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کتابخانه

Editorials

Expose Real Character of 1947 Transfer of Power, Intensify Struggle Against Reactionary Ruling System

ONCE AGAIN Manmohan Singh will be extolling the virtues of the comprador ruling system, presently run by the UPA government, from the ramparts of the Red Fort on August 15, when the real character of the lackeys of the global imperialist system is getting exposed more than ever. While talking about the 63rd anniversary of independence, the UPA Government is spending fabulous amounts for the Commonwealth games to express their loyalty to the old colonial masters. Neo-liberal policies are being speeded up, pauperizing the masses further. When prices of all essential commodities are rising, to fatten the corporate houses further, prices of all petroleum products have been further hiked. Under their rule, while the elite classes are becoming unprecedentedly richer, latest studies reveal that 55% of our 1.2 billion population lives below the poverty line. Unemployment and under employment is spreading fast. Corruption has become more rampant than ever. The neo-colonial order is becoming more barbarous with the elitist, globalized India shining, while the masses are starving.

In order to perpetuate this situation, the state apparatus is being made increasingly fascistic. Whatever democratic and constitutional rights and labour laws are existing, are being made ineffective through state terror, black laws and the judiciary. When the masses are struggling against violations of fundamental rights and against displacement from their habitats, in the name of suppressing the Maoists, who are active only in a few isolated areas, an undeclared emergency is being imposed, through militarization, as in *Operation Green Hunt*. In this way, in addition to Jammu & Kashmir and the North East, more regions are being brought under virtual military rule. Voices of protest are brutally suppressed.

Along with religious fundamentalists of all hues, casteist forces, etc are being utilized for suppressing the people. While all secular values are buried systematically, the perpetrators of casteist atrocities, including Khap Panchayats, go scot-free. Untouchability and deprivation are spreading by other means, with commercialization and eliticism of all fields. A neo-Brahminical order is being created. Big or small, all political parties which are for neo-liberal policies, as well as the increasingly corrupt bureaucracy and ruthless mafia forces, have worsened the life of the vast masses. Impervious to all this, the ruling system is going ahead with its anti-people policies; uttering falsehoods about the virtues of this so-called largest democracy!

The experience of 63 years exposes that what happened on the midnight of 14-15 August, 1947, was nothing but a change over from the old colonial system to a neo-colonial order, with all the basics of all old systems left unchanged. As the global financial crisis is intensifying and the imperialists and their lackeys are transferring the burden of this crisis to the vast masses, their pauperization and the devastation of the country are going to further intensify. There can be no reformist solution to this situation. What is required is a radical rupture from this state of affairs, and re-building of society on the basis of new values taking it forward to socialist transformation. Exposing the 1947 transfer of power as nothing but the beginning of the neo-colonial order, all revolutionary and democratic forces should join hands to recreate society on new foundations.

Make Quit India Campaign a Big Success

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of CPI (ML) has given a call for a “Quit India Campaign” from 9 to 15 August with slogans like ‘Kick out IMF–World Bank–WTO- MNCs’, to mobilize the masses against the neo-colonial order which is degrading their lives. The class and mass organizations have also taken initiatives to launch campaigns during this period in their specific fields. These are important decisions which should be effectively implemented by trying to mobilize the toiling masses and oppressed sections in ever larger numbers.

A century long independence struggle, from the *First War of Independence*, in 1857, onwards, against British colonial rule, has proved that in spite of mobilizing tens of millions and valiant sacrifices, it could not achieve its goals. Through the comprador forces to whom power was transferred the imperialist forces continued their domination, in neo-colonial forms. The Communist Party failed to establish the leadership of the working class and oppressed masses over the independence struggle. All this made the division of India on communal lines and the transfer of power to comprador classes and their political leadership, easier for British imperialists. The experience of the post-1947 struggles proves that the same weakness, on the part of the CPI and later the CPI and the CPI(M) leadership, have helped the reactionary ruling system to intensify the neo-colonial order. The right deviation, which is the main danger within the Communist movement, and the left deviation, which caused and is still causing adventurist and anarchist mistakes, have blunted the movement’s fight against the ruling system. If the right deviation is leading the masses to the path of class collaboration, the left deviation is isolating the cadres from the masses.

It is in this situation, the need to establish the ideological political line of the CPI(ML), which exposes the neo-colonial order in dominance and provides the path of revolutionary offensive against it, to build the Party on Bolshevik lines surrounded by class/mass organizations and to launch movements to politicize and mobilize the masses in their millions against the ruling system assumes paramount importance. Firmly upholding the Marxist- Leninist teaching that *it is the masses who create history*, let us mobilize them in ever larger numbers in as many places as possible and make the *Quit India Campaign* successful.

On Collapse of Indo-Pak Level Talks

THE BREAKING DOWN of the foreign ministers’ level talks between India and Pakistan has taken Indo-Pak relations back to square one, once again. While the UPA spokespersons

and bureau-crats at the helm in Delhi are repeating foolish arrogant arguments to justify the Manmohan Singh Government's stand, BJP leaders have gone a step ahead, by calling for ending all engagements with Pakistan. All other parties, which are part of the ruling system, including the CPI (M)-led left front, have either echoed this stupid comprador policy of the Delhi Government towards Pakistan or are satisfied with meaningless rhetoric without bothering to go for a serious analysis of the problems involved.

Nobody is asking who authorized the home secretary, GK Pillai, who has failed to take any step to rush food grains to people of Manipur, even after they are left starving for the last many months, in the name of an economic blockade by the Nagas, to rush to the media, on the eve of the Krishna-Quereshi talks, to say that the role of the ISI in the Mumbai attacks has been proved from beginning till end since David Headley says so. This David is a double agent who is lodged now in some questioning chambers of the CIA in the US. Many of his statements are rejected even by the CIA. But the Indian establishment is repeating what he stated, for the last two months, to further worsen Indo-Pak relations. It is absolutely clear that the US administration is utilizing him to worsen the enmity between the South Asian neighbors so that it can maintain the subcontinent divided, reap a fortune from a 5 trillion dollar arms-race between them and intensify neo-colonial domination. The whole bureaucracy and the military establishment in India are serving these US plans. GK Pillai and those who ordered him to make the statement on the previous day were very clear that the talks should not go ahead. It shows how the Indian ruling system is serving imperialist interests, especially of the US bosses, requiring it to maintain its reactionary mode, immensely benefiting the elite classes.

Otherwise, when even countries like France, Germany and England, which twice fought the deadliest World Wars that killed a 100 million people and devastated large areas of Europe, have come together and formed the European Union with a common currency, why do India and Pakistan, divided just 63 years ago, fail to even talk sense to start settling their problems? Why do these *midnights children* continue to remain *handcuffed to history*? Both spend about five trillion precious dollars every year for arming themselves to the teeth with fancy weapons, which they are never going to utilize. While both boast of membership to the elite *nuclear club*, according to a recent survey by the *Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative*, more people are mired in poverty in eight Indian states than found in the 26 poorest African countries. While the number of billionaires in India is increasing, a whopping 421 million of the world's 'poorest of the poor' live here - a more bitter poverty than in sub-Saharan Africa. While these two governments want to remain prisoners of the past, the vast masses in both crave for basics, such as food, water, housing, electricity, education and healthcare.

The Indian establishment insists that first Pak involvement in terror attacks in India should stop but denies its own autocratic policies, turning all elections in J & K into a farce a number of times, which created favourable conditions for the birth of insurgency there. Both in J & K and the North East, insurgency took birth and grew under military rule, which used black laws like AFSPA. Khalistanis surfaced in Punjab as a result of the Indira Gandhi Government's attempts to corner the Akalis using Bhindranwale. Islamic militancy grew after the demolition of the Babri Masjid by the RSS-led fundamentalist forces under benevolent patronage of Narasimha Rao Government. So to repeat that Pakistan alone is responsible for all terror attacks in India is a travesty of the truth. It is as ridiculous as if Pakistan were to say that the Indian government is responsible for the large number of terrorist attacks taking place there. In fact continuing hostility is utilized to whip up passions among the 'Hindu' masses for electoral purposes by both the BJP and the Congress. Thus the talks with Pakistan are undermined.

There is a mutual undermining of the path of conciliation. Both Indian and Pakistani Governments, the bureaucracy, military, intelligence services, in short, the whole establishment on both sides, including the leaderships of ruling parties, are responsible for this state of affairs. Both are linked to the US establishment, by a number of comprador forms, to subvert any efforts to develop political dialogue, leading to conciliation in all fields. Neither side dreams of achieving at least a Europe-like situation here, as their comprador ruling systems have not even an iota of national aspiration. Both sides are so elitist that they are not bothered about the sufferings of the hundreds of millions on both sides.

In this situation it is the task of the revolutionary left along with all progressive and democratic forces in India to expose the increasing servitude of the ruling system to imperialist, especially US, interests and to put pressure on the UPA Government to restart negotiations for political solutions to all problems including that of Kashmir.

Condemn the Killing of Comrade Azad

THE CPI(ML) severely condemns the killing of com. Azad, politbureau member of the CPI(Maoist), in the guise of an encounter. He was taken into custody at Nagpur railway station, taken to Adilabad forest, tortured, questioned and killed by the AP and Central forces. It calls for the severest condemnation by all revolutionary forces.

The CPI(ML) has basic ideological-political-organizational differences with the CPI(Maoist). But it emphasises the fact that the CPI (Maoist) is a political party. Whatever may be its line of action, taking into custody its cadres, including front ranking leaders, torturing them and killing them in the guise of encounters goes against all fundamental principles of constitutional right, democracy and jurisprudence, which the ruling leaders quite often preach. But the State and Central forces are acting against all basic tenets of democratic principles in dealing with the militants in Jammu and Kashmir, various insurgent forces in the North East and the CPI(Maoist) cadres and leaders. Under the cover of fighting Maoists even activists of CPI(ML) and other organizations are arrested and kept in detention.

Thus, in the name of fighting ‘terrorism’, insurgency and Maoists, para military and military forces are wantonly unleashed against the people. Various black laws, including AFSPA, are ruthlessly imposed. Fascist oppressions like ‘Operation Green Hunt’ are organized. This is nothing but most foul state terrorism. It is undeclared emergency rule, worse than what was imposed during 1975-77 by the Indira Gandhi Government.

We appeal to all revolutionary forces, all progressive, democratic forces to severely condemn the killing of Com Azad and the unleashing of state terror. We appeal to them to expose and resist the ever-increasing fascist attacks, on all political forces who question the comprador ruling system and against the people struggling for genuine demands.

Impact of Global Economic Crisis in Gulf Countries

THE IMPACT of the global economic crisis, which started with the collapse of Lehman Brothers and Bear Stearns, two of world’s largest investment banks in the US, in September 2008, had its impact in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries, especially in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), which include Dubai, the most developed business hub linking western economies with Asian economies, from the very beginning.

But very little has come out of statistics or the extent of this crisis. Like the ruling system in the US and other imperialist centers, the feudal lords leading the bubble economy and speculation in the GCC countries are concealing the real details of the crisis. Its consequences are also not discussed in detail. A cover up game is smartly under way.

During the last decade or more all GCC countries, especially UAE led by Dubai, had witnessed a leap in the real estate business. Grandiose projects started attracting millions of workers including a large number of engineers and technicians. Migrants reached from India and most Asian countries in large numbers. But as in US, it was the real estate sector, run by speculators combined with banks, which became the first casualty. Learning from the US experience, Abu Dhabi bailed out five of the biggest central banks of UAE including the National Bank of Abu Dhabi and the Abu Dhabi Commercial Bank. This process of bailing out of big banks, investors and other sharks responsible for this crisis becoming critical, is a continuing process in Gulf countries also. Trillions of dollars are utilized for it.

It is as a part of this process, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on 21st July said the GCC needed an exit strategy from massive fiscal stimulus, and urged Gulf Arab countries to shut down unworkable companies and boost transparency as they emerge from the global economic crisis. The IMF said that massive government spending by GCC countries helped to contain the impact of the global downturn on their respective economies, but they should “start preparing an exit strategy” from the current high spending levels and should implement it once the time is right.

‘As the region pulls out of the downturn, it needs to boost transparency and improve corporate oversight’, the IMF said, in an updated report on the GCC. The IMF believes that while economic growth in the GCC is strengthening, the region faces a risk to its outlook if oil prices remain low for a protracted period. It was the bubble economy which had boosted the prices of petroleum few years back. But the 2008 crisis has started bringing down the prices. They are not expected to rise soon. So the IMF is advocating an exit strategy from current high spending levels, to ‘ensure long term fiscal sustainability’. This is a very apparently conservative suggestion but it is not putting forward the demand to reverse the level of speculation as some propagate. In effect it implies bailing out the elites while cutting down the benefits to the working class and other toiling sections. This orientation of the IMF, which led to revolts in Greece, is already put into practice in Gulf countries, with grave consequences to the large number of migrant workers and even to the welfare benefits to locals.

Immediately after the beginning of the economic crisis in September 2008 the real estate sector was seriously affected. Projects like Burj Dubai under Nakheel, linked to Dubai royalty, were postponed and could be completed only after Abu Dhabi came forward to help. Tens of thousands of workers were retrenched. Many senior engineers were also dropped. The conditions went on worsening. Multi-billion projects like Mydan are left half way. This has affected hundreds of thousands of workers in the GCC countries. Along with this, the wages and other benefits are also cut down. Now, newly recruited workers, mainly from Nepal, Bangladesh and Vietnam are being employed, giving wages below 500 Dirhams or Rs. 6000. They live in labour camps under inhuman conditions. The improvement in living conditions in labour camps, initiated following spontaneous strikes in 2007, are now abandoned. Thus the burden of the crisis is shifted to the workers. In coming days the economic crisis and the conditions of the life of the working class are expected to worsen.

Party Document

On Utilising Parliamentary Forms Of Struggle To Advance Class Struggle

(Paper adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(ML) in its meeting on 6-8 June, 2010)

ON UTILIZING parliamentary forms of struggle for advancing class struggle, the document on *Path of Revolution* adopted by November 2009 All India Special Conference has put forward the general guideline in detail.

“15.1 India is a country where election to provincial and central level legislative assemblies were introduced from the colonial days. After the transfer of power, under the Constitution adopted in 1950 the parliamentary system was made systematic at all levels. Today, from elections to Lok Sabha to Panchayat level and even to co-operative societies are made regularly drawing large sections of people. Even in pre-revolutionary Russia, experience in participating the elections was partial and limited. In China and other countries where revolution took place, there were no such experience regarding utilising parliamentary system as a form of struggle to develop class struggle. Still drawing from the experience of *Second International* and of the Communist parties in European countries, Comintern under the leadership of Lenin had pointed out the need to struggle against parliamentary cretinism on the one hand and boycottism on the other hand. Taking lessons from these and evaluating the experience of the Communist movement in India from the time of undivided CPI, the methods of utilisation of parliamentary forms of struggle to develop class struggle should be developed.

“15.2 On the utilisation of elections the first serious challenge faced by the undivided CPI was in the first general elections in 1952. CPI was leading historic Telengana struggle and many other militant movements in different parts of the country. It was also leading secret fractions within the units of armed forces. Whether to leave all these and participate in 1952 elections in a legal way with a uniform symbol, or to continue these struggles and utilise the elections as a form of struggle to help them was the challenge before it. The party leadership opted for the reformist path. What happened during the elections and the election results revealed that legalism did not help the party. It received considerable support and its candidates won where it had led militant struggles and won mass support. Refusing to take lesson from this, CPI went on surrendering to parliamentary cretinism, especially after adopting the Soviet revisionist line of ‘peaceful transition’.

“15.3 In 1957 CPI won majority in Kerala assembly along with few independents and formed government. Though the education and land reforms bills it put forward were basically reformist, the Congress government at centre could not tolerate it, and in the name of a violent agitation led by Congress joining hands with communal, casteist and other reactionary forces, it was dismissed after 28 months. But this dismissal increased CPI’s vote share in 1960 elections, though it failed to get majority, and increased its prestige all over the country. Instead of drawing correct lessons from these developments, CPI leadership further abandoned whatever revolutionary character was left and totally surrendered to parliamentary opportunism in line with its class collaborationist line.

“15.4 In 1967 elections, and in the ministry formation and its functioning the CPI (M) also followed this parliamentary cretinist path. In tune with their revisionist and neo-revisionist lines both abandoned the revolutionary path of utilising elections to develop class struggle, for mobilisation of masses for the PDR. Both embraced the path of

continuing within the frame imposed by the bourgeois Constitution. This degeneration was very fast. In 1969 when Congress split and Indira Gandhi government lost majority, instead of voting it out, both propped it up, proving their further degeneration to bourgeois parliamentary path.

