continue their earlier struggle for better wages and living conditions oblivious of the threat faced by the beedi sector as a whole, as some other trade union leaderships are advising?

Both these approaches are mechanical and will be suicidal to the workers. It is fact that as a part of the neocolonisation, the structural adjustment policies are imposed under dictates of IMF, World Bank, WTO. The privatisation-liberalisation-globalisation process has opened the country to MNCs leading to closure or take over of indigenous industries. What is happening in beedi sector is repeated in different scales and forms in other sectors. So mere concern about economist slogans as the latter advise, and indulging only in struggle for local issues in spite of the danger of the whole sector being wiped out under the threat of minis is a totally negative approach absolutely harmful to the workers. A class conscious leadership should educate the workers about the danger of liberalisation and mobilise them for a countrywide agitation against this policy alongwith the workers in other sectors. In this struggle as far as possible trade union leaderships should try to unite

with patriotic sections of the small and medium bourgeoisie who are ready to fight against these policies.

But this does not mean putting an end to all struggles against beedi barons who are utilising the present crisis situation also for further exploitation of the workers. If the managements are not ready to continue the facilities enjoyed by the workers presently and give increases in dearness allowances etc to cope up with the price rise, the workers should struggle for them while participating in the bigger struggle for scrapping the policy of liberalisation. That is, the working class should adopt a policy of unity and struggle with the managements, never surrendering their leadership.

The developments in the beedi sector calls for urgent, united, countrywide movements by the revolutionary trade union centres

Protest action against Bihar killings

On 1st April 1997 revolutionary volunteers of Sangrami Gano Manch ransacked the office of Bihar Tourism Department in Calcutta in protest against the serial killings of landless peasants in Bihar by Ranbeer Sena, the private army of feudals. While BJP is directly involved in the 'Sena' killings, Laloo Yadav government and the police under it are protecting the criminals.

The volunteers raised slogans like Naxalbari Lalsalam, Stop killing of peasants etc. It was supported by the people who gathered. This protest received good response from progressive forces.

KRUSHCHEVITE NEO - REVISIONISM TO DENG'S MARKET SOCIALISM

The occasion of Deng's passing away was utilised by theoreticians of Krushchevite revisionism like E. M. S. Namboodiripad to eulogise him as the leader of the international Communist movement. Deng's market socialism was depicted by them as the natural continuation of Krushchev's Theory of Three Peacefuls. It is but natural that Krushchevite neorevisionist parties like C P I(M) and C P I here, and their social democratic compatriots all over the world become ardent followers of Deng. There is nothing surprising in that.

But along with them, a stream among the Marxist-Leninists who fought against Krushchevite neorevisionism following the Great Debate positions, and who later in the post-Mao period toed the Dengist line have also joined the neorevisionists in continuing to uphold Deng's market socialism. To be a bit different from E. M. S. they say "the debate whether Deng was building socialism or capitalism in China remains inconclusive." Also they see it as a miracle that "within a period of just 10 to 15 years" China could emerge a major world economic power, with the possibility of "becoming an economic super power next only to US." (Liberation, April '97). These arguments are repeated by Dengists all over the world.

While doing so they conveniently sideline what happened in Soviet Union earlier. There also after capitalist restoration started by Krushchev, Soviet Union was soon transferred in to a superpower. What happened

to that superpower, which was a social imperialist power, is part of our recent history. While the die-hard followers of Krushchevite neorevisionism went on eulogising Soviet social imperialism till the disintegration of Soviet Union, the Dengists who deviated from the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought also later became camp followers of Gorbachov. They self-criticised or criticised the C P C leadership of Mao's time for erroneously depicting Soviet Union as social imperialist. The old as well as new brands of followers of Krushchevite neorevisionism had no answer when the "socialist" Soviet Union (socialist till end according to them) disintegrated and became part of the classical imperialist economic, political, market system.

Concealing this historical lessons once again they are engaged in eulogising Dengist China. E. M. S. calls "socialism with Chinese Characteristics" or Deng's market socialism as the latest rectified model of socialism, and Dengism as a development of Marxism-Leninism. The latest brand of Dengists also eulogise it, but with something like a centrist position, a sad repetition of the C P I (M) position in mid-1950s.

The latest studies on China refute the arguments of these neorevisionists. Though China could make significant advances utilising the infrastructure built-up during the socialist period, the penetration of imperialist capital and MNCs, and policies pursued under IMF-WB directives, though in a limited way

neocolonisation is attempted there also by imperialist powers. If the present Chinese leadership and the bureaucratic set-up it has built up are not overthrown, and China is not once again embracing the socialist path, the possibilities are for it coming under neocolonisation more and more. Even the present state structure may be transformed as the imperialists desire, or a Balkanisation may be attempted as was done in Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

It is not that revisionists are not aware of these. But revisionism means bourgeois ideology. Revisionists reduce socialism to 'Goulash socialism' as Krushchev did, or calling for developing productive forces by all means or propagating 'to get rich is good' as Deng did. They disarm the Marxist-Leninist movement ideologically and reduce it to apologists of neocolonialism or social democracy. Or they erase the distinction between socialism and imperialism.

