

Rs. 10/-

RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

Central Organ of CPI(ML) Volume 12 December 2011 Issue 9 English Monthly



BLOOD FLOWS TO APPEASE GODS

GONE are the days when intellectuals were propagating the renaissance values and poets and writers were inspiring the masses with the calls for overthrowing all feudal values and advocating anti caste, secular perspective. Gone are also the days of powerful movements by the progressive democratic forces spreading the renaissance values and mobilizing the masses against superstitions and feudal customs and habits. As caste, religion and all divisive revanchist ideas were increasingly utilized for gaining upper hand in elections by all ruling class parties and reformist/ regional parties, a reversal of the renaissance upsurges was taking place. The consequences of this retrogression are very much visible all over the country in various forms with the revival of old superstitions, forms of worship and customs. In Bengal, Orissa, Assam and nearby areas the fervor and lavishness with which Durga Puja and so many other poojas are celebrated almost as 'national festivals', spending tens of millions of Rupees at all places have intensified as a part of this overall scenario. As part of these thousands of goats, other animals and birds are sacrificed in Durga temples. In Nepal buffalos are sacrificed to appease gods. In the heart of Kolkata, in the Kali temple at Kalighat itself thousands of goats are sacrificed, along with tens of thousands more at many other temples.

In Orissa the gory rituals of animal sacrifice are performed at numerous places. In Bhawanipatna, in *Chattar yatra of Goddess Manikeshwari* more than 10,000 animals and birds were butchered during this year also. This *sacrifice* was repeated in many more places. If such superstitious beliefs and rituals were attacked during the past as part of the independence movement and left resurgence, nowadays even the media and political parties wielding power at centre and in the states keep mum on these ugly rituals which are pursued even against existing laws. To appease the voters, or not to antagonize those who are supposed to be influenced by these feudal remnants, even the Left Front government during its long tenure in Bengal did not raise even a discussion on this matter. What is happening is the abandoning of even the renaissance values and a slide back to retrogressive rituals on a massive scale combined with imperialist values, utilizing modern technical facilities. In the name of not allowing Sangh Parivar like forces to monopolize such functions and reaping political advantages from them, not only Congress like reactionary parties, even the CPI(M) led Left Front are vying with each other to take leadership of these puja committees. Many *mafia* groups have emerged with the patronage of elite classes and political leaderships engaging themselves in year long collections of fabulous amounts in the name of these puja committees. As a result of these developments, contrary to the renaissance decades and the period of national liberation struggles, very little is written, spoken or done anything against these gory rituals

like animal sacrifice taking place in many regions, especially during the Durga Puja time in ever larger scale. This is taking place violating the existing laws realized as a result of numerous progressive movements of the past.

As far as the left forces are concerned, the influence of erroneous concepts like *economic determinism* played a major role in neglecting the significance of waging continuous struggle in the realm of superstructure, while the reactionary forces consciously encouraged all revanchist ideas to prolong the life of the existing reactionary ruling system. With the spread of meta-physical ideas among the left forces as a consequence of growing influence of revisionist ideas, concepts like *theory of productive forces* and that the struggle for transforming the relations of production through capture of political power shall automatically lead to transformation of the backward *superstructure* started gaining dominance. In the struggle against these, the *Cultural Revolution* launched in China under the leadership of Mao in 1960s to oust the capitalist roaders within the party who were trying to reverse the march of proletarian revolution created worldwide influence. But corresponding theoretical contributions to strengthen the concept of Cultural Revolution was not forthcoming either from the CPC or from the emerging Marxist-Leninist forces, who were satisfied with mechanically copying what was coming from the CPC. So it started suffering setbacks soon under growing influence of, first the 'left' sectarian line of Lin Biao and then the rightist line of Deng Tsiaoping making Mao Tsetung's concepts ineffective in the CPC. The latter eventually succeeded in capturing power and reversing all socialist advances including the Cultural Revolution. The severe setbacks suffered by the international communist movement have led to abandoning of the revolutionary values it had sought to advance like that of Cultural Revolution. It has created a favorable situation for the revanchist, retrogressive ideas of the past along with the ideologies of post-modernism and consumerism like concepts promoted under the hegemony of finance capital to gain dominance in all fields. Imperialist camp in the neo-colonial phase is wantonly utilizing caste, race like divisions and religious fundamentalism to spread its ideas like 'end of history', promoting all retrogressive values including the feudal ones. In this situation, old rituals, superstitions, customs and habits are revived in new forms as part of 'vote bank politics'.

These can be reversed only by enlightening the people based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, scientific temper, politics of class struggle and values of Cultural Revolution. Starting with the propagation of the progressive values of the renaissance movement and national liberation struggle, the need for a new renaissance movement and for a comprehensive struggle against imperialism in neo-colonial phase should be launched. ●

TURN THE SUCCESS OF NINTH PARTY CONGRES INTO A HISTORIC STEP FORWARD

FROM the time the Central Committee meeting in January, 2011 took the decision to implement the assurance of holding the Ninth Party Congress within two years given to the 2009 All India Special Conference, by organizing it at Bhubaneswar beginning with a rally on the occasion of the 94th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia, for eleven months the whole Party organization worked hard to make it a great success.

After the disintegration of CPI(ML) starting with the first split in 1971, just one year after the Eighth Congress in 1970, as a part of many initiatives taken by the various splintered groups, it was in 1979 a section of comrades in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh formed the Central Reorganization Committee-CPI(ML), tried to make an evaluation of the reasons for the setbacks suffered by the ICM and the Communist movement in India including the CPI(ML) and took a different way forward from the other groups who basically followed the 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal, protracted people's war' line, in spite of many differences in the tactical line which kept them apart. It was this march which has reached a significant stage with the successful completion of the Ninth Congress on 12th November. The new Central Committee elected by the Ninth Congress salute all Party members/candidate members, Party sympathizers and friends who actively participated from the very beginning to make the Congress a great success.

Even an over view of the international and Indian situation shows that, the imperialists and their lackeys are in total disarray at both levels, besieged by repeated crises and internal contradictions. Even the frantic steps taken to bail out the system are only aggravating the problems. So it can be generally stated that unlike the beginning of the 1990s when Soviet Union had disintegrated and the imperialists were celebrating the 'end of socialism', objective conditions are very different today. To a great extent present objective conditions are favorable to world proletariat and the oppressed masses.

But just because of it imperialism will not perish or a systemic change shall not take place. As Marxist-Leninist teachings repeatedly point out, imperialism and its lackeys have to be thrown out forcibly in order to usher in a new era of socialism. It requires powerful communist parties capable of doing this job. Though it is a positive factor that the Marxist-Leninist Parties/organizations exist in each and every country today, none of them are presently powerful enough to lead the present people's upsurges forward to make revolutionary change possible. The case of India is not different. It is in this context, the advances made so far in reorganizing the CPI(ML) and the successful completion of the Ninth Congress giving new orientation for the revolutionary movement according to the concrete conditions of today should be seen.

The Congress was held at a time when the ICOR is founded a year back as a first step towards the reorganization of the Communist

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Our Web Site : www.cpiml.in

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**Printed at Everest Offset
Press, B-162, Okhla
Industrial Area, Phase I,
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International, strengthening proletarian internationalism greatly. It was also held when under the orientation provided by the Party a study of *Imperialism in the neo-colonial phase* could be completed and released in the Congress to enable the discussion on neo-colonial plunder and the changes in the theory and practice

of revolution which are called for. The Party has also boldly initiated a discussion on the ideological challenges confronting the ICM to 'seek truths from the facts' so that the hitherto experience of the ICM can be scientifically evaluated, and taking lessons from them the way forward can be boldly charted. All these factors have provided great confidence to the cadres and friends of the Party to go forward with more unity and determination.

Let the victory of the Ninth Congress provide tremendous fillip to the revolutionary movement. Let us work with renewed confidence to turn the success of the Ninth Congress in to a historic step forward. ●

SEVERELY CONDEMN THE FAKE ENCOUNTER KILLING OF COMRADE KOTESHWAR RAO

THE Central Committee of CPI(ML) severely condemns the dastardly killing of comrade Koteswar Rao (Kishenji), Polit Bureau member of CPI(Maoist) in Jangalmahal region of West Bengal by the central and state forces engaged under the banner of 'Operation Green Hunt'. It extends heartfelt condolences to the family of comrade Koteswar Rao. It appeals to all progressive, democratic and left forces to condemn this killing.

From all available reports it is almost clear that like the murder of com. Azad earlier, it is also nothing but a murder in fake encounter. It is clear that all those, including the

leadership of CPI(Maoist) and the so-called interlocutors appointed by the TMC government of W. Bengal, who gave credibility to the 'assurances' of the reactionary central and state governments about ceasefire and discussion with leaders of Maoists have not learned any lessons from what the Raja Sekhara Reddy government in AP did and the trapping of com. Azad in the name of peace talks. In order to open the country further to imperialist agencies, MNCs and corporate houses, the Indian state let loose fascist terror to suppress mass movements and indulge in fake encounters to murder rebels like comrades Azad and Koteswar Rao. In the name of suppressing Maoists it has let loose its fascist forces under various banners like 'Operation Green Hunt'. It has deployed military and imposed AFSPA in Jammu and Kashmir and Northeast. Having illusions about holding peace talks with such a government or considering a Mamta govt as a better option than the Left Front govt will only lead to such grievous results.

We appeal to the leadership of CPI(Maoist) to take lessons from these erroneous steps which have caused such grievous losses, to re-examine their line and to join with the revolutionary forces to mobilize the masses for putting an end to this hated, anti-people ruling system. ●

OPPOSE FDI IN RETAIL TRADE

THE decision of the union cabinet to approve 51% Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in multi-brand retail and 100% FDI in single brand retail is nothing but a total surrender of the Rs. 30,00,000 crore retail business to the MNCs like WalMart, Teso, Crrrefour etc. Through this step the central government is going to totally ruin the lives of four crores of small and medium merchants, while the commerce minister is repeating that the foreign companies shall

provide 10 lakh jobs. Though the government says that these MNCs shall operate only in the 51 cities with more than one million population presently, it is not explaining how the many millions of the small and medium merchants and their families are going to be saved. Should they also commit suicide as the peasants to make the imperialist masters happy?

It is not the merchants alone who are going to be affected. This de-control will provide permission to bring any industrial and agricultural products from anywhere in the world where they are cheaper to make super profits as they are doing wherever they are operating. So this decision will affect many more millions of workers and peasants also, making them destitute. Besides, once they enter and establish monopoly in trade, as they are doing even in US like imperialist countries, they will hike the prices with immunity, ruining the life of millions of families. On

all counts it is an anti-national, anti-people act which should be uncompromisingly opposed and fought against. Already the merchant associations at state and central level have called for resisting and defeating this heinous move.

But though political parties from BJP to CPI(M) with majority of members in the Lok Sabha have opposed this decision in words, they are not coming forward to vote out the government on this question, as they refuse to do in the case of price rise. Besides, it was when BJP was power at centre the first steps to bring the MNCs and corporate in retail was taken. When in power in West Bengal and Kerala, CPI(M) also was in favour of the entry of WallMart. It was during the first UPA government from 2004 to 2009 when the Left Front was keeping it in power with their support, the entry of corporate to retail trade took place. So none of them can be trusted to carry forward the struggle to resist and defeat the

governments' move of allowing FDI in retail trade.

In this situation, exposing the real dangers going to happen not only to the tens of millions of merchants, but also to millions of workers and peasants a countrywide struggle has to be launched to force the central government to re-trace this anti-people move. All progressive, democratic and genuine left forces should join hands to make this struggle fruitful. ●

RUPEE DEVALUED TO STRENGTHEN DOLLAR

THE Rupee value is continually falling compared to Dollar reaching more than Rs. 52 for a Dollar when these lines are written. The Reserve Bank of India is repeating that as the Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs) are withdrawing their shares from Indian companies, there is a shortage of Dollar. As the demand for Dollar increases, its price goes up. But it is not as simple as that. If it is the case why the RBI is not entering the currency market with its Dollar holding and not trying to stabilize the Rupee?

The damage done by the rate of Rupee going down compared to Dollar is manifold. Soon the petroleum corporate in India will demand that as the cost of crude petroleum is going up due to Rupee value going down even though the petroleum prices have gone down in international market, the prices of petrol and diesel should be increased again. Besides the cost of all imported goods including medicines will go up. The burden of falling price of Rupee also will fall on the common masses. Still, why neither the prime minister, nor the finance minister is not saying anything about this serious development?

It is not difficult to find the reason. Presently the Dollar is in acute crisis. As a debtor country, US is finding it difficult to reduce its trade deficit with countries like China which, as a reflection of the inter-

imperialist contradiction with US, refuses to take Dollar and demand gold instead, as the former has not even the value of the paper in which it is printed. So, Obama administration is frantically keep the price of Dollar up using the services of the comprador governments who obey its orders. The Indian government as faithful compradors of the US imperialists are serving its masters by allowing the Rupee to fall against Dollar to save it at the cost of the India people.

All patriotic democratic forces should expose this heinous act of the Manmohan Singh government and dare to fight against these compradore rulers who are nothing but US patriots. ●

IT IS THE MILITARY IN COMMAND

MORE than two thousand unmarked mass graves were unearthed in Kashmir few weeks back. From their experience of decades of the brutalities of the Indian Military, overwhelming number of people in Kashmir are convinced that they are of young men killed by the military in fake encounters. The angry protests against the atrocities by the army reached a crescendo. Though the chief minister of J&K is nothing but a puppet of Delhi government, because of the growing anger of the people, he demanded that the AFSPA should be repealed at least in some areas so that the trigger happy military men will not indulge in reckless killings and rape in the valley where as chief minister he has to rule. But the army generals became angry with the demand of the chief minister and declared

that neither the AFSPA can be repealed nor army can be withdrawn from any part of Kashmir. Against this arrogant and anti-Constitutional act of the army generals neither the prime minister nor the defence minister uttered a single word. Out doing them, the BJP leadership came out attacking the chief minister demanding action against him. Nobody dared

to come out in the parliament to defend the Constitutional right of a chief minister to demand the repeal of a black act from the state he is supposed to be ruling.

Whether in J&K or in Northeast, the Constitutional rights of the people or even of the chief ministers have no validity. It is naked army rule there. The army generals over rule what even a chief minister demands with immunity. Shortly it is going to be repeated in Chathisgarh also, where the army is recently deployed. This creeping danger of the military commanding with immunity is allowed to continue, it may not take much time for what happened in Pakistan to happen here also. It is high time that all those who stand for democracy should raise their voice to withdraw the army from Jammu & Kashmir, Northeast and Chathisgarh to their barracks. ●

A report: Rs. 50 trillion in the hands of 8200 Super rich

8200 super rich in India and among them 115 billionaires own the fabulous sum pf Rs. 50 trillion (50,000,000,000,000) or 70 % of the total wealth in the country, according to the studies conducted by Global Wealth Intelligence. India has also the 'credit' of having the maximum number of super rich after the Amrerica.