“15.5 Violent reaction to this degeneration and the influence of sectarianism dominating the movement then, led the CPI (ML) formed in 1969 to adopt boycott of election as a strategic line. Even after many CPI(ML) groups abandoned this line, those who continued to follow the sectarian line went on pursuing it. The Maoist trend still pursues it, though all other sections started utilising the parliamentary form of struggle very soon. But some of these sections soon adopted opportunist united front tactics and started degenerating to parliamentary cretinism. But unlike the CPI(M)-led LF, which has gained power in three states and a sizeable strength in parliament degenerating to ruling class positions, the rightist trend emerging from the CR forces could not advance much. It is in a declining path. Only way out before it is to align with CPI(M)-led LF or perish to the level of a local force.

“15.6 The boycottist experience, on the other extreme, has proved totally negative. Even after giving boycott call, the CPI(Maoist) has adopted opportunist tactics like supporting some of the ruling class party candidates clandestinely. Nowhere it has succeeded to ‘enforce’ its call of boycott. The methods it resorts to enforce boycott only alienates it further from the masses. The CPI(Maoist) is so dogmatic and its thinking so mechanical that it has so far failed to make a concrete analysis of its line like the CPN(Maoist) has done, changing its approach to parliamentary forms of struggle. A section of the CR forces, even after adopting mass line and participating in elections, is pursuing a passive boycott approach by refusing to effectively utilise it as tactics to mobilise the masses.

“15.7 Struggling against both right opportunist parliamentary cretinism and dogmatic boycott line, the Communist Party should try to effectively utilise the elections as a form of struggle to propagate party line among the masses and to put forward a people’s alternative to the imperialist dictated development policy of the ruling class parties. As Lenin has pointed out, bourgeois parliamentary system has become *historically* obsolete. The ruling class and their main political parties are perpetuating the capitalist-imperialist system in the imperialist countries and the comprador rule in countries like India through the manipulation of elections utilising money and muscle power on the one hand, and creating communal, casteist, racist, parochial vote banks on the other hand, effectively utilising the state machinery and monopoly media. It is becoming exposed more and more before the people. Still on an average 50% to 80% votes are polled in the elections. Only when upsurges linked to nationality question as in Kashmir or North-east were taking place the voting had gone below 10%. In 1952 elections even without much campaign by the Party candidates, in area of peasants and worker struggles Communists were successful with people voting massively for them. In 1977 as a reaction to the fascist oppression during the emergency rule and earlier under the Congress rule during which people were suppressed in heinous forms and the CR forces were brutally massacred in West Bengal and elsewhere, people voted massively for the CPI(M)-led LF. Similar was people’s response to Indira Gandhi’s emergency rule in 1977 elections. These instances show that though revolutionary changes cannot be brought out through bourgeois parliamentary elections, they can be utilised combined with continuous development of workers and peasant struggles to mobilise the people for advancing class struggle by putting forward a people’s alternative against the ruling class alternatives and effectively campaigning for it. Apart from the above instances in India, recent elections in Nepal and the elections in Venezuela and other Latin American countries, where anti-US forces have

come to power with a people's agenda, prove this. In India the degeneration of CPI and CPI(M), who are known to vast masses in most of the states still as the communist parties, to ruling class positions and the boycott line pursued by most of the CR forces in the beginning and by a few still has so far blocked the effective utilisation of elections as a form of struggle to advance class struggle. Even now, in spite of these experiences, some of the mass line forces are participating in elections only to "dispel the illusions of the people on the parliamentary institutions" and prepare them for armed struggle! It is a negative approach as explained by Lenin in his work the *Left-Wing Communism an Infantile Disorder*.

"15.8 People will be disillusioned with bourgeois parliamentary institutions only when the Communist Party succeeds to develop country-wide movements focussing on people's issues, to mobilise the masses in their millions against the ruling system and to put forward a people's alternative against the ruling class alternatives. After the degeneration of erstwhile socialist countries and the ruling system built up there by the Communist Parties to capitalist path, mechanical repetition of 'seizure of political power by armed struggle' alone cannot win masses to revolutionary path. It calls for the effective development of massive people's upsurges in the pre-revolutionary situation utilising all forms of struggle including parliamentary system. The Communist Party should be able to evaluate past weaknesses and to promote serious discussions to develop perspectives of *people's democratic state* and *proletarian democracy* taking into account what happened in Soviet Union, China and other countries. How to replace the bourgeois parliamentary system with more developed system of democracy which shall help to advance towards socialism and communism is a major challenge before the ICM. Debate on the parliamentary system should be developed with this perspective.

"15.9 India is a country of 120 crores of people with the bourgeois parliamentary system well entrenched in every nook and corner for many decades at all levels. Neither the social democratic path of parliamentary cretinism, nor the anarchist path of boycott is going to help in developing creative ways to transcend bourgeois parliamentary system and to advance along the path of people's democracy. On the contrary, the Communist Party should utilise this bourgeois parliamentary system along with all other forms of struggle to develop class struggle in all fields, to unleash mighty people's upsurges so that it can advance towards the revolutionary seizure of political power and put into practice people's democracy."

This approach paper is trying to explain our own experience on utilization of parliamentary forms of struggle so far and is putting forward concrete proposals to help this in a revolutionary way. As Lenin said: "Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor."

Lenin narrated the experience of combining parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle in Russia by the Bolsheviks as follows: "The Bolsheviks' boycott of "parliament" in 1905 enriched the revolutionary proletariat with highly valuable political experience and showed that, when legal and illegal parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle are combined, it is sometimes useful and even essential to reject parliamentary forms. It would, however, be highly erroneous to apply this experience blindly, imitatively and uncritically to other conditions and other situations. The Bolsheviks, boycott of the Duma in 1906 was a mistake although a minor and easily remediable one. The boycott of the Duma in 1907, 1908 and subsequent years was a most serious error and difficult to

remedy, because, on the one hand, a very rapid rise of the revolutionary tide and its conversion into an uprising was not to be expected, and, on the other hand, the entire historical situation attendant upon the renovation of the bourgeois monarchy called for legal and illegal activities being combined. Today, when we look back at this fully completed historical period, whose connection with subsequent periods has now become quite clear, it becomes most obvious that in 1908-14 the Bolsheviks *could not have* preserved (let alone strengthened and developed) the core of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, had they not upheld, in a most strenuous struggle, the viewpoint that it was *obligatory* to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle, and that it was *obligatory* to participate even in a most reactionary parliament and in a number of other institutions hemmed in by reactionary laws (sick benefit societies, etc.).” (*Leftwing Communism – an Infantile Disorder*)

Thus in *Leftwing Communism – an Infantile Disorder* Lenin categorically established the absurdity of boycotting the parliamentary forms of struggle and the need to combine it with all other forms of struggle to advance towards capture of political power. He stated: “participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary rostrum is obligatory on the party of the revolutionary proletariat specifically for the purpose of educating the backward strata of its own class, and for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, downtrodden and ignorant rural masses.” He stated: “Right doctrinarism persisted in recognizing only the old forms and became utterly bankrupt, for it did not notice the new content. Left doctrinarism persists in the unconditional repudiation of certain old forms, failing to see that the new content is forcing its way through all and sundry forms, that it is our duty as Communists to master all forms, to learn how, with the maximum rapidity, to supplement one form with another, to substitute one for another and to adapt our tactics to any such change that does not come from our class or from our efforts.” Lenin has made it absolutely clear that while the strategy of the Communists is to smash the existing reactionary ruling system and capture political power, in order to achieve it, the parliamentary forms of struggle should be utilized as a tactics without deviating to right or left doctrinarism.

The history of the Communist movement in India show that from the 1948 left adventurist Calcutta Thesis, in spite of the 1951 Party Programme and Policy Statement which had, in the main, given a revolutionary orientation to Party, within months the leadership succumbed to pressure of the Nehru government, agreed to withdraw the Telengana struggle and to disband Party fractions in armed forces to get legal facilities to contest the 1952 general elections. Even without this surrender elections could be contested as the Bolsheviks did, if the understanding that utilization of elections is one of the tactics to advance the struggle for capture of political power was firmly upheld. The road to parliamentary cretinism was opened with this decision of the leadership.

EXPERIENCE OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

Following Naxalbari uprising and CPI(ML) formation, when they mechanically adopted the Chinese path, when armed struggle was made the only form of struggle and the annihilation line was adopted, the Communist Revolutionaries naturally rejected the concept of utilizing all forms of struggle and utilizing parliamentary forms of struggle as tactics, and went for boycott of elections. They asserted that the era had changed and that elections had become even politically obsolete. Even the non-CPI(ML) groups and those CPI(ML) groups who adopted mass line after the severe setbacks and disintegration of the Party, could not develop a revolutionary form of utilisation of parliamentary forms of struggle for revolution. As a result, in effect the following lines came to dominance among

the CRs: 1) boycott of elections as practiced by the anarchist CPI(Maoist), 2) Line of deviating to right opportunism in the name of adjustments for Left Confederation as practiced by the CPI(ML) Liberation, and 3) Namesake participation in the name of “dispelling the illusions of the people” as most other groups are doing. All of them have deviated from the Leninist teachings based on Bolshevik experience. Our effort should be to expose and defeat these opportunist positions, whether they are anarchist, rightist or liquidationist, and to develop a revolutionary utilization of parliamentary forms of struggle.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches, all erroneous concepts like taking over the existing state apparatus through participation in parliamentary elections and utilizing it for realizing socialism should be thoroughly smashed. Participation in elections; the role of our elected representatives in different elected bodies at various levels, if elected; and the role of the administration led by the Party, if majority is obtained; should not be to create any forms of parliamentary illusions, but to utilize the parliamentary forms of struggle in each of these stages to advance the cause of proletarian revolution. The reformist and revolutionary forms of utilizing parliamentary struggles should be clearly differentiated. All reformist forms should be exposed and defeated.

Under sectarian influence, the CPI(ML), when it was formed, had not only boycotted elections, it had also abandoned all class and mass organizations. As a result of this, though the sectarian line was rejected, mass line was adopted and participation in elections was started, the concept of the Party surrounded by class and mass organizations put forward by the Comintern is not yet fully put into practice. So in places where participation in elections is started, without strengthening the party and class/mass organizations, without educating the leaders and cadres about revolutionary utilization of elections as a tactic to advance the proletarian revolution, the danger of degenerating to a right opportunist line has surfaced faster than it affected the CPI and the CPI(M) in the past. So it is necessary that Party members at all levels are educated thoroughly about utilization of parliamentary forms of struggle as tactics to give a fillip to extra-parliamentary forms of struggle.

DEFEAT ALL FORMS OF PARLIAMENTARY ILLUSIONS, EDUCATE THE ENTIRE PARTY ON REVOLUTIONARY UTILIZATION OF PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE

As happened in 1951 and later following the disintegration of CPI(ML) in 1971, the danger of deviating from one extreme to another extreme, deviating from left adventurism to a right opportunist line is very serious. Though the possibility of this danger is serious in all fields, it affects the whole organization very fast if the whole party is not educated about revolutionary utilization of elections. In the present society, the election field has become extremely corrupt from top to bottom. So the whole party should be educated against parliamentary illusions, peaceful transition to socialism through parliamentary means. The politics of revolutionary seizure of political power should be consistently taught. All cadres and members should be taught that parliamentary forms of struggle can be used only as a tactic to advance class politics and class struggle. The limits of bourgeois democracy should be continuously exposed. At the same time, we should make it clear that unlike the practice of CPI in 1957 and CPI (M)-led Governments from 1967, if opportunity is obtained in Government formation, it shall be utilised for advancing the class struggle.

ELECTIONS SHOULD BE FOUGHT PUTTING FORWARD POLITICS OF REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

Secondly, the politics and practice of contesting elections from Parliament to Panchayats should be seriously discussed and the line of approach should be worked out by all committees under the overall guidance of the Central Committee. The principal aim of participation in elections should be to propagate the politics of the revolutionary alternative, of people's democracy and socialism, put forward through the Election Manifesto. The Party should canvas support based on the manifesto and the revolutionary struggles waged under its leadership when all political parties, from ruling class parties to social democratic parties, are trying hard to make the elections apolitical by depending on vote banks based on caste, religion etc., through corrupt practices like distributing money, liquor etc. or by intimidating the voters. The party should consistently try to make the election campaign political. No election should be contested without an election manifesto, without sufficient political preparations and without preparing the whole party organization for it. Contesting by-elections should be avoided except in exceptional cases. The results of every election contested should be politically and organizationally evaluated and reported to higher committees.

CONTEST ELECTIONS ONLY WHERE PARTY ORGANIZATION IS SUFFICIENTLY STRONG.

The elections should be fought only in areas where the party organization is sufficiently strong to organize effective campaign, and under the centralized leadership of Party committees. Ideas like contesting elections where the Party is very inactive, in the name of building party through it, should be discouraged.

SELECTION OF CANDIDATES

Only party members with a good political and organizational record should be selected as candidates. The candidates for all local bodies' elections should be proposed by Local and Area Committees to the District Committees, who should submit it to the State Committee for approval. As election dates are known well in advance, the candidates should be proposed well in advance to higher committees and campaigns should not be started in the candidates names until they are accepted by higher committees. For State Assembly elections, the District Committees should submit the names at least three months in advance to SCs/SOCs. The SCs/SOCs can approve the list, subject to the ratification of the CC. Unless the SCs/SOCs approve, no campaign should be waged in the candidates' name. The list of candidates for Lok Sabha should be sent three months in advance by the SCs/SOCs to the CC, which only has the right to approve the names. Campaigns in the name of candidates should be launched only after their names are approved by the CC. In this way, candidates should be selected giving due political and organizational consideration, they should be selected well in advance and their names should be approved by higher committees, as explained above, before they are announced as candidates.

FORM PARLIAMENTARY SUB COMMITTEES

At Area committee, District Committee and SC/SOC level, where elections are contested, form Parliamentary sub-committees or the Executive Committees at these levels can function as the Parliamentary sub-committee also. Similarly the CEC shall function as the Central Parliamentary Board for the time being. All planning for contesting elections, preparation of Election Manifestos, approval of candidates, and if any candidates are elected, their functioning at various levels should be closely guided by these committees.

ELECTION UNITED FRONTS

Besides fielding Party members as candidates, Party sympathizers and leaders of class/mass organizations who are not Party members can be fielded as independent candidates supported by the party if they fully uphold the Election Manifesto and are

prepared to campaign and function, if elected, under the leadership of the Parliamentary sub-committees of the party.

As far as united fronts with political parties are concerned they should be formed only with the approval of the SCs/SOCs in case of local bodies elections, and of the CC in case of State Assembly and Lok Sabha elections. Such united fronts can be formed only with revolutionary left parties who basically uphold the election Manifesto of the Party and who have no alliance with any reformist or anarchist organizations. In the present situation extreme care should be taken before such UFs are formed.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Once the concerned Party committees have selected the constituencies where candidates are going to be fielded and once the process of selecting the candidates is initiated, an *Election Campaign Committee* should be formed at least two months in advance including Party members, leaders of class/mass organizations and Party friends and sympathizers to work under the political leadership of the Party committees. Considering the difficulties faced by a Party like ours in the campaign, these campaign committees should be formed at least two months in advance, campaign plans worked out and a systematic campaign launched. We should focus on campaigns with the Election Manifesto in local languages, large number of hand bills, hand-written posters, wall-writings, street corner meetings, campaigns using cultural teams etc. giving emphasis to large scale door-to-door campaigning. Without waiting for symbols, campaigns should be launched two months before. Booth committees should be formed. We should shift party activists from areas where we are not contesting to constituencies where we are contesting to help the campaign. All these things should be done before the Election Commission's code of conduct comes into practice. After the symbol is available, last stage campaigning can be launched using printed posters and vehicles. The election fund should be planned and collected constituency-wise in advance. In this way, we should select only areas where an effective campaign is possible and there is a mass base. We should organize effective political campaigns, winning over new sections to Party and class/mass organizations.

All Party committees should ensure that no alien thinking influences the campaign. The political line of the Party should be put in command throughout the campaign.

After the election process is completed, the concerned party committees who led the campaign, in the presence of responsible comrades from the higher committee, should conduct a full-fledged evaluation of the campaign, prepare a report and submit it to higher committees. The SCs/SOCs should make an evaluation report identifying the positive and negative aspects of the campaign, including putting forward suggestions and guidelines for the future. Based on these the CC shall be able to make an evaluation at the national level, through which the approach towards revolutionary utilization of the parliamentary forms of struggles can be continuously developed.