Today Krushchevite neorevisionism has adopted the form of Dengist market socialism. Only by intensifying the ideological struggle against it at all levels, the struggle for reorganising the Communist movement at international level and within our country can be carried forward.

How Kendu Leaf Collectors Are Exploited

Kendu leaf plucking/collecting is one of the largest source of livelihood for the adivasis and other oppressed sections of central India, that is, many districts of Orissa, AP, MP and Maharashtra. Here a case study of Kendu leaf pluckers in Orissa is made to show how exploited are these sections.

It generates more than one crore days of employment during the lean summer months for the lakhs of adivasis and dalits, specially women and children in Bolangir, Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Koraput, Angul, Sundergarh, Keonjhar and Phulbani districts. About 5 lakhs of workers are employed earning average Rs 58/- per month. In an area where more than 60% of the population are below poverty line this is a big help. For this paltry payment at current rates plucking, tying into bundles and selling of the leaves at procurement centres is a very difficult job.

Though Kendu leaf collection was nationalised in 1973 today the Forest Department in charge of collection and storage, and the Orissa Forest Development Corporation (OFDC) which does

the marketing are looting the workers. To show how it is done we are quoting below details of the Kendu Leaf (KL) revenues in 1993-94. During this year total expenditure for collection and storage was Rs. 85.67 crores including Rs. 27.47 crores as wages of KL pluckers and Rs. 58.20 as other expenditures including commission to OFDC. The amount realised in sales was Rs 156.51 crores giving Rs 70.84 crores as net profit to government. This account shows that out of the sale proceeds only 16% or one sixth is paid to the workers for doing all the hard work. Government is grabbing this huge amount in the name of royalty. At the same time the workers are not paid even at the government approved minimum wages.

Eventhough 50% of the net profit of the government is supposed to be channeled to the Panchayat Samithis for local developmental work either it is not implemented or most of the allotted amount is gobbled up by the bureaucrats and contractors. Thus, inspite of earning huge profits for government these are as remain most backward and people most impoverished.

Though there may be small variations the condition is almost same in other states also. K L pluckers remain one of the most exploited sections in the country. As the K L pluckers are not organised and politicalised even occasional wage - hikes are not helping them much as it is drained away by the traders money - lenders and abkari-contractors. Even nominal changes to this condition can be achieved only by a conscious drive to organise them in trade unions and the sense of organisation and political consciousness is imparted to them.

As the beedi industry as a whole is facing a growing threat from MNCs who have started manufacturing and marketing mini - cigarettes at competitive prices, the burden over the industry is going to be shifted to the shoulders of beedi workers and KL pluckers by the beedi-barons. In this situation, beedi-industry can be protected against MNCs, job-opportunities can be maintained, and need-based wages can be earned only of the K L pluckers are organised alongwith the beedi workers.

Under NEP area under food grains decreases (in million hectares)

Year	All Cereals	Wheat and rice	Coarse grains	Pulses
1989-90	103.3	65.7	38.6	23.4
1990-91	103.2	66.9	36.3	24.7
1991-92	99.3	66.0	33.3	22.5
1992-93	100.8	66.4	34.4	22.4
1993-94	100.5	67.6	32.9	22.2
1994-95	100.4	67.8	32.6	23.2
Percentage change	-2.91	0.98	-11.08	-6.13

As food demand grows with population, under globalisation area under cereals cultivation and gross food production decreases.

End Of Lima Hostage Takeover

Fujimori regime has ended the Lima hostage take over by butchering all the M R T A men involved in it. It is reported that even those who were caught or who surrendered also were shot. This was followed by a propaganda blitzkrieg to establish the superiority of his com-prador regime. The M R T A action is utilised to slander and attack all communists as terrorists. Thus US imperialism and Fujimori regime have succeeded in ending the crisis they faced through a bloodbath. What are the lessons to be drawn from this incident?

In a 30 December communique M R T A had proclaimed: "We confirm that the only possible solution is through listening to our requests and proceeding to free all our detained comrades. We think that a gesture of this nature would help give the first steps to an overall solution to the problem of political violence through the path of dialogue and a more permanent peace accord". But the enemy had other ideas. The takeover was prolonged, the M R T A men were subjected to wearing down tactics, and finally butchered. As Mao said the reactionaries and their imperialist backers will never lay down their butcher knives and the people of the world must understand it.