Central Committee Members Elected in Ninth Congress

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | KN Ramachandran | (General Secretary) |
| 2. | PJ James | (Kerala) |
| 3. | PN Provint | (Kerala) |
| 4. | PT Shanmughasundaram | (Tamilnadu) |
| 5. | R. Manasayya | (Karnataka) |
| 6. | B Rudrayya | (Karnataka) |
| 7. | B Basavalingappa | (Karnataka) |
| 8. | DH Poojar | (Karnataka) |
| 9. | Mallepally Prabhakar | (Andhra Pradesh) |
| 10. | Sanjay Singhvi | (Maharashtra) |
| 11. | Arun Velaskar | (Maharashtra) |
| 12. | Kantilal Dabhi | (Gurajat) |
| 13. | Vijay Sen | (Madhya Pradesh) |
| 14. | Bardri Prasad | (Madhya Pradesh) |
| 15. | Urmila | (Madhya Pradesh) |
| 16. | Saura Yadav | (Chhattisgarh) |
| 17. | Tuhin | (Chhattisgarh) |
| 18. | Sivaram | (Odisha) |
| 19. | Pramila | (Odisha) |
| 20. | Alik Chakraborty | (West Bengal) |
| 21. | Sharmistha Choudhury | (West Bengal) |
| 22. | Sankar Das | (West Bengal) |
| 23. | Sapam Shyam Sundar | (Manipur) |
| 24. | Anjani Kumar | (Jharkhand) |
| 25. | John Miran Munda | (Jharkhand) |
| 26. | Brij Bihari | (Uttar Pradesh) |
| 27. | Mona Sur | (Uttar Pradesh) |
| 28. | Satpal Singh | (Uttar Pradesh) |
| 29. | Umakant | (Party Centre) |

Central Control Commission

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. | Saby Joseph | (Kerala) |
| 2. | Rebati Ballabh Mohanty | (Odisha) |
| 3. | Manohar Lal | (Uttar Pradesh) |

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NINTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED

OBSERVER

THE NINTH CONGRESS process of the CPI (ML) started in the first week of June with the beginning of the Branch and local conferences was successfully completed with the mighty rally and Public meeting on 7th November at comrade Charu Majumdar Nagar on the occasion of the 94th anniversary of the great Bolshevik Revolution of Russia, followed by the five day long Congress from 8th to 12th November at *Shahid Bhagat Singh Hall* in *comrade Bhagavati Charan Panigrahi Nagar* at Bhubaneswar. The intensive campaign organized at Bhubaneswar and in nearby Cuttack and Puri districts had succeeded in taking the message of the Party Congress to the masses and in inspiring many thousands of them joining the rally. As all participants in the Congress had agreed in one voice the Orisa state committee of the Party and the class and mass organizations, especially the *Basti Suraksha Manch* of Bhubaneswar had carried out excellent campaign and exhibited superb organizational skills to make all the organizational arrangements almost perfect.

The mobilization from the states especially Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, and all other states with hundreds of red flags and banners and the cultural troupes from Karnataka,

Chattisgarh and Jharkhand along with the revolutionary slogans raised in different languages made the rally militant, colorful and powerful. Through this successful 7th November rally and public meeting of thousands of comrades with large number of women the message of the Party that it shall persist on the path of overthrowing the reactionary state and ushering in a People's Democratic state overcoming all obstacles was made absolutely clear.

The presence of fraternal delegates from USA, Germany, Congo, Morocco, Ukraine, North Kurdistan-Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Nepal and



Public meeting at comrade Charu Mazumdar Nagar, Bhubaneswar



Cultural troupe in front of Rally on 7th November 2011

Bangladesh and an observer from Iraq was a proof of the success of the three decades long efforts of the Party to initiate the reorganization of the Communist International (Comintern) dissolved in 1943.

The first step towards this was accomplished through the founding of the *International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations* (ICOR) in October 2010, already uniting the revolutionary parties and organisations of 35 countries in which CPI(ML) had played an important role along with the MLPD of Germany and other parties. The presence of such a strong contingent of fraternal parties showed the importance given by the Party to strengthening the proletarian internationalism in this period of intensifying crisis of the imperialist system, brightening the prospects of revolutionary advances the world over. That these delegations not only extended greetings but also participated in the seminars and even in the discussion on the draft documents proved the strengthening of a new spirit of international solidarity and free exchange of views.

As a step towards broadening the debate on the draft documents, the practice of making them available to not only fraternal organizations within

and outside the country, but also to outside forces was taken a step further this time by publishing them even in the website and facebook of the Party, inviting opinions, criticisms, amendments etc, with the assurance that all such comments received shall be published in the Party organs in different languages. Though not many such comments were received, it is a bold step towards democratizing the debate on the draft documents which shall prove fruitful in coming days. As a Part of this practice, delegates from the five fraternal organizations from the country were also participated in the discussion on the drafts documents, besides extending greetings and participating in the seminars. They addressed the public meeting on 7th November also, showing how confident the Party is to face ideological political debates, however sharp it may be.

As part of democratizing the debate, all the Party members/candidate members and those outside the Party were allowed to send amendments to the draft documents up to 31st October to the Party center, and all those amendments even those send after the state conferences were processed and allowed to be discussed after the recommendations of the CEC on them were made known. Though this practice was started for the first time, it gave opportunity for a healthy debate on the various aspects of the drafts, with each such amendment being put to vote before accepting or rejecting. Similarly, unlike the past practice, the proposed panel for the new Central Committee and Control Commission adopted by the outgoing CC was made available to the delegates on the first day itself so that they could present alternate names if any to the panel before the stipulated time to the Election Committee elected on the first day along with the presidium, steering committee and minutes committee. Though no new names were put forward, the election was conducted to make sure that only those who get more than 50% of the votes of the delegates are elected to the CC and Control Commission. This practice followed from the area conference onwards also helped the process of democratizing the organization.

PARTY PROGRAM

THE studies on the concrete conditions at international and national level initiated from 1979 when the Party reorganization process was initiated was taken to a significant step forward in the 2009 All India Special Conference with the adoption of the **International document** analyzing the transformation of colonial forms of plunder to neo-colonial forms by US led imperialist forces after the Second

World War and calling for intensifying efforts to speed up the reorganization of the Communist International, **document on character of Indian state** which characterized India as a country under neocolonization, the **document on principal contradiction** and the **Path of Revolution**.

The Ninth Congress adopted the Party Program based on the perspectives arrived at in 2009, amended the Party Program, evaluated the experience from 1970 Eighth Congress to Ninth Congress, especially about the advances made during the last two years, a resolution calling for developing the Path of Revolution

according to the new Party Program and the Political Resolution calling for intensifying the Party Reorganization, developing the ideological struggle to develop the theory and practice of revolution based on the line of utilizing all forms of struggle to mobilize the masses to create conditions for countrywide people's uprising for the capture of political power under the leadership of the proletariat. The importance the Party gives to develop the understanding about Imperialism in the neo colonial phase was underlined by the completion of the study on it by comrade P.J. James based on the orientation arrived at by it, and its release during the Congress along with a seminar on the subject with the participation of the fraternal delegates from abroad and India.

The Party Program analyses that if feudalism was utilized as its social base by imperialism during colonial times, under neo-colonization it is no longer so and capitalist relations under domination of imperialist capital-market relations and technology are intensified, calling for developing the Path of Revolution according to present realities. It points out how under the so-called imperialist

development policy the contradiction between capital and nature has sharpened calling for intensification of the struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist system and its lackeys all the more urgent to save human race from a catastrophe. According to the sharpening of all major contradictions and taking lessons from the severe reverses suffered by the ICM during the post Second World War decades, it has developed the People's Democratic tasks. The Party program calls for creating conditions for the seizure of political power through people's uprising by the intensification of the class struggle in all fields.



A section of comrades at public meeting

During the Congress an in-depth discussion On the ideological Challenges Confronting the ICM was held in a seminar on 11th November evening, in which fraternal delegates also actively participated. Another seminar: On Communist Approach to Dalit, Adivasi, Minorities and Women Question held on 9th November also attracted lot of attention.

The Delegates elected a 29 member new Central Committee which re-elected comrade K.N. Ramachandran as the General Secretary. A three member Central Control Commission was also elected. Delegates and observers from 19 states and overseas delegates participated in the Congress which concluded with the call of the General Secretary to make this important Party Congress decisions historic by taking up the challenge of intensifying class struggle in all fields based on the new Party Program, Constitution and Path of Revolution.

As scheduled when the red flag was lowered at 5 pm on 12th November amidst singing of International in different languages and militant slogans in which all the fraternal delegates also participated, the CPI(ML) was taking a significant step towards the completion of the PDR in our country through this Congress of unity and ideological political advances. ●



Remembering martyrs

CONCLUDING SPEECH BY COMRADE GS

Presidium Comrades, Fraternal Delegate comrades, Delegate comrades, observers, Red Salute !

IT WAS a daring step on our part to take up the convening the Ninth Congress of our Party with a determination that we shall evaluate our past, make the past serve the present, develop our ideological political line and go forward based on it. And, we have done it, we have completed the task, we have successfully completed the Ninth Congress and all comrades, all over the country, who worked for its success deserve the credit for it. I salute all of them.

As far as our Party is concerned, now we have proved that even while upholding our past *history* we were courageous enough to take up the evaluation of the past so that this evaluation of the past will pave the way for taking up the present tasks before us, to take up the challenges before us. From 1970 to 2011, this is not just 41 years, but actually, it is much more than 41 years, it is a long period reflecting the big gap between one experience and another qualitatively different experience. When we look back, when we took up the daring task of reorganization of our party in the 1977-78 period, *there were very few with whom we started then*. Among the leading comrades who were with us at that time, most of them departed us, surrendering to one deviation or other. Many of them deserted us and have gone out of the revolutionary movement. But we continued on our revolutionary path, courageous enough to evaluate past, conducted regular conferences, corrected our past errors through continuous ideological struggles, continuously applied our political positions into practice and we reached the present stage when we could conduct our Party Congress. We have



made many strides forward on our revolutionary path and all credit goes to all comrades who persevered in such a long struggle.

It was not an easy task. During these years, we led so many struggles, we resisted so many attacks from both right deviation and 'left' deviation and now we reached at this important occasion. As I said earlier, we have successfully conducted an important Congress, it was an important event to conduct the Ninth Congress, but now we have more important tasks to carry forward, we have to put our political line into practice and carry forward our tasks to make this Congress really a historic one.

As expressed by many of our comrades, with the formation of the new Central Committee, we shall intensify our ideological struggle to establish our political line based on the Party Program and its orientation. Through this process, in coming days, we shall continue our process of reorganization of the party by uniting all communist revolutionaries who are ready to contribute to our political line and who are accepting our orientation. Many people asked how can we organize Party Congress when there are many groups outside. Our answer was that without establishing CPI(ML) line and orientation, we cannot continue the task of reorganizing our Party.

But all our comrades should be careful that just by establishing our political line and orientation and intensifying our ideological struggle alone will not be enough. We need to mobilize millions of the masses and revolutionaries into the party to make our party a real Communist Party. The real challenge is how we are going to translate the new line into practice, how we are going to take up the struggle, how we are going to mobilize the working class as proletariat leading the revolution and how we are going to develop them politically and organizationally so that they can lead the country wide struggles. So the central question is how we are going to intensify the class struggle in the coming days.

It is in that context I said that we have conducted an important Congress but we have to make it a historic Congress and future people will look back to the

2011 Congress as historic one if we are capable of leading struggles at national level, state level and local level, a multitude of struggles challenging the ruling system. The task is not an easy one as we need to organize the revolutionary struggles in a country of 125 crores population with vast diversities, with so much diversity that it is not easy to organize them and take up the multi-level task of leading them to the revolutionary path.

It is the first time that comrades from 19 states and delegates representing the millions of Indians working overseas are present in this Congress and we should develop our organizational strength further in the coming days so that comrades from all the 28 states should be present by the time of next party Congress. We have to intensify not only our struggle, but we have to develop our organizational strength by mobilizing the working class and other oppressed sections. We have to develop our activities by focusing on Jammu Kashmir and North East area also. I am confident that we shall be able to accomplish this task through the tireless work of our comrades. It is explicit by the presence of so many young comrades here, that our party is a party of young comrades and they shall take up the challenge of marching forward very fast.

Our Credential Committee Report shows that the average age of participants in this Party Congress is 43, but if we separate our Party delegates, the credential report of 159 delegates alone, the average age is around 35. That means, our Party is a Party of young comrades, a party of new generation, which represent the experience of imperialist onslaught, economic recession, plundering and devastation by global capital at various levels. As we know, around 60% of Indian people are below the age of 40. So we have to intensify our struggle to win over youth and students in India into the revolutionary movement, to mobilize youth and students in India to our party so that they can generate a new India through democratic revolution by over throwing the existing ruling system and establishing a People's Democratic state, advancing towards socialism.

Already we have organized large sections of toiling people including Adivasis and dalits, and we need to intensify our struggle to mobilize vast masses of Adivasis and dalits and we need to develop our practice how to organize all other sections into a revolutionary program as put forward by our Party. We should not put aside the task of mobilization of women. Without organizing women a revolutionary movement cannot advance and establish a democratic society. The experiences of erstwhile socialist states have exposed

the weakness which shall confront us if the task of organizing women is not taken up with the importance it deserves. And so we have to organize women in ever larger numbers, politicize women and bring them to the revolutionary practice to bring them to the front ranks of the People's Democratic Revolution. I am confident that our comrades here can take up these tasks and all of our comrades will go from here with the daringness to take up these tasks in their states and report to all comrades in their states about this Party Congress and will strive to advance mobilizing the masses at all level. It is very important, it is going to be a great challenge how we are going to take up these tasks in the concrete conditions of the different states.

On this occasion, it is my responsibility to extend many many thanks to Orissa State committee in taking the responsibly to organize this Party Congress and doing it with exemplary brilliance. During last 5 months, all our comrades from branch level, village level and town level in Orissa and all over the country were working hard and it is their hard work from branch level onwards to take the message of Party Congress to the people which made this Party Congress so successful. Comrades, we have discussed so many things here and concrete situation is more and more favorable to organize the masses to change our country, to change the world to create a new society. But, as we Marxist-Leninists know, just by analyzing the reactionary system correctly the imperialist system will not fall down, we need to pull it to down, we have to over throw the ruling system, we have to throw it into the Arabian sea and Bay of Bengal. I extend all comrades revolutionary greetings, we will overcome all difficulties and final success will be ours. ●

**Inquilab Zindabad,
Long Live Revolution,
Long Live CPI (ML)**

RESOLUTION ON UPDATING THE "PATH OF REVOLUTION" BASED ON THE PARTY PROGRAM

OUR PARTY had adopted the document on Path of Revolution in the 2009 All India Special Conference. In this, certain parts of the Outline Party Program of the 2005 Outline Party Program were quoted. But the Party Program adopted by the Ninth Congress has basically changed these positions. So, the Ninth Party Congress entrust the new Central Committee to make necessary developments in the Path of Revolution to bring it in line with the Party Program and to publish the Party Program, Party Constitution and the Path of Revolution as the basic documents of the Party.

GREETINGS FROM FRATERNAL DELEGATIONS TO NINTH CONGRESS

Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany, (MLPD)

Dear comrades!