Articles

Role of Armed Struggle in Indian Revolution

K.N. Ramachandran

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO concludes with these words *“The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble*

at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. ...” Based on their scientific analysis of the capitalist system, Marx and Engels had no doubts on the question that only through the overthrow of the capitalist system, could the proletarian political power be ushered in. As the capitalist system has reached its highest form, imperialism, which is more barbarous, and during the post World War II decades has adopted the more heinous and pernicious form of neo-colonialism, taking the speculative, inhuman character of capital, along with market fetishism, to its worst form, what Marx and Engels declared is proved a hundred times more true. So, first of all, let it be made clear that our party, the CPI (ML), has no iota of doubt that the rule of the imperialists and their lackeys can be put to an end, and political power can be captured, only through violent overthrow of the existing ruling system in the context of the present political scenario of India.

While developing the strategy and tactics of the Russian Revolution, Lenin had categorically declared that it is not on the question whether armed struggle is required or not to overthrow the Tsarist rule, but on how to develop the revolutionary movement including armed struggle the Communist of his times differed. Explaining this aspect Lenin said in his article on Guerilla Warfare “... *Let us begin from the beginning. What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the question of forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognises the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not “concoct” them, but only generalises, organises, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the mass struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognising as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, inevitably arise as the given social situation changes. In this respect Marxism learns, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatever to teach the masses forms of struggle invented by “systematisers” in the seclusion of their studies. We know — said Kautsky, for instance, when examining the forms of social revolution — that the coming crisis will introduce new forms of struggle that we are now unable to foresee.*

In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely historical examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national-cultural, living and other conditions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position.”

Lenin further clarified “...*A Marxist bases himself on the class struggle, and not social peace. In certain periods of acute economic and political crises the class struggle ripens*

into a direct civil war, i.e., into an armed struggle between two sections of the people. In such periods a Marxist is obliged to take the stand of civil war. Any moral condemnation of civil war would be absolutely impermissible from the standpoint of Marxism”.

He also said ; *“...In a period when the class struggle has become accentuated to the point of civil war, Social-Democrats must make it their duty not only to participate but also to play the leading role in this civil war. The Social-Democrats must train and prepare their organisations to be really able to act as a belligerent side which does not miss a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the enemy’s forces...”*

But as Lenin declared and the hitherto experience of the ICM has substantiated, the Communists should not have the slightest intention of foisting any form of struggle by compulsion on the people. He accepted guerilla warfare as an inevitable form of struggle at a time when the mass movements have actually reached the point of an uprising. He even upheld guerilla acts against the ruling class, brutal government officials and other reactionary elements on condition that **“1. The sentiments of the masses be taken into account; 2. The condition of the working class movement in the given locality to be reckoned with; 3. and can be taken that the forces of proletariat should not be frittered away.”**

The hitherto experience of the ICM has proved the correctness of Lenin’s teachings. It is by applying these Lenin’s teachings in the concrete conditions of China that Mao Tse Tung could develop the tactical line that led Chinese revolution to victory in 1949. Mao in his writings and speeches was always insisting that the Chinese experience should not be copied mechanically anywhere else. He had always called for developing the path of revolution in each country according to concrete conditions and as Lenin said, analyzing the historical conditions at international and national level.

But the damage was done when the book “Long live the Victory of Protracted People’s War” by Lin Biao was published in 1966 pronouncing the Protracted People’s War (PPW) as the path of Revolution for all, contrary to the guidelines of the 1963 “Proposal concerning the general Line of the ICM”, reflecting the left adventurist line gaining dominance within the CPC. All the former colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries of the colonial period (as Lenin divided them) were uniformly characterized as “semi-colonial, semi-feudal” similar to pre-1949 China, a theoretical justification to armed struggle as the only form of struggle was provided by analyzing that the Leninist era of imperialism and proletarian revolution has changed to “a new era of all round collapse of imperialism and worldwide victory of proletarian revolution”, a Maoist era as later came to be explained. Thus the left adventurist line that dominated the CPC by the time of its Ninth Congress in 1969 advocated that the Chinese path is applicable to all Asian, African, Latin American countries. It advocated armed struggle as the only form of struggle which was later further reduced to militarism by the CPI(ML) with guerilla struggle as the only form of struggle and to annihilation line in its 1970 Congress.

It was a mechanical and sectarian application of the Chinese path to India without taking in to consideration the momentous developments taking place at the international level and in India in the post World War II situation when the imperialist system led by US resorted to neo-colonial forms of plunder, without analyzing the vast changes that had taken place in India after 1947, under neo-colonialism pursued by the comprador ruling system. It is this sectarian line pursued by the CPI(ML) in 1969-1972 period, which had led to grievous setbacks and disintegration suffered by the revolutionary movement.

In spite of these lessons and in spite of the fast changes that have taken place in India during the post Naxalbari decades, specially during the last two decades under neo-liberal polices, the CPI (Maoist) is trying to pursue this suicidal line, under the Maoist banner, throwing overboard the mass line of Mao. They neither take in to account the present level of the mobilization of the masses or their sentiments, not the level of mobilization and politicisation of almost 200 million working class, the leader of revolution or the 500-600 million landless –poor peasants and agricultural workers, the main ally of revolution, nor the concrete conditions of neo-colonial plunder. CPI(Maoist) has reduced the question of capture of political power to mere militarism, utilizing more and more sophisticated arms. In the name of opposing ‘white terror’ with ‘red terror’ it is resorting to summary execution of so-called police informers and attacks on even civilian targets. It refuses to give cognizance to the fact that Indian revolution is taking place at a critical time when all the erstwhile Socialist countries have degenerated to the capitalist path and when the ICM has suffered serious setbacks which can be overcome only by developing the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice according to present conditions. It should also take into consideration the call of Mao Tse Tung for Cultural Revolution to fight against alien trends to win political power and continue the class struggle under proletarian power.

If CPI–CPI(M) have abandoned the path of People’s Democratic revolution, have degenerated to execution of neo-colonial policies of the ruling class, wherever they are in power, or to their apologists in other states and have thus done incalculable damage to the revolutionary movement, the CPI(Maoist) through its anarchist path is ultimately helping the reactionary ruling system to suppress all people’s revolutionary struggles coming up in the country and the mass responses utilizing the bogey of Maoism. If the more than three decades of CPI(M)-led rule in W. Bengal has exposed its social democratic claims of utilizing the government to improve the living conditions of the people, even accepting the CPI(Maoist)’s claims of having virtual control in an area of 60,000 sq. kms in Dantewada and elsewhere the pitiable condition of the masses of people in these areas show that it is a far, far cry from Yenan, which Edgar Snow has explained. Both these paths of right opportunism and anarchism should be abandoned and the path of revolution should be developed and pursued according to the present neo-colonial conditions of India for the victory of the PDR and advance towards socialism.

Up to this point a fair amount of agreement is visible among a good number of organizations and individuals who oppose both the CPI-CPI(M) line and CPI(Maoist) line, except in recognizing the momentous changes that have taken place in the form of imperialist plunder after World War II. Though they reject the CPI-CPI(M) line, some of them still uphold the capitalist roaders who usurped power in China and in practice they act as B teams of CPI(M), embracing parliamentary cretinism to a great extent. Though some others claim to oppose the anarchist practice of the Maoists, some times, in effect, their theoretical positions and approach to path of revolution are identical to those of the Maoists. The only difference is that they have not evolved any methods to put their own brand of “protracted peoples’ war” into practice. In effect they are acting as B teams of the Maoists. Their talk about a combination of peaceful and violent struggles is just rhetoric. In practice they pursue an eclectic path leading to their continuous weakening in all fields.

Fighting uncompromisingly against the social democratic line of CPI-CPI(M) like forces, exposing the anarchist line of the Maoists and struggling against various alien eclectic trends, analyzing that through the 1947 transfer of power India has been transformed from a colonial to a neo-colonial country under comprador rule, the re-organised CPI(ML) calls for the overthrow of the Indian state led by the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-big

landlord classes serving imperialism. In line with this, the CPI(ML) has put forward a path of Revolution document in its 2009 All India Special Conference, an Indian path of Revolution according to concrete conditions in India, and taking lessons from positive and negative experiences of all revolutionary movements. At the same time the Party rejects the Chinese path of revolution based on protracted people's war and the analysis of India as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country adopted by the 1970 Congress, which is still pursued by the CPI(Maoist) and almost all other groups. This path of revolution, put forward by us, is a continuation of many of the important positions of the strategic and tactical line adopted in 1951, by the undivided CPI, which was abandoned soon after. The Path of Revolution put forward by the CPI(ML) calls for rejecting all shades of parliamentary cretinism and reformism and pursuing the path of revolutionary seizure of political power, utilizing all forms of struggle. The working class should be mobilized and politicised for country-wide struggles, advancing to erecting barricades in cities and to challenging the ruling system. It should be combined with mobilizing the numerous landless poor peasants and agricultural workers, which include the adivasis, dalits and other most oppressed sections, and preparing for revolutionary agrarian struggles based on "land to the tiller". The people's resistance movements developing all over the country against the usurpation of agricultural land and displacement show how many diverse forms these peoples' movements can take, involving tens of millions of the peasantry and all sections of the rural poor. Combining with the movements of the urban poor, the youth, the students and women, along with the struggles of all suppressed sections, the working class struggles and the agrarian revolutionary movement can create conditions for mass uprisings and mass insurrections, developing all forms of struggles, including armed struggle, according to concrete conditions leading to the capture of political power.

The intensification of neo-liberal policies and the consequent neo-colonial slavery, in diverse forms, are pauperizing the masses and devastating the country to unprecedented levels. This has intensified the fundamental contradictions between imperialism, especially US imperialism, and the masses; between capital and labour, between agrarian masses against agrarian policy of the state and the landlord classes and between forces of reaction and people's aspiration for a socialist future. These contradictions are giving rise to numerous forms of people's resistance, including spontaneous upsurges. In this excellent objective situation what is required is the building of the subjective forces of revolution, the party and class/mass organizations, including the building up of a country wide united front as the people's revolutionary alternative against the ruling class alternatives, very fast, on Bolshevik lines, to develop class struggles and for making the party capable of utilizing all forms of struggle, according to concrete conditions, as a pianist using all fingers to create wonderful music as Mao said. Rejecting the CPI(M) led social democratic forces and the anarchist line of CPI(Maoist) let all revolutionary forces get united to develop, to unite and to lead all people's movements to a mighty mass revolutionary upsurge to capture political power.

Murder of Com. Azad : The State's Design And The Maoist Folly

Sharmistha Choudhury

ON JUNE 1, the Andhra Pradesh Special Intelligence Branch murdered Maoist leader and politburo member Comrade Azad. It was Comrade Azad who was playing a key role in the possible dialogue between the government and the Maoists. Swami Agnivesh was playing

the role of mediator in this process and he had communicated with Comrade Azad for the purpose. Reports have revealed that the Special Branch police picked up Comrade Azad from Nagpur and took him to the jungles of Adilabad and killed him there. Comrade Azad was carrying with him Swami Agnivesh's letter, proposing dialogue, to the Maoist central committee.

By this cold-blooded murder of Comrade Azad, the state has once more proved that its proposal for talks is nothing but a big lie. Comrade Azad's murder was premeditated and calculated to steer the Maoists away from the path of dialogue. Unfortunately, when the government is trying to kill all possibilities of dialogue, our 'Maoist' comrades are simply walking into the trap. Instead of exposing the role of the government as a cold-blooded murderer, they are confining themselves to the agenda of vengeance.

We are aware that our 'Maoist' comrades persist in practising the politics of protracted people's war and encirclement of cities by villages. According to their understanding, the present phase is a phase of active and armed warfare against the state. These comrades attempt to build up their organization in the most marginalized and backward regions of the country and, capitalizing on the seething discontent of the local people, seek to enhance the numbers of their guerilla squads. Since their struggle is mainly against the most feudal forms of exploitation and oppression, the faintest promise of reforms on the behalf of the ruling class can easily eat away their popular support.

Let us take the example of Lalgarh, West Bengal. The prolonged and simmering fury of the local people against police atrocities erupted in an explosion in 2008. A promising mass movement took shape. The people of the entire state expressed solidarity with that movement. The government did not dare to suppress the movement with the use of brute force. We shall not go into a detailed account of the events that followed. The incredible expertise with which our 'Maoist' comrades put paid to the movement is now a part of history. Suffice it to point out that, at one point of time, the people of the entire state had stoutly rallied behind the Lalgarh movement, Lalgarh had remained barricaded to the police for months. However, now Chhatradhar Mahato (the undisputed leader of the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities that spearheaded the movement) gets arrested, Lalmohan Tudu (another important leader of the Committee) gets murdered by the men in uniform, the joint forces unleash unbridled terror on the people, and yet there is no outcry of protest.

The state has quite succeeded in isolating the Maoists simply with the propaganda that it is keen to effect reforms in *Junglemahal* but the Maoists are sabotaging the plans, that the Maoists prefer the 'politics of murder' to dialogue, that the government is eager to make amends for its failure to work for the development of *Junglemahal* but the Maoists are hindering the process, that there is no people's struggle in Lalgarh but simply a struggle for overlordship among the CPM-Trinamool-Maoists, that the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities is actually no people's organization but a frontal organization of the Maoists. Here it would be pertinent to note that the government has not yet launched any significant reforms in *Jungle mahal*. And why should it? Thanks to the infantile politics of the 'Maoists', the government has been able to achieve its objective of leaving the Maoists quite agendaless and irrelevant by simply propagating that the Maoists are hindering the path of development and so it is essential to first bring peace to the strife-torn region.

And what are the 'Maoists' doing in reply? Instead of exposing to the people the deceitfulness and sheer mendacity of the government, instead of mobilizing public opinion to compel the government to sit for dialogue with the People's Committee, instead of

organizing the people against the state, the ‘Maoists’ themselves have chosen to pick up arms and wage (an unequal) war against the forces of the state. As the state intensified its brutality, the ‘Maoists’ too became desperate for retaliation. And with that, idea of a real mass movement, with active participation of the people, quite disappeared in the distant horizon.

The problem is that the state has the police and military at its command, and ‘legally’ so. Which is why violence perpetrated by the state is acceptable to the people to a certain extent (for instance, few raise an eyebrow when the police gun down a wanted criminal). However, violence on the part of no other section of society – be it ever so justified – is generally acceptable to people. If violence against the state has to be made acceptable to the broad masses of the people, then the people have to be made to participate in that violence, physically or mentally. Otherwise, the people can never feel at one with Robinhood-like behaviour, they will either salute it from afar or oppose it squarely – but never take to the streets in support. Secondly, when a political organization indulges in Robinhood-like behaviour, a section of the people – the most oppressed section or a section with a lofty democratic sense – may applaud from a distance, but can never visualize the organization as an alternative political force posited against the ruling class parties or an organization serious enough or capable enough to ever rule the country.

And that is why, no matter how many Jawans the Maoists slaughter in retaliation against state repression in Lalgarh-Chhattisgarh, no matter how many Dantewadas they detonate or how many railway tracks they blow up, it is never enough to rouse the masses to take on the state. The other section of the people raises its voice in protest against the seemingly meaningless violence of the Maoists. But both these sections – the ones for the Maoists as well as the ones against – want a third party to mediate or take a position distinct from that of the state as well as the Maoists and bring about a lasting solution to the problem. (In West Bengal, for example, the Trinamool Congress has emerged as that ‘third’ alternative – come election time and even the most diehard Maoist supporters vote for the Trinamool with gusto.) Consequently, to the vast masses of society, the Maoists are no ‘political’ force ‘capable of bringing about social transformation’, rather they are a ‘reformist’ force which by itself cannot bring about change, but can act as a supporting force when it comes to bringing to power one ruling party instead of another. Thus the Maoists are a total failure as communist revolutionaries.

The ruling class is well aware of this weakness of the Maoists and is equally aware of how to exploit this weakness for its benefit. The Maoists labour under the impression that the state will be in a tight spot as long as they hold on to their precious arms. But the fact is that, even the state does not want the Maoists to renounce their path and emerge as an alternative political force, acceptable across society. As long as the state remains in a dominant position with regard to the use of violence, it (the state) undoubtedly wants the Maoists to adhere to their old ways and indulge in routine murder and mayhem. This will prove to be doubly beneficial to the state. For one, when the people are unhappy with one section of the ruling class, they can always bring another section of the ruling class to power. So long as the Maoists remain a Robinhood-like force, people’s aspirations will remain confined to parameters etched out by the ruling party, opposition party or parties and the Maoists. Much to the state’s satisfaction, the actual space for the emergence of a real, revolutionary political force will go on shrinking in the process.

Secondly, so long as the conflict between the state and the Maoists is kept alive, the government will have to spend a bare minimum on reforms – it can always put development programmes on the backburner in the name of first restoring peace and order.

