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#### Press Statement

#### An Irreparable Loss

The sudden departure of com. Sauren Bose, member of the CRC of CPI (ML) Red Flag and secretary of its W. Bengal state committee at Mumbai on early morning of 17th August where he had gone to attend party programmes is an irreparable loss to our organisation in particular and to the communist movement as a whole.

During the 74 years of his life he was a consistent communist fighter for more than five decades. Under the leadership of com. Charu-Majumdar, he was among those front ranking comrades who consistently fought against Krushchevite revisionism, who led the Naxalbari struggle, and formed CPI (ML). He was a member of the politbureau of its first central committee.

Through a process of continuous ideological discussions and joint activities he joined CPI

( From Page 3) and for developing the ideological - political-

organisational orientation based on it. But the sectarian influence was so profound in the movement, that it was not possible then to start a rectification based on the CPC sugges-This sectarianism went to the extent of some of the forces even rejecting the 10th Congress report of CPC which rejecting earlier 1969 formulations regarding the era and many connected positions. Later this metaphysical approach went to the other extreme in 1977 when most of the CPI (ML) forces mechanically accepted the Hua- Deng group's total rejection of Mao's revolutionary line, once again in the name of Mao! The upholding of the dialectical relation between developing the revolutionary movement in one country according to concrete conditions there and linking it with proletarian internationalism continued to elude the international communist movement. But Com. Sauren Bose persisted to uphold his opposition to sectarianism and revisionism, repeated the cardinal points from the suggestions of the CPC leaders, and inspired the Bolshevik party building which is the precondition to mobilise the revolutionary masses for the NDR.

Both in his personal and political life he was one of the finest examples of Communist

(ML) Red Flag giving great encouragement to the party reorganisation. Thus he became a great bridge between great Naxalbari struggle led by CM and the party reorganisation tasks of today. His loss while he was actively engaged in this task is a great loss to the revolutionary movement.

On this occasion we share the profound grief of the communist revolutionaries, his innumerable friends and family members.

We pledge to carry forward more energetically the revolutionary tasks so dear to him allthrough his life.

Central Reorganisation Committee C. P. I. (M.L) Red Flag. 18 August 1997

Culture. Starting his political life by organising the tea-garden workers and peasants of north Bengal he was always wedded to mass line and thoroughly hated sectarianism. In his characteristic style he used to educate how mass line advanced the movement, and how sectarian mistakes distorted it and brought incalculable damage to it. In a humorous way he used to self-critically explain the past errors while highlighting the great contributions of the movement. In these days when imperialism has intensified its frenzied attack on communism and non-party thinking is propagated by various petti-bourgeois, opportunist trends, his life with total involvement in the communist movement for a long period spanning more than five decades, and consistent advocacy of the socialist future are shining examples for the new generation to emulate.

We have received reports of memorial meetings not only from Calcutta but also from numerous places all over the country expressing shock at com. Sauren Bose's unexpected departure and pledging to follow the ideals for which he fought all through his life. Red Star joins the Communist revolutionaries all over the country on this occasion in upholding the great revolutionary contributions of com. Sauren Bose to the communist movement and pledges to tirelessly work for realising the socialist

#### **EDITORIAL**

## Com. Sauren Bose

Com. Sauren Bose left us on the early morning of 17 August. After three days of programmes at Mumbai which enthused the Comrades and all the well-wishers of the revolutionary movement he was to leave for Calcutta a few hours later. His sudden death when he was playing a leading role in the reorganisation of CPI (ML) is an irreparable loss. It has greatly grieved the Communist revolutionaries all over India.

Com. Sauren Bose was one of the architects of Naxalbari movement and CPI (ML) under the leadership of Com. Charu Majumdar in the tumultuous decade of 1960s. For him working under the leadership of and together with CM started from the early 1940s when he joined the Communist Party. To CPI (M) and later to Naxalbari and CPI (ML) they advanced together. He became a politbureau member of the CPI (ML). Till the last moment he upheld the glorious tradition of CPI (ML) and became a central pillar in the present efforts to reorganise the party based on the concrete analysis of the present concrete situation. He became a great bridge between the glorious late 1960s and early 1970s when the Communist revolutionaries all over India fought against revisionism, gave a basically Marxist - Leninist orientation to the Communist movement and launched uncompromising struggle for overthrowing the present reactionary Indian state and to create a New Democratic India under the leadership of CM, and the present when the Communist revolutionaries are engaged in reorganising CPI(ML) by rectifying all sectarian mistakes, continuing the struggle against all shades of right opportunism, and by developing the basic orientation of the party in the concrete conditions of the neocolonial phase of capitalist-imperialist system.

As he used to say repeatedly, he did not join any of the CP I (ML) groups for long years after coming out of jail in early 1980s not because he was in anyway influenced by the non-party thinking prevalent among many from the

earlier CPI (ML) leaders and cadres and among many petti - bourgeois intellectuals, as he was searching for answers to the questions he started raising after he became critical of the tactical line of the movement from early 1970s and after his discussion with the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC). He came in contact with the literature of CPI (ML) Red Flag and started discussion with its leading cadres only from 1994. But once he was convinced that the basic orientation of Red Flag is correct he did not hesitate to join it. He became member of the Central Reorganisation Committee of CPI (ML) Red Flag and secretary of its W. Bengal state committee. He started actively participating in the reorganisation of the party under the banner of Red Flag. During the last one year he visited Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, M. P., Delhi and Bihar and encouraged the comrades to carry forward the task of NDR in the new conditions taking lessons from the past. He repeated the necessity of uncompromising struggle against both right and left opportunism for building up a Bolshevik style party at all India level. It was during one of these trips when he was attending the programmes organised by the Maharashtra state committee of the party at Mumbai he breathed his last. Thus till his last moment he remained a Bolshevik in the true spirit

When he returned from China in 1970 end after long discussions with top CPC leaders and a brief meeting with Mao, and submitted his report there were many in the then leadership who suspected the bonafides of the report. As far as the leadership of the CPC was concerned, it had begun a rectification against the sectarian deviations which were influencing the CPC during the 1969 Congress. The suggestions of the CPC leaders reflected the spirit of this rectification and the vast experience of the protracted struggle waged by it to achieve victory in the NDR. They repeated the necessity for concrete analysis of concrete Indian situation (Contd P 2)

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# EDITORIAL

# Thai Meltdown: One more 'Economic Miracle' Collapses

Until its total collapse in late 1994, the World Bank (WB), imperialist think tanks, global speculators and free traders of all hues had been projecting Mexico, which could attract huge international speculative financial flows, as the biggest beneficiary of globalisation and one of the most successful structural adjustment models in the world. However, well - calculated moves engineered between December 1994 and January 1995 by global speculators with the connivance of imperialist monetary institutions resulted in a massive exodus of finance from Mexico culminating in a sudden 40 percent collapse in the value of Peso leading to the imposition of a more intense 'economic medicine' and a new wave of globalisation led by Fund - Bank combine resulting in a further decomposition of that country's economic and political structure. At the time when Mexico was struggling through the throes of this unprecedented crisis, IMF and WB were going on with a global campaign highlighting the Mexican case as an isolated event which happened on account of the "weak fundamentals" of the Mexican economy. In the meanwhile the WB and other agencies also went on pinpointing the strong 'fundamentals' of (such as an average 7% per annum growth of GDP, an annualised price rise of around 4%, a substantially large foreign exchange stock, etc.) and eulogising it as a model worth emulating. For instance, the WB noted in 1994: "Thailand provides an excellent example of the dividends to be obtained through outward orientation, receptivity to foreign investment, and a market - friendly philosophy backed up by conservative macro- economic management and cautious external borrowing policies". It could be seen that even as late as the second quarter of 1997, the WB has been still characterising as a highly flourishing "middle income" country and one of the "economic miracles" belonging to the "Asian growth pole still'

enjoying good inflow of private foreign capital, [For details see, WB, Global Development Finance, Vol. 1, 1997]. Together with the WB and its local penpushers, in India, even some selfprofessed Marxists are also cherishing similar illusions. For example, at a time when even the so called "Asian Tigers" (South Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong, and Singapore) are plagued by problems of deceleration in exports, deindustrialisation, speculative financial attacks on money and capital markets and balance of payments problems, some apologists of the so called Benefits of globalisation' are advising Indian rulers to emulate the "tigerisation process" in the "second tler" Asian countries including Thailand.

But today, all these illusions lay shattered. Thailand now is not at all an 'economic miracle' nor a model upheld by W3 which still goes on preaching the merits of ever-increasing inflows of 'hot money' into various countries and their larger integration with global markets. The immediate cause for the Thai crisis is straight and simple. As was the case with Mexico, almost two - thirds of the Thai foreign reserves are highly volatile speculative flows that could fly out at a moments' notice. Those who identify the strong fundamentals (which of course are based on one of world's biggest 'sex industry' and real estate business) of Thailand and thereby stand aghast before the new developments fail to see that among the so called "emerging markets of Asia", Thailand which had gone the farthest in terms of globalisation and liberalisation is also having one of the largest stocks of speculative assets. In consonance with the laws of motion of global finance, it is quite logical on the part of speculators (speculators led by the American global financier George Soros are reported to have played a major role in the current Thai crisis) to move in and move out taking advantage of the high level of liberalisation (such as currency convertibility) of the Thai economy.