IT IS an honor for me to convey greetings of solidarity and best wishes on behalf of the Central Committee of the MLPD, its youth league Rebell and the children's organization Red Foxes. In three days our party chairman Stefan Engel will also be arriving and addressing the party congress in person.

The close fraternal relations between our parties have further deepened in the last years. Since the National Special Conference of your party in October 2009 in Bhopal, we have experienced an extremely moving development.

The world economic and financial crisis is continuing. Whereas the historically unique and internationally-coordinated crisis management in 2008/2009 could still hold up the developing mass struggles, in the meantime, the potential for a revolutionary world crisis is developing around the globe. The mass struggles in the Arab and Mediterranean countries are not stopping, in Greece they have developed into a revolutionary ferment. The rebellion of the youth is a driving force in the struggles. The protests are directed against the lack of perspective in imperialism; they have an obvious internationalist tendency and embody the search for a societal alternative.

Of special significance is the enlivening of the struggles of the workers in the factories of the international monopolies or super-monopolies. Hundreds of thousands of miners in India, South Africa, Indonesia, as well as Chile, or the auto workers from Bosch and Maruti in the special economic zones in India are a signal for a worldwide offensive of the international industrial proletariat. With the Marxist-Leninists in India we would like to further discuss what we have observed to be an underestimation of the work among this international industrial proletariat. This strata of the working class in the 500 largest monopolies is growing rapidly and, with 400 to 500 million at the time, composes more than ten percent of the estimated three billion gainfully employed persons worldwide. In the production centers in India they now number more than those in the entire European Union. They are the carriers of the most progressive means of production and, with that, the material preparation of socialism. The international industrial proletariat stands in irreconcilable opposition to



Greeting by com Klaus, MLPD

the solely ruling international finance capital as today's world rulers and must combine to become a superior force.

Imperialism, too, is changing. After the Second World War, the liberation struggle of the people smashed the old colonial system. In the 1980s, the system of neocolonialism which followed came into a deep crisis. With the reorganization of international production in the 1990s, the economies of the neocolonial countries were completely subjugated to the international process of production and reproduction of the international monopolies. Formerly purely neo-colonially exploited and oppressed countries such as India are developing imperialist features and can themselves become new imperialist powers. This intensifies inter-imperialist competition and the general destabilization of the imperialist world system. The historically unique international crisis management in the world economic and financial crisis is an expression of a new development: the internationalization of the system of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking to prevent the revolutionization of the struggles of the working class and the people's masses. We are eagerly awaiting to discuss all of these questions with the Indian comrades.

In this connection the undoubtedly most important occurrence since the Bhopal Conference is the founding of the ICOR, the International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations. It fills us with pride to be a member of this joint revolutionary world organization together with your party and further 40 organizations. In a cooperation of confidence and trust, both of our parties could make an important joint contribution to the preparation, founding and building of the ICOR. The ICOR

has already taken position on all important occurrences since its founding, has developed joint active work and begun with mutual support in party building. ICOR parties already had an active part in the success of the World Women's Conference of rank-and-file women in Venezuela. With the cooperation of ICOR and ILPS in the joint campaign to shut down all nuclear power plants, the ICOR implements the politics of the open door and, at the same time, contributes to overcoming a tendency in the international Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and working-class movement to underestimate the environmental issue.

Imperialist wars, mass unemployment, poverty, hunger and misery for billions of people, as well as the danger of a deformation of the natural environment which is threatening the existence of life – all of these oblige the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries of the world to cooperate closely for the joint preparation of the international socialist revolution. In this spirit:

**For further good cooperation between us!
We wish your Party Congress great success!
Workers of all countries, unite!
Workers of all countries and all oppressed, unite!
Forward with the international socialist revolution! ●**

New-Democratic Marxist-Leninist Party, Sri Lanka (NDMLP, Sri Lanka)

Dear Comrades,

WE with our revolutionary duty and spirit, greet your party for the success of your important 9th All India Conference to be held in Buvaneshwar between 7th and 12th November 2011.

With the exchange of materials between both of us have given us important contributions of your party for the new searches of ways and means (not modern revisionism, post modernism and other imperialist globalized manipulations) to integrate them into and strengthen the struggles of working and oppressed people of India as well as the other countries of the world in this context of Local as well as International.

The qualitative and quantitative changes in India towards working people's revolution certainly assure the changes in this region and throughout Asia. We would like to see the genuine, strong and united Communist Movement (minus revisionism, ultra militarism and parliamentarianism) in India, which is the urgent need. We hope that the CPI (ML) will fulfill the said task.

By and large we witness the ongoing the theoretical and political mass struggles in India and we are in Solidarity with them the genuine Communist movement of India,

especially, in terms of stand of CPI(ML) with regard to the Neo-Colonialism and New Democratic revolution.

We all are aware that by uttering the phrases of Marxism and Leninism alone will not take us forward to defeat Imperialism and Capitalism in-order to establish Socialism. We will have to defeat all post-modernist ideologies and practice in-order to seek proper ways and means which suits to the contemporary local as well as International situation.

We Sri Lankans consisting of Nationalities of Sinhalese, Tamils, Up-Country Tamils and Muslims and other communities have suffered enough in the hands of local oppressors, Indian, US and US centered Western and Japanese Imperialist Forces. The unfortunate situation in Sri Lanka is even the understanding of Imperialism has been ethnically divided and manipulated.

The pseudo anti-imperialism of President Mahinda Rajapaksa is absorbed by the majority Sinhalese nationality as it's triumphalism over the LTTE, the separatist militant Tamil movement and the false moves of the UN, US and the West imperialist forces against the Sri Lankan government on war crimes committed during the military attack on the area of Tamils. On the other hand among Tamils the opinion in favour of the imperialism has been established by the Tamil leadership as imperialism may provide political solution for the national question of Tamils so, the opinion against the nations which support Sri Lankan oppressor even though the nations are anti-imperialist. Therefore the basic contradiction between imperialism and the people are very much complicated within the present context between pseudo imperialism of the oppressors and genuine anti-imperialist. Further the leftist who are in the hands of the oppressors have done more damages to the mass movements against imperialism as well as the local oppressor.

In the economic sphere Sri Lanka has fully submitted to the Neo-colonialism in the post war situation.

Comrades this may be not unique to Sri Lanka but, the reality and the basic challenges what we are facing. We as communist as always are working to formulate suitable programme to mobilize the masses to overcome the present context that is to unite the ethnical divided Sri Lanka in order to march towards scientific socialism based on and guided by Marxism-Leninism and its recent developments.

Despite non existence of socialist camps or countries we aim for a strong anti-imperialist movement (against separatism as well) and international communist movement which may give us nuclear for the performance of new democratic revolution in Sri Lanka within the specific condition.

To fulfill the task we have to develop the ties, strengthen the fraternal relationship with the genuine

communist parties and groups abroad based on common understanding (with differences and contradictions if any).

We, in these premises, would like to work hand in hand with the CPI (ML) and therefore it is very important for us to express our solidarity and revolutionary greetings for the success of the ninth all India congress of the CPI (ML).

**Long Live Fraternal Relationship with NDMLP and
CPI(ML) !**

**Long Live Marxism – Leninism !
Long Live Revolution !**

*Comradely Yours,
E. Thambiah, International Organizer ●*

Ranjbaran, Iran

*To the delegates present in the congress
Dear Comrades,*

OUR best wishes on the occasion of the Ninth Congress of CPI(ML) which is being held on November 7, 2011. We know that you will have a lot of work ahead of you in a short time and we are proud of your courage! We also know that your congress is being held in such a crucial moment:

The world economic crisis has become deeper and the danger of global war is increasing;

Aggravation of the imperialist war of aggression in the so called Third-World and the resistance of the peoples against these aggressions, shows clearly that the contradiction between proletariat and the overwhelming majority of the masses in this region of the world and imperialism and local dominant classes still is the main world contradiction, as You believe – it;

The uprising of the workers and the masses movement in the industrialized countries and their struggles against pauperization and their slogan: “we do not

pay for your crisis!” and “no to the cut of our wages!”etc. is shaking the head quarters of multinational Monopoly Capitalists;

The mass movements against corrupt regimes in the under developed countries is being radicalized more and more with its destructive effect on the world crisis in these countries;

The contradiction between the western imperialist bloc and Japan with the new emerging imperialists- China and Russia – growing and the new distribution of the sphere of influence is about to be the order of their day!;

The world Communist Movement is not yet prepared to take the direction of proletariat and mass movements in all countries.

That is why we hope your Ninth Party Congress will be given a special attention to the party building and how we can strengthen, namely the international communist movement and the ICOR rank. It is obvious that without a revolutionary organization, the revolutionary movement cannot achieve its goals.

We wish you a lot of success on the 9th CPI(ML) Congress.

*Comradely,
Ranjbaran Party of Iran, Central Committee
October 10, 2011 ●*

Revolutionary Organization of Labor (ROL, USA)

Dear Comrades,

REVOLUTIONARY Proletarian Greetings to you on the occasion of your upcoming Party Congress! As the General Secretary of the Revolutionary Organization of Labor, USA, I can assure you that I have been looking forward to attending this Congress for many months. There are several reasons for my unbounded enthusiasm regarding your Party Congress:

1. Your Party has demonstrated by the Conferences to which we have previously been invited (though unable to attend) that *you respect the initiative of the masses and the working class as well as the responsibility of the Party to the class and masses.* This was clear, for example, in your vanguard conference initiative in December 2003 which you held *just prior* to the Mumbai Social Forum and the Mumbai Resistance.
2. Your Party has demonstrated *a non-sectarian approach* to other vanguard level organizations. This



means that you are not afraid to engage in the process of unity-struggle-unity or struggle-unity-struggle as the situation demands. And your invitation to other Indian Marxist-Leninist formations, in particular, is a concrete manifestation of your Party's non-sectarian approach to the struggle.

3. Moreover, *your Party leadership and the CPI (ML) membership clearly respect themselves and each other* as evidenced by your willingness to involve fraternal parties and organizations in the deliberations of your Party Congress.

4. This willingness to involve fraternal parties and organizations in your Congress deliberations is at the same time a profound act of *proletarian internationalism in practice*.

5. The proletarian revolutionary struggles on the Indian continent or sub-continent are of great importance for the world proletarian revolution. As we learn more about the diverse and complex history of the class struggle in India, we also want to share our own scientific socialist understanding that powerful multi-national reactionary capitalist states like the federal Indian state may well have to be overthrown by the proletariat after being ripped apart piece by piece. This could be accomplished through successful national liberation movements of a number of peoples whose nations are oppressed by the Indian state and its local puppets, backed by U.S. imperialism and other foreign imperialist powers. This approach also underscores the importance of Leninism on the National Question as, for example, in relation to the unresolved Bangla national question, the way forward in Kashmir, etc.

6. The late Moni Guha, an outstanding anti-revisionist Bengali communist, taught us that ours is a "world-historic task." As a small vanguard organization based in U.S. imperialist society, in the belly of the beast, we are keenly aware of the need for an international communist movement that has a global strategic approach to the proletarian revolution in individual countries. From our practical experience and personal contact with a few of your Party leaders in ICOR and other international venues as well as our acquaintance (though limited) with your theoretical writings on the legacy of the Communist International we believe your Party to be one of the most serious and consistent fighters for a new Communist International that we have found anywhere in the world.

7. On a number of occasions we have observed that the historical experience of the class struggle between labor and capital over the past hundred years has revealed the following: *With Leninism*, the international

working class movement has achieved great victories, even in objectively *unfavorable* conditions. *Without Leninism*, the international working class movement has sustained catastrophic defeats, even in objectively *favorable* circumstances. Long live Leninism!

Given all the above, it should be clear why we are filled with revolutionary optimism as we look forward to participating with your Party and other fraternal parties and organizations in the work of building up the revolutionary fighting capacity of the international working class and all of our vanguard organizations at your upcoming Party Congress.

With warm comradely greetings,
Ray O. Light

General Secretary
Revolutionary Organization of Labor, USA
October 30, 2011 ●

Marxist-Leninist Party of Peru (PML, Peru)

Comrades,

THE Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Peru sends you a fraternal militant and revolutionary embrace overcoming circumstances, after an arduous and hard work, for the completion of the 9th National Congress of your glorious Party. We are confident that this great event will be a significant step forward in the challenge of making the PC of India (ML), the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and the people of India, in the task of advancing the unity of all Marxist-Leninists of India and people of your great country, with one goal: to take the revolutionary path for the establishment of Socialism and Communism.

Great are the contributions that the workers and the people of INDIA have made in the history of mankind, not only in the field of culture and social development but also in the struggle for independence, sovereignty and social justice. We have total confidence now that, after the blows received, a new stage has been opened in the struggle of the proletariat and peoples of the world towards the international socialist revolution. The workers, the people of India and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard contribute significant contributions to the final victory.

Long live Marxism-Leninism !
Live the International Socialist Revolution !
ICOR Viva !
**Long live the friendship of the PML, Peru and the
Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist) !**

With communist greetings
Sebastian Liviapoma, Secretary General
Lima, October 22, 2011 ●

GML/Rode Morgen, Netherland

Dear comrades,

THE GML/Rode Morgen of the Netherlands wishes the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) success and extends fraternal greetings and solidarity on the occasion of the Ninth Congress of your Party.

Unfortunately we are not able to attend this historical Congress which will start on the day of the great October Revolution. The more unfortunate because we were looking forward very much to get to know the Party better and to learn about the process of serious ideological political struggle among the Communist Revolutionary forces which led to the (renewed) formation of the CPI(ML) and resulted in this 9th Congress, which convenes after 41 years.

We wish the Ninth Party Congress and the CPI(ML) lots of success in taking up the task they set themselves, of a thorough reorganisation of the Party ideologically, politically and organisationally.

At this moment however, we cannot come to India, because we have to pay our full attention and force to our activities in the Netherlands to strengthen our organisation, the Rode Morgen.

During this global capitalist crisis, worldwide governments each day present harsher measures against the peoples; it is the greatest post-war robbery and redistribution of the wealth. Lay-offs, reduction of wages and pensions, work until decrepit old age, liquidation of libraries, schools and privatization of hospitals. Worldwide popular movements rise against the governments. Each day new thousands enter the struggle, as demonstrations and protests develop daily in dozens of cities all over the world. Also in the Netherlands the people are getting angrier day by day and start organizing actions and strikes. It becomes clear that a radical political and social change is the only realistic way for the survival of the people. We have an obligation to stimulate the fight for socialism in the Netherlands and to build a new Workers Party.

Our organisations have been friends and allies for years and our joint participation in ICOR will strengthen our cooperation and solidarity.

We wish the CPI(ML) a great success with 9th Congress and with the cooperation between our organizations.

Long live the CPI(ML)!

Long live the 9th Congress of the CPI(ML)!

Long live the international socialist revolution!

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

for GML/Rode Morgen, Halinka Augustin ●

Communist Party (Marxist Leninist) OF Panama

Dear companions

Presidency of the IX National Congress Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), Outgoing Central Committee and incoming members, To each and every one of the delegates chosen to the congress for this great event, All cadres and rank and file of Glorious CPI (ML).

