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Com. AS Tomar's Death: A Big Loss to Communist Movement in MP



COMRADE A.S. Tomar, who had joined the AIYF at a very early age and then became a CPI member, left it and joined the CPI(ML) in 1996, passed away on 22nd December. He was suffering from kidney problem for about one and half years. His death at the age of 47 years is a big loss to the communist movement in Madhya Pradesh.

Even when he was a leader of the AIYF and member of the CPI, he was a great fighter for people's problems which endeared him to the slum-dwellers and other oppressed masses. This was unlike the condition of other leaders of the CPI who had degenerated to parliamentary cretinism and social democratic practices. It was this contradiction which forced com. AS Tomar to search for a revolutionary force. In this process he came into contact with the CPI(ML) Liberation and then the People's War Group (PWG). He held discussions with senior leaders of both, but was not satisfied with their positions. By this time had rejected both CPI and CPI(M) positions and had started upholding the Naxalbari uprising. His search led him to establish contact with then CPI(ML) Red Flag. He was satisfied with its analysis of the international and Indian situation including its approach to the neo-colonial question. He decided to join it and became its member in 1996.

When it was found that it is difficult to win over the older cadres who were under the influence of right opportunist line of the leadership, he tried to win over youth and students to the Party. He could succeed to an extent in this. By that time he had deepened his understanding about the party line. The 1999 Enlarged Meeting of the Central Committee was held at Bhopal which helped the Party to fully move away from the past sectarian remnants. It took the decision to utilize parliamentary forms of struggle also for developing the revolutionary practice. In effect com Tomar acted as a one member reception committee to make all the arrangements for the Enlarged Meeting.

Soon the Party developed its activities to other parts of the state also. But as he preferred to remain a part-time activist, he could not play much role in this. In August 2008 when his kidney failed and he had to undergo weekly dialysis thereafter, he had to further reduce the activities. In spite of best efforts the transplantation of kidney could not be done. Though his health condition was worsening he was greatly enthused by the great campaign work taken up by the younger comrades he had initiated in to the movement in the context of the All India Special Conference at Bhopal from 7 to 12 November. He was present in the

dais of the public meeting on 7th November and attended the conference on the first and last days. He was very happy about the development of the Party organization in the state. His untimely death is a great loss to the Party in the state.

On 22nd January the MP state committee of CPI(ML) organized a memorial meeting at Bhopal in which com. Tuhin Deb, CEC member presented the memorial speech and com. Vijaykumar, CC member presided. A large number of prominent left leaders and intellectuals shared their memories about com. Amar Singh Tomar. Memorial meeting was attended by a good number of young party, youth and student activists. ●

Resolution on Lalgarh

WEST BENGAL today is seething with insurgent fury as well as reeling under the attack of state terror. The mass movements of Singur and Nandigram inspired the people of the state to rebel against the Left Front Government and also exposed completely the ruthlessly repressive nature of the ruling regime. Unfortunately, with no struggling left organisation to spearhead the people's discontent, this was translated into heavy electoral losses for the Left Front and a massive swing in favour of the rightist Trinamool-Congress alliance.

This blow to the social democrats and triumph of the right, resulted in making the former viciously desperate and the latter dangerously confident. This, in turn, resulted in a slew of anti-people measures adopted by both the social democrats in the state and the right alliance at the centre. The State Government, toeing the All-India policy of repression of the Central Government, is doing everything in its power to suppress people's movements.

The Lalgarh movement, directed against the anti-people nature of the Government and administration, was mercilessly crushed by the combined forces of the State and Central Governments. The draconian UAPA was and continues to be implemented at will. The Maoist bogey is being used to unleash a reign of terror and trample democratic movements. The CPI (ML) resolved to support and uphold the mass movement in Lalgarh while at the same time denouncing state terror. ●

Whither Indian Union?