Most significant is the nature and character of the FDI flows into Thailand. As usual, the entire export-oriented industrial set up in Thailand is built up by foreign capital based on cheap labour. However, since 1990 almost the entire FDI worth \$ 120 billion received by Thailand has gone into real estate including construction relating to Thailand's thriving tourism 'industry'. Available reports indicate that a major part of the current crisis is due to the unprecedented speculation in real estate. But this is not an overnight development.

In fact, contrary to WB propaganda, Thailand's economic condition has always been highly vulnerable. Evenwhile Thailand getting immense appreciation from free trade theorists and international financial analysts for its so called trade-led economic growth, and WB has been characterising her as an instance of Asia's 'miracle growth', the external debt of that country was steadily growing from \$23 billion in 1989 to \$60 billion in 1994 and to \$ 90 billion in 1997 amounting to almost 50% of the GDP. And much of this was composed of short-term debt owed to speculators and financiers abroad. As a reflection of the pressures on the Thai currency, the baht, over the past one year, the current account deficit in the balance of payments has reached a figure of 15 billion dollars. In 1996 alone Thailand's foreign reserves declined by about 6 billion dollars. This decline has led to job losses of more than 4,40,000 workers as estimated by Thai Banker Association. This has prompted the international credit rating agency Moody's to downgrade the credit rating of Thailand in 1996 itself. As is obvious this was part of an imperialist machination at instigating, a speculative run on the baht. The result has been the withdrawal of their investments in Thai property by imperialist real estate lobbies. Naturally, this led to a collapse of the country's real estate value. The Thai baht which has been dropping against the US dollar since the second half of 1996 depreciated further on account of the mass exodus of foreign deposits out of the country. In the process, in order to keep alive the country's 91 finance companies dealing in real estate business, the Bank of Thailand had lent about 19 billion dollars (more than 10% of the country's GDP) of its foreign reserves in the context of the declining baht. In the hope of making exports competitive, on July 2, 1997, the government of Chavalit Yongchaiyudh devalued the baht by about 18%. But the baht slipped below 32 baht to one US dollar by the end of July as compared to 25 baht to a US dollar in the first week of July, meaning a fall of 28% in less than three weeks.

During the Mexican crisis, as is widely known, it was the US imperialist interests which rushed to "bail out" that country after subjecting it to an intense political- economic surgery through the mediation of IMF. Obviously, Mexico had been the second largest trading partner of US and almost 50% foreign investments in Mexico was from US. Mexico was also closely tied to US imperialism through NAFTA. The 1995 Mexican 'rescue package' led by the US was worth \$52.8 billions. In a similar fashion, in the "multi-national rescue effort" devised for 'bailing out' Thailand, the Japanese imperialism which in recent years has assumed the mantle of an Asian leader has a determining role. Japan has good reason to lead the rescue package. Japanese banks and financial institutions hold almost 50% of Thailand's \$ 90 billion foreign debt. In fact, Thailand is the hub of Japan's automobile manufacturing and export effort in Asia; about 1100 Japanese companies are operating out of Thailand. Leading Japanese MNCs have their major production bases in Japanese private investments in Thailand. Thalland are approximately twice those of US MNCs. However, Japan is not going to plunge into forming the rescue package in disregard of the neocolonial rules of the imperialist game. Everything depends on IMF's negotiations with the Thai government and the latter's announcement of an austerity programme and a restructuring plan in accordance with standard IMF guidlines. As a result, on the basis of a Thai stabilisation package and a long-term adjustment programme dictated by IMF, a 3 14 billion loan package with Japan and IMF as lead-providers both contributing \$ 4 billion each was announced in Tokyo on August 12, 1997. loan package which is composed of 10 donors including WB and ADB (both will provide one billion dollars each, will be for the year 1997-98. Other commitments are in the pipeline (Quite revealingly America has not come forward as a donor this time). The 4 billion dollar loan from Japan will be managed by the Exim Bank of Japan and will be directly given to Thai commercial banks to try and stabilise the banking sector there. This will be guaranteed by the Thai government.

On the other hand, the IMF contribution of 4 billion dollar will be based on stringent conditionalities. The IMF will extend loans (as part of an emergency financing mechanism installed in the context of Mexican crisis to bail out future Mexican-type meltdowns) to Thailand depending upon the implementation of the Thai restructuring plan upon which the package is made conditional and which is to be ratified by the IMF Board meeting later in August. As a prelude to its assuming direct charge of the Thai economy, the IMF has demanded an immediate spending cut of 4 billion dollars by the Thai government. It is estimated that about 40,000 Thais are going to be out of employment due to the economic downturn resulting from this alone. This is to be followed by a limiting of the fiscal deficit to 5% of the GDP in 1997 and 3% in 1998. One of the stringent conditionalities of IMF in the specific case of Thailand is the establishment of a Deposit Insurance Scheme meant to protect the deposits of transnational banks (It is reported that 21 international banks are operating in Thailand) and global finance companies. The major objective of IMF 'rescue package' is to rescue the investments of foreign investors in Thailand. The Thai people are asked to bear the burden of this. IMF's presence in Thailand will enable global speculative barons to pry open hitherto unexplored areas and thus suck dry whatever left of in the arteries of the Thais. As noted earlier, the IMF is considering the Thai crisis as a "test case" of its newly tried 'emergency financing mechanism' (or quick response mechanism) evolved after Mexican crisis. In July 1997 it had a rehearsel of this when the Philippines obtained a 1 billion dollar plus support package for overcoming its balance of payments difficulties.

While Thailand is rolling out the red carpet to IMF and handing over the administration of the Thai economy to it, though at a lesser degree, almost all the South east Asian economies are experiencing violent speculative attacks on their currencies. Major currencies of the region such as Indonesian rupiah, Malaysian ringgit, Philippine peso and Singapore dollar are all fast depreciating on account of massive speculative capital outflows. Recently, the Singapore dollar

ar touched a record low while Indonesian rupiah is selling for 2900 for an American dollar. Available trends indicate that global financiers are acting as a conspiracy team to destabilise the polity and economies of these countries thereby paving the way for an intensified role of IMF there. In this context, it is very revealing to quote from a Malaysian official who interpreted his President Dr Mahatir Mohamad's position thus: "We know Thailand had a serious problem on hand. But they have also walked into the IMF trap. The Philippines has sought IMF assistance to tide over its currency problem. That is why we are convinced that this is a deliberately planned attack on the currencies of the region, to pave the way for the IMF to take a firm grip on economic management in this part of the world." Of course, compared with contemporary Indian rulers one has to appreciate Dr. Mahatir and his team in identifying the enemy; at the same time, we have to sympathise with them since this understanding does not lead them to a political resolution on the problem from a correct historical antiimperialist position.

#### **New IMF dictations**

The IMF team after its meeting with Indian officials on July 2 has dictated further speeding up of liberalisation and globalisation. These dictates include substantial increase in petroleum products prices, more liberalisation of exchange rate management and exit policy, privatisation of all state owned firms, removal of remaining import quota barriers on consumer and reduction of reservation for the small-scale sector. It also recommended further easing of restrictions on foreign banks, reduction of tax exemptions and early elimination of semaining restrictions on current account transactions. It also dictated for giving moer operational independence to Reserve Bank, further liberalising equity inflows and foreign direct investment, reduction in all subsidies leading to their speedy elimination, targetting of all welfare measures like the new targetted public distribution system (TPDS) reducing statutory rationing drastically to a small section of targetted families among those of below poverty line (BPL) group, and increase of private sectors' role in bank management.

(Contd P. 23)

# Development of the working-class offensive: Experiences of the March struggles in Germany

The independently organized mass strikes in the fall of 1996, with more than one million participants, had the industrial proletariat of the most important large enterprises as a core. The monopolies and their government suffered a defeat. A new tactical situation has arisen, which is marked by class consciousness of the working class awakening on a broad front. The struggle for the new orientation of the masses has begun to break up and develop into a new development to the working class offensive and to the emergence of the new opposition.

The struggles in March 1997 are the most important struggles since 1993, because they embody fundamental elements of the development to the working - class offensive. At first, the focus of attention was directed to the independent strikes of the miners which included 130000 workers. Several days later, strikes and protests of the steel workers took place, which developed into the independent strikes of March 25-27. These constituted the culmination of the March struggles, which also encompassed the mass actions of the construction workers, further strikes and the people's resistance against the transportation of atomic material and against the consequences of the reactionary health care reform. The steel worers were not only successful in picking up the struggles of the miners. They also brought new elements into being and, so, further illuminated the direction to the working- class, offensive. The demand for the "fight to save every job" came into the center of attention and the monopolies, as well as their government in Bonn, were aimed at openly. The MLPD is still in the process of evaluating the March struggles. But we can already make out several fundamental elements of the development to the class offensive.

1. The struggles of the miners, as well as

those of the steel workers, took place at a time: when the reformist concepts of class collaboration got into an open crisis. The proletarian mode of thinking broke through the petty-bourgeols reformist one. We can say without exaggeration that without the many years of systematic rank and file work of the MLPD and the beginning transformation of the work to the new basis which was resolved at the 5th Party Congress, the strike movements would no thave developed. We therefore think that the element of the development to the working-class offensive is that independent initiative emerges in close connection with the systematic rank and file work of the MLPD. This involves consciously evaluating the experiences made with fundamental economic and political changes and forcing back the pettybourgeois reformist mode of thinking.