Comrades,

DEEPLY regretting the failure to attend a momentous and historic event, as is the national meeting of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of India, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Panama will proudly send our deepest class warm greetings and sincere wishes for a happy and fruitful work for the sake of its successful completion.

The heroic and combative peoples of India, taking to address the country's working class, with the completion of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and armed with their theoretical and political conclusions culminate approximate the victorious its centuries-old struggle for national independence, the new people's democracy and socialism to advance to communism. The presentations, discussions, conclusions and directives of the seventh Conference, we are sure that, in flares will become guides and battle flags not only the working class and peoples of India, but to inspire and stir in the heart of international proletariat the flames of social emancipation and the conquest of the International Workers Republic.

Comrades,

With the desire that the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), to complete their sessions, becoming a new advanced step in the march toward the triumph of the international proletarian revolution, in honor of all and each of our participants flamed brightly red flags. The road is rocky and bumpy but eventually snares a new world awaits us conquered.

Long live the IX National Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) !

Glory and new successes of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) !

Live ICOR milestone of the Communist International (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)!

*Antonio Gonzalez
Secretary General, PC (ML) of Panama.*

*Rodrigo Morales Fensmark
CC spokesman, PC (ML) Panama*

October 15, 2011 ●

Moroccan Organization Marxist Leninist Proletarian Way

Letter of congratulations to our fellow coms. of CPI ML

Dear Comrades,

WE extend our warm greetings and congratulations for the successful holding of the 9th Congress of your Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist). The decisions you make and the results you have achieved for us represent a major step forward not only in terms of the revolutionary struggle in the Indies and Asia but also for the international revolutionary movement as a whole, knowing you are an active member of ICOR.

At a time when American imperialism and the fans right in the European economic and financial crisis, lead and lead-out war directly and indirectly against people who dare to oppose their oppressive domination and murderous and who refuse to capitalize their mode of production in agony which at the same time, a new wave of revolutionary struggle was created and is making great strides from the mass uprising in Tunisia and Egypt, it is of paramount importance that the Communist parties based on Marxism-Leninism develop and prepare to initiate or intensify the revolutionary class struggle in the concrete conditions of each people own.

In doing so, the Marxist Leninist Communist Party will contribute to the development of international class struggle, whose existence is crucial to the victory of world revolution. In reaffirming your participation in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which is involved in this fight, your party is already making a significant contribution to achieving this task.



Our revolutionary organization (MMLVP) which has existed since 1970 is still struggling in hiding ready to deepen its fight against the comprador regime in place during the coming year, all by taking deeper science of Marxism-Leninism and to apply it to the concrete conditions of our country. The results of your 9th Congress, synthesize your experience of revolutionary struggle, and certainly will be for us a source of inspiration.

**Long live Marxism-Leninism!
Long live proletarian internationalism!**

MMLVP ●

Message from Working Class of Ukraine

Hallo comrades!

IBRING to you greetings from Ukrainian working class. This is big pleasure for our organization to take part in this Congress, to learn your experience of the class struggle. There are many different countries in the world, but class contradictions and class struggle are everywhere. From Kerala to Jarkhand, from Panjab to Manipur. From Ukraine to India, from USA to Maroc. And to know comrade's experience is very useful.

Exploitation becomes more and more globalized. It makes conditions to move a class struggle on a new level, on the level of effective international organization. Which can start with the coordination of practical actions, and finally can be united brotherhood of m-l forces.

I'm from country of Great October revolution, and traditions of a proletarian struggle are very glorious in Ukraine. But degeneration of the USSR as a class state created in post-Soviet countries apathy and disappointment in socialism as an idea. Sympathies of masses gone to capitalism and western life style. And just now, when global economical crisis comes and life conditions are decreasing, working people begin to understand their class interests. So we have in Ukraine more and more strikes and another organized protests. And today there is a task to build a new workers' movement and a new communist party which will be free both from revisionist illusions and from bourgeois illusions.

Working class in Ukraine and in all the world raise its head. And raise the flag of the struggle. And it is no just a symbol, it is real practical steps which we can do united. To speak with capital is possible only by language he knows, by language of organized class force, organized internationally and effectively. As comrade Stalin said, enemy will be crushed, the victory will be ours.

**Proletarians of all countries, unite !
Marxism-Leninism zindabad ! ●**

Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB)

IT IS a pleasure for us to attend the ICOR meeting as a member of this organisation. Our party is in broad agreement with the goal of ICOR and Pursues a course of revolutionary class struggle for achieving the goal.

In the present world situation, coordinated and united action by the Communist and the Marxist-Leninist parties and friendly mass organizations has to be taken to a higher level in order to fight the heightened imperialist and capitalist aggression. Close mutual cooperation among the communist and left in all fields for the struggle against imperialism, as well as local ruling class is more urgently needed than ever before.

On the one hand there are signs of the decay of international capital, while on the other hand imperialism has become more aggressive and desperate than before. Side by side there are powerful struggles, both armed (in some parts of the world) and unarmed, but very militant, developing at a very fast pace often taking the form of mass uprising.

International finance capital which has become mostly speculative capital, in its drive to reorganize the world capitalist production, distribution and the world capitalist system with the uncontrolled greed for maximum and quick profit, has simply accelerated its decline. The economic crisis of 2008 and apprehension of another crisis of even bigger scale are the signs of such decline. This has created a situation which would give new perspective to the revolutionary aspiration of mankind for a new society without oppression and war. We have already been observing a new uprising of anti imperialist struggle. Even the recent movement of occupy wall street and similar movements which have spread all over the world, are the expression of anger and the struggling mood of the people, particularly of the developed capitalist countries.

However in spite of all its weakness and the crisis, imperialism and capitalism will not be eliminated automatically. It has to be defeated by people's revolution led by international working class and replaced by socialism.

Our party, The Communist Party of Bangladesh has adopted the strategy of revolutionary democratic change with a socialist perspective. We are midst of a severe class struggle

against imperialism and their lackeys who plunder our energy and natural resources and exploit workers and the people. We fight relentlessly against the ruling class who collaborate with the imperialism and also ruthlessly exploit our working class, peasantry and broad masses. Our party is in the forefront of a continuous nationwide struggle for the protection of oil, gas and natural resources,

electricity, ports etc. against control and occupation by Multinationals. We fight against World Bank and IMF prescriptions and dictates, which drag our economy to the point of disaster. Unemployment, poverty, price rise, ruthless exploitation on workers and peasants and the masses, increasing gap between the rich and the poor, environmental degradation is being caused by plundering, black and speculative capital.

Our workers, peasant, agricultural workers, women, student, youth, cultural and other organisations are waging a relentless struggle often facing brutal repressions including killing, arrest and torture.

The imperialist and the local rulers have created a two party system, or bipolar politics who continue to rule according to the same fundamental policies dictated by the imperialists and their institutions.

Imperialist strategy in South Asia is becoming more and more dangerous. The US military build up in the region and our sea pose a grave danger for the countries of the region.

Bangladesh is very much the target of aggressive designs of US. This is due to our oil, gas and natural resources as well as its military strategic importance. US Bangladesh secret treatise jeopardise our sovereignty. India our closest neighbor was our friend who supported our liberation struggle in 1971. About 10 million people from Bangladesh took refuge in India during genocide in our country in 1971. US sent its 7th fleet at the last moment to the Bay of Bengal but had to return due to intervention of Socialist Soviet Union. But unfortunately today India has developed strategic alliance with USA the global terrorist. The United States is doing every thing to create discord, dispute, clashes and war in the region and push the countries to buy arms from US and its allies. In Bangladesh the religious fundamentalists are attacking the very basis of a secular, democratic and modern Bangladesh which the people fought for. The US along with their allies in the Middle East and Arab countries cleverly manipulates these forces to achieve their evil design. The deep crisis in Bangladesh could not be overcome during the 40 years of independence achieved through armed struggle. It has been proved that the bourgeois parties and the bourgeois parties are unable solve the crisis. The ruling class local and international often disrupts democratic process and brings in the army to overcome the failure of the Bourgeois parties. CPB is trying to develop a left-democratic alternative and trying to unite immediately all left and progressive organisations initially on common minimum and popular demands, and also strive for closer unity. The country must be bailed out of the vicious circle of bi-polar politics by mass struggle lead by the alternative alliance of communists and the left.

CPB is a party of class struggle, a party of revolution

and believes that a revolutionary mass uprising is possible in this country. Past events like the uprising against sale out of the coal mine at Fulbari to a British company, leasing of our biggest sea port to a US company, mass uprising in Kansat for electricity. Sanir Akhra for water, revolt of garment workers (2500.000 workers mostly women) in 2006 are ample proof of such potentialities.

We consider ourselves as the part of the international working class and are committed to the struggle against imperialism on an international scale. We actively work for solidarity actions in favour of people's struggle, be it in USA or Europe, in the Arab world or in other country for democracy and a better life, against imperialism.

Comrades, we attach great importance to the international solidarity and for the common struggles of the international proletariat. That is why we attach great importance to the ICOR meeting.

Our party President Comrade Manzurul Ahsan Khan was actually preparing to come to this meeting. However it had to be cancelled at the last moment due to visa problem. Comrade Manzur President of Communist Party of Bangladesh sends his revolutionary greetings to all comrades attending this august gathering.

We hope that ICOR will be able to develop real coordination, cooperation and unity among the parties and the movements emerging in the different countries of the world with a view to develop renewed global struggle against global onslaught of imperialism and capitalism for the ultimate goal of world socialism. ●

[Messages from, MLCP (North Kurdistan-Turkey), CPL (Congo) and Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) will be published in the next issue of Red Star]

NINTH CONGRESS OF CPI(ML) : A REPORT

MAKAREM IBRAHIM, OBSERVER TO NINTH PARTY CONGRESS

ON accepting the invitation, it was with real revolutionary enthusiasm I attended Ninth Party Congress of CPI (ML), Communist Party of India Marxist-Leninist, along with a large number of leaders and representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world, held from 7 to 12 November 2011, in the city of Bhubaneswar, India. This party congress was held at a critical juncture when the current world experience major challenges from global crisis and accordingly the world's masses are facing escalating brutality of imperialism and the increasing number of protests all over the world.

Comrade Stefan Engel, Chairman of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (MLPD) Germany spoke that these protests have no revolutionary leadership and not from the base of a proletarian revolutionary and have no ideological lines and so these mass protests need to be educated and provided awareness of the class struggle by us to have a real impact in the overthrow of world imperialism and capitalist barbarism and also through the unification of the proletariat in all parts of the world.

It is worth mentioning that CPI (ML) held its ninth party congress after 41 years after its previous congress (8th Congress of Indian Communist Movement) in 1970. The CPI (ML) presently consists of many thousands of members from 19 states in India. Its party program adopted by the Party Congress declare its important objective to over throw the neo-colonial Indian State through countrywide mass uprising, through Peoples

Democratic Revolution to establish Peoples Democratic Indian State, with staunch anti-imperialist perspective. It reject both revisionist reformation on right part and anarchist methods on 'left' adventurist part and uphold mass line position to advance and complete the Peoples Democratic Revolution to further building socialism and to advance towards a Communist World, upholding proletarian internationalism.

It should be noted that this party Congress is a historic step, not only for the Communist Party of India Marxist-Leninist (CPI ML) but for all parties, Marxism-Leninism in the world, where they discuss the challenges facing the world proletarian revolution, as well as mechanisms of activation of the class struggle of the global level to launch the labor movement forward under the leadership of the workers and through the development of working class ideology and political line, based on Marxism-Leninism according to the concrete condition of today.

Likewise, the development of advanced mechanisms is also needed to create the world proletarian revolution and the struggle against world imperialist brutality represented by its various tools including NATO countries to the occupation and looting of the wealth of peoples and the destruction of the environment. Conference also discussed how to reorganize and build the international communist organizations.

Leaders from various Marxist Leninist Parties and organizations from various countries and representatives

of ICOR were present, including Comrade Stefan Engel, Coordinator General of the Organization **ICOR** and Chairman of Marxist-Leninist Party in Germany (MLPD), Comrade Klaus, Comrade Radi Mahdi, Marxist-Leninist Party of Iran, and Comrade Ray O Light, Chairman of the Revolutionary Organization of Labor, United States, Comrade Adib from Morocco, and Comrade Rojer from Congo and representatives of revolutionary Marxist -Leninist organizations from Bangladesh and Afghanistan, and many other representative of other Revolutionary organizations in India.

Each of the participants gave summary of the history of their party, as well as their program to topple the regimes of their countries by advancing the class struggle and proletarian revolution. All of them emphasized the need of building and strengthening International movement of Communist Revolutionaries. All representatives also called for involving and leading mass movements around the world against Imperialist system.

And most characteristic of the party Congress of CPI (ML) was its voluntary work and team spirit among the comrades and the exchange of ideas and experiences and that every comrades from reception committee contributing to the cooking, cleaning, arranging, processing and preparation for smooth run of the Party Congress. The

atmosphere was of youthful enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit of struggle and determination to fight until victory.

Interestingly, the ambiance of the party congress was announced on all the walls and corners in the city of Bhubaneswar in India. This city in particular has been known for the presence of more than a thousand temples, but now it has also known by presence of largest poor masses' legendary struggles against displacement of slum dwellers, adivasis (aboriginals) and other oppressed sections. Most of these struggles are led by Communist Party of India Marxist-Leninist. This historic Party Congress got wide media coverage also.

It was important to note that the party congress was success at all levels. We wish the rest of the organizations and parties, the Marxist-Leninist in the rest of the world, to organize such a conference to strengthen the bonds of friendship among the revolutionary movements the world over and build acquaintance among them on the one hand, and exchange of experiences on the other. It shall upport and develop the ideas of Marxism-Leninism so that it reach the desired goal, so that it helps to achieve international proletarian revolution which shall inspire advance towards building socialism, destroying the enemy of the world people, the world imperialism. ●

(Translation of the Arabic report published in West Asia)

Credential Report of Ninth Party Congress

Delegates	:	159
Observers	:	46
Total	:	205

Class Origin

Working Class	:	79
Lower middle, poor, landless peasants and agricultural workers	:	73
Middle Class	:	53
Full Timer	:	73
Part Timer	:	132
Married	:	160
Unmarried	:	45

Age-wise

20-40	:	99
40-60	:	85
Above 60	:	21
Average age	:	43.19

Education

Upto metric	:	55
Upto intermediate	:	62
Upto Degree	:	60
Post graduate	:	28

Jail

Arrested and jailed	:	96
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(Maximum one com. 20 years, one com. 14 years)

Fraternal Delegated from India

1. Comrades Mukul Sinha and Amresh Patel (New Socialist Movement, Gujarat)
2. Comrade Venketeshwar Rao (Marxist Leninist Committee, Andhra Pradesh)
3. Comrade Vijay Kulkarni (Lal Nishan Party-Leninvari, Maharashtra)
4. Comrade Ramkavindra Singh (Nav Janvadi Lok Manch, Jharkhand)
5. Comrade Hargopal Singh (UCPI, Himachal Pradesh)

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NINTH CONGRESS OF CPI(ML)

On the International Situation and the Tasks of Communists

THE 9th Congress of the CPI (ML) condemns the wanton act of aggression of the US against Libya. Though we do not condone the dictatorial method in which Gaddafi ruled, we condemn strongly the way in which he was killed in public. The happenings in Libya are a continuation to the naked acts of aggression of the US in continuation of Iraq and Afghanistan. They foretell of many more such open acts of aggression in coming days, especially in view of the worsening global crisis.