AS THE 60th republic day is being celebrated by the Indian administration run by the Congress-led UPA government with lot of fanfare, spending hundreds of crores of rupees, the Indian ruling classes, the bureaucratic establishment and the comprador political leaderships are actually concealing much more than what they reveal in their speeches. The rot within the system which is getting aggravated is manifested in numerous ways. Living within the five star or seven star comforts surrounded by security commandos they do not bother to know how the masses live in this country or what do they think. As a result, what is happening in neighbouring Pakistan is also not subjected to a serious analysis beyond the realm of the traditional Indo-Pak conflicts.

Pakistan's case is typical of a failed state under neo-colonisation, surviving precariously. Its first major failure was in 1971 when the East Pakistan splitted away as Bangladesh. Not bothering to learn lessons from it, the military establishment turned it into a US base to launch attacks against the Soviet army in Afghanistan through Islamic fundamentalist outfits. Though the Soviet forces left Afghan soil, today Pakistan is again used by US led NATO forces to launch attacks on the Taliban forces to protect their puppet Karzai regime in Kabul. Throwing whatever sovereignty it had to the winds, US is attacking Pak border areas from land and air to demolish the alleged Taliban and Al Quaida bases. Pakistan is facing the serious threat of disintegration. As the Indian establishment takes Pakistan as its main enemy, it is not ready to take lessons from what is happening to it due to its collaboration with US.

But whether the Indian ruling establishment takes lessons from what is happening in Pakistan or not, the developments taking place in all fields shall compel anyone analysing the present situation here to raise the serious question: whither Indian Union? Farooq Abdulla, president of *National Conference* in Jammu & Kashmir and one of the closest allies of Indian establishment stated in 2006: "India has deceived the people of Jammu & Kashmir every now and then during the past 58 years. First it was in 1953, then in 1983 and it is still pursuing the same agenda". The PDP leader Mufti Mohammad Sayeed said in the same year: "The people of Jammu & Kashmir have never seen their own government since 1947, and they should be given right of self-governance". If these are the views of two of the closest allies of the Indian establishment, it shows that the condition in that state has not changed a wee-bit, and the people's demand for self governance is more powerful than ever there in spite of deploying huge military forces and subjecting the people to brutal suppression all these years.

The condition in the seven states of North-East is as serious or more serious than in the J&K. Army was send to Naga areas in 1948 to suppress a people's movement for the right of self-determination. From that time deployment of army, para-military forces and other security agencies has increased manifold, spreading to whole North-East. The draconian AFSPA is also imposed for more than four decades. There the Indian establishment has no Pakistan or Islamic jihadis to blame for the insurgency. In spite of pursuing ruthless suppression of a fascist type denying all democratic rights, the demand for self-governance and insurgency for it have only got strengthened during these years.

If this is the state of affairs in J&K and North-East, in other regions the demands for new states as in Telengana has led to militant agitations and turmoil, even splitting all the ruling class parties including Congress in that process. Similar demands are coming up for Vidhrabha, for dividing of UP, for Gorakhaland,

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etc. Thus the demands for the right of self-governance and for new states have raised the spectre of 'Balkanisation' more seriously than ever.

Every attempt during the last six decades or more through suppression, even deploying military, has only failed to curb them. It is repeatedly proved that not through use of force, but only through a political process these issues can be resolved. But the vested interests running the Indian state, the elite classes vastly benefitted during last decades, and the comprador political class are not ready for it. As a result, the problem is becoming increasingly serious day by day.

The case of SPS Rathode, the criminal, former top police chief of Haryana, who got away for 19 years after sexually molesting a young school girl, harassing her to commit suicide and harassing her entire family with the help of the top people within the police, judiciary, comprador bureaucracy and political class exposes the rot from another angle. The whole administration and all its wings along with the comprador political class has become totally corrupt. The police, the judiciary and those running the armed forces have become totally alienated from the people and corrupt making the rot within ever more serious.