2. In the steel worker's strike, the dispute intensified from the beginning onwards. Contrary to the class slogan "Fight to save every job", the petty-bourgeois reformist direction of the struggle was to assure that "lay-offs due to company conditions" would be refrained from. This slogan serves division and orients toward an individual way out.

- The proletarian direction orients toward turning trade unions into fighting organisations and toward democratic decision making in all questions of struggle. This is confronted with the massive resistance of the right-wing trade union bureaucracy.
- The desire for the joint struggle of the steel workers is in accordance with class interests. It shows that they are no longer prepared to sacrifice their jobs, wages and working conditions for the competition of the German steel industry. That is opposed to reformist tactics which emphasize the concerns of a single plant and thereby force back class

interests. The greater the reformist influence in the leadership of the struggle and the less the conscious struggle of the mass of the workers is organized, the stronger is the effect of the politics of class collaboration.

- The demand for the fight to save every job is a demand to defend working - class interests against the attacks of the monopolles. The offensive demand for the 6 - hour day by full wage compensation emphasizes foremostly the common international interests of the working class and is directed against the consequences of the new organization of international monopoly capitalism. The pettybourgeois reformist mode of thinking is skeptical about this demand. At the same time, the reformists argue that full wages compensation will endanger jobs even more and that both sides must contribute to retaining jobs. This negative reformist class collaboration is nothing less than a capitulation in the face of Bonn's crisis program. .....
- 3. A third fundamental element of the development of the working-class offensive is the question of how the various workers' struggles combine with the elements of active people's resistance and mutually support each other. This was very distinct in the struggles of the miners. On the other hand, the miners undertook a solidarity visit to Berlin where 40 000 construction workers conducted a one week's demonstration.
- 4. A fourth fundamental element of the development to the working - class offensive is that the accompaniment of the process of consciously evaluating reality, must not only apply to immediate everyday questions. but also to the totality of economic and political national and international development. The merger of the steel enterprises Krupp / Hoesch and Thyssen leads to the emergence of Europe's largest and the world's third largest steel enterprise. This was rigged in advance as a part of the process of concentration of the German monopolies in order to attain a more advantageous national starting point for the International battle of annihilation. The merger of industrial and finance capital to monopolies, which have totally subordinated and merged with the state, is systematically kept secret by the bourgeois

- media and parties. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) demagogically demands the "limitation of the power of the banks." When the masses see through the character of state monopoly capitalism, a prerequisite develops for realizing that only socialism can be the next step ahead in social development. In these struggles a mass discussion that something in this system is "fundamentally wrong" develops and, at the same time, a great openness for Marxist-Leninist views
- 5. A fifth fundamental element of the development to the working class offensive is the task of strengthening internationalist consciousness. In the strike of the miners, international solidarity developed. Messages from France, Rotterdam and later, from Nepal and numerous other countries were received French miners visited miners in Saarland. The strike of the miners in a leading imperialist country is observed and evaluated very closely in the entire world. But the struggle is not led as a unified international struggle.
- 6. The March struggles in Germany showed that a sixth fundamental element of the development to the working-class offensive is that it can only develop in connection with the systematic rank and file work of the party and a considerable strengthening of the organized forces of the MLPD. That underscores the concentration of forces upon the strengthening of factory groups, which the Central Committee decided on at the beginning of the year. The respective factory groups must be capable of developing flexible fighting tactics The MLPD published a fighting program for steel workers, which was very important for the orientation toward an offensive leadership in the struggle. The reciprocal relationship between the party and self built and self-run organizations of the masses must be further developed. An important role for organizing the militant direction was played by the factory newspapers in which the MLPD works. It strengthens the independent initiative in connection with positive trade union work. The MLPD issued two nationwide leaflets which organized solidarity nationwide and spread the signal of the March struggles. Stickers with the slogar Fight to save every job-active resistance against Bonn's crisis program" appeared on the helmets of the striking miners in massive numb-

#### K. R. NARAYANAN BECOMES PRESIDENT

The election of K. R. Narayanan, or his elevation, as president is given a lot of propaganda coverage by ruling class media. They glorify it as a momentous development as a dalit or Harijan or one belonging to a scheduled caste has become the first citizen in this 50th year of 'independence.' They project it as an occasion for the dalits to rejoice as one among them has become India's president. The numerous dalit organisations in the country led by the comprador elements among dalits, or the pettibourgeois opportunist sections among them are also glorifying the elevation of K. R. Narayanan to president's post. This propaganda offensive by the comprador ruling system is succeeding

in winning over many of the vascillating or petti-bourgeois or gullible sections to the side of ruling class politics.

Is Mr. Narayanan different from any other comprador ruling class political leader? Is his elevation going to make any concrete changes in the lives of the dalits, the overwhelming majority of whom are agricultural workers or landless peasants, socially and economically the most oppressed section? The answer to both these questions can be nothing but an enphatic 'No'

Though Mr. Narayanan was born as a poor dalit and had to undergo lot of hardships in his

ers. The organizing of solidarity messages and visits of the pickets by the youth organization REBELL, too, also helped to overcome the isolation from other branches and to organize mutual learning.

The government and the monopolies had to make concessions to the struggling workers. Despite this, the results were foul compromises. But much more important is that the strikes of the miners and the steel workers and others let a feeling of strength arise because a struggle had been led. This, in connection with the evaluation of the experiences made, will have an important influence on the emergence of the new opposition.

# Struggles have an influence going beyond national boundaries

In the 5th phase of the general crisis of capitalism, we must be prepared for struggles and unexpected developments taking place in rapid succession. Today, struggles Influence each other beyond national boundaries. International developments are being closely observed and the experience of other countries taken into account. The armed uprising of the Albanian population, the first in Europe since the Second World War, also had effects upon the struggling workers in Germany, because they, too, were posing questions about the direction and goal of the struggles. In March, strikes

and mass demonstrations against the eradication of jobs and the state austerity programs took place in most European countries. The demand for the shortening of working hours is being put up increasingly. In Russia, on March 27, a general strike against the government took place with more than 20 million participants. In Spain, the truck drivers referred to the successes of their French colleagues and struck for lowering pension age. The strike led directly to restrictions of production in Europe. At Renault, the first European wide organized strike within one enterprise took place in solidarity with the struggle of the Belgian Renault workers against plans for closing the plant.

The background for the increasing similarity of struggles is their common material foundation in the effects of the international structural crisis and the world wide coordination of the state austerity programs. This promotes the idea, that the struggle against the internationally coordinated austerity programs must also be coordinated and revolutionized. The start of an international campaign for the 6-hour working day by full wage compensation is therefore of great significance as a school of proletarian-internationalist class consciousness.

[Excerpts from the evaluation of the recent working class struggles in Germany by the Mar-xist-Leninist Party of Germany—MLPD]

# NGOs using foreign aid for Intelligence?

NON-GOVERNMENTAL, ORGANISATIONS (NGOs) In the country have received nearly Rs 6'000 crore as donations from foreign agencies during the last three years.

Foreign donations are increasing every year, They totalled Rs. 1865. 70 crore in 1993-94, Rs. 1892 crores in 1994-95 and Rs. 2168.84 crore in 1995-96.

The donations, ostensibly for social work, have come under close scrutiny of the Union Home Ministry which has received a number of complaints about their misuse.

Among the beneficiaries are the Congress and a trust run by Chandraswami.

boyhood and during days of education, once he became a member of Indian foreign service he became totally integrated to the comprador ruling system. Neither during his student days nor after joining the government service he was never a part of any radical movement to change the lives of dalits. Once he retired from service he became a devout member of Congress, still the most reactionary and number one comprador party in India. He was a member of Rajiv Gandhi's and then Narasimha Rao's cabinets which imposed the policy of liberalisation and took the neocolonisation to an acclerated pace. Even after becoming vice-president he continued to serve the system faithfully. can the elevation of such an individual be anyway different from the election of the former presidents of India as far as the most socially and economically oppressed people are concerned? It is part of our history that 45 years of ministership of Jagjivan Ram or his elevation to deputy prime ministership did not do any good even to the dalits of Sasaram, the constituency which he represented all through.

The progressive forces should expose the heinous propaganda offensive of the ruling classes which create the illusion that dalits and other oppressed can get justice and can get empowered within this comprador ruling system. This propaganda is aimed at misleading the oppressed from the path of liberation. It is used as an opium to hoodwink the dalit masses. It should be exposed without any compromise.

The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) has already sought sanction from the Home Ministry to prosecute Chandraswami and others for violation of the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA).

Though three months have passed, the sanction is still awaited. The Home Ministry has admitted that the Congress has violated the FCRA but is bogged down in legal procedures.

There are complaints about the misuse of

donations by other NGOs too.

The FCRA empowers the centre to impose a bar on the acceptance of foreign contributions, without licence or permission, by associations, which fail to give necessary information within the prescribed time or in the prescribed manner or give false information.

In the last three years, 429 defaulting associations have been placed under this category.

Section 10 of the FCRA also empowers the Centre to prohibit receipt of foreign contributions by associations in certain cases.

The Home Ministry has taken action under this provision against 7 associations over the

past three years, on a

There is apprehension in certain official quarters, that foreign funds are often used to collect intelligence about certain areas.