The crisis in Greece has almost reached flash-point. There is only a chimera of central rule and the state is itself breaking down, both economically and politically. This is also the situation in various other parts of the world.

However, the situation is still not favorable for the people, in so far as, though there is a very favorable objective situation, the subjective forces are lagging far behind. The main task before the communists all over the world is to come to the fore of the struggles of the working class and the oppressed peoples all over the world against imperialism, led by US imperialism.

Today, already we can see the flags of Islamic fundamentalism flying over buildings in Cairo and Tripoli. They will naturally, move into any space that the communists leave vacant. So long as the communists are not able to become a major part of such movements, so long as they are incapable of influencing them, and come to their fore, the people will turn to other conservative alternatives.

The 9th Congress calls upon the working class and the people all over the world to continue their brave struggles against imperialism, especially against US imperialism, and upon the communists all over the world, to become an integral part of such struggles and to guide them along the path towards genuine democracy and socialism. ●

On US-NATO led Aggression in Other Countries

AS THE crisis of imperialism intensifies, the US and its NATO allies have become desperate to take resort to brute force and promote ceaseless strife within and among

countries on one hand and, on the other hand, carry on even more exhaustive plunder in those countries. In the name of 'taking democracy' to countries, the US is installing its puppets and stooges there and in case of resistance, crushing it in a bloody and brutal fashion. While Saddam Husain was at least put to trial, however arbitrary and unjust the proceedings may have been, the necessity of even a mock trial was dispensed with in Gaddafi's case and he was captured alive and shot on head in cold blood. Libya is now quite under direct US domination and the US and its allies will rely on Libya oil to a great extent to tide over the present crisis. Pakistan is regularly besieged by US drone attacks and the assassination of Osama Bin Laden within its territory underscored the fact that its very sovereignty is under threat. While Palestine is being battered by the US's faithful ally, Israel, since the last few decades, Iran may come under direct US attack any time.

Such is the case all over the world. In order to bring resources of countries under its direct control, the US and its allies are fast shedding their last facade of democracy and taking the world to the brink of disaster. Their intention is also to promote arms' race and keep their economy from crumbling. Only greater solidarity among the toiling people of the world and timely initiatives taken by the international organizations like ICOR can stall the rampaging march of the US its allies. The 9th Congress of the CPI(ML) calls upon the Marxist-Leninist forces all over the world to forge unity and to resist and defeat the manoeuvres of the US and other imperialist forces and their lackeys to intensify their aggression against and plunder of world people. ●

Solidarity with the Ongoing World-wide Struggles

THE neo-liberal economic policy aimed at super profit for the MNCs and TNCs giving rise to the unprecedented situation throughout the world of jobless growth where unemployment, price rise, corruption are snatching away all rights of people earned through long struggles is driving people to stand against it. The huge popular upsurges throughout the Arab world known as Arab Spring has frightened the political managers of corporate capital. Though it has now largely faded away due to lack of revolutionary political leadership, it is still simmering. People are still fighting against hijacking of their struggle by imperialism and their agents, imposing the rule of army and puppets under their command, or by religious parties.

We extend our solidarity with the struggling people of the Arab world and hope for the development of ideological-political leadership there for helping them to march ahead to bring about true democracy for the vast working peoples of these countries.

The so-called European Autumn arising out the crisis of the capitalism has now been launched to push different governments of Europe on to the verge of collapse. Inspired by Arab spring, the 'occupy wall street' movement is raging throughout the world. Greece is on the verge of collapse, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Italy are to follow suit. The policy of the governments to rescue corporate businesses and banks from going bankrupt by providing support from the public exchequer, has caused people's suffering to shoot high, raising unemployment, price rise and corruption. It has snatched away people's democratic rights on an unprecedented scale. All this has drawn people to the streets en masse. The biggest strike in France so far, unrest in England and similar examples prove that the citadels of global capital are tottering.

We extend our solidarity to these struggles of the people throughout the world against the rule of capital. We also hope the proper orientation will grow from within these struggles and imperialism's efforts to divert the struggles from their journey to higher democracy and socialism will be thwarted. ●

On US-led NATO Aggression on Libya

RECENTLY US led NATO forces invaded and conquered Libya. Its head of state Gaddafi was captured and executed without trial and a puppet regime was established in its place. To cover up the brutal and dastardly nature of this act, the corporate media is trying to mislead us by hailing this event as a spontaneous uprising of the

Libyan people. The imperialists are trying to hide their sinister intentions under the garb of their much hackneyed slogan of "freedom and democracy". But as communist revolutionaries we do not entertain such illusions. We fully understand the imperialist nature of this invasion and the cold economic calculations that constitute its underlying logic. Today as the contradictions of the capitalist system push it to the brink, the imperialist forces are compelled to drop their masks and resort to such open acts of aggression. We have no illusions regarding the democratic pretensions of the puppet government that has been thrust upon the people of Libya by the imperialists. Without doubt it will give a free reign to the imperialists to plunder the resources of the Libyan people, particularly their oil. We reject the false choice between dictatorship and imperialism that the imperialists are trying to thrust upon the people of Libya. While fully recognizing the need to uphold peoples' struggles against dictatorships, we also condemn imperialism to the dustbin of history. We unequivocally condemn the invasion of Libya by the NATO as a crime against the toiling masses of Libya and firmly resolve to lend full support and friendship to all the people's upsurges that are being waged against it. ●

On ICOR

THE 9th Congress of the CPI (ML) hails the founding of ICOR, the International Co-ordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations.

We reiterate the resolve of the Bhopal Special Conference that there exists a need for a new Communist International. We see the formation of ICOR as the first step towards fulfillment of this goal.

The ICOR has made a very good start and the Continental Conferences have been held and the Continental Committees formed. The ICOR has been quick to respond to world developments. It has also, along with

PJ James

imperialism in the neocolonial phase

Price : Rs. 400

**Massline Publication
Thekkumgopuram Road
Kottayam - 686601
Kerala, India**

masslinekeralam@gmail.com

The empirical study on *Imperialism in the Neocolonial Phase* by Comrade PJ James, released in a Seminar on 8th November, during Ninth Party Congress of CPI (ML) at Bhubaneswar.

Imperialism in the Neocolonial Phase is an enquiry into the capital accumulation in the post World War II period. In the context of International situation set by the socialist advancement and surging national liberation movements of the immediate post war period, direct territorial control of erstwhile colonies becoming unviable, led by USA, a whole set of mutually interpenetrating economic, political, military, cultural and intellectual tools were devised for the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism, giving a qualitative dimension to the global expansion of finance capital. This post war trajectory of ever intensifying neo-colonialism and internationalization of finance capital today has led the world imperialist system to an irreversible and irresolvable crisis.

Read Full (Online): www.cpiml.in/Books/Imperialism%20inside%20matter.pdf

ILPS taken up a one-year campaign against nuclear energy. Along with this a campaign for popularizing ICOR, again for one year, is taken up.

The 9th Congress of the CPI (ML) resolves to wholeheartedly support ICOR, its work and its campaigns. ●

Declare Solidarity with the Struggle OF Irom Sharmila, Repeal AFSPA and Withdraw Military from J&K, North-east and Chathisgarh

THE Ninth Congress of the cpi(ml) expresses full solidarity with the struggle of com.Irom Sharmila whose indefinite fast has entered 12th Year for the repeal of AFSPA. The Congress demands the immediate repeal of AFSPA and the withdrawal of military from J&K, Northeast and Chathisgarh. We calls on all democratic forces to oppose the unscrupulous militarisation pursued by the central government increasing further erosion of all democratic rights. The Congress demands that the problems of J&K and Northeast should be resolved politically based on the right of self determination of the peoples. ●

Solve Manipur Problem Politically

THE Ninth Congress of the CPI(ML) calls for declaring null and void the “Manipur Merger Agreement” of 1952 between King of Manipur and Indian Union as it is against the Charter of United Nations, especially its Chapter VII, because it was signed without the consent of the people of Manipur and then Council of Ministers.

✦ It supports the right of self-determination of Manipur people and calls for transforming Indian Constitution with genuine federal structure.

✦ Every country has its land laws. In Manipur 10% area is valley and 90% hills. Hill people are coming down and settle in the valley. But the valley people, the so-called ‘Meiteis’ are not allowed to settle in the hill areas. A civil war like situation has developed among the ethnic groups as the Kukis who migrated from Myanmar are demanding their homeland and on the other hand and the Nagas demand greater Nagaland including some portions of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, some portion of Myanmar and a big area of Manipur valley. The central government is pursuing the divide and rule policy, refuse to take any action when economic blockade continued by the Naga tribals for 52 days in 2005, 64 days in 2010 and by the Kuki tribals in the name of their Sadar Hills demand, for 92 days which ended only on 5th November 2011. But the Nagas are still continuing counter economic blockade against the Kuki’s demand. The Ninth Congress demand resolution of these problems politically and that the central govt should ensure

free supply of goods and road travel facilities to Manipur which has no rail connections.

✦ The Ninth Congress declare solidarity with the struggle of Irom Sharmila whose indefinite fast has entered the 12th year on 2nd November,2011, for the repeal of AFSPA. The Congress demand the immediate repeal of AFSPA and removal of army and entire Northeast and J&K.

✦ The Ninth Congress severely condemn the heinous policy of creating insurgent groups pursued by the army and the RWA in order to perpetuate military occupation of Manipur and such other areas and demand that it should be stopped forthwith. ●

Unite for Smashing Anti-Labor Policies

WORKERS all over the world are on the path of agitation against denial of employment and workers rights following globalization policies. The Indian working class in organized and unorganized sectors are also facing same problems. The managements with the help of the central government have intensified attacks to take back the workers’ rights one by one, which were obtained by centuries old numerous struggles. Public sector, which was following the labor laws to some extent, is now getting privatized. Government is enforcing compulsory voluntary retirement. The privatization of banks and insurance sector is denying workers the right organize themselves. The contract labor system and casualisation of labor has become common feature now-a-days. In IT sector the working hours are ranging from 10 to 16 hours without any interval. Unorganized sector is also facing same situation. The globalization policy is also influencing judiciary. As a result, the judiciary is taking decisions to implement such policies unmindful of all the settled legal positions.

In this situation the 9th Congress demands that the globalization policies, which are destroying all labor rights, should be withdrawn immediately. It calls on the entire working class to unite to launch strong agitation to see that their rights are protected and expanded. This Party Congress extends solidarity to all agitations throughout the world including Wall Street Occupation. ●

Shut down all Nuclear Power Plants, Stop all New Nuclear Plant Projects and Strive for Universal Nuclear Disarmament

THE meltdown in the nuclear plant of Fukushima in Japan in March 2011 following the earthquake and tsunami caused the heaviest nuclear catastrophe in the history of nuclear energy in Fukushima and has given a new dimension to the

danger of building nuclear plants all over the world. This has exposed hollowness of the claims of MNCs and world imperialism about the so-called technological advancement they have achieved for preventing meltdown, for control of nuclear radiation and for the colossal problem of nuclear waste disposal. Expansion of nuclear projects all over the world in proportion of imperialist greed has further intensified antagonistic contradiction between capital and nature. As a result, the resistance against the use of nuclear power has been developing worldwide. The struggle for the worldwide shutdown of all nuclear power plants and for the ban and destruction of all nuclear arms is meant to be made a central task of the international revolutionary and working class movement in the struggle against imperialism, with systematic work of enlightenment among the broad masses, with the formation of broad alliances of active resistance, winning over critical scientists and other sections whoever oppose the nuclear power plants. In this situation ILPS (International League for People's Struggle) and ICOR (International Co-ordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations) with their mass organizations and member parties have jointly initiated a worldwide campaign for immediate shut down of all nuclear plants. The Ninth Congress of CPI(ML) demands immediate shutdown of all nuclear power plants worldwide and appeal all progressive forces to actively participate in the ongoing campaign against nuclear plants and support all mass struggles around the world for it and to strive for universal and total nuclear disarmament.

Even after many European countries and Japan forced to close down nuclear plants in the context of Fukushima catastrophe, the comprador Indian state is going ahead with various nuclear plant projects including Jaitapur and Koodamkulam etc. The union government is repeating lies about technological advancement of safer nuclear plants to serve the interest of imperialist masters and MNCs and to calm down increasing mass struggles against it. In Jaitapur, Koodamkulam and at proposed new nuclear plant sites thousands of people are on indefinite fast and other



Introducing volunteers to delegates

mass protests which are gaining strength day by day. The Ninth Congress of CPI(ML) demands that the Indian government should immediately withdraw its plan for new nuclear plants and start shutting down all existing plants. It appeals to people to intensify the anti-nuclear struggle leading to complete shutdown of nuclear plants and total nuclear disarmament. ●

Rally Against the Neo-liberal Policies of UPA Government

THE second UPA government led by Manmohan Singh is intensifying the neo-liberal policies to unprecedented levels. The intensification of globalisation-liberalisation-privatisation policies through the last three budgets and a whole set of trade, price and credit policies have resulted in hitherto unknown levels of devastation and destitution of the broad masses of people. Prices of all essential commodities including food and fuels are galloping. All essential services, such as health-care, education, water, electricity, are commercialized and privatized. All sectors of economy are opened up for penetration of speculative finance capital. While the concentration of wealth and income with the billionaires is growing, devastation and destitution of the broad masses are aggravating at an alarming rate.

Emulating the imperialist governments, in the name of 'stimulus package' the comprador Indian state is channeling vast amount of public funds to the coffers of corporate giants while subsidies and price support programs for the people are taken away. While strategic public sector units are disinvested, the entire financial sector including banks, insurance, pension and provident fund are thrown open to foreign speculators. With the strengthening of the process of down-sizing and roll back of the state it has now become a mere 'facilitator' for corporate grabbing of national resources and public wealth by financial speculators.

The Ninth Congress of CPI(ML) condemns these anti-people policies of the Manmohan government and appeals to the workers, peasants and toiling masses to rise up against them. ●

Resolution Against Imperialist Cultural Onslaught

IMPERIALISM and its lackeys have greatly succeeded in using culture as an effective tool to beat back the revolutionary offensive from the erstwhile socialist countries and from the revolutionary forces in general. This is very much visible in the way they could degenerate all former socialist countries to capitalist path and almost all communist parties built up during Comintern days to revisionist path. The approach of many of the splintered groups of ML movement of the 1960s are also not very

different towards this cultural offensive of imperialist camp. It has reversed the positive values created during the renaissance period and during the days of communist advancement. We have to recapture the offensive of those days, according to concrete condition of today. The Ninth Party Congress of CPI(ML) calls for waging a relentless cultural offensive to throw out the influence of feudal and imperialist cultural values, old customs and superstitions, and of the imperialist promoted ideological attacks. We call upon the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces to strengthen the revolutionary cultural movement in order to meet the present challenges and needs. ●

Strengthen the Fraternal and Close Relations with the Peoples of SAARC Countries

THE consecutive governments in India have resorted to forging so-called strategic alliance with the Western imperialist powers in the decade after the 1947 transfer of power. Later in 1960s there was a shift to strategic alliance with the Soviet Social Imperialists. From 1980s there was a shift to closer relations, and after the imposition of the imperialist globalization policies, to strategic economic, political and military agreements with the US imperialists. During these decades all other imperialist powers, various imperialist agencies and MNCs were allowed to intensify their penetration to India. Though India remains a country under neo-colonization, developing to a junior partner of the imperialist powers, its relations with the neighboring countries continues as one of expansionism.