M R T A actions are not new as far as Latin American history goes. There are many examples of M R T A like groups taking up arms and then trying to end up making peace with the system. The most recent case is that of Guatemala. Since 1954 after overthrowing the Arbenz government to prevent even the nominal land reforms announced by it, the military with US backing killed more than one lakh peasants. In a recent agreement which M R T A refer to as a model the guerilla groups surrendered to become legal opposition. In Nicaragua the Sandinistas acclaimed all over the world by revisionists and reformist forces surrendered to US imperialism. But the bitter oppression of peasants and murderous persecution of the opposition continues unabated.

In Columbia M - 19 a fraternal group of M R T A signed a peace accord with the government after a spectacular embassy takeover. It

entered the parliament and one of its members even became a minister. But soon the reactionaries showed their real colour by slaughtering most of the M-19 men including the minister. It led to a big set back to the Communist movement as a whole in Columbia.

M R T A was formed in 1984 by few groups who opposed the Communist Party of Peru and the people's war led by it. It is reported that M R T A is historically rooted in A P R A, a reactionary ruling class party. If it started some actions when A P R A was out of power, with the election of A P R A's Alan Garcia as president in 1985 it suspended its militant actions. Even when Garcia regime butchered PCP prisoners M R T A did not react. Besides M R T A has openly accused and still criticises PCP and the concept of new Democratic Revolution.

The basic orientation of M R T A like groups is urban guerilla tactics to come to power. They denounce the mass line approach and proletarian vanguard party concept of the Marxist-Leninists. Claiming that they have "no predefined ideology" M R T A speaks about "socialism..... but a Peruvian model" which is nothing but a bourgeois ideology, or a neo - Trotskyist concept. So even while severely condemning the Fujimori regime for the brutal massacre of the M R T A men and declaring solidarity with Peruvian people who are trying to get organised against this neo-fascist regime, the Marxist-Leninist should not be swayed by such "spectacular actions" of these "armed revisionists" as PCP calls them. At the same time because of the sectarian line pursued by the PCP leadership, it should not be reason to anyway justify or laud M R T A-like actions as the path of revolution.

Even before the massacre of M R T A men Fujimori regime had intensified the suppression both inside the jails and outside. Through these he and his US supporters had declared that they have no intention of changing their present policies of neocolonial plunder.

Peru is a country where imperialist capital has penetrated everywhere and MNCs are

Kerala: Struggle For Protecting Statutory Ration

In the name of providing 10-kgs of rice or wheat at half the price to a section of people under poverty line from June 1st the central government has again raised the prices of wheat and rice issued from the ration shops, or public distribution centres as they are now called. In effect in the name of showing its largesse by issuing 10kg of wheat or rice at subsidised rate the government has moved one more step ahead to close down the public distribution system (PDS) at the dictates of IMF-World Bank. For Kerala, at the same time, it means the death blow to the statutory ration system enjoyed by the people for last four decades, and for which the Communists had led a mighty people's movement from the 1930s,

In the 1930s as a part of Great Depression of the imperialist system, under British Colonial rule many lakhs of people died due to starvation all over India. It is estimated that in Shertalai taluk of old

Travancore (south Kerala) alone more than 30,000 people died. The Coir factory workers union led by Communist party led a historic struggle for providing essential commodities at controlled prices. To suppress this strike struggle then raja and his notorious *dewan* (chief-administrator) let loose military and police. Though many were killed and many more thrown behind bars struggle continued with people participating in larger numbers. Finally statutory rationing was allowed in Travancore and later following another struggle it was allowed in nearby princely state Kochi also. In 1956 when Kerala was formed it was made applicable all over the state. In the social progress of Kerala during last 50 years statutory rationing has played an important role. Now when it is going to be snatched away when so-called communists are ruling the state and when they are again propping up a UF government at centre naturally they are creating lot of confusion among people through

a disinformation campaign.

With the first attack against PDS started by Rao government CPI (ML) Red Flag state committee and the class/mass organisations led by it are in the forefront to protect the statutory rationing and to resist price rises. When LDF was in opposition till 1996 they also led campaigns with same slogans. But now LDF is in power and under imperialist orders PDS is going to be stopped. For Kerala it means an end to the statutory rationing enjoyed by the people for many decades. It is going to increase the prices of all essential commodities many times. In this context Red Flag with the class/mass organisations have started statewide agitations to protect statutory rationing and to resist price-rise

After the completion of two propaganda jathas starting from north and south and culminating at centre, Kochi on 10 May, Yuvajanavedi volunteers

lording over in every sector. Except in remote mountainous regions the agrarian sector is also under the domination of MNCs. These policies have compelled majority of people to migrate to cities and depend on sprawling slums without even minimum facilities. The situation in most of the Latin American countries is almost similar. While it has ripened the objective conditions for New Democratic Revolution led by the proletariat and based on worker-peasant alliance, the Communist movement there is under the influence of various alien trends. US imperialism and its agents promote these alien trends overtly or covertly. Many movements are annihilated in a blood bath or purchased. But the subjective conditions are prepared in such a way by the imperialist and their agents again and again that they succeed

in promoting Krushchevite revisionism and its modern form Deng's market socialism on the one hand, and 'Gueverist', Marighella type 'foco' or 'urban Guerilla warfare' like theories on the other.