It can also have at hand the ready excuse of the ‘Maoist threat’ to crush all democratic forces and struggles. The Nepal experience has revealed to the ruling class the world over that if fighting forces like the Maoists are allowed to emerge on the scene as a ‘political’ alternative, the consequences can prove to be rather awkward, if not disastrous, for the ruling class. Needless to say, the ruling class is careful to ensure that the Nepal exercise does not get repeated in India.

Understandably enough, the state has successfully suppressed the fact that the Maoists too were willing to sit for talks with the government, subject to certain terms and conditions. People have been told that Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram have pleaded with the Maoists to sit for talks – the only condition they insisted on was that the Maoists abjure violence for just 72 hours – but instead of agreeing, the Maoists have gone full force ahead to shed more and more blood. Unfortunately, the Maoists have been unable to deal with the crafty tactics of the government. Our Maoist comrades, presumably, are more adept in warfare than politics. Thus the government has been left with a clear field to launch a one-sided campaign on the lines that the Maoists do not want talks, they simply want to kill innocent people. And the Maoists, quite rudderless and distraught with fruitless fury, have gone on to blow up more railway tracks and slay a few more Jawans.

Nowhere has it been broadcast that very recently, the Maoist general secretary Comrade Ganapati has, in an interview with Gautam Naulakha of EPW, clearly said that the Maoists too want talks, but on three conditions. First, the ban has to be lifted from the party and its frontal organizations. Secondly, the government has to stop its war against the Maoists and the ordinary people, including the tribals. Thirdly, some arrested leaders of the party have to be released from prison. Leave alone launching a debate on whether these conditions laid down by the Maoists are justified or not, the government has tried to keep the entire episode under wraps. One does not expect anything different from a wily and oppressive government, but the funny thing is that the Maoists themselves have made no attempts to take their general secretary’s words to the masses. They have believed, in all naïveté, that the state is under compulsion to initiate a dialogue with them, while the state, in all its cunning, has done everything to ensure that the dialogue never takes place.

Now let us come to the murder of comrade Azad. In an extensive interview to *The Hindu* last March, comrade Azad clarified his organization’s position on the question of talks with the government and a host of other issues. Probably that was his last interview before martyrdom. In that interview he said that the Maoists wished to have talks with the government because that might prompt the government to implement a few reforms that would benefit the marginalized; and it might also compel the government to control the fascistic repression it had unleashed on the tribals. Azad further elaborated that the conditions laid down by comrade Ganapati were not at all unjustified. In order to build up a democratic atmosphere conducive to talks, a 72-hour unilateral ceasefire on the part of the Maoists would not suffice; both the government and the Maoists would have to declare ceasefire for a fixed period of time. Since many of their top-ranking comrades, who would be conducting the dialogue, were in jail, they had to be released if the dialogue was to happen at all. And if the ban on the party was not lifted, how would party activists move about freely, campaigning and organizing the talks?

Sound logic, no doubt. Perhaps this was what made the government sit up and realize that if Azad’s words were propagated widely, then it would be under pressure from several quarters to sit for talks with the Maoists. Moreover, if the Maoists, having learnt a lesson from their Andhra Pradesh experience, conducted the talks with perspicacity and farsightedness, at the same time taking care to keep their organizational structure secret,

the government could be in a spot. If the Maoists succeeded in compelling the government to take up a programme for extensive reforms, and then returned to the masses, hailing it as a triumph of mass movement, then their acceptance among the people as an effective, alternative political force would attain a new dimension. The momentous strength of mass movement would shake to the core that very government which had remained unperturbed before an array of AK-47s and Kalashnikovs.

Thus it was imperative for the government to do something to ensure that the Maoists themselves called off the talks. Swami Agnivesh entered the scene as a possible mediator. Chidambaram, on behalf of the government of India, and Comrade Azad on behalf of the Maoists wrote to him about the preconditions for talks. Swami Agnivesh declared that he would first talk to the Maoists separately. Then he went abroad on some work. And, in order to ensure that no mediator could organize a dialogue between the Maoists and the government of India, Comrade Azad was butchered by the henchmen of the Mosaad-trained Andhra Pradesh Special Intelligence Branch. It was no encounter in Adilabad, but cold-blooded murder. The Maoist leadership did not disappoint the government. In an immediate press release, the Maoists announced that they would never sit for talks with a government whose hands were tainted by the blood of Comrade Azad. Rather, they would avenge their comrade's death.

One can well imagine the enormous relief the government must have felt – because it was very much evident that the Maoists would not, for a long time now, talk about dialogue, but would rather stick to their policy of violence and bloodshed. The government knew that the Maoists would not dream of launching a campaign to expose to the masses the state's ploy of murdering Azad in order to rule out the possibility of dialogue; they would much rather resort to arms and ammunition, bombs and mines, in their war against the state. Now there was nothing to stop the government from crushing the tribals under military boots – on the excuse of fighting the Maoists – and taking control of all the land and natural resources. It would also have a ready excuse to throttle any democratic struggle anywhere in the country.

Here it would be pertinent to mention something comrade Azad said in the aforementioned interview. His words brilliantly bring out the utter inanity of the Maoists' politics. He said that the Maoists do not believe in violence for the sake of violence. But when the state unleashes fascistic repression, leaves no avenue for conducting peaceful struggle, the Maoists are compelled to pick up arms. How strange! It is a very basic rule of warfare that when one side is badly cornered, it opts for temporary retreat, consolidates its strength, repairs its weaknesses, and then attacks the enemy with renewed vigour.

Apparently, the Maoists care for no such basic rule. When a democratic movement is crushed to smithereens by the state, the Maoists do not bother to organize the people afresh and mobilize public opinion against state brutality. Instead, they themselves take up arms. Consequently, their war against the state is never transformed into a people's war against the state. People continue to struggle in their own different ways against state terror and anti-people policies, while the Maoists wage war against the state in their own way. In national politics, BJP and CPM together accuse the Congress of triggering price hike and call a *bandh* on the same day, whereas Congress and Trinamool unite against the CPM. Thus the people are forced to choose now one party and then the other, while the Maoists remain not just geographically marginalized but a marginal force in national politics as well.

On The G-20 Summit

P.J. James

LED BY imperialist powers, the G-20 is considered as the premier forum for international economic and political cooperation today. However, in the recent G-20 Summit held at Toronto, the heads of States escorted by captains of leading international financial and industrial corporations though tried to put on a posture of global cooperation among them, the extent of serious divisions over economic and financial policies within imperialism, particularly between United States and Germany were self-evident from the very beginning. After all, the Summit was held in the background of the unprecedented European “debt crisis” that has now become a generalized threat to the imperialist world economy, more particularly the global financial sector. The European and American transnational banks that hold a major chunk of the public debt issued by debt ridden European countries are in crisis. With huge non-performing or “toxic” assets, the collapse of these financial institutions may trigger the financial catastrophe further. Neo-liberal governments in Europe led by Germany have embarked on a tough austerity program to put the burden of this crisis on the shoulders of working class by cutting social and welfare expenditures and diverting resources to the coffers of corporate sections by reducing taxes.

That is, in the context of continuing economic downturn, supported by Nobel Prize winning economist, Paul Krugman like neo-Keynesians, while Obama argued for continuation of the liberal fiscal and monetary policy aimed at strengthening “private demand”, Germany, the leading European power stood for an abrupt halt of the ongoing “expansionary” policies designed for combating recession. In fact, following soaring “sovereign debt liabilities” among European countries, the European Union had already adopted a series of “monetarist” or neoliberal programs for eliminating budget deficits. Germany was simply parroting the same in the Summit. As a result, the Summit failed to reach any concrete binding decisions and the attempt to arrive at a consensus-based policy prescription to get out of the crisis proved abortive. Extensive lobbying by bureaucrats and heated war of words among economic policy advisers were conspicuous both before and after the Summit. Consequently, the entire bourgeois media was either disinterested or dismissive of the Summit. At the same time, the deep trans-Atlantic differences that appeared in the Summit amply expose the sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions among the leading imperialist players.

In fact, in the name of alleviating the impact of global economic crisis on the world’s most vulnerable sections, what the Summit sought was the channeling of augmented resources for the leading international banks and financial firms who themselves are the real culprits behind the present crisis. Both the Americans and the Europeans were eager to appease the financial speculators though in different ways. The American approach was an apparent inflationary policy of liberalizing the budget and pumping money directly into the pockets of big businesses through what is called the stimulus package. On the other hand, the Europeans led by Germany stood for fiscal consolidation composed of a cut in wages and pensions and a reduction in taxes on the rich thereby indirectly encouraging the elite. While the former is inflationary in nature, the latter seems to be deflationary in character. Both these policies are time-tested devices pursued by the ruling classes according to concrete conditions for plundering the working class and toiling masses. At the G20 Summit at Toronto, these apparently divergent views on fiscal matters found their convergence in the interests of finance capitalism and to the detriment of working and

toiling people. Thus the final communiqué released at Toronto tried to accommodate the divergent positions of different imperialist powers on fiscal matters.

But that does not mean that the difference between these two sets of policies are insignificant. Actually, different sections of the financial oligarchs under imperialism gain differently from them. To that extent, contradictions also arise among the ruling classes. For instance, for America which is at present facing a worst-ever balance of payments deficit in its history, the rising export surplus in Germany and China is a biggest threat. During the same period in which US imperialism has undergone a pronounced economic decline transforming itself into a consumer economy living on cheap imports from abroad, Germany has significantly raised its share of world trade. In the course of the last twenty years of neo-liberalism, German imperialists have been able to sharply increase its level of exports, which currently stand at the historically unprecedented level of 47 percent of GDP.

Similarly, China, the world's other leading exporter and emerging imperialist power exports just 30 percent of its GDP. In the specific case of Germany, the spectacular growth in exports is largely due to the introduction of the euro across Europe combined with the attacks on workers which created a huge pool of cheap labor. Germany was also able to benefit from the opening up of new markets in Eastern Europe and Russia following the collapse of the Soviet bloc countries two decades ago. Nearly two-thirds of German exports now flow to the countries of the EU. The US currently accounts for just seven percent of German exports.

The lifting of a number of key domestic financial regulations enabled German transnational banks to invest the huge profits made by German industry in increasingly speculative portfolios all over the world. This unprecedented increase in German exports coupled with Germany's increasing role in imperialist financial and speculative markets have enabled German banks to amass the biggest international credit portfolio in the world- a sum of \$4.6 trillion. This huge reservoir of finance capital was partly invested in the form of loans to many European countries, enabling them, in turn, to buy German exports. Countries such as Greece, Spain and Portugal, which confront bankruptcy now owe billions of euros to German financial institutions. Leading German, French and British banks have substantial investments in American bonds too. This is the context that compels Germany to demand strict austerity measures and fiscal prudence from its debtors so that available resources can be mobilized for debt repayments. As regards China, its trade surplus against USA is now hovering around \$ 2 trillion.

It is now obvious that this huge trade surplus accumulated by the other imperialist powers among other things is the outcome of a deflationary policy of keeping wages down and maintaining domestic demand at an abysmally low level and exporting cheap goods mainly to America. It was this that prompted Obama on the eve of the Summit to resort to an unusual step of writing to all G20 heads of state warning that too rapid austerity and too many deflationary policies in the name of fiscal consolidation could be harmful to global recovery. In particular, he suggested both Germany and China, the two countries having the biggest export surplus against US to stimulate their domestic demand through a reversal of their existing policies.

The response to this from German side was so quick that on June 23 itself a write up in the name of German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble appeared in the *Financial Times* strongly defending the German government's austerity program-an €80 billion cut in spending over the next four years. This acrimony at the political level was immediately taken up by leading economists from both sides of the Atlantic. In an article for the *New*

York Times titled “That ‘30s Feeling”, columnist Paul Krugman warned that Germany’s current austerity policies evoked “the policies of Heinrich Brüning” who sealed “the doom of the Weimar Republic” and in turn played a role in opening the road to the Nazis. He even warned that such fiscal fundamentalist policies will lead to a collapse of the Euro itself as they may mark a return to the competitive devaluation of the thirties if the German policies were replicated throughout Europe.

On the other hand, a leading German economist Wolfgang Franz questioned Krugman’s arguments and referring to the “sub-prime crisis” pinpointed that it was above all the financial profligacy of US and the American Federal Reserve that were responsible for the catastrophic global financial crisis. This was followed by a series of articles in leading imperialist mouthpieces for and against both neo-Keynesian and monetarist policies. Underlying these arguments were the mutually exclusive neo-colonial interests of both American and German finance capitalists while the unprecedented surge in unemployment and mass poverty in the imperialist world were effectively camouflaged.

These divergent views on economic policy among leading imperialist powers had its impact on this year’s G-20 Summit. The relative decline in US economic and financial position vis-à-vis the other imperialist powers and Germany’s attempt to translate this into political clout were evident in the G-20 Summit. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel’s stand for an immediate phasing out of the stimulus package and Obama’s support for a continuation of the same were a clear manifestation of the growing tensions in inter-imperialist relations. It will have long term repercussions in the post-War neo-colonial arrangements built up under American supervision.

The Summit unequivocally proved the impossibility of a globally coordinated fiscal and monetary policy led by imperialist finance capital. However, there was unanimity regarding the coordinated and synchronized use of neo-colonial IMF-WB-WTO trio for enforcing the neo-liberal structural reforms across the globe. The final declaration also stressed the need for greater dependence on the private sector in conformity with the Millennium Development Goals and more effective utilization of Official Development Assistance from OECD in the case of least developed countries. It also emphasized the urgent need for completing the Doha Round of WTO talks and WTO Director General Pascal Lamy who addressed the Summit urged the political leaders to “inject an action plan in the Doha Round.” The Toronto meeting in its final statement incorporated the decision to halve the budget deficits of member countries by 2013.

The Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh who has been clinging on to the apron strings of US imperialism, as usual, in his address to the Summit fully committed to serve the interests of imperialism by pursuing the IMF-WB-WTO dictates in the country. Through a combination of austerity and inflationary measures — ie., elimination of subsidies and welfare measures coupled with a host of tax exemptions and privileges to the elite on the one hand, and raising the prices of mass consumption goods such as fuel, food, etc. and thereby squeezing the poor further on the other — the Manmohan government had already become a model for imperialist globalization. Even when the Summit was going on, to appease the crisis ridden American MNCs, the Manmohan government announced full decontrol of petroleum prices in India facilitating the unfettered entry of imperialist oil giants in to the country. In the name of finding resources to reduce budget deficits, even strategic public sector enterprises are put on sale to speculative financiers at throw-away prices. All hard earned rights of workers are taken away by one pretext or another. The country’s entire wealth including land, water, forest and mineral resources are thrown open to be plundered by MNCs and their Indian junior

partners. In the process, peasants, adivasis, and dalits who are the real tillers of the soil are being displaced from their habitat.

So at the G-20 Summit while the political leaders of imperialist countries were engaged in heated debates in the interests of their respective monopolies, Manmohan Singh, the true representative of comprador Indian ruling classes remained as a “neutral” spectator and delivered an academic sermon when his turn came. In the mean time he met and gave assurances to various imperialist lobbying groups assembled at Toronto who were waiting for prying open the vast Indian market. In the end he also became a party to the time-table for cutting deficits and halving debt levels in a time bound program.

International Scene

5th Sri Lanka Congress of the NDMLP

THE Fifth All Sri Lanka Congress of the New Democratic Party, the only active Marxist Leninist party in Sri Lanka, was held on 25th and 26th of June 2010 in Colombo, at a time when attacks by neo-colonialism and imperialist globalization and as well as suppression and oppression by the fascist ruling classes had placed the Sri Lankan people at severe disadvantage.

Following the military defeat of the LTTE, the Tamil separatist militant organization, in May 2009 and the Presidential and Parliamentary elections in January 2010 and April 2010, respectively, the Sinhala chauvinist reactionary ruling classes have tightened their fascist grip on the Sri Lankan people. Meantime, naked interference by imperialist and regional hegemonic forces has intensified after the defeat of LTTE. But the national question remains unresolved and people have become more divided ethnically.

The Fifth Congress of the New-Democratic Party thus shouldered the serious responsibility of correctly analysing the concrete contemporary situation and arriving at concrete decisions in its march towards a working class revolution to overthrow the corrupt old system and replace it with a new socialist system leading to the emancipation of people from all forms of exploitation and domination.

The New-Democratic Party during its past 32 years had not compromised with imperialism or regional hegemony or enemies of the working class or reactionary nationalists or racists. It had stood by the people and upheld the red banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and continued to march forward with dedication and solidarity.