In continuation to the divide and rule policy of British imperialists which led to the division and creation India and Pakistan in 1947, imperialism, especially US imperialism, was continuing the policy of widening the differences between Pakistan and India and using this conflict to increase their arms trade to both. Refusing to recognize this, the leaderships of both these countries, true to their comprador character, have intensified the hatred between each other. The communal fundamentalist forces are playing their heinous role in this as tools of the imperialists. As a result the neighborly relations are worsened between the two. Again, playing in to the hands of US imperialists, the Indian government is not settling the border disputes with China and the relations with it is not making a breakthrough.

As far as smaller countries in the region like Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives are concerned, the consecutive Indian governments have pursued a policy of expansionism towards them. As neocolonization intensified, this expansionist approach became more rabid including naked interference in the internal affairs of them. Indian interference in Sri Lanka has only aggravated the problems there, leading to genocide

of the Tamil People and militarization of the country. While Sikkim was annexed and merged with Indian Union, India is dominating in Bhutan, approaching it as a client state. The interference of Indian government along with US imperialists in Nepal has created serious obstacles to the left led government there to consolidate the victory achieved in the historic April 2005 uprising. Similar is the case as far the relation with Bangladesh is also concerned. Maldives is also threatened with the expansionist policies of the Indian government. As a result, even the functioning of an organization like SAARC is also endangered.

In this situation, the Ninth Congress of the CPI(ML) calls for an intensive campaign against the expansionist policies of the comprador government, demanding establishment of fraternal relations with the neighboring countries. The Congress also calls for forming a Solidarity Forum of the People's of SAARC Countries. ●

Against Displacement in the Name of Neo-Liberal Development

THE Ninth Congress of the CPI(ML) declares solidarity with the people of Kalinga nagar fighting against displacement for Tata's steel, of Jagjitsinghpur fighting against POSCO and at other places of Orissa fighting against displacement for corporate, MNCs and land mafias. Same is the condition all over India. At numerous places in UP the resistance of people, the peasantry against displacement is suppressed and in police firings many are killed. In other states also the resistance to displacement is being suppressed ruthlessly.

The Ninth Congress demand the withdrawal of all policies leading to displacement of the people from their land and denounces the suppressive policies of central and state governments. It calls on the people to resist all displacements. The Congress extends full support to all resistance struggles going on all over the country. ●

On Sri Lankan Tamil Issue

THE Sri Lankan Tamil issue had now reached a new height and a new situation has developed. They are struggling for the self-determination since last 50 years. Right from 1920s, this issue was utilized by the British imperialism for its own interest. With the transfer of power in 1948, the British imperialists handed over power to the Sri Lankan ruling classes, particularly the Sinhalese ruling classes. At the time of transfer of power, there were well established colonial political institutions like parliament and Constitution. But they failed to established true federal setup. Later developments led to an ethnic conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese. At this juncture, communist movement in Sri Lanka suffered severe setback under revisionism like what happened in India and all over the

world. Still the democratic voice for self-determination and for federal setup continued. In 1970s the Bandaranaike rule refused to implement the federal setup, the political system was fully turned into unitary presidential system. This development further accelerated the ethnic conflict. The imperialist forces also utilized this situation.

The democratic movement for the right of self determination from 1950s was taken over by the armed groups. Meanwhile the once revolutionary group, JVP, also degenerated into a Sinhalese chauvinist force. Marxist-Leninist movements were opposed by LTTE like armed groups. After the defeat and annihilation of LTTE by 2009 May, the situation is entirely different and more complex. In the post war situation, the Tamil people are facing enormous difficulties. Displaced Tamil people are still living in fenced camps under the military control. Shelter, food, water like basic amenities are denied to them. The 9th Congress of CPI(ML) calls upon all progressive and democratic forces to come together and support the Sri Lankan Tamil people struggle for urgent rehabilitation and for their right to self-determination. ●

Defeat Anti-Fisherpeople Policies

THE fishing community living in the coastal areas of our country extending to 6000 KMs are now facing acute problems. The traditional fishermen and those who use modern technology are both facing equally grave problems. The policies implemented by the central government as part of globalization and laws like CRZs (Coastal Reserve Zones) and deep sea fishing as part of these policies are creating a dangerous situation to the lives of fisherpeople. While giving license to foreign ships for fishing, the traditional fisherpeople with country boats are denied their rights to fishing, thereby their lives have become miserable.

The subsidies given to traditional fisherpeople in respect of kerosene is withdrawn without any justification and the uncontrolled price rise day by day has created a crisis in this field. By opening coastal area to tourism development, the important coastal areas are now replaced



Gate in support of mass movements

as tourist centres. Big nuclear power plants are also planned in coastal areas which have made the situation graver. In these circumstances, the Ninth Congress of the CPI(ML) demands that the government should withdraw all such policies which make vast unemployment in the fishing area and also calls on the fisherpeople to unite and to launch powerful agitation to recapture their traditional rights. ●

Caste Oppression and Killing of Dalits in Paramkudi

CASTE oppression against dalits all over India has increased to unprecedented levels. Whenever the dalit people oppose the caste oppression they are crushed by ruling class. Recently in Tamil Nadu seven dalits were shot dead in police firing by the newly formed AIADMK government. The 9th Party Congress severely condemn caste oppression and call upon all democratic forces to join hands with victimized people and fight for justice. ●

On Situation in Jangalmahal

A DEATHLY silence prevails over Jangalmahal today. The voice of the people has been throttled by the government and the Joint Forces operating there. Although before coming to power in the state the Trinamool Congress had promised that it would withdraw Joint Forces from Jangalmahal, release all political prisoners and restore peace in the area, it went back on all these promises. The Joint Forces are still regularly committing atrocities on the people, leaders of the movement are being arrested and no outsiders are still allowed free entry into the area. The Trinamool government of the state is forcing the youths of Jangalmahal to take up jobs as Special Police Officers and turn their guns on their own people. Everyday the government is declaring that it will not tolerate any unrest in Jungalmahal and will suppress democratic movements. The Trinamool's armed cadres have replaced the CPI(M)'s armed cadres in suppressing the people. The state government of West Bengal is in complete accordance with the Central government in imposing these suppressive policies, which is notorious for having unleashed similar atrocities in the tribal areas of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh. This approach of the state and central governments is nothing but a ploy to crush the tribal population and hand over the natural resources to corporate houses.

In order to restore peace in Janjalmahal, all democratic forces should raise the demand for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, immediate withdrawal of the Joint Forces and immediate dialogue with the leaders of the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities which was leading the democratic struggle of the people of Jungalmahal. Only this can thwart the nefarious design of the Indian ruling class. ●

Fight Against Corruption

ALTHOUGH corruption has been present in our class-divided society since a long time, the capitalist accumulation process has given it a very concrete character. Moreover, today's capitalist-imperialist economy, heavily dominated by speculative capital worldwide, has made corruption an inevitable feature of the neo-liberal, neo-colonial imperialist socio-economic system. In India, it was widely campaigned by the ruling classes at the beginning of globalization and reforms in the late 1980s that the root of corruption lies in the government-controlled economy. Therefore, it was a popular belief that with the advent of neo-liberal privatization, corruption would be reduced significantly. However, statistics prove that just the opposite has happened. After 1991, corruption in the country has reached unprecedented and unheard of levels. Several lakhs of crores of rupees have been siphoned in a single scam. One after another scams by Central and regional ministers, industrialists and government officials have started to come to the fore as siphon heads of corruption. Side by side, a nexus between industrialists, bureaucrats, ministers and political leaders of the topmost level has developed widely and openly. Cross-border capital flow, especially speculative capital dominated by FII (Foreign Institutional Investment), which was so much glorified in the last two decades, has already proved that the whole accumulation process of this capital is based mainly on corruption. Nothing else could have happened in this era of bubble economy.

In this perspective, vast sections of Indian masses have started to come out openly in favor of leaders like Anna Hazare, who in spite of his dubious motives and short-sighted and throttled ideological position, have raised a voice against the present government and against corruption. While exposing the limitation of the theoretical-political position of these so-called civil society leaders, we support the masses in their just struggle. The Communist Revolutionaries are the only force who are continuously propagating the inseparable and organic relation between corruption and private property. At the same time we have to develop an uncompromising and militant mass struggle against corruption. The Ninth Congress of the CPIML gives the call to unleash a popular mass movement with appropriate direction against corruption in particular and against neo-liberal, neo-colonial, socio-economic system established by the imperialist forces along with the bureaucratic comprador capitalists, in general. ●

Get organized against price rise

PRICE RISE has become a common feature especially under the latest UPA government. Under the previous government, there was also price rise of essential commodities and other things, but not to the levels of today.

The second generation of reforms has clearly exposed that price rise is an inevitable part of it. The price of petroleum and petroleum-related commodities is rising so dangerously that it is leading to increase in the prices of all commodities, including essential commodities. This is happening as a result of the decontrolling of petroleum prices by the government. The government wants to meet revenue deficit by increasing petroleum prices also because a huge amount of revenues is collected from those commodities. The neo-liberal policy has imposed the policy of curtailing subsidies on essential commodities and services, providing tax relief to corporate houses and increasing the misery of the masses even more intensely than ever before.

Forward trading, online trading, are another major cause of price rise, especially of agricultural products. Though the price of agricultural products has skyrocketed, yet the masses of peasants are deriving any profit out of this and are getting increasingly impoverished. The poor and middle peasants are compelled to sell their products at a very low price and after that speculators and corporates are increasing the prices by creating an artificial crisis.

So, price-rise is a major imperialist attack on the workers and peasants and all sections of toiling masses. The Ninth Congress of the CPI(ML) calls upon all sections of people and oppressed masses to fight the government policies which are responsible for this dangerous price rise. ●

Land to Plantation Workers

PLANTATION workers of north-eastern states and southern states are in miserable condition. Whatever legally guaranteed rights ensured under Plantation Act and Rules and under other provisions of labor laws they had won are under severe attack. The Plantation owners are totally denying the fulfillment of the rightful demands of the workers, refuse to implement already accepted rights and victimize the workers. It has even reached such an extent that some of the plantations are under closure when the workers resisted wage cut and increasing of work load with the support of ruling parties. As a result, suicide among the plantation workers has increased. The Ninth Congress calls upon the all progressive forces to start militant struggles to ensure implementation of the democratic and economic rights of the plantation workers and to take over the closed plantations and their illegally occupied land and distribute these lands to plantation workers. ●

Sakhav

Organ of Kerala State Committee of CPI(ML)

"Sakhav", Hashmi Lane,
Pachalam PO,
Kochi - 12, Kerala

REGARDING THE IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGES FACED BY THE ICM

(Speech by Ray O Light, General Secretary, Revolutionary Organisation of Labour, USA in the seminar "On Ideological Challenges Confronting the International Communist Movement" on 11th November at Bhubaneswar)

FOR more than sixty years, since the end of World War II, United States imperialism has been the main bulwark of world capitalism. Throughout this period, the myth of "U.S. Democracy" bound up with "American Exceptionalism" has been an invaluable ideological weapon that first helped U.S. imperialism to gain and then to maintain its now decades-old Empire.

Democratic illusions about the U.S. Empire have been and continue to be found among virtually all classes of people in all corners of the globe. Indeed, after the arrogant, ignorant and brutal war monger, George W. Bush, had done so much to bring discredit to U.S. imperialism's façade of democracy with his unending, so-called "war on terror," the election of Barack Obama as U.S. President in 2008 breathed new life back into the "U.S. Democracy" myth.

This fact was reflected in the 2009 Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index (NBI) survey indicating which countries are most admired. Mr. Anholt observed: "I have never seen any country experience such a dramatic change in its standing as we see for the United States in 2009. The results suggest ... the American electorate's decision to vote in President Obama has given the United States the status of the world's most admired country." (*Christian Science Monitor*, 10-6-09)

The "Obama factor" was able to take hold despite the fact that U.S. imperialism, at that very moment, was openly engaged in two unprovoked,

unjust wars of occupation and plunder in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as militarily involved in a substantial way in at least a few dozen other countries from the Philippines in Asia to Colombia in Latin America. And Obama had promised in the presidential campaign to expand the U.S. war in Afghanistan!

The History of "U.S. Democracy"

U.S. history has very few features that provide any material basis at all for the enduring myth of "U.S. Democracy." Most prominent among them is the fact that there was a vast land mass "discovered" by the European explorers and occupied by the settlers who followed them. And some of this "free land" was made available to settler-pioneers as late as the second half of the nineteenth century. However, even this distinctive U.S. feature was based on the extermination of the indigenous native North American tribal peoples who populated this land, an extermination campaign that began before the establishment of the United States of America and lasted all the way to the twentieth century.

The U.S. Constitution, which nowadays serves as a shield to protect some citizens, at least, from a total deprivation of our rights, was created by the wealthy rulers of the new republic to strengthen their ability to collect taxes from the masses and to protect their private property from the masses as well. Western Massachusetts farmers, many of whom had served in the Continental Army in the victorious fight for Independence from the English Crown, having found that their land was confiscated because of nonpayment of taxes while they were at war, had already organized Shay's Rebellion against oppressive taxation. This rebellion was a prime motivation for the new rulers, slaveholding plantation owners et al. to replace the decentralized and democratic Articles of Confederation by the centralized and anti-democratic Constitution that provided "checks and balances" to protect the rights of the rich minority against the "tyranny of the majority."

Furthermore, for most of U.S. history, chattel slavery of Afro-American people was an important foundation for the development of the U.S. capitalist economy. The existence of human slavery within a society that was developing modern capitalism was a unique anti-democratic feature of U.S. history. The pro-slavery character of the U.S. Constitution itself is reflected in the provision counting Afro-American *slaves* in each state as three-fifths of a person, thereby strengthening the voting capacity of the Slave states and the political power of the Slavocracy! Not long after the Union Army's victory, with an exemplary record of valor by Afro-American soldiers, had led to emancipation from the betrayal of post Civil War Reconstruction all the way until the present, the Afro-American people have been the victims of many forms of extra-legal persecution, prosecution and outright terror.

In the 1840's, the rapidly expanding USA carried out a war of aggression seizing most of the Northern third of Mexico. This was only the first of many significant U.S. military invasions of Latin America in U.S. history. Since the emergence of U.S. imperialism during the period of the Spanish-American War at the end of the nineteenth century, Latin America has been continuously plagued by U.S. domination. One result has been several waves of massive Latino immigration to the USA and the current status of some 12 million undocumented Latino immigrant workers in the USA who have no legal rights at all! They are increasingly victims of imperialist state law enforcement as well as abusive and brutal exploiters; and they are being scapegoated by the U.S. ruling class and terrorized by many of the increasingly jobless and financially desperate U.S. citizens who are too cowardly and disoriented to blame the system and its rulers.