The basis of this seems to be that NGOs concerned are not using the donations for tangible social work but for undertaking vairous studies.

A senior Home Ministry official said that since a large number of bureaucrats, politicians and their near relatives are closely associated with NGOs, the Government has done very little to monitor their activities.

(pioneer, 2 August)

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# MAI: New Weapon for Intensifying Neocolonisation

Multinational corporations, agencies and their media spokespersons have been advocating that globalisation and free markets promote "growth" and "progress." As billionaire George Soros explained in *The Capitalist Threat* (The Atlantic Monthly) organisations like the IMF, UN and the World Bank are fully aligned with such corporate agenda. To operationalise these ideas, they persuaded governments to set up a World Trade Organisation.

In the past, colonial and imperialist countries used to argue, similarly, that they are the engines of "progress" and "modernisation." The essence of colonialism lies in: (i) transforming resources in children, men, women and nature through technology—embodied capital—into "goods" defined by capital owners; a function glorified as "progress" and "modernisation:"(ii) transferring these "goods" to these owners; and(iii) laying waste the unused resources in people and nature in the form of poverty and pollution by offering them the "bads" that follow from the consumption and production of these "goods."

These are classified as "externalities" and not counted in the production accounts. Foreign investments of MNCs are now performing all three functions effectively, while their spokespersons are cajoling governments of poor counties to develop policies favourable to these.

The Indian government under P V Narasimha Rao passed a resolution to join the WTO in a hurry without much public discussion and, the current government finds itself in the WTO dock. Some of the WTO's articles relating to copyrights were not even talked about beyond the Cabinet. Joining the WTO was facilitated by a concerted propaganda about the ideology of "the necessity and desirability of private foreign investments and globalisation" and relevance of economic reforms. The new globalisers are well aware of the munificence of "this ideology" and its acceptance among RNI—resident non-Indian—type elites. Slowly, but surely, they are developing new agreements to help foreign investment; the most recent being the

Multilateral Agreement on Investment-MAL

The MAI is based on the theory, never tested and fundamentally flawed, that free markets discipline private investment, which is necessary for national growth that requries globalisation. To function effectively, private investments need to be free from any other discipline imposed by ethics, government rules or social responsibility.

The MAI consists of a set of rules: (i) designed to protect and expand the power of corporations and international investors, and (ii) restricting what governments can do to regulate international investment and corporate behavior. The rules guarantee corporations a bill of rights to invest where they choose and provide open market access, a stable investment climate, easy repatriation of profits and freedom from any obligation to serve environmental, local or social needs.

The conceptualisation of a global investment pact started with the GATT Uruguay Round negotiations in the mid '80s. Since 1995, 29 OECD governments have conducted formal, and secret, negotiations in Paris on the MAI. These negotiations, with profound implications, have been carried on in complete absence of public awareness or debate, even in the US. The US is represented by the State Department and the US Trade Representative.

Only narrow economic groups, such as banking and financial interests, have had access in these negotiations. Agencies whose actions effect the environment and lives of people, such as the Environmental Protection Agency and the Food and Drug Administration, have been kept out.

In February 1997, a formerly secret 147 page long negotiating text was leaked and is now available on the Public Citizen's Tradewatch web page. The document is based on assumptions about the ascendancy and necessity of foreign investment in the global economy. Accordingly, and in keeping with WTO, its sta-

ted purpose is to remove most remaining barriers to and controls on the mobility of capital. The MAI would require adoption by each OECD country according to domestic specifications. Recently, the Clinton Administration has mentioned the possibility of adding the MAI to its "fast track" negotiating authority from the Congress; thereby avoiding a two-thirds majority vote, the inconvenience of amendments or thorough public debate.

If the agreement is approved in OECD countries, two options for its extension among non-OECD countries are now being discussed; one by US and the other by the EU and Canada. The US wants it on a take-it-or leave-it basis; believing that developing countries have no choice but to accept. The EU, on the other hand, will multilateralise the MAI by incorporating it into the WTO. The US opposes it for two reasons; (i) The WTO does not allow investors directly to sue governments-a right US wants to establish-and (ii) "watering down" and or delayed implementation by involving developing countries.

- The MAI draft establishes New Rights of "Private Legal Standing" for corporations and investors to sue governments for failure to meet its terms. It confers on private investors the same rights and legal standing as governments. Indians are familiar with the Enron case.
- The draft articulates the strict application of "National Treatment," which prohibits governments from treating foreign investors differently from domestic investors.
- Extends the "Most Favored Nation" principle to investment rules, requiring equal treatment among all foreign investor and target countries. Unilateral sanctions against irresponsible corporations could be banned.
- A ban on "performance requirements" which prohibit measures that promote responsible corporate behavior—disallows procurement, subsidies and other government benefits for specific environmental and growth objectives.
- The draft requires signatory national governments to comply with the terms of the agrement and enforce these rules on sub national jurisdiction; states, countries, towns and villages. As currently conceived, it provides no

exceptions for environmental degradation, public health, or resource conservation

• The draft bans any restriction on "Repatriation of Profits" and movement of capital.

There has been very little information about, much less discussion on, this treaty. A recent conference in Boston which focused on "MAI: Big Business Over the Rest of Us?" passed the following recommendations.

- "We call upon the UN to urge the OECD to cease all negotiations on the MAI."
   We call upon member states to
- sign and ratify existing international public trust agreements and enact necessary legislati on to ensure compliance;
- respect commitments made through international conferences to ensure corporate compliance and institute an international Court of Compliance where citizens could take evidence of state and corporate non-compliance.

The MAI means natural extension of market ideology, WTO and economic globalisation based on the fallacious assumptions that profit maximisation is good for all. Profits can be earned and maximised only if resources are available cheaply, which is not possible in developed nations. Their people have experienced the bads that follow from production and consumption of "goods" and developed the NIMBY— Not In My Back Yard—attitude, so that investors are required to follow strict environment standards and behave ethically. This makes investments costly and profitability low; a good reason for capital to move. There is enough evidence to the effect that the objectives of capital mobility are profits, prestige and power for its owners and not the benefit of all. As investment capital has moved and modernised, it has exploited individuals, familles, communities and natural resources. It has left in its wake pollution, poverty, inequality family breakdown, disease, disasters like famine, death, crime, corruption and general human cum environment degradation a record not very different from colonial imperialist history.

Capital needs exploitable resources now available in materially poor countries. The ruling RNI type elite of these countries are already mesmerised by the "necessity and efficiency

## JUDICIAL ACTIVISM

As the ruling comprador system is getting exposed as totally corrupt, as more and more political leaders are booked for huge scams and as the political leaderships are increasingly hated by the people, the judicial courts from top to bottom have taken over the responsibility of saving the ruling system by trying show through their so-called judicial activism that after all everything is not lost. The courts are there to save the system!

Thus under the populist message obtained through its 'activism' the judicial courts are now working hard to help the fascisisation of the system and the acceleration of the implementation of the new economic policies.

Now take the case of Kerala High Court. It has not found sufficient time to decide on the 1 S R O Spy Case or on the state government move to deny land to Adivasis, or on such other issues. But it gave a speedy verdict on 'Bundhs'. Appeasing the dominant middle class sentiments and serving the elite interests it has banned bundhs and has put numerous obstacles against demonstrations. At a time when none of the courts are coming to the help of workers against illegal closures and similar such measures by the managements, or are ready to censure the government actions surrendering whatever is left of Indian soverignty also to WTO and MNCs, this judgement of Kerala High Court is an open invitation to fascist forces to ride over popular struggles.

Again, Patna High Court, it seems gave permission to CBI officers to seek help of army to arrest Lalloo Prasad Yadav, the former chief minister of Bihar. Lalloo like most of the ruling class political leaders are no doubt corr-

of foreign capital and the global market", so that the MAI can be readily sold to "leaders like India's Finance Minister." The road to colonialism is paved with such "progress." However It will be resisted because average people forced to consume the "bads" and exploited and hurt in all possible ways. They have always resisted they have to. The resistance takes different forms. (Ramesh Diwan in Pioneer, New Delhi, on 1 August)

upt. Any action taken against them is welcome. But the way the courts are discriminating in the case of corruption cases like booking a Lalloo or Sharad Yadav, and allowing Narasimha Rao, Rajiv Gandhi, L. K. Advani like leaders of Congress and B J P to escape exposes the courts' sharing of the anxiety of the ruling classes to keep Congress and B J P as the leaders in Indian political scene. Even when Congress leader Jagannath Mishra, the pre-1990 chief minister under whose regime the 'cattlefeed scam' started is not yet booked, and when Lalloo had said that he is going to surrender to court next day morning, by giving permission to seek army help to arrest Lalloo in the very same night the Judges in Patna High Court have exceeded all limits.

None can say that these judges are unaware of the so-called federal character of constitution and the regulations for calling out army for internal duties. In the name of activism what these judges are doing, and the definite class bias being shown by all courts from Supreme Courts to local courts explicitly show their real class character. They are also involved in the fascisisation and criminalisation of the system like the comprador political leaderships and the legislative wing, the executive, the police, and the army. Together all of them constitute the Indian ruling state system. Highlighting one wing of this reactionary state system against another, or expecting judicial activism will lead to democracy will be hypocritical.