These imperialist manoeuvres as well as M R T A action like developments point out the necessity of building up Communist parties which are vanguard of the proletariat, and which can develop protracted people's war according to the concrete conditions. Only in this way the rule of comprador regimes serving imperialism led by US imperialism can be overthrown and New Democratic revolution can be carried forward. The tragic end to M R T A takeover should compel the Marxist - Leninist forces everywhere to ponder over this question. ●

The Reality Of Foreign Investments

• German Investments In India (1991-96)

This is the latest publication by Madhyam Book which has already published TNCs and India, Swiss TNCs in India, and Economic Reforms and People on the developments during the so-called post-liberalisation period. The book is informative and gives an overall picture about the German investments in this decade in India.

It points out the major attractions for German investments here as availability of cheap labour (one German worker's wages equivalent to that of 128 Indians), huge domestic market (almost equal to that of western Europe), and lax environmental and public health regulations (which allow Union carbide management to escape scotfree even after Bhopal massacre).

The author points out that current debate on desirability of MNCs entering India centers round two positions: advocates of open door policy argue that TNCs will help India as these

bring new technology and capital and provide better goods and services; the critics argue that they are coming to make quick profits and foreign investments cannot help India to solve its basic problems of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and environmental degradation. He complains that this debate is centered more around ideological positions. So this book. And his analysis on empirical grounds leads him to support the second position. To that extent the book is informative.

But his 'Conclusion' raises serious questions. For example, he concludes. "Any policy to attract foreign investments in India needs to be guided by the overall development agenda keeping the concerns of people, domestic economy and environment in mind.....In fact, there is need for a transparency in decision-makingwith active participation of people's representatives including NGOsThe government

should make public all information and data.....Lastly, it is high time that Indian government looks in to the wider implications of foreign investments, including German investments..... and strictly enforce regulatory mechanisms and legislations."

It is the common VO/NGO tactics. They start talking about the negative consequences of the imperialist dictated policies. Using vast resources at their command they bring out lot of information. They express concern about consequences of foreign investments. Finally they advise government to be more vigilant and be transparent. For this they may launch a few agitations also

But they never talk about the possibility of an alternate developmental policy opposed to the imperialist sponsored one. They never talk about the necessity for kicking out the MNCs and following self-reli-

picketed the road traffic at all district headquarters. It was highly successful in evoking public response. Following this state committee of RF has given a Memorandum to state government to take steps to protect statutory rationing (SR) and to resist central measures to stop it. Following this a signature campaign of prominent democrats is different walks of life is organised to demand protection of SR. On June 2 the state committee will organise picketing of road traffic all over the state for two hours to mobilise public opinion.

Alongwith this ration protection committees are going to be formed in at least one-third of all panchayats and signature campaign will be launched state wide. The ration protection committees will launch movements at local level all over the state against central and state government institutions. Resistance struggles will be developed in all taluks of the state.

In this way a massive mobilisation of the people are taken up to develop the struggle to people's upsurges and food riots everywhere. At appropriate

time a state-level agitation like general strike or bandh also may be called to highlight the issue further and to continue the struggle. This approach is basically different from the name-sake agitation or propaganda called for by Congress led UDF or other parties. As they themselves are implementing the very same policies in the states they are ruling their calls are limited to nominal portests. But RF state committee has called for an uncompromising state wide protracted movement to protect the statutory rationing. ●

Zaire to Democratic Republic of Congo

It was a CIA initiated coup that murdered Lumumba and launched the dictator Mobu to power in the sixties. Under his imperialist supported corrupt rule the richest country in Africa became the scene of unimaginable poverty for the vast majority. While the government became bankrupt with 14 billion dollars in foreign debts, the inflation rate 75% a year and the currency in made worthless, the personal property amassed by Mobutu and his close assistants alone estimated as 10 billion dollars. It is in the form of hundreds of palaces in European countries and huge amounts deposited in Swiss and other European banks. This is in addition to hundreds of billions looted away by all the imperialists, mainly French and US imperialists during this period.