Today the homeland of "U.S. Democracy" incarcerates more people by far than any other country on earth and a disproportionate number are Afro-American and Latino men. The huge number of prisoners and ex convicts is currently a significant source of cheap labor. Plans are already in the works, in anticipation of a possible massive crackdown on the millions of undocumented Latino immigrant workers in the USA, that their labor power will be replaced by the Afro-Americans, Latinos, Anglos and Native Americans, branded by the U.S. prison-industrial complex.

With regard to the right to vote: In the early years of the U.S. government, under the Constitution, no women, no Afro-American men, and only about one out of five (propertied) white men could vote. It took the bloody Civil War in the latter half of the nineteenth century to achieve the vote for Afro-American men; and it was effectively taken away in a relatively short period of time. Only with the emergence of a powerful modern civil rights movement in the 1960's did Afro-Americans regain the right to vote, especially in the Black Belt South homeland.

Today, a number of Southern states, in particular, "legally" deprive citizens who have been convicted of a felony of their right to vote. The disproportionate impact of felony convictions on the Afro-American people played a significant role in 2000 in the controversial Florida vote that placed George W. Bush in the White House. Women in the USA did not obtain the right to vote until 1920. And today millions of immigrant working people have no right to vote.

As far as the U.S. working class is concerned, every day, as soon as workers arrive on the job, all their Constitutional rights are forfeited at least until they emerge from the workplace once again. This is the experience of tens of millions of U.S. working people (especially the current 90% non-union workers) throughout their working lives.

Finally, in U.S. history, there has been consistent use of the U.S. military, the National Guard, the various police forces and other arms of the state to suppress the struggles of the working class. Among the most powerful examples of this was the use of the U.S. Army and state National Guards to suppress the democratic rights of the miners and their elected representatives in Colorado and other western states in at least a dozen crises in the twelve years between 1892 and 1903. As Henry George, Jr. reported in 1904, "The astounding situation here in Colorado is that ... the higher authorities, using the military arm of their government, are devoting practically all their attention to putting down the law. The prime insurrectionist ... against the regularly established laws are the governor and his soldiers ... representative of ... the mining and smelting interests of Colorado. It is bayonet rule against the rule established by the ballot." (*New York American*, June 12, 1904, our emphasis)

Following more than seven years of Bush's unending war of terror, new

President-elect Obama selected a retired military general and an admiral to be his National Security Adviser and his Director of Intelligence, respectively. In response to these appointments, Thomas Schweich, who had served the Bush Regime in a number of high-level jobs, including deputy assistant secretary of state for international law enforcement affairs, opened his *Washington Post* feature as follows: "We no longer have a civilian-led government. It is hard for a life-long Republican and son of a retired Air Force colonel to say this, but the most unnerving legacy of the Bush administration is the encroachment of the Department of Defense into a number of aspects of civilian government. Our Constitution is at risk." ("The Pentagon is muscling in everywhere," *Washington Post*, 12-21-08)

Today, as part of the increasing militarization of U.S. society, "U.S. Democracy" features the planned deployment of 20 thousand active duty U.S. soldiers for use *inside* the USA. Given this history of lack of "U.S. Democracy," where does this myth come from and what accounts for its enduring influence?

The Dissolution of the Communist International and the Question of "American Exceptionalism"

On May 15, 1943, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Comintern) proposed the dissolution of the Comintern "as the directing center of the international working class movement." It called on all Comintern supporters "to concentrate their energies on whole-hearted support of and active participation in the war of liberation of the people and States of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the deadly enemy of the working class and toilers — German fascism and its associates and vassals."

Comrade Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union (and the world communist movement), expressed

official Soviet support for this position in an interview by Reuters on the same day as the Presidium's proposal. Stalin said the dissolution is "proper and timely because it facilitates the organization of the common onslaught of all freedom-loving nations against the common enemy—Hitlerism." By June 10, 1943, after a unanimous vote by a number of major communist parties in favor of dissolution, the Comintern ceased to exist.

The extraordinarily difficult circumstances which served as the context for Soviet support for the dissolution of the Comintern can be appreciated by pondering the following quote from British Prime Minister Winston Churchill at the end of August 1943, just three and one-half months after the May 5th Presidium proposal. Churchill who had spent most of his life as one of the most prominent and bitterest foes of communism and of the Soviet Union in the entire world, nevertheless admitted: "No government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injuries so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler on Russia.... Russia has not only survived and recovered from those frightful injuries but has inflicted, as no other force in the world could have inflicted, mortal damage on the German army machine." By the end of the war, close to 30 million Soviet people had lost their lives in the ultimately victorious struggle over fascist barbarism, more than half of all the fatalities in World War II!

It is clear from the May 15th Comintern Presidium proposal and Stalin interview that the dissolution of the Communist International was a concession made by the communist movement to U.S. and British imperialism in exchange for their promised opening of the second front in the war against Germany. More than a year later, when the Soviet Red Army was clearly winning the war and was heroically fighting across Europe, driving the German war machine back to Berlin, the second front was finally

opened with the Normandy invasion in June 1944. In fact, Churchill and U.S. President Roosevelt had been quite content to delay the opening of the long promised "second front" against the Nazi war machine. On behalf of British and U.S. imperialism, these two ruling class aristocrats tried to bleed the US S R as long as they could — even after the world-historic Soviet victory at the Battle of Stalingrad, when the tide of the war had turned decisively against the fascists.*

*[NOTE: Mao Tse-tung wrote from China, even as the battle still raged, that it was "an unprecedentedly bitter battle, unparalleled in the history of mankind" and that the Soviet victory there was "the turning point in the history of all mankind." ("The Turning Point in World War II," October 12, 1942)]

It is noteworthy that the May 15th Presidium's proposal for the dissolution of the Comintern, as part of its rationale, specifically cited the Comintern's past practice in agreeing to the CPUSA's request to withdraw from Comintern ranks in November of 1940. At that time, prior to either the USA or the USSR being engaged in the war, the U.S. imperialist state, in a preview of the McCarthyite anti-communist hysteria that struck full force after the war, increased its re-baiting against the CIO and within the ranks of organized labor and increased its assault on the CPUSA. In a misapplication of the anti-fascist "united front" policy, the CPUSA succumbed to that political pressure from U.S. imperialism. By May of 1944, the revisionist leader of the CPUSA, Earl Browder, had led in the liquidation of the CPUSA and to its replacement by a Communist Political "Association" (CPA). As veteran leading Afro-American leading comrade Harry Haywood described it, this political association "worked for reforms within the prevailing two-party system of the United States." (*Black Bolshevik*, p. 532)

From Browder's advice to the Latin American and Chinese Parties to trust Roosevelt, to the trade union question to the Afro-American question, CPUSA revisionism liquidated all revolutionary work. The central idea of "American Exceptionalism" was that United States imperialism represented a special exception to the teachings of Leninism on imperialism, with its barbaric exploitation and oppression of the world toilers in unbridled pursuit of maximum private profit. "U.S. Democracy" meant that U.S. imperialism could be reasoned with, and could be cooperated with for mutual benefit in the long term.

No doubt, Browder, who was still the principal leader of the CPUSA at the time of the Comintern's dissolution, exercised undue influence as the chief representative of the CP in the main imperialist country that the Soviet Union and the Comintern were relying upon as an anti-fascist ally in the bitter life and death struggle with German fascism. Thus, the initial source of Browderism and "American Exceptionalism" was U.S. imperialism's domestic political repression directed at the CPUSA in 1940 in the context of the CPUSA's inconsistent application of the Comintern's "United Front" policy to the USA. And the main source of Browderism's attraction for the international communist movement was the military might of Nazi Germany and its anti-Comintern Axis fascist allies that necessitated a Soviet-led alliance with U.S. imperialism. It was the Nazi jackboot that pressured the Comintern's parties into following the example of the CPUSA's disaffiliation leading inexorably to the dissolution of the Communist International.

Nevertheless, in the short run, the tactical retreat of Stalin and the Communist International in the 1943 liquidation of the CI did not appear too costly. The Soviet-led victory over world fascism that ended World War II, laid the basis for the emergence, in the immediate post war years, of a global "Socialist Camp." From southern Europe to Africa and especially Asia, the people of colonial and dependent countries, inspired by the anti-fascist triumph, rose up in national liberation movements against the old imperialist powers, made vulnerable by

these powers' war exhaustion and defeats, death and destruction. With the victory of the Chinese Communist Party-led revolution in 1949, liberating one-quarter of humanity from the imperialist yoke, it is understandable that many proletarian revolutionaries believed that the last half of the twentieth century would witness the victory of socialism over capitalism throughout the world.

The socialist Soviet Union, the Soviet working people, the Red Army, all under the leadership of Comrade Joseph Stalin provided most of the heroism and sacrifice that brought about this great victory for human civilization. But U.S. imperialism, the Soviet Union's main war-time ally, which was already the most powerful monopoly capitalist and imperialist country in the world prior to the war, *unlike the USSR*, had gone through the war relatively unscathed. The anti-fascist victory also left U.S. monopoly capital and imperialism in the driver's seat vis-à-vis the entire capitalist world. For most of the sixty-five years since then, until quite recently, its hegemony in relation to its imperialist partners, all severely weakened in the course of that war, has been virtually unchallenged. And the cancer of Browderism, of "American Exceptionalism," had been planted within the international communist movement.

The very success of this movement, largely based on Soviet heroism in World War II, had led to the creation of the "Socialist Camp" with a number of Communist parties placed into state power. And, as comrade Stalin had honestly shared based on the experience of the Soviet party: "... the danger of nationalism, must be regarded as springing from the growth of bourgeois influence on the Party in the sphere of foreign policy, in the sphere of the struggle that the capitalist states are waging against the state of the proletarian dictatorship. There can be scarcely any doubt that the pressure of the capitalist states on our state is enormous, that the people who are handling our foreign policy do not always succeed in resisting this pressure, that the danger of complications often gives rise to the temptation to take the path of least resistance, the path of nationalism."

The international communist movement, after World War II, was now dominated by communist parties in state power. Consequently, the right opportunist tendency to national conservatism became a major source of political weakness. The strength and vitality of rising U.S. imperialism (which had replaced its weakened imperialist rivals and expanded its neo-colonial influence throughout much of Asia, Africa and Latin America) made it attractive to vacillating bourgeois national "communists" in state power. For such revisionists, the path of least resistance to economic growth might well be through rapprochement with the new dynamic imperialist power, U.S. imperialism. And the first "socialist" countries to make a deal with U.S. imperialism might come out the best. The ideological justification for this class treachery was American Exceptionalism, the myth of "U.S. Democracy."

Simultaneously, the Soviet-led efforts to reestablish a unified international communist movement took the initial shape of a communist information bureau. But the Cominform could not overcome the obstacle of bourgeois nationalism and complacency on the part of the large widely popular communist parties in Italy and France nor past the national conservatism of the parties in state power. Nothing approaching a new Communist International took shape, even while a Soviet economic and political bloc was formed against the aggressive U.S. imperialist-led NATO bloc.

Despite the Cold War and domestic U.S. McCarthyite anti-communist hysteria, despite the Korean War and the Vietnam War, bourgeois nationalist influence in the communist parties in state power led Tito in Yugoslavia, Khrushchev in the USSR itself and ultimately Teng Hsiao-ping et al. in China to

each make a rapprochement with U.S. imperialism. As *Newsweek* magazine (2-19-1979) observed, "The superpower rivalry — seen in the Nixon-Kissinger era as a 'triangular' relationship — more closely resembles a 'V.' The growing hostility between Moscow and Peking has removed the third side of the triangle, while Washington—the only superpower having normal relations with the other two — controls the point of the 'V.' Thus the U.S. is in a favorable position to play off Moscow and Peking against each other — or to get along with both."

As we pointed out at the time, "Perhaps U.S. imperialism's hegemonic position at the point of the 'V' in relation to China and the USSR can be seen most clearly in Indochina. Here only a few short years ago was the scene of U.S. imperialism's bloodiest and most bestial crimes against the world's peoples and here the heroic Indochinese peoples gave the world's peoples invaluable leadership on how to deal with U.S. imperialism. Yet in the past year or so when Kampuchea and Vietnam have been at war with each other, while Soviet social-imperialism has ties with Vietnam, and China with Kampuchea, only U.S. imperialism has had the ability to influence both Kampuchea and Vietnam through its ties with the USSR and China!!" (*Ray O'Light Newsletter* Number 2, June 1979)

Forty-three years ago, we observed: "Since the death of Stalin, the two main characteristics of the international situation have been (1) the intensification of the contradiction between the oppressed nations and U.S. imperialism; and (2) the development of a policy in most socialist countries of betrayal of the oppressed nations based on the ascendancy of the national bourgeois class in the socialist countries." ("The Role of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the International Marxist-Leninist Movement: The October Revolution vs. The 'Cultural Revolution'," *Youth for Stalin*, 1968)

Because of bourgeois nationalist domination of the international communist movement for most of the past fifty years and U.S. hegemony in the imperialist camp over most of the same period, and the desire of these powerful political forces to reach rapprochement, American Exceptionalism, the myth of "U.S. Democracy," has been a major ideological weapon constantly attacking the international working class and the oppressed peoples from many sides at once.

Historically, the international working class movement, *with Leninism*, has achieved great victories, even in objectively *unfavorable* conditions. *Without Leninism*, it has been tragically proven, as well, that we have suffered catastrophic defeats, even in objectively *favorable* conditions.

Today, U.S. imperialism's economic clout is waning and the U.S. Empire has gone into a sharp decline. Newly strong and growing powers such as China and India are rising up and linking up to challenge U.S. imperialist hegemony with some of the old imperialist powers that have so long been under the thumb of the USA. There are new opportunities for proletarian revolutionaries to expose the myth of "U.S. Democracy" and replace this ideological cancer in the hearts and minds of the exploited and oppressed of this earth with the liberating light of scientific socialism, with Leninism.

In the past, the myth of "U.S. Democracy," the seductive wishful thinking of "American Exceptionalism," was a key disorganizing and disintegrating ideological weapon of U.S. imperialism in the dismantling of the Socialist Camp and the dissolution of the international communist movement. Today the political-ideological defeat of the myth of "U.S. Democracy" can be achieved in the process of reestablishing a strong and united Leninist-led international communist movement. ●

ARAB UPRISINGS AND THEIR ROOTS IN NEO-LIBERALISM

"There are decades when nothing happens, and weeks when decades happen".
— V.I. Lenin

THIS statement by Lenin sums up events that have taken place not only in North Africa and Arabian Peninsula in the course of 2011, but also globally since the credit crunch in August 2007 in the US. The crisis in the financial sector of the US deepened and led to the collapse of the Lehman Brothers a year later in September 2008, precipitating a world-wide systemic crisis engulfing virtually every sector of the economy in all continents and countries.