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# Child Prostitution in India

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1990 defines child prostitution as 'sexual exploitation of a child below the age of 18 for remuneration in cash or kind'. The Convention on the Rights of the Child includes the rights to protection, survival, development and participation.

According to the *Progress Nations Report* 1997 issued by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), there are around 500,000 child prostitutes in India. This amounts to 25% of the two million child prostitutes worldwide. Child prostitution is on the rise in many Asian countries like Thailand, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and India.

According to estimates, some 20 - 25% of commercial sex workers everywhere are children. A report by the UN Human Rights Investigator for Child Prostitution estimates that one million children are involved in the sex trade in Asia, working under conditions 'indistinguishable from slavery'.

Today about 25% of India's two million prostitutes are believed to be children. Despite laws and legislations to curb the practice, child prostitution is on the rise, India has the unenviable distinction of having the largest number of child prostitutes in the world. A 1994 report prepared by the Ministry of Human Resources Development revealed that about 30% of all prostitutes in the six major cities of India-Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Bangalore and Hyderabad-were under 20 years of age; 39% of these women entered prostitution before they were 18 years old.

Many incidents of child prostitution go unreported because of fear and insecurity. A report on child prostitution in India by UNICEF states that systematic trafficking from rural areas accounts for a maximum number of girls in the trade. Going by the Bombay Municipal Corporation's inventory, there are 50,000 women in the flesh trade in the city alone, which means that a great many children are being subjected to the hazards, humiliation and exploitation.

In the past two decades many countries have increased their foreign exchange earnings

through a tourist industry built on the exploitation of women and children. Sex tours are organised for businessmen. It so happens that the laws relating to child abuse are lax in those countries. If they exist at all, they are often not enforced.

As South-East Asian countries, which are the traditional playgrounds for sex-tourism, are over saturated and even these children are affected by AIDS and other sex-related diseases, the sex syndicates are shifting base in search of safer locations, and children in India, Sri Lanka and other South Asian countries are becoming vulnerable to their nefarious activities. The process of globalisation and liberalisation is also a factor aggravating the child-sex market.

Children from underprivileged sections of society-orphaned, abandoned, and living alone in the street-are at risk, with boys being as much in demand as girls. There are three categories of countries where this sex-oriented tourism is encouraged: first, countries where it is supported by law; second, countries where the government is a passive supporter; and third, countries where it is practised in disguise. India falls into the second and third category.

The Annual Report on World Children has shown how female children are sexually abused in the name of promoting tourism. In Asia and Latin America, this business is particularly flourishing. In Asian countries the number of girls brought to this profession has already exceeded one million. In india alone the figure ranges between 400,000 and 500,000; it is 100,000 in Thailand; 100,000 in the Philippines; 40,000 in Vietnam; 30,000 in Sri Lanka; and 40,000 in Pakistan.

The Freddy Peats case in Goa was a clear indication that international sex-crime syndicates are active in India, not just in the Indo-Nepal border region which is the bloodline for the red-light districts of many Indian cities, but on a much larger scale.

The factors that push children into commercial sexual exploitation are numerous and complex: economic disparities, inequitable socio-

## GULAG US-STYLE

In US almost all states bar those serving sentences for felony convictions from voting. Most also bar those on parole and probation. Thirteen states, mainly in the South, permanently disenfranchise convicted felons. Moreover ever-greater numbers of people are imprisoned. Four million people in the US are legally disenfranchised, over 1.7 million of them permanently. Out of them 1.4 million Black men, or 14%, are legally disenfranchised. In certain inner-city areas, one in four Black men are in prison or on parole. They exist as partial citizens, subject to the penalties society imposes against those who transgress the criminal code, but unable to participate in the political process that determines that code.

And unlike the past, most prisoners are no longer serving sentences for violent crimes; approximately half of these men are in prison for non-violent drug offences, incarcerated in the 1980s and 1990s during the ongoing War On Drugs. A disproportionate number of drug-prison-

economic structures, family disintegration, harmful traditional and religious practices and the aspects of globalisation which undermine fulfilment of the basic rights of children. Though poverty is a key factor, it should not be invoked as a justification for such a practice. By treating the child as a commodity which can be purchased, hired, sold or thrown away, the issue is no longer just a question of poverty but rather one of values-in particular the values of consumerism and exposes the heinous neocolonial exploitative methods.

When tourism advertising promotes the values of consumerism and hedonism as the central goal of the tourism experience, it is affirming the same values which make the prostitution of children possible.

At a more fundamental level, child prostitution should be seen in the broader context of exploitation of children which is reaching alarming proportions with intensification of neocolonial plunder and with the spread of pernicious capitalist imperialist value systems.

[Based on a TWN report]

ers are Black and Hispanic, not because more minorities than Whites use drugs, but because crack crimes (more frequently committed by inner-city youths) are punished 100 times more severely than powder cocaine crimes (more prevalent among suburban children and adults)

In some states, first convictions for crack sales result in mandatory sentences of up to 15 years. Thirty-one states now have mandatory sentencing laws specifically for drug-related crimes. In several states, most notably California, three strikes laws provide mandatory life sentences for those convicted of three felonies, even if the crimes don't involve violence.

Since 1980, the US prison population has risen from about 333,000 to 1,630,940 people in federal and state prisons and local jails, according to June 1996 Justice Department figures. During the last 20 years, annual prison spending has risen 10-fold, from £4 to £40 billion. The Department calculates that the prison population has grown nearly 8% a year throughout the last decade. Taking into account all those in prison, on parole or probation, or awaiting trial, four million citizens are currently ensnared within judicial and penal structures. By contrast, Western Europe's incarceration rate is about 20% of this. Almost as many people are imprisoned in Los Angeles as in all of Britain.

Fuelled by popular hysteria against a perceived crime wave, a War On Drugs that focuses on punishment rather than treatment and education, and the demands of those with a stake in the highly profitable prison industry, a gulag structure is emerging in the US. It imprisons more people for longer periods in harsher conditions than is the case in any other country in the world.

Increasingly, the prison system is coming to play an integral role in both the national and local economies; today, incarceration is big business rather than a necessary, circumscribed, social evil. As such, like other gulags strewn across our century and around our globe, the late 20th-century US gulag, with its own independent economic, political and social power-base, and its own agenda operating outside societal controls,

is corroding the country's political and social fabric further.

In early 1996, it appeared that the prison-building spree was slowing down. But by 1997, with money from the \$32 billion Omnibus Crime Bill trickling down to states, and tied to state adoption of truth-in-sentencing laws designed to ensure that convicts serve more time, prisons are on the rise again,

The Coalition for Prisoners' Rights reports that New Mexico, where recent coverage focused on a prison-escape plot that turned out to be a hoax, plans to build two large, privately run prisons that will double the number of inmates there. Once built, all that will be needed is new prisoners to fill them. In New York, Governor Pataki is seeking \$800 million for the construction of three new maximum security prisons. Earlier in 1997, the super-hi-tech Twin Towers Correctional Facility, equipped with monitors that can continually look into every crevice of every cell, opened in Los Angeles at a cost of 373 million dollar. According to a USA Today report, officials expect to fill the new jail to its 4,000 inmate capacity by year's end.

A Rand study estimates that public spending on higher education in California may all but evaporate over the next 20 years due to the increased spending on prisons resulting from the rush toward mass-incarceration. Meanwhile, the new Administrative Maximum (ADX) Unit in Florence, Colorado, keeps hard-core prisoners isolated in 'hermetic' white cells 22 hours a day, and routinely deprives inmates of sleep by shining bright lights on their faces every half-hour throughout the night. Psychologists who have studied this form of isolation believe that longterm solitary confinement results in a severe and dangerous cocktail of psychoses, ranging from hallucinations to paranoia and schizophrenia.

These examples are part of a countrywide trend toward ever-greater spending on prisons and the introduction of conditions decried by Amnesty International and other human rights organisations as tantamount to torture.

Increasingly, the prison lobby is dictating the terms of the political debate; in California, the American Correctional Association is one of the biggest contributors to political campaigns.

In Cleveland, Ohio, active-duty suburban police officer Dennis Kaufman runs a company called Stun Tech, Inc., that manufactures stun belts which are attached to prisoners and can immobilise the wearer with 50,000 volts of electricity should he or she cause trouble while being transported or working on a chain gang. The belts cost 650 dollar-750dollar apiece and are being distributed to police and correctional officers around the country.

The prison lobby has tapped into one of the most pervasive political faultlines in US politics: the needs and agendas of rural and suburban regions, pitted against the needs of the politically under-represented cities. In rural areas, where local economies were devastated by industrial flight over the past two decades, building new prisons holds out the prospect of hundreds of new jobs and an influx of capital. No matter that these jobs are created through the imprisonment of thousands of people from the inner cities.

It is observed that the economic conditions, particularly as one can see in west and north of New York State comprising every town and location is an economically depressed area. High rates of unemployment. Basic industry left and downsized. Farming is minimum or not at all. In this situation the building of new prisons is a rural job subsidy programme in US model of development.

Since 1982, almost 50 new prisons were built in New York alone, at a cost of nearly 35 billion. Bringing the US gulag down to its most basic raison d-etre, it could all-too-easily be defined as a public-works programme that hires the rural unemployed to incarcerate the urban unemployed and underclass.