Once Mobutu has fled after the victory of a 30 year long rebellion led by an old soldier of Lumumba's forces, Laurant Kabila, and the old name of the country is restored, the very same imperialists and MNCs who shamelessly supported all dictatorial criminal deeds of Mobutu till now, have recognised Kabila regime in haste, and fiercely competing to establish relations with it. Hundreds of US, European and white South African businessmen are converging on Lumumbashi, the stronghold of the rebels for long, and Kinshasha to clinch deals with Kabila's close aides. They are reaching even in rented aircrafts and flooding all available star hotels.

For the imperialists the business is as usual. They are advising Kabila to hold elections soon as if their democratic consciousness woke up only now. So long as Mobutu and similar dictators put in place by them are in power there is no need for elections. Now the bourgeois media is suspecting Kabila as a Marxist. So they want urgent elections to get satisfied with his bonafides.

Imperialists are playing all available heinous cards to intimidate, to purchase and to make Kabila regime to surrender their wishes. The comprador media in India is repeating this rubbish. The social democratic forces like CPI (M), CPI are also serving imperialism by repeating the same rubbish propaganda.

The progressivs forces should support the anti-imperialist measures, if any, taken by Kabila regime, and oppose all intimidatory measures by imperialists against it. But, even though Kabila was a follower of patriotic Lumumba, and he has talked against French and US imperialists during his anti-Mobutu war, it will be too much if anybody expects that he can challenge the imperialist system and follow socialist path. The rebellion in Congo in important in the sense that it has demolished a once anti-Communist bastion in Africa, and has challenged atleast for the time being the criminal neocolonial loot and suppression of the imperialist forces. To transform there rebellions to anti-imperialist advances by socialist forces much more work efforts are needed.

ance. They reduce everything to empiricism and economism and violently object to ideological struggle against imperialist position. Or, they resort to the de-ideologisation of the vital debate against neocolonisation. Look at any VO/NGO literature. One word, socialism, is conspicuously absent in them. They will talk everything about MNCs/TNCs, environmental

degeneration etc. etc. But they will consciously avoid mentioning the socialist experience in Soviet Union and China which are the examples of the only alternative against imperialism. Or they erase class struggle from their dictionary and preach class collaboration after being eloquent about the plunder of MNCs etc. etc.

This is exactly what is done

by the author in this book also. It provides information in bourgeois journalistic style and restricts the reader's thinking just within ruling class politics

—Karthik

* Madhyam Books, New Delhi
Pages-84, Rs. 80/-

INTERNATIONAL SCENE

WHO and Globalisation

The draft report circulated by WHO for consideration of its general assembly states that "globalisation has resulted in gains for some and marginalisation for others". Criticising the Structural Adjustment Policies the report evaluates that have "led to increased inequalities". Poverty remains rampant. "Attention must be given to the exporting of harmful lifestyles, products and values through international trade, and the associated advertising and promotion of these products by MNCs. For example, although promotion of tobacco products in developed countries has been sharply curtailed in the recent years, the aggressive marketing of tobacco in developing countries has recently increased." According to WHO if any health improvement has taken place in any country in last half century it is not due to globalisation but due to indigenously nurtured economic growth. Globalisation has only promoted perverted lifestyles. Instead of helping people to get employment and incomes which will provide better health, globalisation is leading to reverse by marginalising many and promoting harmful lifestyles.

Though this report looks like an open indictment of globalisation and SAPs the conclusions arrived at by WHO is basically different. It says that "globalisation of technology could improve the health of the poor if the development of these technologies is carried out with these vulnerable populations in mind". Though WHO says that the dynamics of poverty must be understood and debt must be swapped and reduced, it has not a word against globalisation. It is high time that we should recognise UN and its numerous agencies like WHO are nothing but spokespersons of the MNCs. Their agenda is to contain people's unrest and enable the MNCs to continue the exploitation of the resources and labour from the neocolonies.

Labour victory in Britain

Labour Party is back in power after 18 years of Conservative rule. During the days of Thatcherist monetarist policies imperialist ideologues forecasted that Labour has lost

for ever. But monetarism's hay days are over. Cutting down even basic welfare measures had antagonised the people. Though the new Labour Party, as its new leader and prime minister Tony Blair will like to call it, also agrees with the basic features of monetarism, it could get the massive mandate only because of the negative votes against monetarist policies. In coming days this trend is going to become stronger as the consequences of these reactionary policies are getting exposed more and more.

Albanian Uprising : Turning Point in Eastern Europe

Once it was the fascist troops of Mussolini who seized Albania during World War II. The Communists (P L A) then led a fierce partisan war which not only threw out the fascist army but took Albania to socialist path. Five decades later once again Italian army under the banner of UN has entered Albania to suppress the people's rebellion. Will it be a turning point in eastern Europe?

Albania is a small country. Its population is about 3.5 million. Pre-liberation Albania was feudal and one of the most poor and backward regions in Eastern Europe. During the socialist days though Albanians did not become rich all on a sudden, their lives had improved tremendously. They eliminated the feudal relations, built up a modern industry capable of catering to people's basic demands, and through co-operativisation and collectivisation agricultural sector scored major gains. They were self-reliant and were advancing along socialist path.