The Congress took place in Colombo, under the presidium comprising S.K. Senthivel, E. Thambiah, K. Thanikasalam, S. Thevarajah and V. Mahendran.

The Congress resolved after thorough discussion, that the New-Democratic Party be renamed as the New-Democratic Marxist-Leninist Party in consideration of the need for the name to reflect its Marxist Leninist ideological stand and the fact that capitalist parties exist in other countries with the name New Democratic Party, matters to which fraternal foreign Marxist Leninist parties had drawn attention, and in consideration of the fact that the Elections Commissioner has already recognised a party with a similar sounding name.

The Fifth All Sri Lanka Congress of the New-Democratic Marxist-Leninist Party (hitherto New-Democratic Party) declared self determination for the nationalities within a united Sri Lanka, new democratic revolution led by the working class and a socialist future as its political aims.

The Congress elected a fifteen-member Central Committee, with S.K. Senthivel as General Secretary, V. Mahendran as National Organiser, E. Thambiah as International Organiser, and S. Thevarajah as Treasurer.

National and International Reports, Organisational and Financial Reports and amendments to the Constitution of the Party were submitted to the Congress and adopted unanimously after thorough discussion and debate. The following comprises summaries of the important resolutions adopted by the Congress:

1. The Sinhala Buddhist feudal conservative and big/comprador bourgeois forces comprise the ruling classes that protect and defend the present neo-colonial structure and dominate over workers, peasants, small traders, the middle classes, women, youth, the minority nationalities and the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses and deny the national democracy due unto them. Thus the need to win national democracy is an urgent task that requires the building of a broad united front comprising left, progressive and democratic parties, parties of the minority nationalities, anti-imperialist organisations, trade unions, peasant organisations, cultural organisations, and intellectuals. A broad programme of political work transcending parliamentary politics should be firmly implemented aiming at giving the initiative to the people in deciding on political and economic issues so that power is transferred to the people. Democracy and human rights, and the equality, autonomy and the right to self determination of nationalities should be assured in order to ensure the independence, sovereignty and unity of Sri Lanka. The national economy and a multi-ethnic national culture should be developed to achieve national democracy.

2. As the next stage, since Sri Lanka is not a developed capitalist country, a New Democratic Revolution is a pre-requisite for socialist revolution. All exploited classes, patriotic anti-imperialist forces, national and petit bourgeois forces should be mobilised to defeat imperialism and big/comprador bourgeoisie and establish self determination according to the wishes of the respective nationalities, eliminate the residues of feudalism, and implement socialist structures.

3. Having accepted the UN, an imperialist agency, and its neo-colonial agenda and having signed a variety of agreements, Sri Lanka obtained the military support of India, China, Pakistan and the US to conduct its war. During and after the war, Sri Lanka acted in ways that allowed foreign countries to meddle in its affairs and paid scant regard for matters of national integrity, independence and sovereignty. But its expression of concern and anger about the UN Secretary General's nomination of a committee to investigate alleged war crimes and human rights violations sounds hollow and seeks to deceive the people. There can be no doubt that the imperialist agenda of bodies such as the UN, will carry out activities to suit their ulterior motives. The advisory committee of the UN Secretary General will not help the Tamil people in any way to secure justice or find a political solution; and the Tamil people have little to hope for from the UN. At the same time, Sri Lanka's rejection of the investigation of alleged war crimes and human rights violations is unacceptable. It is by finding a just political solution to the national question, and inquiring into war crimes and human rights violations and punishing offenders and compensating victims that Sri Lanka could prevent foreign intervention.

4. From moderate Tamil nationalists to militants, none took a progressive nationalist stand. They aligned with imperialism and India to uphold reactionary conservative nationalism. They thrust a secessionist agenda on the Tamils. Now the elite among the Tamil diaspora have set up a "Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam" and are thrusting it upon the Tamil people, claiming that the US and the West are supporting it. It

was India that first banned the LTTE in 1998. That ban still continues. North America and the US followed suit. The elite can do little but grumble occasionally. It is known that the US which apparently assured that it will send rescue aircraft to save the LTTE leaders betrayed the trust. The Tamils will not win any rights by a few, who once demanded a separate state, embracing a chauvinist government that will not even grant the powers that Provincial Governments are entitled to. It is only when national democracy is established in Sri Lanka that a just political solution to the national question will be found. It is under circumstances when New Democratic Revolution is victorious that the Tamil people will have self determination based on their own wishes. Thus the best option for the Tamil diaspora is to participate in the struggle for national democracy. A stand supportive of national liberation cannot be in the interest of imperialism, big/comprador capitalism, and feudalism. Thus without endorsing the right of Tamils to self determination the struggles of the toiling Sinhalese masses against imperialism, globalisation, and big/comprador capitalist and dominant feudal classes cannot secure the support of the Tamil people. Likewise, the struggle of the Tamils for the right to self determination – the struggle to resolve the main contradiction – cannot get the Sinhalese to join it or support it without Tamils supporting or joining the above struggles of the Sinhalese masses.

5. The Hill Country Tamils too are a distinct nationality and are subject to national oppression. They comprise one aspect of the Sri Lankan national question. At the same time, they are workers who are subjected to class exploitation. Thus the Hill Country Tamils who are oppressed on a national and class basis should be mobilize on the basis of class struggle for their liberation from oppression.

6. While the Muslims are also a nationality, they should not be confined to religion, and they should be subject to mobilization based on class.

7. Ethno-nationalism is a major obstacle to the unity of people. Lessons should be drawn from the experiences of the trade union and left movements of Sri Lanka to build a revolutionary movement that will unite workers of all nationalities based on class. Steps should be taken to unite workers divided socially, occupationally and by ethno-nationalism by undertaking activities of class cooperation. Activities should be carried out based on programmes to politically awaken workers through struggles to win their immediate demands, mobilize them organisationally, and develop them as the leading force of working class revolution. All the toiling masses should be brought under the common identity of workers and cooperation ensured in all their struggles to mobilize them along the path of mass struggle.

8. The peasantry is an important force of revolutionary social change. Hence broad unity between the workers and peasants should be built. They should be freed of neo-colonial clutches in the names of “sustainable development”, “development”, “alternative development” and “depoliticisation”, delivered by NGOs acting as the agents of imperialism in the agricultural sector. The problems of the fisher folk should be separately studied and the fisher folk should be freed from the control of big capitalists and multi-national companies.

9. Although untouchability is now on the wane, castism cannot be dismissed merely as a problem of identity, and struggles against caste domination and narrow caste consciousness need to be carried forward since castism is a feudal ideology that wrecks the unity of the people. It should be noted that the struggle that was carried forward by revolutionary Marxist Leninist communists in 1968 – unlike struggles in India aimed at special allocations and other concessions for oppressed castes, which have served to sustain caste identity – was with the aim of eliminating castism and untouchability through

struggle. While rejecting the stand of narrow caste consciousness – upheld by ‘dalitism’ – that struggles against castism will eliminate caste, the close link and collaboration between class struggle and opposition to caste should be upheld.

10. The struggle against private property is struggle for women’s liberation. It was Marxism that explained the historical truth of how initially women came to be treated as private property. Thus the struggle for women’s liberation should be treated not merely as question of identity and be seen as part of class struggle and both struggles should be carried out in parallel.

11. If the people do not unite against US imperialism and Indian hegemonic forces that seek to exercise hegemony over Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka faces the risk of forfeiting its independence, integrity, sovereignty and unity. While the US and Western imperialists and Japanese imperialism carry forward globalisation in Sri Lanka, India is a partner with imperialism. China, which remains within the programme of globalisation for its own economic benefit. Thus the Congress calls for the building of a strong and united broad people’s movement against imperialism, globalisation and hegemony.

Finally the Congress wishes to express its heartiest thanks to all supporters and friends of the Party for their encouragement and support for the Congress which concluded successfully and in particular to fraternal parties and organisations who sent congratulatory messages and statements of support.

SK Senthivel,

General Secretary

NDMLP,

Message to the 5th Congress of the New Democratic Party of Sri Lanka.

COMRADES,

WE, from the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), greet all the delegates to the 5th Congress of the New Democratic Party of Sri Lanka and wish them great success in their deliberations. Your Congress is being held at a crucial juncture when, after the defeat of the LTTE and the success at the hustings of Mahinda Rajapaksha, the political atmosphere in Sri Lanka is tending towards Sinhala chauvinism and fascism. We in India are also being subject to increasing curtailment of democratic rights, at present under the bogey of fighting “Maoists”.

To make the situation in Sri Lanka worse confounded, many regional and global powers are bent upon interfering in Sri Lanka, trying their best to use the misery of the people to better their commercial interests. We recognise the expansionist role of India in the sub-continent and, while having passed a resolution against this expansionism at our recent Bhopal Conference, we are actively campaigning and agitating against this arrogant stance of the Indian ruling classes.

We believe that there can be no question of fighting Imperialism, led by US-imperialism, without first understanding the changes that have taken place in the world after the 2nd World War which changed the system of imperialist exploitation and domination from the colonial system to the neo-colonial system. We see the NDP of Sri Lanka as a fraternal party in our search for the correct path to fight imperialism in the neo-colonial context.

In 1982 a delegation of the Ceylon Communist Party (then led by Com. Shanmukathasan) attended the All India Conference of the CRC CPI (ML) under which name we were working then. As a result of the discussion between both the parties, both had taken an almost identical position on the Tamil national question in Sri Lanka during the 1983-84 period, which was explained in our then organ "Mass Line". But, contrary to this, CPI(ML) People's War, CPI(ML) Party Unity and MCC, who merged in 2004 to form CPI (Maoist) had taken a stand of fully supporting the LTTE. Similarly was the case of the ML groups in Tamil Nadu, like COC CPI(ML) and TNOC (later TNMLP). Some of the others had taken eclectic positions. Contrary to their positions, our organization could develop the ML understanding about the nationality question in Sri Lanka, as well as in India, fighting against all chauvinist positions, because we had started developing our understanding about imperialism in the post world war II juncture, when it had transformed its colonial forms of plunder to neo-colonial forms.

We have also written a note on the political situation in India, prompted by the article "Handling Contradictions Among Fraternal Parties" which appeared in New Democracy 36. We hope that this will be of use to the comrades of the NDP of Sri Lanka.

We recognise that the NDP of Sri Lanka is also, in true Marxist-Leninist fashion, seeking truth from facts by making a concrete analysis of the concrete situation rather than relying upon dogmatic doctrines. We hope that this 5th Conference will further the understanding of Marxist-Leninists all over the world of the situation in the world today, in general, and of the situation in Sri Lanka, in particular.

Hoping that we will work closely together in the future, we once again wish great success to the 5th Congress of the NDP of Sri Lanka.

K. N. Ramachandran

General Secretary

CPI (ML)

Declaration of the XIV International Seminar on Problems of Revolution in Latin Americas

[The following declaration was passed at a meeting in Quito, Ecuador, attended by around 30 revolutionary parties in Latin America, on 16th July 2010. Red Star has itself translated the declaration from the original Spanish. The declaration stresses the use of "all forms of struggle" rejects the line of peaceful revolution and also certain new concepts that have come up in Latin America like "socialism in the XXIst century" and "citizen's revolution", while at the same time lauding the progressive stand of some Governments in the region-RS]

DESPITE the desperate efforts of the international bourgeoisie to put an end to the crisis of the capitalist system and in spite of the "optimistic" analysis of the bourgeois economists, who foresaw its end and the beginning of an economic recovery months ago, today we are witnessing a new period of further deepening of the crisis of the system, in continuation of that started in late 2008 in the United States, which soon spread to the largest economies in the world and whose effects were felt worldwide. The course of development of this phenomenon has created the impression that it had its origin in the financial sector but this is a crisis of relative overproduction of consumer goods and, as noted in the previous seminar, the cause lies in the contradiction between the social character of production and

private appropriation of the products and wealth produced, which is the fundamental contradiction of the prevailing capitalist-imperialist system.

In countries like ours, the effect of the international crisis has accelerated a process of destruction of productive forces, native capital, domestic industries and jobs. Thousands of people are forced to leave their homes to sell their labour power in more developed capitalist countries where they become victims of super exploitation and the politics of xenophobia and racism.

As in the past, the international bourgeoisie seeks to dump on the shoulders of the workers and the people, the processes for achieving economic recovery of the system and its businesses. Live example is the adjustment policies of the International Monetary Fund, the Central Bank of the European Union and the governments of Greece and Spain which have hit hard at the workers from those countries.

Moreover, people have not accepted these measures: they fight. In these days, in a particular manner, in Europe the working class plays a key role in resistance and are getting mobilized under the banner “Capitalism must pay for the crisis for which it is responsible, not the workers.” America, Asia and Africa also present a scene of popular struggles against the crisis and its beneficiaries.

Given its size and intensity this is the most serious crisis in the history of capitalism. However, by no means the system will collapse by itself. Historical experience shows its capacity for recuperation, but it is evident that the negative effects of the crisis is causing the distrust of the people in capitalism to grow and is generating better conditions for revolutionary work, for the masses to understand that there is no escape within the framework of this decadent system and that socialism is the alternative for the development and progress of mankind. Without doubt, this crisis is an opportunity for the revolutionary forces to advance.

Alongside these developments, in Latin America an important process is going on – the development of the political consciousness of the people, who, at various levels, have been able to identify and isolate the exponents and defenders of rapacious neo-liberalism. The heat of the battle has moulded a democratic, progressive and left trend that has caused a change in the correlation of the social and political forces in the region. The democratic and progressive governments here are the result and the manifestation of this new scenario. However, its limits are evident, since, beyond talk, save some exceptions, they do nothing more than support the prevailing system.

Political conditions in Latin America are favourable for revolution, therefore it is no coincidence that the bourgeoisie uses diverse mechanisms to curb the struggle of the masses and to derail their objectives. Old theories are revamped for this purpose and from inside and outside of the popular movement they (including governments regarded as progressive) preach the urgent need to achieve social changes by way of reforms in the institutional framework, complying with democratic processes and channels. Of course, the institutions and democracy are designed and managed by bankers, big industrialists, landowners, that is to say, by the exploiting classes.

The Constitutional and peaceful discourse, which speaks of social reconciliation and seeks that the consciousness of the masses does not advance to revolutionary levels, gambles on reforms within the capitalist framework as a way to solve their problems. The revolutionaries understand that without power in the hands of workers the reforms cannot play a revolutionary role and cannot stop the exploitation of man by man and hence cannot lead to social liberation. We fight for reforms such as material and political demands of

the masses, as circumstances necessary to improve the living conditions of peoples, but by no means as a definitive solution to their problems. To confine the struggle to a struggle for reforms is equivalent to trust in capitalism; is playing into the hands of those in power; is to fall into reformism and to become, politically, social democratic tools of the ruling classes. From a political point of view a struggle for reforms must be seen as a process to accumulate forces for revolution.

The workers and peoples must not fall prey to the siren song that tell us of peaceful revolutions; of citizen's revolutions; of socialism in the 21st century; which constitute political approaches of capitalism itself, and therefore, do not take action to affect the cornerstone on which this system stands: the private ownership of the means of production. We must finish, in a revolutionary manner, the power of the bourgeoisie and this implies the conquest of power. To this end we will use all forms of struggle and work to unite all those classes, strata and social sectors affected by capitalism and interested in social revolution.

The development of the struggle of the masses is an important trend in the political life of the countries of Latin America. Workers, youth and people in general struggle for social change, pressure progressive governments to improve and radicalize their programs, fight the political interventions of imperialism, mainly U.S., object to the presence of U.S. and British military bases, object to the plundering of natural resources by foreign monopolies, demand the recognition of the national rights of native peoples, etc., actions violently suppressed by various governments. We note that as part of the anti-communist offensive, we see the criminalization of popular protest and political and social leaders to frighten the masses and stop the fight: Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru are going through this process. In other cases, the ruling classes resort to action groups and paramilitary equipment and to attack and make disappear leaders and popular fighters like in Colombia, Honduras, Mexico, Brazil in our continent and the Philippines and Russia elsewhere.

The bourgeoisie, whether social democratic or neoliberal, demonises popular struggle under the designation of terrorist acts, destabilizing or sabotage. Who stands up against the status quo is decried as a terrorist. In the name of peace people are denied the right to revolt under the pretext of rejecting violence, when in fact it is exercised at all times against the people.

The native ruling classes and imperialism are responsible for hunger, unemployment, the backwardness of the people, foreign dependence and are therefore our enemies and the targets of the revolutions. To confront and defeat them, we need the most extensive unity of workers and peoples, of the Democrats and leftists, the revolutionaries and all social and political forces interested in social transformation to end the dependency. The social and national liberation struggle for freedom also requires anti-imperialist unity in a broad people's front, which, above all, takes part in the fight against all forms of foreign domination in the defense of the principles and sovereign rights of our countries.