In this US brand of democracy, which disenfranchises those it convicts and rewards those who successfuly lobby for increased levels of incceration for people who don't tend to have a political voice in the first place—the residents of the inner city and the poor. Blacks are now incarcerated at a rate: 7.66 times that of Whites. If this trends continue, up to one in four Black men could soon be disenfranchised throughout the South—where disenfranchisement laws against felons were first enacted as a part of the post—Civil War Jim Crow political system.

When the general trend, through motor

voter laws and so on, has been to encourage greater participation, this definitely cuts into the process. It dilutes the voting strength of the black population. In an election that's decided by a percentage point or two, numbers of this size could really make a significant difference.

In New York State, 75% of the 73,000-strong prison population comes from seven areas of New York City: Harlem and Washington Heights; the Lower East Side; South and Central Bronx; Bedford-Stuyvesant; Brownsville; East New York; and South Jamaica. These areas are already disadvantaged, face voter turnouts of under 20%, and now have thousands of residents who can no longer play any role within the electoral process. Much of their populations, which live within 20 state assembly districts, have literally been crossed off the electoral rolls.

The majority of these prisoners are Black and Hispanic. The costs of imprisoning them are staggering: Each new cell costs nearly \$150,000 to build. Each year a prisoner is incarcerated at costs close to \$50,000. At the same time, the areas from which these prisoners originate are seeing a massive loss of federal and state welfare dollars.

The building of new public housing has all but stopped, and education and child-care facilities are crumbling. Money is being transferred from social programmes to alleviate poverty to penal programmes to control and imprison those who turn to crime because of their poverty. More young Black men are now incarcerated, or are on parole or probation, than are in higher education.

Without training, opportunity, or hope for a better future, many poor people turn to crime.

In the current US political climate, the discourse is about punishment and coercion above all else. Thus, even when people are imprisoned, instead of providing education programmes and training, states such as New York have cut all access to further education. It shouldn't surprise anyone that 47% of released inmates in New York are arrested within a year of their release.

As studies in US proves administrators are

talking about a prison-industrial complex with an annual budget of \$1.2 billion [in New York], and the whole purpose for its existence is to incarcerate people, incapacitate people to make society safe. But when they come out, they are worse than when they went in.

The US Gulag is rapidly removing not just individuals but entire communities from active participation in their society. Paying lip-service to participatory democracy, US political leaders are overseeing a far-reaching transformation of the country's political landscape by defaulting on their duty to exercise meaningful control over the prison complex and enacting economic and anti-crime strategies that ghettoise poverty and punish inner-city drug use far more severely than suburban drug consumption. Increasingly, the US is a country divided between a fearful, affluent, politically motivated minority and a growing majority who are losing all political and economic gains and find themselves behind bars and off the electoral lists.

This Frankenstein creature, the prison-complex is the creation of US imperialism. And this is propagated as the model for a so called free world.

[Prepared based on a TWN article]

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# Workers and Peasants March at Bilaspur

On 12 August nearly one thousand workers. peasants and youth of Belha block of Bilaspur district, MP, including large number of women staged a militant demonstration from railway station to district collectorate at Bilaspur under the banner of CPI (ML) Red Flag demanding regularisation of the employment of the workers of Nova Iron and Steel Factory, return of the illegally confiscated land of 105 families by the factory management, and rehabilitation of Manchi adivasis of Manchi Dera village who are put to numerous difficulties by the management to a better place. Out of 320 workers only 20 are regular employees. All others are working on contract basis. The 105 families were given patta for their land in 1977. But later with the help of administration and police the factory management took over the land claiming that their pattas are cancelled. Focussing on these questions the party activists started mobilising workers and peasants in this area and organised Chathisgarh Sponge Iron and Ispat Sramik Sangh affiliated to TUCI. Following this the leading comrades Ramesh Lahare and Ramadhar were retrenched by the management.

Exposing these anti-people acts of management in connivance with administration and police on July 26 a rally and public meeting was organised at factory gate Dagori. Party comrades and TUCI activists addressed the workers and peasants and the Bilaspur march was decided.

The demonstration through the main streets of Bilaspur on 12 August after nearly six Kms long march reached the collectorate at 1 PM. This militant demonstration raising the demands of workers, peasants and youth and exposing the 50th anniversary celebrations of the ruling classes of the so-called independence which for the people is nothing but a new form of slavery and with red banners and flags created good public response.

A memorandum enlisting the demands was presented to the district administration by a delegation led by Com. Niranjan Yadav and comprising 12 representatives of workers and peasants.

At collectorate gate thousands of people

assembled to hear the leaders of the party and TUCI. The meeting was presided by Dr. B. S. Yadu, veteran Communist and freedom fighter. He called on the workers and peasants to continue the struggle as that is the only way to compel the authorities to open their eyes. During 50 years after transfer of power the administration have become more and more antipeople. We have to overthrow the system.

Addressing the large gathering CP I (M L) Red Flag all India secretary Com. K. N. Ramachandran linked the injustice done to people of Dagori with the anti-people acts and vandalism of the ruling system all over the country. He cited the police firing at nearby Korba where two peasants were killed the previous day and killing of 10 dalits at Mumbai for instance. All of them died due to bullets hitting heads and upper parts of the body. Police is firing to kill. This criminalisation of police is part of the enslaving of the country to imperialist interests. This celebration of 50 years of independence is a cruel joke when vast majority of the people are pauperised and denied all basic rights. In this situation people have to intensify their struggles at every level and link them with the political struggle to overthrow the ruling system serving imperialists and their lackeys and to realise the dreams of martyrs with the creation of a new society, new India.

Comrade Tripathi gave an inspiring speech followed by speech of Com. Umakant, secretary of CPI (ML) Red Flag MP state committee. Comrade Niranjan Yadav explained the results of the delegation's discussion with the district administration. He declared that if our just demands are not accepted we shall continue the struggle and expand it uniting with people struggling for similar demands in other areas of Chathisgarh. Altogether the demonstration and the public meeting have given a new fillip to the ongoing people's struggles at Dagonand have enthused the progressive forces.

#### Police firing Near Korba

In the police firing against thousands of vil-[Contd P 23]

#### INDIAN SCENE

#### Dalit killings in Maharashtra

The police firing killing 11 dalits and seriously injuring 29 on July 11 following the protest action by thousands against the desecration of a Dr. Ambedkar statue in Mumbai, and the protest actions after it paralysing Mumbai and whole of Maharashtra for 3-4 days exposes the growing contradictions within Indian socio-political scene. On the one hand, in the name of suppressing a protest action the police directly fires at the chest and heads of people violating all rules. It was a naked murderous attack. It shows the extent to which the police and paramilitary forces are made increasingly fascistic, especially under Shiv Sena-B J P rule. A state apparatus which condones all scams and criminal actions of the elite classes become killers when it faces the oppressed sections.

On the other hand, instead of getting cowed down under state terror the oppressed people revolted paralysing Mumbai, the gateway to neocolonialism, and Maharashtra state as a whole. The revolt even spread to nearby states. This shows the objective situation in the country. The ruling classes cannot hoodwink the vast dalit masses and other oppressed sections by making K. R. Narayanan president or installing Mayavathi as chief minister. Fifty years of comprador rule has convinced them about the real class character of Indian state. So at slightest provocations they have started revolting. And the fascist state is trying to drown these revolts in blood. This contradiction between the masses of people and the reactionary Indian state is bound to intensify further in coming days. Even as we protest vehemently against this brutal killings of the dalits, today what is required is conscious efforts to lead the masses to overthrow this ruling system itself.

#### Bihar drama

The Bihar chief minister's theatricals in face of growing exposure of his involvement in the cattle feed scam, and the response to it by different ruling class political groupings show

the extent to which the comprador ruling politics have already degenerated. By splitting the party and naming his wife as his predecessor when compelled to resign Lalloo Prasad Yadav is proving that one can get away with anything in this atmosphere. He is also going to prove that he can even rule from jail through his wife. To save his prime ministership for a few more days or weeks the 'gentleman' I. K. Gujral is ready to cope up with this heinous game. While Lalloo could purchase the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha sections and even accept the Jharkhand state demand (which he was opposing till now) to maintain his hold over Bihar politics, the Kesari Congress has shown its outright opportunism by supporting Lalloo's move. Its only calculation is how it can get a few MPs from Bihar if an election takes place to Lok Sabha soon

The UF alongwith its Left Front Constituents are also competing with others in this opportunist game. To start with, under Congress pressure they have agreed to keep all scam and criminal cases involving Congress leaders in cold storage. Projecting Bihar's cattle feed case was to divert attention from this dirty bargain. And in due course Lalloo also will be ailowed to escape by manipulating C'Blactions. In Bihar the left over Janatha Dal and LF is opposing Lalloo only for electoral gains in next Similar is the case with the B J P-Samatha combine also. Getting themselves freed from the Jain Hawala case on technical grounds and as a result of Congress manoevres to save its numerous leaders, L. K. Advani and company are trying to project themselves as alternative.

Meanwhile one vital factor in present Indian socio-economic-political scene is covered up. Like the demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992 by Congress-B J P nexus, the various brands of social justice, the dalitism of B S P brand, the corruption-C B I- judicial activism combine are utilised to divert people's attention from the intensifying neocolonial slavery imposed under I M F-W B- W T O dictates. Also the fact that fundamentalism, casteism etc are used in new

forms by imperialism to divide the people, and that increasing corruption and criminality are offshoots of the hegemony of imperialist capital and market economy are cleverly covered up. As the neocolonisation intensifies more and more of dramas like the one presently played in Bihar can be expected with the active connivance of the ruling class political groupings and their apologists.