But by end of 1970s the Albanian leadership started moving away from this path and consolidating a revisionist line. Soon the socialist country was turned in to a bureaucratic, state capitalist one. Albania started coming under debt-trap. And by end of 1980s under IMF-World Bank pressure the revisionist leadership called for fully 'opening up' to world capitalist market. By 1991 sections within the 'transformed PLA' including Berisha who was earlier a secretary of PLA and formed a right-wing 'Democratic Party', and the majority who

renamed themselves the 'Socialist Party' started calling for embracing the politics and economics of western style capitalism.

In 1992 presidential elections Berisha won with the slogan 'integrating with Europe', and with the support of imperialist powers. He soon dismantled whatever social ownership was left over from the socialist days. All state-guaranteed social services were stopped. With the opening up as cheap foreign goods flooded in the domestic factories closed. As collective village agricultural organisations were broken up though a handful started getting rich agriculture as a whole stagnated. The promised foreign investments were not coming. Out of the adult population of 15 lakhs 4 lakhs became unemployed. And the employed started getting paid less.

Berisha regime offered a new private banking system as a panacea to get over these problems. People were urged to put money in investment funds created under new banking laws. Soon the rival investment funds started offering up to 100% interest per month. So all Albanians deprived of all social welfare started investing everything they had in these funds. Small farmers sold their small plots and invested. The remittance from 5 lakhs immigrants also were invested. By September 1996 these funds had 1.5 billion dollars invested in them—virtually all the savings of the people.

These funds were utilised by the newly emerging western style capitalist class and mafias for speculative purposes and smuggling. They siphoned off the profits outside the country. They also used the funds for expenses of Democratic and Socialist parties. As a result of all these by end of 1996 the investment funds stopped paying monthly interest and soon they went bankrupt. About one third of the whole population, or vast majority of the families were ruined. The finance minister said. "This is capitalism, companies can collapse." Berisha declared that the investments cannot be repaid. The angry people took over the streets and the revolts spread by January and February.

Protestors attacked police, occupied ordnance depots, got themselves armed, and attacked government institutions. They burned the headquarters of Berisha's hated secret police headquarters. Police stations were occupied

and prisoners were freed. Military units were disbanded and their arms distributed among people. Most of south Albania fell in to rebels' hands. In other areas also revolts started spreading. There was massive participation of people everywhere. Soon people had more than 1.5 lakhs automatic rifles and other weapons and grenades. All prisoners were released

Berisha called for intervention of west European and US imperialism to save his regime. Side by side he appointed the chief of the Socialist Party as his new prime minister. The intentions of the imperialist powers are clear. They want a new comprador regime if possible without Berisha. Under new arrangements authored by imperialists, socialist head of the new coalition government announced many favours for the police and military men. These are intended to prevent the revolt from spreading to new areas and to contain it. Sceptical of the consequences of a massive US intervention, imperialists are trying to implement their plan under 'UN humanitarian effort'. Their plan at the moment is to contain the uprising, create a new government with the Socialist Party leading it, and to cool down the tempers so that people can be disarmed.

But the imperialist force under UN banner and led by Italian military will find it difficult to put down this uprising as the basic issues which sparked it are unresolved. Albanian people are finding it through their bitter experience that they cannot reach the living standards of the affluent in western Europe as they are the exploiters and Albanian people belong to the exploited.

In the absence of a powerful Marxist-Leninist Vanguard party the Albanian uprising may not lead to overthrow of the rule of the imperialists and their agents and to restoration of socialist path once again this time. But Albanian uprising is going to be a turning point in eastern Europe. Contrary to imperialist sponsored Balkanisation as in Yugoslavia, people's uprisings like these are going to a beginning of the coming socialist upsurge in this region.

Zaire: Fate of first neocolony of US in Africa

The collapse of the talks under US supervision between president Mobutu and the rebel

leader Kabila has intensified the crisis faced by Zaire, the first US neocolony in Africa. The rebel forces are threatening to topple Mobutu regime any time and the condition of the majority of people who are turned in to refugees with many lakhs taking refuge in forests are worsening. Today Zaire become a typical example of the African countries which were transformed from colonies to neocolonies in the decades following World War II.

For a century Zaire was a Belgian colony, Belgian Congo. It suffered one of the most ruthless and barbaric colonial plunder under Belgium. People were forced to work in slave like conditions in the mines, and in rubber, cocoa, tea, coffee and oil palm plantations.