We participants in the 14th International Seminar reiterate our internationalist commitment, we pledge to work for fraternity and solidarity of the people, to work to lead to a triumphant victory the revolution in our respective countries as the best contribution to world revolution.

Different political forces have come together in this event to present and discuss openly and frankly our points of view, in a valuable exercise that should be replicated in our respective countries. We have many points to debate in the future, so we shall convene at the 15 International Seminar on Problems of the Revolution in Latin America to be held in 2011 in this same place.

Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Argentina
Partido Revolucionario (Marxista Leninista) (República Argentina)
Partido Comunista Revolucionario (Brasil)
Partido Comunista de Colombia (Marxista Leninista)
Partido Comunista Marxista Leninista del Ecuador
Movimiento Popular Democrático (Ecuador)
Juventud Revolucionaria del Ecuador
Unión General de Trabajadores del Ecuador
Confederación Ecuatoriana de Mujeres por el Cambio (Ecuador)
Frente Popular (Ecuador)
Frente Democrático Revolucionario Nacional de Filipinas
Comité Continental de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Haitiano
Frente Popular para la Liberación de Haití
Partido Comunista de México (Marxista Leninista)
Partido Popular Socialista de México
Frente Popular Revolucionario (México)
Partido Marxista Leninista del Perú
Partido Proletario del Perú
Partido Comunista del Trabajo de República Dominicana
Movimiento Independencia Unidad y Cambio (República Dominicana)
Justicia Global (República Dominicana)
Coordinadora Patriótica (República Dominicana)
Partido Comunista (Bolchevique) de la Unión Soviética
Movimiento Manuelita Sáenz (Sucre – Venezuela)
Movimiento Gayones (Venezuela)
Movimiento de Educación para la Emancipación (Venezuela)
Juventud del Consejo Político Obrero (Venezuela)
Centro de Formación e Investigación Prof. Franklin Giménez (Venezuela)
Partido Comunista Marxista Leninista de Venezuela
Umbrales TV Popular Chile
ISTA

Panama Solidarity Resolution

To the heroic Panamanian working class!

To the invincible oppressed masses of Panama!

We send you our greetings and our obligation of militant solidarity with your struggle against the Law 30 and the other measures taken against the people by the government of Ricardo Martinelli. Our greetings go to the workers on the banana plantations of Bocas del Toro and to the 6 union centers and other organizations, who have energetically stopped the reactionary offensive with a successful 24-hour nationwide strike. We honour those who were murdered and injured.

The imperialists and their puppet governments, forced by the present world economic and financial crisis, shift destructive consequences onto the backs of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. The imperialists are therefore uniting their forces, without giving up their hegemonist endeavours, against all those who are exploited and oppressed and are intensifying the tendency of imperialism toward reaction and fascism.

But the masses of the world do not want to perish in capitalist barbarism!

At the same time, the conditions have matured to realize a new level of coordination and cooperation of the struggles and practical activities of the revolutionaries of the world across all borders !

The Preparatory Group (IPG) for the founding conference of the ICOR (International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations) – an initiative which is planning to give an answer to this objective necessity – condemns the government of Ricardo Martinelli and is calling for the unity of the working class of Panama and for the militant unity of the trends and parties of the left. Let us combine forces internationally to overcome capitalism and open the way for a socialist future!

We declare that we will make your cause known in the entire world.

Long live international solidarity!

Members of the International Preparatory Group, ICOR

US-led Capitalism Gives a Wake-up Call to Us All !s

ON APRIL 20, 2010, the Deepwater Horizon, a rare \$600 million dollar oil rig, exploded off of the Gulf Coast of the USA. More than two months later, the extent of the British Petroleum (BP)-made disaster is not even close to being determined; more importantly, it is not yet contained and may never be! The current estimate of the amount of oil pouring into the Gulf waters is the equivalent of one Exxon Valdez-size catastrophe every five days! Rob Kall, the head of OpEdNews.com, referring to this disaster, stated: “It may not destroy the world, but it could destroy the world as we know it.”

Ray O’Light Newsletter #60 placed special emphasis on the “Appalachian Wake-up Call” represented by the clearly preventable explosion at the Massey Energy Company Upper Big Branch Mine in West Virginia which cost 29 coal miners their lives. That tragedy focused attention on the unabashed greed of Massey Energy and its CEO, Don Blankenship, and on the U.S. government’s repeated failure to stop Massey Energy’s ongoing destruction of Appalachia and its people.

The current newsletter similarly focuses on the BP oil rig disaster and the compliant and complicit U.S. government which paved BP’s path to massive destruction barely two weeks after the West Virginia mine explosion. The magnitude of this BP disaster makes it a wake-up call for the working people and communists *of the entire world*. For, clearly, the monopoly capitalist and imperialist world system, driven by pursuit of maximum

private profit based on the exploitation of the international working class and the subjugation of the oppressed peoples, is bringing humanity to the verge of extinction.

A recent court decision in India underscores how deeply *systemic* this problem is: In December 1984, a U.S.-owned (Union Carbide) chemical plant in Bhopal, India leaked a plume of toxic gas that killed three thousand people almost instantly, followed soon thereafter by another two thousand deaths, and with over a half million people ultimately affected. A few weeks ago, in early June, more than 25 years later, eight former executives of the company's Indian subsidiary (all Indians) were convicted of negligence; and the seven surviving defendants were sentenced to two years in prison and fined the equivalent of \$2,100 each. An advocate for the victims characterized the verdict as "the world's worst industrial disaster reduced to a traffic accident." (*New York Times*, 6-8-10) The Indian authorities were not even capable of mounting a legal prosecution against Warren Anderson, who was the chairman of Union Carbide at the time of the Bhopal disaster. Furthermore, in 2001, Union Carbide was purchased by Dow Chemical and the Indian government has been trying, without success, to get Dow to clean up the now 25 year old mess ever since.

With the monopoly capitalists and imperialists riding roughshod over the rest of us, as in Bhopal, it is no wonder that BP's CEO, Tony Hayward, shortly after the oil rig disaster on the U.S. Gulf that has destroyed and is still destroying the lives and livelihood of so many people on the Gulf Coast, felt entitled to complain that he wants to "get his life back."

BRITISH PETROLEUM SPEWS FORTH CAPITALIST POISON

"Drill, baby, drill!"

— Mob cheer led by Sarah Palin,

Vice-Presidential Candidate, 2008 Republican Party National Convention

BP'S GREED UNCHECKED BY U.S. "REPUBLICRAT" GOVERNMENT

When the \$600 million dollar Deepwater Horizon oil rig exploded, killing eleven workers, on April 20, 2010, the British Petroleum Corporation ("BP plc"), was unable to dodge its responsibility for the disaster. Unashamedly, however, BP, the United Kingdom's largest company and the third largest energy company and the fourth largest company in the world (according to Wikipedia), deliberately concealed vital information; it covered up the extent of the damage to its well along with the true massive amount of oil and gas actually pouring out into the Gulf, and thus the potential extent of the catastrophe. In this way, BP *sabotaged* all early efforts to restrict, contain and mitigate the subsequent massive oil spill.

Despite a multimillion dollar public relations propaganda assault by BP, it is crystal clear that single-minded and shameless pursuit of maximum private profit, the very motivation which drove BP and its partners in crime, including Halliburton Inc., to "cut corners" on safety, to ignore "best industry practices," etc. continued to dominate its conduct in the disaster's aftermath. In its ruthless effort to minimize its criminal liability, *BP continued (and still continues!!) to fuel the hellhole it had created.*

Thus, when Texas Republican Congressman Joe Barton revealed his total subservience to his capitalist masters by "apologizing" to BP (!) for President Obama's insistence that the thoroughly exposed BP fund a Gulf Coast relief effort, the outrage of the people of the Gulf Coast, in particular, forced Barton to apologize for his apology!

It is not surprising that it was another Texas Republican, President George W. Bush, who, in 2008, had lifted the two decades-old ban on offshore oil drilling which paved the way for London-based BP, whose U.S. headquarters are in Houston, to inflict the current

catastrophe on us all. Nor is it surprising that “W.” would have the enthusiastic support of his Vice President, since Dick Cheney had come to the Bush II Administration from his job as CEO of Halliburton, Inc., which became BP’s corporate partner in crime in the Deepwater Horizon disaster. Subcontractor Halliburton’s job in BP’s Deepwater Horizon project was to seal the three plus miles of the initial drilling hole, the well casing, so that the four inch pipe was surrounded in concrete and protected from gas leaks. BP made decisions to cut costs, including the use of inadequate components and skipping tests of the integrity of the seal. Such decisions led Gordon Aaker, a failure analysis consultant with Engineering Services LLP in Houston to characterize one such decision as “unheard of,” calling BP “horribly negligent.” While BP rejected the recommendations of Halliburton, seriously reducing the safety of the job Halliburton did, Halliburton went along with BP and took the money. And the Department of the Interior’s Mineral Management Service (MMS), instead of being more strict in its enforcement of existing safety regulations in dealing with deepwater oil drilling, became even more lax the deeper the well!*

[*NOTE: [Former Halliburton CEO and U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney, one of the most outspoken promoters of the U.S. war against Iraq, certainly helped BP, still today the top energy supplier for the U.S. military under the Obama Regime. Indeed, despite the fact that BP’s responsibility for the Gulf Coast catastrophe is undeniable, it continues to retain its \$2 billion plus dollars in annual contracts with the Pentagon *uninterrupted*. Of course, Halliburton itself has been the biggest recipient from the U.S. military of infrastructure contracts in Iraq, just as its current subsidiary, Kellogg Brown and Root had been during the period of the U.S. war in Vietnam. The BP/Halliburton corporate connection and the complicity of its U.S. government stooges in the Gulf Coast disaster underscore the deep truth contained in the phrase “the U.S. imperialist war at home and abroad.”]

More surprising for those who retain illusions about the Democratic Party and/or about alleged U.S. “democracy” is the fact that the Democratic-controlled Congress did not extend its own ban of offshore oil drilling in 2008, when Bush-Cheney lifted the presidential moratorium. Such people will be even more surprised to learn that, in March 2010, *President Barack Obama went a step further than Bush* when he announced his readiness to consider leases for *new* deepwater oil exploration!

Even *after* the catastrophic BP oil rig disaster, despite Obama’s promise of better safeguards for offshore drilling, his Department of Interior’s Minerals Management Service (MMS) has signed off on at least five new offshore drilling projects since June 2, when the agency’s acting director announced tougher regulations for drilling in the Gulf. Three of the approved projects were provided the same “categorical exclusions,” exempting them from detailed studies of their environmental impact, just like the waiver given to BP for the well that has been poisoning the Gulf and beyond for the past two months. Furthermore, in mid June, environmental groups filed a lawsuit in Alabama challenging the MMS approval of 198 new deepwater leases in the central Gulf since the BP spill began!

Such lease sales, a step prior to the oil companies’ submission of their drilling plans, line the corporations up to immediately launch their projects when moratoria are lifted. Furthermore, the 198 new lease approvals have already made the U.S. taxpayers liable for compensation payment to the oil companies, in case the projects are ultimately blocked! So business-as-usual continues between the Obama Administration and BP which owns at least 10 of these 198 new leases.

Furthermore, the Democratic Party's own strategist James Carville, CNN's Anderson Cooper and other representatives of the monopoly capitalist ruling class have themselves expressed shock and outrage that, more than two months after the fact, *the Obama/Biden Regime has continued to allow BP to remain in control of the clean-up effort* of the disaster this profit-mad corporation created and which it has strong motivation to cover up rather than clean up!!

As we write these lines, *Boston Globe* columnist, Derrick Z. Jackson, an enlightened Afro-American writer, exposes President Obama's duplicitous "two-faced" treatment of BP. ("The harder they should fall," *Boston Globe*, 6-29-10) Jackson points out, "In his June 15 national address, President Obama declared BP's oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico to be 'the worst environmental disaster America has ever faced' ... The very next day, he ... extracted a commitment of \$20 billion from BP to settle damage claims. However, Obama also affirmed his confidence that 'BP will be able to meet its obligations to the Gulf Coast and to the American people. BP is a strong and viable company and it is in all of our interests that it remains so.'" Jackson observes that "Obama's advance blessing to BP... amounts to a *political bailout*." (ROL emphasis)

Why is the Obama Administration so kind and deferential to BP? Remember that Obama/Biden and McCain/Palin, the candidates of the two monopoly capitalist and imperialist political parties in the USA, *both* received their largest campaign contributions from JPMorgan Chase and the other Wall Street giants. Accordingly, during the campaign, both Obama and McCain agreed with Republican President George W. Bush and his Secretary of the Treasury Henry Paulson as well as Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi on the initial \$700 billion dollar bailout for the banking and financial giants of Wall Street. JPMorgan Chase was one of the bailout's chief beneficiaries. *JPMorgan Chase is the No. 1 holder of stock in BP*. According to BP's ownership stats, "Chase holds 27.74% of total ordinary issued shared capital."

"Drill, baby, drill!" had been the loudest and most energetic rallying cry at the *Republican Party's* 2008 National Convention. From the above, we can see that this "Republican" platform has been implemented by the current *Democratic* Administration.

Also, despite its markedly different rhetoric from that of the Bush/Cheney regime, the Obama/Biden Regime has continued its predecessor's policies on most of the major issues of our time — from ongoing war in Iraq and expanded war in Afghanistan and Pakistan and increased militarization of the U.S. government, to diminished civil liberties and rights of U.S. citizens as well as immigrants; from protection of the bankrupt private corporate U.S. healthcare "system," to the continual federal government bailout of the Wall Street and international finance capitalists principally responsible for the world capitalist economic crisis.

The "Republican Party" is clearly the two headed political representative of the U.S. monopoly capitalist and imperialist ruling class. So where can the people of the USA turn for political relief?

SARAH PALIN AND THE TEA PARTY MOVEMENT

Sarah Palin emerged as a major political voice immediately upon her selection to be John McCain's vice presidential running mate. And her first message of substance had been to promote the oil companies' agenda for unchecked and widespread drilling for offshore oil all along the coastline of the USA. While the Republican duo of McCain/Palin lost the election, their campaign effort on behalf of the oil companies to unleash a new round of

offshore oil drilling has been successfully realized with the Democratic Obama/Biden Administration.

It is not the U.S. government that has changed under Obama, only the *perception* about the government and its intentions. In the year and one-half since the election, the right-wing Tea Party Movement has emerged, with Sarah Palin as its political darling, as a key player in the effort to keep mass democratic illusions about the Obama/Biden Administration alive in the face of the overwhelming evidence that it represents merely a more clever and effective steward (than the Republicans) on behalf of the interests of U.S. monopoly capitalism and imperialism in the midst of this capitalist economic crisis. Even more importantly, Palin and the Tea Party movement provide a “safe” pro-imperialist, semi-fascist and white supremacist channel for the frustrations of a large sector of the U.S. population that is now experiencing a sharp decline in its standard of living and diminished prospects for the future.*

[*NOTE: [The Tea Party Movement and the Republican Party are not identical. In fact, there has been a conscious effort by clever forces such as Karl Rove, George W. Bush’s chief presidential adviser, to keep a degree of separation between them. In this way each can support the other while providing each other the opportunity to advance without each other’s baggage.]

With all the diverse streams of the tea party movement, Sarah Palin is one of a few people almost universally recognized as their leader. Palin’s outright lies and deceit cover up a lot. But “drill, baby, drill” is a classic example of where Palin is leading the masses of the people of the USA and the world, that is, to *catastrophe*.

In this light, the April 20th BP oil rig disaster on the Gulf Coast provides a strong context for evaluating other major pronouncements of Sarah Palin. In particular, Palin has repeatedly declared that “*Obama is a Socialist,*” and that “*Now is no time to be experimenting with Socialism.*”

Palin’s assertion that “*Obama is a Socialist*” taps into two cornerstones of U.S. imperialist culture: white supremacy and anti-communism. It is exposed as a “Big Lie” by Obama’s role as *the savior of Wall Street, BP, the medical-industrial complex, etc.*, as the skillful chief helmsman of U.S. monopoly capitalism and imperialism at this time when the USA and the world capitalist system are in serious crisis. Nevertheless, Palin’s lie has proved effective thus far in building mass resistance to “socialism,” at a time when it would be logical for the people of the USA to demand socialism in health care, on Wall Street, etc.