The cardinal issue is whether revolutionary alternative can be built up to expose these comprador games and to mobilise the people to overthrow the ruling system.

#### Demand for separate Telangana

A section of the ruling class political leaders who are now out of power have once again raised the separate Telangana demand. According to them Telangana region in A P is remaining backward and the coastal and sircar region is developing fast. The only solution is the formation of a separate Telangana.

While raising this demand they conceal the fact that uneven development is a basic characteristic of the imperialist dominated ruling system. It is a reality even in the imperialist countries, in the neocolonies like India it is a growing factor. There are unevenness among the states, within the states, and within different regions in the states themselves. So long as mperialist dictated policies dominate no solution cian be found to this as it is linked to inner dynamics of imperialist capital itself.

Telangana is a part of the linguitic state of AP. For the formation of the linguistic states the Communists and democratic forces had to wage long struggles. They had to much. Only when these struggles gained momentum the reactionary Congress government led by Nehru accepted the state reorganisation principle. Linguistic states are only one small step ahead in the building up of a New Democratic India. It is those who opposed even this democratic demand and their followers who are now raising the demand for Telangana state as if it will solve the comparative backwardness of this region. It is yet another ruling class effort to hoodwink and divide the toiling people on parochial lines.

The revolutionary forces expose this ruli-

ng class game and strive hard to educate the masses that uneven development like exploitation of all sorts can be put to an end only by overthrowing the existing ruling system.

#### Dalitism of Mayawati brand

Kanshi Ram— Mayawati led BSP is the advocate of dalitism. But they had no hesitation to sacrifice their 'Bahujan' politics for compromising with the 'Manuwadis' to put Mayawati in the chief ministership of UP. To maintain it they even kept silent when the BJP-Shiv-Sena government of Maharashtra's police force killed the dalits indiscriminately for daring to protest against desecration of Dr. Ambedkar's statue.

Now they themselves are speeding up the I M F-W B dictated privatisation policies which are cutting at the root of reservation policy. Mayawati had nothing to say against the Fifth Central Pay Commission report which calls for introducing privatisation and contract system in government offices also. Similarly her government is not interested to implement even the existing land reform provisions. No efforts are made to distribute government lands and surplus land of landlords to the landless who are predominantly dalits.

On the contrary BSP is supporting the IMF-WB-WTO dictated policies as they will bring down 'Brahmanism' as the theoreticions of dalitism preach. Why the 'Brahmanist' BJP is also supporting these very same policies then, they do not answer.

Like the Janatha Dal, Samajwadi Party uarieties of 'Social justice' parties, BSP is also nothing but an apologist of neocolonialism utilising the dalit vote bank to maintain the comprador rule.

# Karnataka: Mass movements

On 30 June Ryot Coolie Samgram Samithi (RCSS) and RYF activists organised dharnas in front of all taluk offices and district commissioner's office in Raichur district demanding fixing of higher procurement prices for all agricultural products and their regular procurement by government agencies, regular and timely supply of irrigation water to farmers from Tungabhadra

Dam, drinking water facilities in all villages, protection of dalits, minorities and women from attacks by landlords and casteist forces, end to all forms of untouchability and for stopping liquor sale. Thousands of activists and sympathisers participated in the programme held after active campaign for two weeks.

On May 22 a Praja Panchayat was held at Balaganur village of Sindanur Taluk. RCSS and RYF activists criticised Mandal and gram panchayat presidents and Taluk and block officers demanding drinking water, road facilities and other local facilities. More than 1000 people attended this people's trial. People questioned the officers demanding immediate solution to their demands.

In Anvari village protesting against black marketing of the PDS shop owner and his refusal to distribute ration items regularly to people RYF comrades questioned the PDS dealer and locked the PDS shop. People were mobilised and the reason for locking the shop was explained. Only after PDS dealer agreed to run the shop correctly and apologised to people the key was returned to him.

In Kudagu district at Chike Alvara village demanding the distribution of 400 acres of government land to the landless people a big agitation is organised by RCSS and RYF activists. This land which was in the custody of a contractor till now and reverted to government was going to be left in the hands of the contractor by corrupt officials and local ruling classes. For distriutbion of this land RCSS and RYF first organised a district level campaign. All legal steps were taken.

As the taluk office refused to take action it was decided to occupy the land. Hundreds of activists and sympathisers marched to the land to forcefully occupy it. A large number of police with revenue officials tried to stop the march. Lathicharge and even police firing was threatened. As the police started to use force the activists started an indefinite dharna discarding rain.

As it continued for 3 days militantly the superintendent of police (SP) called Com. Nirvanappa, state organising committee Secretary of RCSS, and severely threatened him. He was threatened that he will be externed from Kudagu

or put under arrest on Goonda Act. SP threatened to demolish the tent. But the workers have studied good lessons.

# Tamilnadu: Adivasi march at Coimbatore

A militant Adivasi march was organised by CPI (ML) Red Flag activists to the district collectorate at Coimbatore. Hundreds of Adivasis participated in it. The many lakhs of Adivasis living in Western ghat areas of Tamilnadu are subjected to many atrocities and increasing plunder. Even then police refuse to take any cases under SC / ST — Atrocity Act. The feudal lords, plantation owners, forest contractors, big merchants and landlords in these areas with the help of police, forest department, government officials and political leaders serving ruling class interests are plundering the Adivasis and have made them mostly landless.

In this situation none of the ruling class parties came forward to oppose these atrocities. They approach Adivasis only during election times giving thousands of promises and entice them to polling booths by bribing the tribal chiefs. The proliferating religious agencies alongwith Voluntary/Non Governmental Organisations are only leading them away from the path of struggle against the ruling system. this situation through consistent political camorganisational work, and by taking up numerous struggles against atrocities and for economic demands CPI (ML) Red Flag is increasing its influence among the Adivasi people both on the western side of western ghats in Kerala and now the eastern side in TN.

This Adivasi march demanding action against those responsible for the murder of Kakki, return of the Adivasi land snatched away in the name of Coimbatore Zoological Park, putting an end to growing atrocities etc. in which hundreds of women also participated has given a new inpetus to the movement of the people of oppressed sections for their just demands and democratic rights.

# Yankees Continue their criminal acts in Kampuchia

Once again Kampuchia is big news. Not because anything is being done to decrease the poverty and devastation suffered by the vast majority there, but because of a still unconfirmed news-item that Pol Pot, the Khemer Rouge leader is taken prisoner by an opposing faction. US and other imperialist governments want to put him before an international tribunal for trial for the so — called genocide in the 1970s. A special task force is organised by the Yankees to take him in to custody and to organise an international trial outside for launching yet another heinous attack on socialist forces.

Pol Pot is the leader of the Khemer Rouge, the Communist Party of Kampuchia, which fought a heroic battle against the Yankees and their agents who had thrust upon Kampuchia a criminial and brutal war in the first half of 1970s Defeating all heinous acts including carpetbombing and use of poisonous gas which led to death of more than a million people and fighters by the US led aggressors, the Khemer Rouge succeeded in driving out the neocolonialists in early 1975, even before the Vietnam war ended.

But after this glorious victory, in completing the tasks of democratic revolution and advancing towards socialist transformation the Khemer Rouge leadership committed left sectarian mistakes. They thought that they can overcome the grave setbacks leading to loss of Soviet Union and then China by skipping early stages of revolutionary transformation and leaping to Communist tasks. This attempt in a war-devastated country of six millions where more than half the population had flooded to Phnom Penh, ts capital, led to very grave mistakes. These

were exaggerated many many times by both US and Soviet social imperialists, and the reactionarles and the revisionists everywhere, and in this atmosphere the Vietnamese forces backed by Soviet social imperialism succeeded in driving out the Khemer Rouge to the countryside and imposing their hegemony. Kampuchia was made a Killing Field by the Yankees from early 1970s and it continues to be so even after two decades due to the criminal manipulations by the imperialist vultures The whole blame is put on Khemer Rouge's head utilising the left sectarian mistakes they committed during its very brief rule. Imperialists are re-writing history as they likes, as they always do, and vulgarises it to serve their purpose.

So Pol Pot is made the only arch - villain And clinton is organising the imperialists everywhere to put Pol Pot on trial to attack socialist forces further. The media is once again flooded with news about Pol Pot and the preparations for the trial. Even while continuing to criticise the left sectarian mistakes committed during the brief rule of Khemer Rouge and taking lessons from them, the Communists should realise that by putting Pol Pot on trial, the Yankees are mounting yet another heinous and criminal attack on socialist forces

Whether in Kampuchea or anywhere else in the world, it is the Yankees who have committed, and are committing the gravest crimes against humanity. The genocides they perpetuated are legion. They are the most hated enemies of world people. We should resist all their efforts to vulgarise history and to hoodwink the people.

### Privatisation of electricity boards

Under privatisation - liberalisation-globalisation policies dictated by IMF - WB - WTO combine the privatisation of infrastructural facilities, mainly core sectors, is given priority. For this numerous projects are worked out by the imperialists and compradors. The energy sector has come under special attention as this vital sector can yield maximum profits.