Whilst it may be expected that the self-immolation of the Tunisian vendor Mohamed Bouazizi would have engendered an outpouring of outrage, this could probably not have morphed into an insurrectionary upsurge across the region if this incident did not take place in the midst of a deep-seated global capitalist crisis. This crisis has been particularly severe in the region not only because of the impact of Neoliberal reforms implemented in the past two decades but also because the region's economy is highly dependent on internationally exposed sectors such as real estate, construction, tourism, oil and the petroleum industry. The decline in the value of remittance from migrant workers based in Europe and the Persian Gulf was also a big factor in terms of the welfare of the most vulnerable. Nonetheless, this inspiring revolutionary inferno of mass uprisings that started on the 18th December 2010 culminated on the 12th February 2011 with the demise of Hosni Mubarak, following the dramatic flight of the Tunisian dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali to Saudi Arabia in January 2011. It's now almost a year since these uprisings erupted in a fairly obscure and impoverished city of Sidi Bouzid in Tunisia and today we are witnessing an unprecedented upsurge of protests right inside the belly of major capitalist countries. As this happens, from the moment Mubarak was overthrown in February a counter-revolutionary offensive was launched in the region such that today it can be said that the unfolding developments are a tale of three battles rolled into one - people against regimes, people against people and regimes supporting others against the people.

But, the basic question that arises in the light of the scale of this wave of mass uprisings across the region is not only what the causes are, but also why it is all happening at this particular point in time. It is apparent from the above that the causes of these mass uprisings are multifold, but they are basically rooted in the prevailing political and socioeconomic situation in the region leading to the uprisings.

The period leading to the uprisings illustrates that the peoples of this region have not been passive subjects of self-perpetuating despotic monarchs, sheiks and dynasties in the face of political oppression, deepening inequalities and growing unemployment and poverty. The US's "war on terror", the collaboration of regimes in the region with the US, Europe and Israel at the expense of the Palestinians, the implementation of Neoliberal reforms amidst growing unemployment, urbanization, poverty and inequality have all generated grass-roots movements that periodically erupted in protests, riots and strikes.

These were often suppressed in the absence of large scale political movements.

The threat of militant and extremist Islamic organisations has been the dominant theme used by the regimes to cloud the underlying issues of political legitimacy and socioeconomic crisis, whilst Al Qaeda and other such organisations used the regimes' illegitimacy and their clientelist relationship with western imperialism to position themselves as champions of the oppressed masses. Some of these regimes did not outlaw extremist religious groupings in part because the ideas of Al Qaida and others are generally compatible or even derived from the conservative Wahabbi version of Islam that is sanctioned by the Saudi monarch. This allowed them to fill the political void created by repression whilst the alternative progressive voices have been thrown into jails and driven to exile. Now, through their progressive ideas articulated in the course of their struggles, the masses of the region have pointed out very eloquently that all along what has been happening in the region between Al Qaida and the US Neoconservatives was not a "clash of civilizations" but a "class of barbarisms"!

Therefore, the answer to the basic question posed above as to why did this mass uprisings erupted at this juncture lies in the fact that these Arab masses are not and have not been alone in revolting against authoritarian Neoliberal regimes. This has been a trend in the recent history of South and Central America, and it has also been illustrated by the current mass strikes and protests in Europe and even in South Africa. The real difference is that theirs has been a wave of protests that raged like a wild-fire across countries, and this is arguably linked to the fact that the region had particularly peculiar conditions of a generalized political repression that prevailed across the region, which could not be compared with any other region. Thus, it may be argued that this wave of mass uprisings in the region could probably never have taken place at least on this scale and at this particular historical moment if it was not for the global capitalist crisis that eventually plunged economies into the Great Recession in 2008 and from which they are yet to be extricate.

After decades of Neoliberal reforms that generated mass unemployment in a region whose population is predominantly youth, amidst declining incomes of poor households and predatory accumulation of the ruling class as illustrated in Tunisia and Egypt in particular, objective conditions for a revolt existed. These objective conditions became particularly acute in the wake of the Great Recession

which also brought along extremely high food prices in international markets - in a region that is a net importer of food and in which state subsidies and price regulation has been generally eliminated.

The ascendance of the Ennahda (Renaissance) Party in Tunisia, a conservative Islamic movement which was banned by Ben Ali, raises some concerns as it immediately set out to curtail some of the social gains won by women during the relatively progressive period of post-independence Tunisia under nationalist leader Habib Bourguiba. This underscores the counter-revolutionary derailment of the envisaged outcomes of these popular revolts in the region. In Egypt, the masses are now back in Tahrir Square despite the scheduled parliamentary elections at the end of this month, as it is now becoming very clear that the ruling military junta SCAF (Supreme Council of the Armed Forces) is hell-bent on derailing what was seen as a revolution by the masses. As for Libya, the National Transitional Council (NTC) was from the beginning a vassal of imperialism, though it is contested by a variety of conservative forces that all at least agreed on one thing, that the envisaged constitution will be framed by Sharia Law. It is not surprising that the US is believed to be already gearing itself to move its Africa Command (Africom) from Stuttgart in Germany to Libya, not least because of the high quality of the Libyan crude oil (it has relative low sulfur content). Despite all of these setbacks, the objective socioeconomic crises of Neoliberalism in the region are bound to propel the masses back into action. It can be hoped then that the next time around, the indispensability of a revolutionary party of the working class leading mass insurgencies would be central in the mobilisation of the masses. ●

[NEHAWU International Bulletin, November 2011, Issue 01, www.nehawu.org.za]

"U.S. Democracy" : The U.S. Empire's Indispensable Myth

By Comrade Ray O Light was released on 12th November at Shahid Bhagat Singh Hall.

Dawn of the International Socialist Revolution

By Comrade Stefan Engel was release on 14th November at Best Inn auditorium.

Both books costing Rs. 400 each is available at Mass Line Publication, Kerala and Red Star Delhi Office

ISHRAT JAHAN'S

murder in Gujarat is yet another instance of death during fake encounters of Muslim youth by Narendra Modi's govt. In the aftermath of Gujarat carnage the then Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee subtly reprimanded Modi Govt that Raj Dharma should have been followed. The implication was that state should have actively intervened to protect the innocents who were killed during the violence. What will one say if the same state selectively picks up innocent citizens, kills them and presents false stories to save its skin? While taking the oath, while joining the state one is supposed to treat all citizens as equal irrespective of their religion caste and gender. What do we say about the state, which goes on to kill its innocent citizens who happen to belong to minority community?

As the Citizen's Tribunal pointed out in the aftermath of Godhra train burning Gujarat State machinery was told to sit back when the rioters were unleashed to kill and maim, to loot and to rape during the carnage. Now we know that in the same state, police officers have become emboldened enough to pick up minority elements, kill them in cold blood and proclaim that it is an encounter! The repeated cry of terrorists planning to kill Modi has been a favorite ploy of the police officers for killing innocents to please the CM, to seek promotions. It also helps to create a larger than life picture of Modi.

When Ishrat Jahan was killed in the June 2005, along with three others, the police officers boasted of their success that they have ably averted the attack on Modi by killing four terrorists of Lashkar-e-Tayyaba. Forensic and post mortem reports confirm that they were killed in cold blood on 14th June, shot at close range in a police custody and then, taken in a car, then put in a row on the road on the outskirts of Ahmadabad. To show that it was encounter, arms-ammunition was kept on their body. At this point of time National Human Rights

ISHRAT JAHAN: MURDER IN COLD BLOOD

Commission asked for magisterial inquiry. Later state Govt also confirmed of magisterial inquiry going on. The police investigation was also started.

Justice Tamang has come out with his report that it was not an encounter and that the four killed in cold blood by police were not having any terrorist links. In response the Gujarat government is leaving no stone unturned to say that Justice Tamang had no business to release his report, the Gujarat high court has brought a stay on the report. But already the contents of the report are known through the media reports and Gujarat Govt. is finding no place to hide its face, also Supreme Court has seen nothing wrong in what Justice Tamang did. The total lack of remorse on the part of Gujarat Govt. is not surprising at all!

The officer, D. G. Vanjara, who killed these four, was also the one who had brutally killed Soharabbudin and his wife Kauserbi, and is now behind the bars. There is a section of Gujarat people, who are very appreciative of what Vnajara has done, and the situation which Modi Government has brought in. Now the Gujarat Government asks that when the police inquiry was going on, what is the legality of magisterial inquiry? On the contrary as per the law after the death of a person in police custody, or due to police action of this type, inquest, magisterial inquiry and police inquiry all these have to be done.

It is not that it is the first time that encounter, fake encounter killings, are taking place. The difference here is the total identification and defense of such acts by the political leadership of state. The difference is that a section of people are being made to believe such dastardly acts are needed to make the society safe. The effort of Gujarat Government is just to show a brave face in the light of exposure of its brutality in killing the innocents. Incidentally Ishrat was wearing her college, Khalsa College Mumbai, Identity Card around her neck when she was killed in cold blood. Legal nuances apart where are we heading in twenty in Twenty-first Century? Just slightly an year ago in the face of police arrest of many Muslim youth in the aftermath of bomb blasts citizens tribunals were held in Hyderabad and then in Jaipur. Legal luminaries and social activists formed the jury of these tribunals. Both tribunals pointed out that the attitude of police is very biased and many a Muslim youth are being arrested without any proof whatsoever. Will such actions by state, will such a defense of killing of innocents, not intensify the sense of injustice amongst a section of Indian citizens?

Where are we heading to? On one hand there are inquiry commission reports showing as to how communal organizations orchestrate crimes and the section of police and part of state administration colludes. On the other plane there is the phenomenon of terrorism, which has many factors contributing to it but it is only Muslims who are blamed for that. We are also witnessing a serious and by now inbuilt discrimination leading to exclusion of minorities from the social facilities. In such an atmosphere what will happen to the psyche of the youth and others from minority community? The social disparities we are creating due to such policies are there for all of us to see. The tragedy is that a section of people have started asserting the correctness of these happenings. Situation created due to all this is further used to blame minorities for it. The Modi-Vanjara duo, which is becoming a law unto them, is the symptom of deeper malaise of Gujarat. ●

(Ram Puniyani, Source : www.pluralindia.com)

WEST BENGAL: CONVENTION AGAINST ANTI-PEASANT POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT

THE Struggling Left Coordination (Sangrami Bam Samannay) in West Bengal, comprising six organizations including the CPI(ML), organized a convention demanding increase in the support price of paddy and jute and against the hike in the price of fertilizers, in Kolkata on 18th November.

Over 300 activists belonging to these organizations – mainly peasant activists – from 12 districts participated in this convention. A proposal was moved by the Convener of the Coordination, Comrade Santosh Rana (of PCC-CPI(ML)). The proposal clearly opposed the agricultural policy of both the central and state governments and demanded immediate measures to protect the peasants from the devastating effects of this policy. It also demanded immediate hike in the support price of paddy and jute and other agricultural commodities. The proposal revealed the hoax of the West Bengal chief minister Mamata Banerjee's declaration that the state government would pay jute growers Rs 100 more per quintal over the minimum support price. Ms Banerjee's statement was nothing but an eyewash as the Jute Corporation of India (a government undertaking) has not bought a single kilogram of jute from the farmers this year!

The leaders of the six organizations in the Coordination and delegates from 12 districts spoke in support of the proposal and promised to develop a statewide propaganda and agitation against the state and Central government's anti-peasant policies. The convention expressed its apprehension that if the government did not take immediate measures to protect peasants' interests, peasant suicides would become a recurrent phenomenon of our state just as in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. The convention resolved to try and develop a statewide peasant movement on the basis of these demands.

The convention also demanded restoration of peace in Junglemahal through peaceful means and condemned the state government for its random branding of all democratic movements and activists as Maoists. The Convention ended with a people's folk song sung by Comrade Tarun Manna, a peasant activist from West Midnapore. ●

CONDEMN THE REPRESSION ON PPSS

WE CONDEMN the growing brutality of the state repression being unleashed against the peaceful, democratic protesters of the POSCO project area, who are only fighting for their legal and fundamental rights. This repression has reached a peak with the arrest on 25 November of POSCO Pratirodh Sangram Samiti (PPSS) leader Abhay Sahoo. The government's constant announcements of its intention to start construction in the area lead us to apprehend that there will be more violence and brutality against the movement.

This comes after the people of Dhinkia and Gobindpur heroically resisted police attacks for more than two months in the heat of summer, drawing the attention of the entire country to the threat to their thriving economy and fragile ecosystem. It also comes in the wake of a grossly illegal clearance to the project from the Environment Ministry, in direct violation of the Forest Rights Act and the EIA notification, despite two of the Ministry's own enquiry committees finding that grant of clearance would be a crime.

Moreover, the Centre itself now claims that projects of this kind will be subject, under its proposed new law, to the consent of 80% of the local community - which has been ignored in this case. Meanwhile, dozens of false cases have been filed against the protesters, and it is worth noting that Abhay Sahoo has received bail from the courts in more than 40 cases so far; but every time he is released, new cases are foisted on him. Finally, court cases are pending against the illegal clearance to the project in the High Court and in the National Green Tribunal. Despite all this, the Orissa govt is continuing its criminal offensive, and the Centre as usual is doing nothing to stop it or to uphold the law.

We condemn this repression, and call for the immediate release of Abhay Sahoo, the dropping of the false cases registered against him and other members of the movement, and the immediate withdrawal of this illegal, unjust and economically destructive project. ●

Varga Porattam (Tamil Political Monthly)

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AGAINST ORISSA GOVERNMENT'S SLUM DEMOLITION MOVES IN BHUBANESWAR RESISTANCE STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES

IMMEDIATELY after the successful completion of the 9th Party Congress, the Orissa Government and Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation have intensified their attack on the slum dwellers in the city. On 18th November the people resisted and driven back hundreds of policemen who had attempted to demolish the houses using bulldozers. Following this the BJD leader who is deputy city mayor with his goons and police tried to terrorize the slum dwellers. The administration is trying to push the dwellers into a narrow plot and take over the remaining area for handing over to the corporate houses. The *Basti Suraksha Manch* has repeated the demand that the slum dwellers also should have right over the government land and that they should be given legal right to the land where they live.

As the BJD goons started threatening the people with immediate demolition of their houses thousands of them got mobilized and expressed determination to resist government's moves. On 20th November the vehicle in which *Basti Suraksha Manch* was propagating against demolition and four comrades in it were taken into custody by the police. Soon hundreds of the slum dwellers got

mobilized in front of the police station and by midnight people by force got the comrades and vehicle released.

From the early morning of 22nd December, i.e., today, thousands of people, especially women and youth started getting mobilized and they are marching towards the assembly hall demanding an end to all forms of slum demolition and providing right over land to the slum dwellers. The political consciousness has reached such a high level that the slum dwellers are demanding the throwing out of so called neo-liberal policies under which the poor are attacked in numerous forms including throwing them out from their huts. The extent of large scale mobilization taking place today and the militancy of the participants show that they are not going to retreat from their path of struggle to achieve their genuine demands

The CPI(ML) appeals to all progressive democratic forces to come out in support of the struggle of the slum dwellers for their housing rights and to express solidarity with the struggle of the *Basti Suraksha Manch* of Bhubaneswar which is engaged in a life and death struggle for the genuine demands of lakhs of families. ●