Thus, Palin’s lie about Obama complements her other slogan: “*Now is no time to be experimenting with Socialism.*” With millions of workers forced into unemployment and millions of families losing their homes to bank foreclosure, while the banking industry itself has been bailed out by the capitalist government, using the tax monies of the working class, this entire period of acute capitalist economic crisis and collapse, cries out for “experimenting with socialism.” Now, the criminal conduct of BP and its CEO, Tony Hayward, with the criminal collaboration of the U.S. government, both in the lead-up to the oil rig disaster and in its aftermath, makes clear that “*experimenting with (fighting for) Socialism*” is an increasingly urgent task for the international working class to take up in defense of the survival of the human species!!

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN THE CURRENT U.S. CRISIS

Strategically, the fight in the U.S. (North) is for socialism. However, *tactically*, the Revolutionary Organization of Labor (USA) and the proletarian revolutionary movement in the USA need to unite those who retain illusions about Obama and the Democratic

Party with those who have no illusions about the current chieftain of U.S. imperialism to *demand*, in opposition to the government's current conduct, that the Obama government meet the needs of the U.S. working people, including organized labor, and the Afro-American and documented and undocumented Latino masses. Such a tactical approach enables the proletarian revolutionary movement to win, on the basis of their own experience, these currently non-revolutionary masses away from the Obama/Democratic Party forces to the socialist banner.

This tactical approach also enables the proletarian revolutionary movement to win to the socialist banner some frustrated white working people, including a section of organized labor and others, away from the white supremacist, great nation chauvinist tea party movement, whose "Republicrat" leaders, including Sarah Palin, remain, along with the Obama/Biden Administration, an integral part of the strategic defense of the capitalist system in crisis in the USA.

The tactical demand for the Obama Administration to compel BP to fully indemnify all current and future victims of this massive oil spill and to *nationalize all offshore oil wells* is on the order of the day. As the oil spill continues to pour into the Gulf and despoil our land, let's get behind this effort!

[From Ray O'Light Newsletter]

The Burqa, Fascism, Palestine et al

Sanjay Singhvi

GOVERNMENTS in European countries seem to be falling over themselves to ban the burqa or the Niqab (the muslim veil) worn by many Muslim women to cover their faces. France, under the rightist Sarkozy Government and Belgium, under the centrist Leterme Government have already passed legislation for this purpose and Italy under the rightist Berlusconi Government is ready to follow suit. Spain, under the centre-left Zapatero Government is to decide later. Germany and UK have stated, at the moment, that they are opposed to the ban but incidents are daily coming to light, especially in the UK, of women in burqas not being allowed to enter buses and not being met by their local Councillor.

Many reasons are being cited for this ban. At times the burqa, or the niqab, is cited as a security risk. At other times, it is made the basis of a cultural invasion and yet at other times it is basis for the oppression of women.

The fact is that, as per the French Interior Ministry's estimates, only at least 400 and at most 2000 women wear the niqab (or burqa) in France. In Belgium, it is estimated that only 30 women wear the niqab - hardly a cultural invasion to be taken seriously. If liberation of women is the goal, then there are certainly more important issues affecting more than 30, or even 2000, women, which can be taken up. As to security risks, women in niqabs are checked the same as any other women in all airports and other sensitive installations all over the world.

The true reason for the ban is the subtle fascisation that is taking place all over the world. Fascism is not alien to the imperialist system. Rather, it is embedded in the imperialist. Earlier, in the colonial system, there was a distinct differentiation between the "democratic" imperialist powers and the fascist ones. However, with the advent of the neo-colonial system, after the IInd World War, this differentiation is getting ever more blurred.

In both phases, with the advent of crisis, imperialism was forced to transfer the burden onto the working class and onto the people's of the colonial or neo-colonial countries. In the colonial phase, this oppression led to national liberation movements and socialist revolutions. However, with the change from colonialism to neo-colonialism, the situation is different. Neo-colonialism created a false facade of democracy, human rights and freedom. Colonies were ostensibly "freed". The UN was formed and soon passed the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights". Many laws were passed in the former colonies to give rights to workers, to remove feudal rights over land, etc.

In reality, the former colonies were kept under imperialist suppression by control of capital and of the markets on an international level. The new laws were just means of bringing labour, land, agriculture, etc. into a regulated market. The Declaration of Human Rights also upheld the right to property (and consequently, the right to exploit human labour and natural resources) as one of the fundamental human rights.

The world became much more integrated as a marketplace. With the collapse of the former USSR and other East European countries, the process we now call globalisation was started. Under this process, the free flow of capital, to where it could most exploit human and natural resources was sought to be guaranteed.

In this globalised, neo-colonial economy, fascism has also, perforce to take a new form. Even during the times of Hitler and Mussolini, the main aim was not to kill Jews but to concentrate capital and to squeeze the working class and oppressed people. Even so, fascism, is not a mere economic process. It requires the satanization of a particular section as a decoy to mislead and misguide the working class and other oppressed masses. Today Islam is the new Judaism. Ironically, it is the Jews who are made the outpost of Imperialism to torment the Muslims, through Israel.

In the neo-colonial set-up, we may never have a Hitler coming up outright to say that all Muslims must be killed. However, the satanization of Muslims is going on apace with their torture in Palestine. Not even essential goods are allowed to reach Palestine on the one hand, while Muslims are shown as the new children of the Devil, especially in Europe, on the other.

The danger is that Fascism is never, as some intellectuals seem to think, merely elitist. If it were so, there would be no danger from it. Fascism becomes a danger only when it grips the masses. In Hitler's Germany it had the support of the masses, large sections of whom were deluded to believe that Jews are responsible for their misery. Today also, according to polls, 67% of people in UK, over 80% in France, 71% in Germany and around 60% in Spain support the ban on the burqa. What this indicates is the miserable failure of the left to popularise genuine left and democratic ideas in society. We have been unable to bring even the most basic facts and studies which debunk the "*Clash of Civilisations*" before the masses. It is this task to which we must address ourselves with vigour.

Profiting from Poverty

[Micro-financing through micro-credit institutions is also a part of the world-wide projects run on NGO-lines to find reformist solutions to problems of acute poverty created by neo-liberal policies. Through the electronic media extensive propaganda was launched to make it popular. But after two decades, what was pointed out from the beginning by the revolutionary left forces, that it is nothing but another method of fleecing the poor in the name of improving their lives, is proved correct. The following extracts from a *Frontline*

article underlines this. Also, it reveals how the network of imperialist agencies coordinate to snub out opposition to such pernicious projects – *Red Star*]

In recent years, the idea of giving small loans to poor people became the darling of the development world, hailed as the long elusive formula to propel even the most destitute into better lives.

Actors like Natalie Portman and Michael Douglas lent their boldface names to the cause. Muhammad Yunus, the economist who pioneered the practice by lending small amounts to basket weavers in Bangladesh, won a Nobel Peace Prize for it in 2006. The idea even got its very own UN year in 2005.

.... Drawn by the prospect of hefty profits from even the smallest of loans, a raft of banks and financial institutions now dominate the field, with some charging interest rates of 100 percent or more from their impoverished customers. The average in Mexico itself is around 70 percent, compared with a global average of about 37 percent in interest and fees, analysts said.

Underlying the issue is a fierce debate over whether microloans actually lift people out of poverty, as their promoters so often claim. ... The microfinance industry, with over \$60 billion in assets, has unquestionably outgrown its charitable roots. Elisabeth Rhyne, who runs the Center for Financial Inclusion, said in Congressional testimony this year that banks and finance firms served 60 percent of all clients. Nongovernmental organizations served 35 percent of the clients, she said, while credit unions and rural banks had 5 percent of the clients.

Private capital first began entering the microfinance arena about a decade ago, but it was not until Compartamos, a Mexican firm that began life as a tiny nonprofit organization, generated \$458 million through a public stock sale in 2007, that investors fully recognized the potential for a windfall, experts said.

Although the Compartamos founders pledged to plow the money back into development, analysts say the high interest rates and healthy profits of Compartamos, the largest microfinance institution in the Western Hemisphere with 1.2 million active borrowers, push up interest rates all across Mexico.

According to the Microfinance Information Exchange, a Web site known as the Mix, where more than 1,000 microfinance companies worldwide report their own numbers, Compartamos charges an average of nearly 82 percent in interest and fees.

But poor borrowers are often too inexperienced and too harried to understand what they are being charged.

.... In Nicaragua, President Daniel Ortega, outraged that interest rates there were hovering around 35 percent in 2008, announced that he would back a microfinance institution that would charge 8 to 10 percent, using Venezuelan money.

There were scattered episodes of setting aflame microfinance branches before a national “We’re not paying” campaign erupted, which was widely believed to be mounted secretly by the Sandinista government. After the courts stopped forcing small borrowers to repay, making international financial institutions hesitant to work with Nicaragua, the campaign evaporated....

Afghanistan : Casualty Rate Highest

EIGHT MONTHS after the Obama administration announced a “surge” of 30,000 additional troops to Afghanistan to crush the Taliban-led insurgency, the rate of US and allied casualties has soared to the highest level of the nearly nine-year war and is beginning to match the bloodiest stages of the occupation of Iraq.

The six fatalities over the weekend have pushed the total July death toll to 77, of whom 56 have been US personnel. The occupation forces suffered their largest monthly loss of the entire war last month with 102 killed, 60 of whom were American. 2010 will almost certainly be the most costly year of the entire war for the US-led occupation. The death toll has already reached 399, compared with the last year’s toll of 521.

The number of deaths, however, is only one aspect of the mounting crisis facing the 100,000 American and 30,000 NATO and other allied troops in Afghanistan. The number of soldiers being wounded has increased exponentially.

Figures released in early July showed that four times as many American troops were wounded in the first six months of 2010 as in the same time period last year. As of June 30, some 1,922 had been injured compared with 2,139 in all of 2009. In other words, for every soldier killed, close to 10 are being wounded, many of whom will be disabled for life due to the horrific injuries inflicted by bomb blasts.

The 10,000-strong British contingent, much of which is operating in the southern province of Helmand and has been used in the offensives intended to break the grip of the Taliban over the area, is taking even higher casualties. This year alone, 50 British troops have been killed and some 650 British troops have been admitted to hospital, over 300 for battlefield wounds and the others for “non-battle” injuries or disease. The British death rate has essentially doubled over recent weeks to 14 deaths per 1,000 troops deployed. The US rate is currently 6.8.

(Extracted from article by James Cogan)

Reports

Resolutions Passed by CC of TUCI

The meeting of the Central Committee of the Trade Union Centre of India (TUCI) on the 2nd July followed by the meeting of the General Council on 3rd July was successfully held in Ahmedabad. The General Council noted that while the Government is making great propaganda about its schemes which are supposedly for the benefit of the workers in the unorganised sector, like the Jan Shree Yojana and the Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana, these schemes are giving much lower benefits to the workers of the so-called “unorganised” sector than are available to workers under the regular labour laws. The Government’s own Sample Surveys show that the proportion of workers in the unorganised sector has grown from 92% of the total workers in 2000-01 to 94% in 2004-05. Thus the present policies of the Government, both the present one and the earlier UPA and NDA ones, are only serving to push the workers from a better position into an underprivileged position.

The Council also noted that even the meagre privileges available for the “unorganised” were not being implemented, but only serving as vehicles for propaganda. The 1996 Act in favour of Construction workers is not being implemented in most states, including in Gujarat. Most of the workers have also not got the benefit under the Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana. The TUCI has therefore resolved to fight for the implementation of the laws

in favour of the unorganised workers, while at the same time fighting for the enhancement of the benefits under these laws and also exposing the real intent of the Governments making these laws.

The Council noted that the present policies of the Government have proceeded on the basis that development means allowing more and more foreign investment and more and more concessions to the capitalists. This is clearly a lop-sided view of development and has resulted in India having four among the richest 10 persons in the world while it also contains probably at least 4 million among the poorest 10 million in the world. The Council therefore gives the call to the workers to fight not only for the right to a living wage and a decent standard of life but also for a different and alternative pattern of development, a truly democratic and socialist pattern of development which alone can ensure justice and prosperity to the vast masses of India including the working class.

The Council also noted that though our Constitution provides for socialism, the judiciary has, of late, been following the tenets of globalisation in place of the tenets of our constitution. This ailment affects the judiciary right from the top to the bottom, from the Apex court to the labour courts. The Council has therefore resolved to fight against this betrayal of their duties by the judiciary by taking up seminars, propaganda and agitation and even by direct demonstrations at the courts.

The General Council also noted that history has shown that in times of crisis, like at present, Capitalism and Imperialism have always resorted not only to burden the working class but also to create divisions in society, based on religion, ethnicity, caste, etc in a fascistic manner. This is especially what is happening today and Gujarat is the foremost example of this experiment to split the working class on the basis of religion. The General Council therefore resolved to take up the challenge and make Gujarat also the region of the counter-experiment to fight against communalism by taking a stand for uniting all workers irrespective of religion, in the fight for socialism. The General Council of TUCI has passed following Resolutions.

ON PRICE RISE.

The TUCI condemns the policies of the Government that have led to the massive price rise witnessed recently in the country, including the policy to raise the prices of petroleum products which is again going to result in an all-round hike in prices. The price rise is clearly the result of the deregulation of prices by the Government and allowing free market forces including speculative forces to enter the market for essential commodities like food grains, through devices like forward trading. The allowing of corporate capital and MNC capital in retail trade has further worsened the situation.

While we condemn the price rise, we also condemn the hypocritical rantings of parties like the BJP and the parties like CPI-CPM which were themselves responsible for the policies which have led to the price rise. However, while making this condemnation, TUCI resolves to support the struggle of the people during the Bandh on 5th July against the price rise.

ON CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

THE Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996 and the Cess Act passed along with this act provide very meagre and inadequate protection for construction workers. However, even this meagre protection is not being made available to the workers since the Act is not being implemented in most states in the country. The TUCI therefore demands that the Act be made applicable in all states immediately; that adequate provision be made under the schemes to provide a living wage along with basic necessities and needs to

construction workers and that the State and Central Governments may take steps to implement the Cess Act in each state and UT with retrospective effect from 1996 and collect the cess along with compound interest. The TUCI also demands that registration be made simple and reasonable under the Act and that registration in any state be accepted all over India. TUCI resolves to fight for these demands and for this purpose has constituted an All India Co-ordination Committee of Construction Workers from different states which will take up this struggle forthwith.

ON DOMESTIC WORKERS AND OTHER UNORGANISED WORKERS

THOUGH the Governments since the past decade, both under the UPA and the NDA have been making propaganda about making new laws for social security for the workers in the unorganised sector, it took almost six years under three different Governments just to move the bill into an Act. The Act that was finally passed makes very little provision for the workers in the unorganised sector. Only ten different insurance schemes, all of them little more than illusory, are made for implementation for unorganised workers all over the country. Recently there has been a flurry of activity in labour departments all over the country in the name of preparing laws for protecting domestic labour. The Karnataka Government has notified minimum wages for domestic workers which are less than promised under the floor level minimum wage of the Central Government. The Kerala Government has included Domestic workers in the schedule since 2005 but not notified their minimum wage till today.

NGOs including those based in the church are also moving into this area. In the guise of helping domestic workers, they are becoming vehicles for their exploitation by playing the role of supply agents. The bill proposed by the Government allows space for such agents by an obnoxious provision for “service providers”.

In this situation, TUCI has resolved to hold an All India Convention of the Domestic and Other Unorganised Workers in Bhubaneshwar on 13th and 14th November 2010 to focus the struggle for these sections.

ON THE RECENT TREND IN THE JUDICIARY

THE Judiciary today, from the Apex court to the Labour Court has started acting as if it is no more answerable to the Constitution of India but only to the gods of globalisation. Even the Supreme Court itself has noticed this in the judgement in the case of Harjinder Singh. Where even Parliament does not have the guts to change the existing labour laws to remove protections granted to workers and toiling masses, the courts rush in to remove them. The TUCI has resolved to take up this question at an All India level with seminars, propaganda such as posters, banners etc and direct demonstrations against such pronouncements all over India.

AGAINST FASCISM AND COMMUNALISM

THE TUCI has noticed that whenever there is a financial crisis, imperialism seeks to throw the burden upon the workers, either by price rise or by unemployment or in other forms. However, historically capitalism has learnt that this alone is not sufficient. It is required that the workers must be divided and their frustration and anger against capitalism must be diverted to other targets. We can see from history, therefore, that a crisis in capitalism is invariably accompanied by a growth in religious fundamentalism and communalism. This is the trend all over the world and “Hindutva” in India is just another form of this divisive and diversionary tactic. The TUCI resolves to fight this tactic to the hilt. The TUCI resolves that since it is obvious that Gujarat has been made a laboratory for communalism by imperialism, we will respond to the challenge by converting it into a laboratory for

communal amity and unity of all workers and oppressed masses in the fight for democracy and socialism.