As a result, on the one hand MNCs have earned large scale entry to the electricity man-

ufacturing field like Enron project in Maharshtra. Alongwith this the state electricity boards are coming under great pressure for privatisation. The central and state governments, the bureaucrats and technocrats running the boards and the ruling class parties are united on this sinister move.

As a result the Orissa State Electricity Board was first privatised in a swift move not giving sufficient time even for a protest. Next

## COMRADE K P R

Comrade K P R Gopalan, the veteran communist revolutionary who was in the forefront of the agrarian struggles led by the Communist Party in 1930s and 40s in north Kerala and whose name is a household word all over Kerala, passed away on August 5 at the age of 89. His departure is a great loss to the revolutionary movement.

Comrade K P R, as he is known among all was arrested and sentenced to death by British courts for giving leadership to numerous peasant struggles which became legend in Kerala. There was a countrywide protest movement against his death sentence in which even Congress leadership also joined. As a result it was commuted to life imprisonment. After coming out of jail he continued his leading role in the communist movement. In 1964 he joined the vast majority of the communists who rebelled against Dangeist leadership. But he was not satisfied with the positions put forward by CPI (M) leadership on many questions.

is the turn of Haryana government. If the first is ruled by Congress, next is ruled by BJP and allies. For privatising the board the state government in Haryana moved and got passed a State Electricity Reform Bill in hurry. Now AP government led by Telugu Desam Party of UF convenor Chandra Babu Naidu has published a notification for initiating steps to privatise electricity board. These moves are going to get strengthened in coming days under pressure of MNCs and native compradors.

The revolutionary forces alone can resist it by coming forward to mobilise all progressive forces against this anti-worker, anti – people move.

(From Page 6)

The Congress supported UF government has taken speedy steps to implement these dictates. For example it has already ordered further disinvestment of Telecom sector by selling 107 million shares. Steps are proposed for privatisation of insurance sector. Any time orders for petroleum products prices' hike can be expected. Gujral government is proving that it is ready to further accelerate implementation of IMF-WB-WTO dictates.

The Spring Thunder of Naxalbari enthused him like thousands of others within CPI (M) to question the leadership and to rebel against it. He was an MLA and resigned from state assembly. But he and comrades sharing his views did not join the Naxalbari stream and refused to become part of the Coordination Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries or later CPI (ML). They remained critics of the CPI (M) line and co - operated with the revolutionary forces on many issues and in many struggles.

Comrade K P R was actively involved in many campaigns and struggles led by CPI (ML) Red Flag. His revolutionary spirit continued to encourage the new? generation of communists joining the revolutionary movement. He maintained his basic differences with CPI (M) leadership till his last day. Red Star joins with all revolutionary forces in saluting this great communist who left us and pledges to intensify its efforts to realise a new India free of exploitation which was his ideal all through his seven decades of communist life.

[From P 18]

lagers from areas near Korba industrial area in Bilaspur district on 11 August 2 villagers died and many more were injured. People were protesting against South Eastern Coal Field Ltd (SECL) which had started illegal mining in areas belonging to villagers. The cattle grazing land belonging to the villages were illegally mined in spite of peoples protests. Agreement arrived at earlier were violated. In this context the villagers assembled in thousands and stopped the illegal mining of SECL. When police made lathi charge against peacefully agitating villagers, they surrounded the police force and: compelled them to flee. Later big police force reached and started unprovoked firing hitting the dead and injured at heads or upper parts of the body. A criminal attack was launched against the agitators.

A delegation of the CPI (ML) Red Flag Bilaspur district committee visited the place on 13 August and demanded immediate suspension of the police personnel responsible for the

### Maastricht II: Europe of the Rich Arms Itself!

The European Union is not a democratic union of various states! It is an imperialist alliance:

for better squeezing of the toilers in the European states;

- for extensive repression of revolutionary res-

for the neo-colonialist exploitation of dependent countries as suppliers of raw materials and cheap labour;

 for consolidating the fortress Europe against refugees and labour immigrants;

- for increased rivalry above all with Japanese

and American capital;

— for safeguarding the military interests of European powers.

The European Union (EU) is an imperialist alliance in which the great powers England, France and Germany have the saying under the economic supremacy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

# Unemployment- a Scourge of the Capitalist System!

The Europe wide march against unemployment on the occasion of the European Symmit in Amsterdam denounces some outgrowths of the EU system ... But in the appeals the idea of another Europe, a social-democratic Europe is presented as alternative: "Social partnership," "reducing the democracy deficit" etc. are the proposed beauty corrections. They bemoan the passing of the times of full employment. But unemployment, wage exploitation, inflation, price hikes are no strokes of fate and not the result of a wrong policy. They are inseparable elements of the capitalist economy. This capitalist economy leads to the blatant contradic-

firing, an end to the illegal mining by SECL and immediate compensation to the relatives of the two deceased and to the injured. CPI (ML) Red Flag has saluted the people of the area who got organised spontaneously and fought against the administration and SECL management. Bilaspur district committee comrades have called on the people to continue the agitation and assured full support of the party.

tion that the perfection of technology, the increase in productivity and social wealth in bourgeois society means an increase in social
inequality, greater discrepancy between the
haves and the have-nots, increased existential
uncertainty, unemployment and wants of all
kinds for ever broader layers of toilers.

# The only alternative-fight for socialism

So long as capitalism reigns in European countries, so long will the EU be an imperialist alliance.

There was and is going to be no "social" Europe, no "Europe from below," so long as the power structures do not change. These are all day-dreams and illusions. If we want to fight the consequences of the EU alliance, if we want to fight unemploment, price hikes, wage exploitation, political repression, racism, male chauvinism, then we have to realize that we can eliminate them really only when we fully destroy the rule of capital in our countries. Our goal can only be: Fight against capitalism-for socialism!

We must put here and now the question of the alternative to the world system of imperialism. Despite all defeats suffered by the international working class movement, from which we must learn today more than ever before, the present system with its barbarism proves one point ever more clearly: We need an alternative, we need a society where those who work and create all the values in society, also dispose over political power!

#### Fight for the socialist revolution!

June 1997
Supporters of Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turky) Germany

orders for man glass are discharged and are took

# RED STAR

Mentala, Indian

West Bengal: Mass rally on July 16

On the 16th July, the day Com: Charu Majumdar was arrested 25 years ago, "the 28th July martyrs Committee" of West Bengal called a rally for march to the Writer's Building to demand justice by enquiring into the killing of Com: Charu Majumdar, Com: Saroj Dutta and other Naxalites and punishment to the responsible police officers. The committee was comprised of 7 Naxalite organisations viz C P I (ML) Red Flag, CPI (ML) Liberation, CPI (ML) ND) CPI (ML) Janashakti, CPI (ML) P. C. C, CPI (ML, Second C. C and CPI (ML) Janashakti (COC).

Nearly six thousand people from all the districts of West Bengal joined the rally defying rain. As even the acting Chief Minister was away no delegation could meet him. Speakers from all these organisations reiterated that the Naxal movement is still very much living and is bound to build up a revolutionary alternative to present ruling system.

A one month programme of street corner meeting was very successfully conducted all over Calcutta in the month of June.

A hall meeting called by the intellectuals of West Bengal was held in a packed up Students Hall on 26th June, which gave impetus to the 16th July rally.

The martyrs committee is now thinking of maintaining a permane nt platform for promoting joint movements on different problems of the people.

#### All India Cultural Camp at Lucknow

On 17th, 18th and 19th of October 1997

Due to technical reasons the All India Cultural Camp proposed to be held in september 1997 at Lucknow is postponed to 17th, 18th and 19th of October 1997. The camp will be held at Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall, Amina Bagh, Lucknow.

Enquiries with regard to the camp are to be addressed to:

1. P.Lal, 16/558, Indira Nagar (Near Munshi

pulia) Lucknow, U.P.

OR

2. K.A. Mohandas, 43, Sona Lodge, Shornur Road, Thrissur-680001, Kerala

# Tamil Nadu People's March to Ashok Nagar E & Office

People of Ashok Nagar of Chennai marched to the Electricity Board Office of the area on 4th August under the leadership of 'Ashok Nagar Poduppani Kulu' (Ashok Nagar residency welfare association) demanding urgent measures to put an end to the frequent disruptions in electricity supply and withdrawl of the hike in power tariff. The people participated in the march besieged the E B office for three hours raising slogans demanding the withdrawl of anti people policies pursued by the Government.

The senior leaders of Democratic Youth who were among the (DYL) subsequent march and leaders of the seige spoke of the proimperialist policies pursued by the State Government in the powersector as part and in continuation of the policies of the Central Government. They pointed out the IMF and World Bank dictates and the Govt. policies facilitating the intrusion of MNCs like Enron and Cogentrix to the power sector and plundering of the natural resources and people of the country.

As the seige was going on the local E B officials agreed to the people to solve the problems of power supply in the locality and to see that the power is not disrupted in future. They also agreed to bring the demand of the people to withdraw the hike in power tariff to the higher authorities. Then the seige was withdrawn. The people of the locality appreciated the comrades of DYL and leaders of 'Ashok Nagar Poduppani Kulu' for the struggle to meet a popular demand successfully. DYL comrades of Ashok Nagar, Vadapalani, K. K. Nagar and Kodambakkam participated in the march and the seige.

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