By late 1950s rebellions and upheavals against colonial powers started in Africa. With this imperialist powers tried to sabotage people's struggles in many colonies by giving formal independence and putting their trusted agents in power. Belgium was forced to do the same in Congo also in 1960. But the new government had two factions: One which wanted to serve former colonial masters and other imperialist powers, the other led by the radical nationalist prime minister Patrice Lumumba. Imperialists soon started manoeuvres to support the first and eliminate the other. As contradiction between Belgium-backed Tshombe and Lumumba grew, US imperialism entered the scene through the CIA operative Colonel Mobutu, manipulated murder of Lumumba in 1961, brutally suppressed the people's resistance, and finally managed take over of power by Mobutu in 1965. From then onwards while talking about helping people, human rights, democracy etc. etc. US imperialists and others were aiding Mobutu to terrorise the people in order to continue their neocolonial plunder without any obstruction.

Zaire is important for imperialist camp. Firstly it is rich in mineral and other natural resources including cheap labour. Secondly having boundaries with nine countries through strongman Mobutu imperialists could defeat Soviet social imperialist challenge in between and suppress all anti-imperialist movements in the region. But the people of Zaire had to pay heavily for it. The entire economy moulded according to imperialist interests. It is said that in over 30 years of rule Mobutu regime has not built so much as one hospital or school. Roads and electricity is non-existent in most

of the country. The fertile farming area is reduced to subsistence farming. That is, in spite of the vast riches of their country, people are pauperised and devastated. The riches were either plundered by the imperialists or have gone to Swiss and other foreign deposits of Mobutu and his close-ones. As a result of this neo-colonial slavery, out of the 45 million people, vast majority are desperately poor. They hate Mobutu and his imperialist backers.

The present rebellion started from across the borders with Rwanda and Burundi. From 1994 hundreds of thousands of refugees from the turmoil in these French imperialist dominated neocolonies started entering eastern Zaire. The Rwandan regime which was dominated by the compradors of Hutu had massacred lakhs of Tutsi people. When this regime was defeated by a Tutsi dominated force many lakhs of Hutus had to flee to Zaire. The Hutu officials, military men among them with French imperialist support held these refugees as virtual hostages and carried out raids against present Rwandan government. This mercenary force called 'Interahamwe' joined by Zairean troops also attacked Tutsi people living in eastern Zaire.

Against the criminal ganging up of these forces, the rebel force of Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo - Zaire (ADFL) came in to existence in 1996. It started defeating Interahamwe and the Zairean troops. Soon it took control of eastern border region. As ADFL advanced fast the government troops and mercenary forces of Mobutu started fleeing. Now ADFL is controlling most of Zaire except for the capital Kinshasa and surrounding areas. If Mobutu is not resigning or an accord is not reached, the rebels may take over Kinshasa also.

The imperialists led by US imperialists are engaged in new manoeuvres to arrange a transfer of power from one comprador regime to another comprador regime, and thereby to thwart people's aspirations again. In the present situation they may succeed once again with the help of other comprador leaders in Africa. Neocolonial plunder may continue under a new ruler Kabila or someone else for some more time. But the people have started revolting. With a Marxist-Leninist vanguard force gaining strength, in coming days Zaire is going to give fitting reply to the imperialists. ●

INDIAN SCENE

FERA Goes

The Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA) proposed by a Reserve Bank of India (RBI) drafted bill which will be presented in Lok Sabha replaces Foreign Exchanges Regulations Act (FERA) under which the Enforcement Directorate (ED) has booked many including top leaders of ruling parties and their relatives. Once FEMA comes in to force ED will be made powerless and scores of cases already booked shall become ineffective. That is the ED cases against Prabhakar Rao, K.L. Chugh, S. Krishnakumar, Chandraswamy, Ashok Jain and scores of others will be dropped with retrospective effect. Cases against big corporate houses including I T C, Shaw Wallace, M M T C, Mesco and urea scam probe may be scrapped under F E M A. Many top bureaucrats in R B I who are piloting this bill themselves are involved in FERA violations and are facing investigations by ED

This is the way the anti-corruption drive goes in our country whether under Congress, BJP or UF dispensation: Scrap the act itself under which the corrupt are booked. That also with retrospective effect.

NGOs team up with corporates

Non-Governmental Organisations have started openly teaming-up with corporates- both native monopolies as well as MNCs. It gives a philanthropic cover to the corporates while these welfare activities are utilised for getting more customers. It also helps them to refurbish their images from that of rapacious profit-seekers. NGOs are provided the benefit of the wide range of resources in terms of capital, technology and markets. In return NGOs share their experience, expertise and collected data with the corporate sector. Thus 'SOS children's village of India' works as subsidiary of Bank of America. Another NGO working among children, *Child Relief and You* has tie up with *Standard Chartered* bank. These and similar MNCs banks utilise these NGOs to spread their business.