ON MAOISTS AND STATE REPRESSION

IN THE NAME of suppressing Maoists the Central and State Governments are repressing all the revolutionary and democratic movements through ‘Operation Green Hunt’ and Black Acts like the Unlawful activities (Prevention) Act. We oppose Operation Green Hunt and demand repeal of black acts like UAPA. We oppose all repressive measures being taken against revolutionary and democratic movements, and also against Maoists, while rejecting the anarchist strategy and tactics of the Maoists. The Maoist movement is not helping to build a revolutionary and democratic workers’ and peasants’ movement. It is only giving the governments an excuse to attack the struggling people, citing the anarchist steps of Maoists. The governments are arresting innocent people in the name of Maoists, like 13 persons arrested recently in Gujarat.

We call upon the workers not to be misled by the Maoist line and to develop a militant movement against the anti-people and anti-democratic steps of the governments.

ON RIGHT TO HOUSING AND AGAINST SLUM DEMOLITIONS:

30 PER CENT of the Indian people are homeless. 70 per cent of the Indian people belong to low or very low income group. Since 63 years after India was declared independent, the Central and State Governments are unable to provide minimum housing to the poor people.

Today the agricultural sector is completely handed over to the MNCs and Corporate Houses. Land reform was never completed but lands are being handed over to the companies. Thousands of people are compelled, everyday, to rush to towns and cities for their livelihood, including due to large-scale displacements.

In the towns and cities, these persons are compelled to live in slums. Such slums are a requirement of capitalism to provide low cost labour. However, when MNCs and corporate houses require the land, the land mafias, bureaucrats and capitalists evict the slum dwellers and forcibly grab the land. Against this, the slum dwellers all over India are developing a massive resistance struggle.

The TUCI demands enactment of law to protect the Right to Housing and to provide housing to all low income groups people of India. We demand that the Right to Housing be recognized as a fundamental right and the right to be protected against eviction without being given adequate alternate accommodation must be recognized statutorily. The TUCI resolves to fight for these rights and support the resistance struggle of slum dwellers all over India.

ON BHOPAL GAS TRAGEDY JUDGEMENT

THE FINAL COURT VERDICT in the Bhopal case awarding just two years sentence to the killers of thousands of citizens of Bhopal reflects the complete betrayal of the victims of the Bhopal gas tragedy by the state machinery, both, at central as well as state level, for the past 26 years.

The TUCI rejects the verdict and demands appropriate central legislation to repeal the obnoxious Act of 1985 and to allow a judicial review of the entire case to allow the culprits to be tried for culpable homicide. The legislation must also nullify the agreement between the central government and the Union Carbide India Limited recorded by the Apex court on 14th February 1989 and provide for appropriate and adequate compensation and social rehabilitation of the victims.

Mukul Sinha
President, TUCI

Demonstration by Domestic Workers Union in Kanpur

THERE was a massive demonstration organised by the *Gharelu Kamgar Mahila Union (Women Domestic Workers Union)* affiliated to the TUCI in Kanpur on 29th June 2010. The occasion for this massive gathering of over 4000 women was to force the UP Government to implement the *Mahamaya Garib Arthik Madat Yojana (Mahamaya Economic Aid Scheme for the Poor)*. The Mayavati Government in UP had announced this scheme earlier this year granting Rs. 300 to persons below the poverty line with 50% reservation for dalit women. However, the scheme is not being implemented. In this time of galloping inflation, when food price inflation is around 15% to 18%, the union decided to take up this demand as a priority.

The main slogan of the public meeting of the union held on International Working Women's Day on 8th March was about this demand. The May 1st meeting of the union also brought forward this demand. The Government was forced to organise survey teams and list the eligible women from all over Kanpur city. However, the Government tried to cheat the people by surreptitiously issuing a notification requiring all women to register for this benefit and making 30th June as the last date for tendering their applications.

It was to protest against this move of the Government, to once again defeat the scheme, that the massive demonstration of 29th June was organised. The police were brought in by the Collectorate staff, but the demonstrators refused to budge. They were ready to accept jail but would not move without an assurance from the Collector himself. Finally, the Collector was forced to accept their grievance and gave forms to the demonstrators for making application for the scheme and also asked for extra windows to be opened for accepting the forms. Com. Rajendri Devi, President and Com. Meenu Sur, General Secretary of the union addressed the demonstration and made it clear that the union would not compromise on this demand and would see to it that all eligible women would get the benefit.

Kerala: Quit India Campaign

IN CONFORMITY WITH the CPI(ML) Central Committee's call on all SCs and SOC's to organise a vigorous and militant campaign under the leadership of the Party and class/mass organizations, uniting all progressive, democratic, patriotic and revolutionary forces along with people's resistance movements against imperialist globalization and neo-liberal policies including displacement of adivasis and all tillers of the soil from their habitat culminating with the observing of August 9 to August 15 as *Quit India week* at state level in the form of rallies, conventions, street campaigns, etc., based on the slogans enlisted in the Political Resolution of the Central Committee, CPI (ML) Kerala State Committee has resolved to undertake a series of programs during the Week August 9-15. A printed poster and leaflet explaining the political significance of the Quit India Campaign were used for the purpose. In three Districts, viz., Thrissur, Ernakulam and Kottayam, Jathas are planned by the Party District Committees. The RYFI State Committee has decided to hold marches, dharnas in various parts of the State during this period. Under the auspices of AIRWO, a convention is to be held in Wayanad on August 14 in which state leaders of the organization will participate. In Kozhikode District, a state

level convention will be held on August 9 by the State Committee of AIKKS against displacement of people from their habitat in the name of township at Kinaloor and demanding distribution of public land illegally occupied by the land mafia with the connivance of the CPI(M), the ruling party in the State.

Delegation of KBS meets Jairam Ramesh

A DELEGATION of the Konkan Bachao Samiti consisting of Com. Arun Velaskar [CPI (ML)], Secretary, Com. Advait Pednekar, Asst. Secretary, Com. Madhu Mohite (RPI), Asst. Secretary, Com. Vivek Monteiro (CPI (M)) and Com. Mangesh Chavan met the Minister for Environment and Forests on 13th July in New Delhi in connection with the proposed nuclear power plant to be built at Jaitapur. Also present at the meeting were Dr. S. Banerjee, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, Shri S.K. Jain, CMD, Nuclear Power Corporation of India Ltd. and representatives of NEERI, which has conducted the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) report. The Minister agreed that NPCIL would give a written response to the queries of KBS, within two weeks, after which further discussions would be held. The Minister also agreed that KBS would be given a hearing during the consideration of the EIA by the Expert Appraisal Committee in August. It is KBS's contention that the NEERI EIA report is beyond rectification and a fresh scientific inquiry must be initiated and further that a scientific cost benefit analysis must be made, with public scrutiny, before any commitment is signed between NPCIL and Areva of France. The KBS has also pointed out that the plant design does not have the approval of the AERB (Atomic Energy Regulatory Board) and asked that it be heard before such approval is granted.

Karnataka round-up

THE Karnataka State Committee of the RYFI, in accordance with the call of the RYFI to observe 26th June as Anti-Blac Laws day, organised programs in many districts. Two types of handbills were printed and distributed in all Districts. In Chikkamagalur, there was a torch-light procession from the Taluka office to Azad Park in the city. Com. Umesh Kumar, the State Secretary spoke. In Koppal, there was a torch-light procession from the APMC market to Ashok Circle. Com. Gangadhar, State President of RYFI and Coms. Nagaraj Poojar and Nilu Kumar also spoke. In Raichur, there was a torch-light procession from the main super market in Tippu Sultan Circle. Hundreds of youth participated. The procession was led by Com. Basavaraj Ekki, District President of the RYFI and was also addressed by Com. Basavalingappa Nangnur, All India President of RYFI.

The Koppal District RYFI Committee also had a massive demonstration against the price hike on 29th June 2010 at Gangawathi Taluka. The demonstrators blocked the highway and traffic was stopped for two hours by the hundreds of youth and people who participated. Com. M. Gangadhar and others addressed the gathering.

TN: Rally Against Price-rise

TAMIL NADU state committee of CPI(ML) has called for intensifying the state wide agitation against price rise, for free housing sites and education to all. The campaign was launched on 21 June 2010 by organising a protest rally to the Tamil Nadu state Legislative

Assembly. Comrades from Chennai, Coimbatore, Madurai and Dindugal took part in this protest march. On 21 June morning the protest rally was started from Chennai Rajarathinam stadium with more than 350 comrades. Representatives of the TUCI and RYFI also participated in the rally.

Before this rally, from June 12 to 19 a propaganda campaign was organized in all districts. Big Notices were put up and a poster campaign was organised in all districts.

The rally went through the centre of the city, the poor peoples' area, of around 1.5 km and ended at Egmore. At the end of the rally a meeting was held presided over by Com. Arumugam, State Executive Committee member. Speeches were given by com. Duraisamy, TUCI CC member, Com. Balasubramaniam, TUCI State Secretary, Com. Vellimalai, RYFI State Secretary, Com. Priya, RYFI State President, Com. Vedanayagam, Chennai District Committee member, Com. PT Shanmugasundaram, CPI(ML) State Secretary.

PUBLIC MEETING AT MADURAI

In Tamil Nadu, the Madurai District Committee organized a public meeting against the price rise. The anti-people policies of the Central and State Government were exposed to the masses. The meeting was presided by com. Kuthuppinar, Peraiyur Town Secretary, CPI(ML). Speeches given by Coms. K. Arumugam, SEC member, Kalandurai SEC member, P.T.Shanmugasundaram, State Secretary and Com. Vijayagopal, Madurai District Secretary.

Bhubaneswar: Basti Suraksha Manch Gherao

OVER 2000 demonstrators under the banner of the Basti Surakshya Manch gheraoed the IDCO tower on 2nd July in Bhubaneswar (Photo on cover). The protest was organised against the demolition of slums in Bhubaneswar and the displacement caused due to the land being grabbed by MNCs and corporates like POSCO, Vedanta and the Tata's. The gathering was addressed by Com. Sivaram, Central committee Member, CPI (ML) and Com. Jaidev Nayak, Central Committee Member, TUCI. They explained to the people gathered how imperialism needed more and more profits to survive and therefore pushed ever greater burdens on the shoulders of the people and increasingly intensified their plunder of the natural resources of the region.

C.G. Diary: Furious Kunjemura villagers disrupt public hearing

EXTREME frustration against comprador capitalists bent upon exploiting natural resources in the name of development took the form of physical assault perpetrated by the former against the supporters of 'industrial development'. The said incident occurred during a public hearing organized for the proposed establishment of 2400 megawatt Jindal Power Plant in village Kunjemura located in the Developmental Block of Tamner (Dist. Raigarh).

According to sources, Kunjemura residents, led by the president of the Sarpanch Sangh, Tamnar Govind Singh Neti, had submitted a prior notice to cancel the said "Jan Sunwai" or public hearing to the High Court. The move was taken to remind the State Government that according to the Chhattisgarh Mineral Development Corporation (CMDC) the proposed 83.183 square kms area reserved for Jindal Power Plant Ltd comes under the

Gare-Pelma-Sector-1 Coal Block and according to protocol no temporary or permanent construction of any kind could be made in the area. The High Court refused to accept the said notice despite the indisputable unsafe location of the proposed power plant.

Thus in order to protest against the unfair attitude of State Government the villagers of Kunjemura launched another vehement protest by shouting slogans against the Jindal Administration in the Public Hearing that lasted from about 11 am till 9 pm on May 7. The residents of Kunjemura were extremely furious with some local supporters of the said power plant and physically assaulted one of them. Then Tamnar Police Force, present in large numbers at the site of the Public Hearing intervened in the name of maintaining law and order in the meeting area. Due to the sensitive nature of the Jan Sunwai the Superintendent of Police (SP), Tamnar, Dhruv Dasgupta also attended the meeting.

Due to the extended hours of the event, the Upper Collector of Tamnar, S K Sharma ordered electrical setup to light the premises. Some local supporters of the Power Plant were also present during the event and opined that any industrial development in Kunjemara would automatically lead to the upliftment of the people residing there.

Extremely agitated residents of village Kunjemura of Developmental Block Tamnar located in Raigarh registered their protest against the proposed establishment of 2408 megawatt Power Plant. In present situation Chhattisgarh is a hunting ground for Jindal, Essar, Tata like corporate houses, People's anger and agitation is growing day by day against the so called development led by corporate houses, TUCI, Chhattisgarh has opposed the so-called "Jan Sunwai" for the sake of Jindal.

BAIGA TRIBES AN EXPLOITED LOT

Even basic human needs and security concerns are kept aside for Baiga tribes who are working at stone crushers in bauxite mines of Daldali, Kawardha district. Now unable to bear the exploitation of the company management, the tribals are speaking out in open. The tribals in unison said Mahabir Minerals engaging them for work has not provided shade, forcing to take launch in open under the scorching sun. The security equipments like helmet, shoes, and spectacles have been denied. There is no accident policy; no PF or medical benefit. There is no facility for infants so women working have to carry the babies while working.

Kukuttisarai resident Gangaram along with his four companions complained that the management has not increased the rates of crushing from Rs 49 despite several reminders. He said around 16 tonnes of stones is crushed every day by a person. All said mines owner had threatened to remove them from job if higher wages are demanded. Lakhhu Ram of Koyalari, Bhhaddulal of Kukuttisarai, Dhansingh Baiga of Taregaon Premsingh Baiga, Mukam, Sapath Singh Baiga, Mukam, Desingh Baiga, Mukam, Ganesh Singh Baiga Daldali, Sudh Ram Gaiga, Chitan Bachna all were of the view that present pay is insufficient. The labourers alleged the proprietor never comes to the site. The supervisor refuses to extend any facility without permission from director.

Sources revealed that the mine has been opened acquiring the landed property of a Baiga family of Tulsi Ram Baiga measuring 352 acres. No compensation is paid by Mahabir Minerals for acquiring the ancestral property of Tulsi Ram. Mining is continuing for last four years unabated churning money. Before mining these lands were used by Baiga tribe for cultivation. Even after having land records in his name, family of Tulsi is now starving as he is being denied farming.

According to the law, even family of Baiga tribe has to be given minimum 5 acres of land for farming, but question still lingers, how the land was transferred for mining without the

permission of owner. When delegation of AIKAM met the district collector JK Dhruve said that there have been some relaxations given in the land acquisition act in the Baiga tribe case. He assured to investigate the compensation case and Tulsi Ram will get compensation, if injustice is proved. All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha, Chhattisgarh state committee has protested against the oppression of Baiga Tribe.

Amit Shah Arrested by the CBI : Is He the Only one?

The arrest of Amit Shah, who recently resigned as the Minister of State for Home in Narendra Modi's cabinet in Gujarat, reveals the shocking depths to which politics has fallen in our country, under the Congress and the BJP. The charge-sheet against him makes it clear that he was in touch with the officers of the Gujarat police and the Rajasthan police at the time of the alleged encounter and it is he who gave the orders to shoot both Sohrabuddin, a petty gangster and his wife, Kauserbi. Their family has alleged that they were arrested from a bus in which they were travelling.

The Gujarat Government has alleged that Sohrabuddin and his wife were Lashkar-e-Tayyaba operatives from the well of whose house many AK-47s, grenades, ammunition, etc. were recovered. However, the CBI charge-sheet does not bear this out and alleges that Sohrabuddin was killed due to him having extorted from the marble traders of.

Not content with having engineered the murder of two persons in cold blood, latest news reports allege that Amit Shah has tried to tutor witnesses and even threatened them. Two witnesses were supposed to have been told that their written statements would be given to them by Chudasama, a high-ranking police officer, who is also accused along with Amit Shah. The charge-sheet says that Amit Shah told others to "convince, coerce, threaten and influence the witnesses on his behalf to conceal the truth from the CBI about the fake encounter of Sohrabuddin".

Amit Shah has been known to be a close aide of Narandra Modi and one of his trusted confidantes. Till now Modi is still backing Shah and states that all the charges against him are fabricated. Amit Shah, who has been with the Sangh Parivar and the BJP since his college days when he was a functionary of the ABVP has been a friend of Modi's since many years.

The Congress is gloating and is asking that Modi should also be brought into the net but this is only a case of the pot calling the kettle black. It will be a close call if we are to tally whether the BJP or the Congress has more ministers who have been charged with murder and misusing their ministerial posts for such murder.

So how does one who wields such massive power, especially over the police as Home Minister, get arrested? Does this show that India is a true democracy? It is rather the tenacity of organisations like the New Socialist Movement led by Dr. Mukul Sinha and mass organisations like the Jan Sangharsh Manch which have been fighting against the fascism of Modi for so many years which has finally led to this result. The fact is that so many ministers in our country indulge in such murders and so few are brought to book.