Svades, the Society for Village Develop-

ment in Petrochemicals Area like NGOs have another mission. They work for diluting the contradiction of the people against these highly polluting MNCs working in petro-chemicals, chemicals and plastic industries. In the name of redressing the social grievances caused by them, these NGOs whitewash the MNCs as in the case of Union Carbide after Bhopal massacre.

As neocolonisation intensifies and people have started revolting against its consequences more and more VOs/NGOs are employed by imperialist agencies to disarm the people ideologically and to lead them to a path of surrender.

Fifth Pay Commission Report: Growing discontentment among uniformed men

The FPC has not only disappointed the working class and government employees, it has frustrated the uniformed men in military and para-military services also. Like the IAS and IPS officers, officers in armed services are pampered by the FPC while the rank and file are discriminated against. The FPC has downgraded the economic status and importance of the armed forces, para-military forces, police, and employees in premier intelligence services like IB and CBI. In every sector the officers are given fabulous benefits. But as for as the non-officers categories are concerned their pay-scale is made stagnant, their strength is cut down, and work-load is increased. In the services, the ordinary uniformed men's risk factor is also much more; in police for every officer 1200 constabulary get killed every year during their duties; in military and para-military this ratio is more during 'peace-time', that is when an open war with a neighbouring country is not taking place. In short, already the discrimination of ordinary employees among uniformed services were much more. Now the FPC has further aggravated it. As a result the contradiction between the officer category and others are sharpening. A former director-general of IB in an article in *Asian Age* (31 March) has warned that "given the degree of

resentment all around, unless adequate remedial measures are immediately initiated, the nation could face near - apocalypse", here of course the *nation* means the *Indian state* which is led by the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and big landlord classes in the interest of imperialism.

India signs WTO's info_tech pact

India has signed on March 26 the information Technology Agreement (ITA) of the WTO aimed at eliminating import tariffs on a wide range of information technology products. India has agreed to eliminate tariffs on all products under ITA by 2005, and on several items before then itself. ITA covers following categories of IT products: computers (including printers, scanners, monitors, hard-disc drives, power supplies etc), telecom products (including Fax machines, modems, pagers, etc), semi-conductors (including chips and wafers), semiconductor manufacturing equipment, software products (diskettes and CD-ROMs etc) and other connected scientific instruments:

Apart from the 24 OECD countries-the big and small imperialist countries-only 17 countries which mostly include Hongkong, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Macau, Turkey like countries including India have signed this agreement. By hurrying to sign it the UF governments have foreclosed all the possibilities for the indigenous research and developments in these areas. The globalisation is really moving forward very fast.

Orissa: Struggle Against TISCO's Gopalpur project

In spite of continuous suppression people's struggle against the steel project of TISCO at Gopalpur in Ganjam district is continuing. Orissa government has stationed special police force to protect the survey teams. But Gana Sangram Samithi in mobilising large number of people in protest actions. On March 19 when people surrounded the survey teams police resorted to lathi charge, tear-gassing and firing in which four villagers were seriously injured and many arrested. The chief minister misled the people stating that it happened during an excise raid against illicit distillers of liquor. The civil rights organisations, PUCL, GASS and MAS

have held an on the spot enquiry and condemned continuing police action.

(From P 2)

it has continuously retreated from position stated. The retreat is continuing under UF dispensation with more speed. Without recognising it, just stating that communalism is growing or making a hollow self-criticism is not going to help to reverse the present trend in any way. CITU has not only started emulating INTUC in the fabulous way in which its all India conferences are held, it is copying the political line of INTUC also. This political bankruptcy and sharp retreat from earlier positions-exposed in the Conference. In spite of the claims of the Conference that it will launch agitation against Gujral government's economic policies, it is going to be a non-starter. CITU has totally lost whatever initiative it had in the TU movement. The Ernakulam conference has exposed it further.

(From P 10)

on foreign funding, the dictates of funding agencies became pronounced. These agencies required them to draw up three-year "strategic" plans subject to the funding agency's approval, monitoring and evaluation. Women's programs and women's organizations that got funding from these agencies were also pushed to hold gender-sensitivity courses and feminist management training, among other things.

The issue of foreign funding has not only redirected the course of women's organizations and institutions. It has also spawned the problem of economism among women in urban poor communities as well as in the countryside. No different from the regime's concept of "empowerment", women were encouraged to set up small-scale and labour-intensive "income-generating" projects.

The problem was not so much that these projects failed—as these were bound to fail, subject to the inherent laws to the capitalist market—but that so-called socioeconomic projects competed with or emasculated existing women's organizations in the area. It turned out that personnel for these projects were recruited from among members of legal organizations who lost time for mass organizing and activities as they became more and more engrossed with economic activities that earned for them allowances and benefits for the duration of the project period. (Continued next issue)

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