This rot is visible in another form in Mumbai where the two Shiv Senas on the one hand and Congress, BJP and other parties on the other hand are competing with each other to attack the so-called 'non-Marathis' in the city. In the competition for the votes from 'Marathi Maanus' they are competing to make life miserable for the minority people and 'outsiders'. As this is allowed to grow unchallenged, with Mumbai police 'afraid' to arrest Bal Thackeray or Raj Thackeray after numerous criminal utterance and acts, reactions in the same coin may start surfacing in other regions also.

Coupled with these rots from within the corrupt, anti-people and

reactionary ruling system, the economic policies pursued causing pauperisation of the vast masses, growing Hindu fundamentalist and caste based attacks and the subservience to US imperialism and other imperialist forces intensifying neo-colonial slavery are compelling all those who are prepared to make an analysis of this situation to raise the question: whether Indian Union?

All the dreams during the independence struggle are shattered. And India, like Pakistan, created through the reactionary 'divide and control' policy of the British colonialists is facing the worst ever challenge since 1947. Impervious of it, the elite classes are celebrating their republic day, denying everything to the masses. This situation calls for the daringness to challenge the ruling system and to march for a real people's federal republic, towards people's democracy and socialism. ●

Rise Up Against Unemployment

THE hallmark of imperialist globalisation is the rapid growth of unemployment throughout the world. Imperialist theoreticians themselves characterise this phenomenon as what is called jobless growth. As a result of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation policies of the last two decades, India also experienced widespread joblessness arising from de-industrialisation and agricultural derogation. As the public sector is being closed down, organised sector employment is fast vanishing. Whatever employment is being created belongs to the unorganised and informal sectors where permanent employment is a myth. As the private sector is reluctant to provide employment opportunities, the ultimate outcome of neo-liberal policies is an unprecedented rise in unemployment and underemployment everywhere.

The most adverse effect of this is on the youth. Unemployed youth are easily attracted to the mafia and "gang culture" propped up by speculative finance capital along with de-politicisation encouraged by imperialist globalisation. This leads to widespread criminalisation of unemployed youth. Criminal gangs are profusely employed by underworld mafias.

It is the solemn duty of progressive and revolutionary forces to regain the youth who are subjected to ever intensifying criminalisation by speculative finance. This can be done only by organising the youth along an anti-imperialist democratic path led by a revolutionary youth movement having a correct perspective. Bhopal All India Special Conference of CPI(ML) appeals to progressive forces to expose the neo-colonial Indian state which props up neo-liberal economic and cultural policies thus driving the youth to criminalisation and urgently appeals for building up a revolutionary democratic youth movement capable of effectively resisting the present degeneration. ●

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60 Years of the Republic: *How Far Does Our Democracy Stretch*

Sanjay Singhvi

THE Indian Constitution is a source of great pride for us Indians, especially for the Dalits, as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is commonly seen as the architect of the Indian Constitution. Thousands of column centimetres will be written this month on the Indian Constitution as it completes its 60th year. At such a time, instead of mere praise and showering of superlatives on the Constitution it would be best to examine the Constitution for the viewpoint of historical materialism.

The Indian Constitution was not at all a democratically created document. It was drafted and adopted by the Constituent Assembly, consisting of (finally) 299 members. None of these members were directly elected. Most of the members (292) were indirectly elected by the Provincial legislative assemblies, which, in turn, were not elected on the basis of universal adult franchise but, rather, on the basis of property-ownership. Another 93 members represented the princely states and 4 members represented the Chief Commissioners' Provinces, giving a total of 389. However, under the Mountbatten plan of 3rd June 1947, a separate Constituent Assembly was created for Pakistan and representatives of some provinces ceased to be members of the Constituent Assembly. Hence the final figure of membership was 299. As we have seen, none of these were directly elected. The majority were elected by the Provincial assemblies which were themselves not elected on the basis of universal adult franchise and many represented the princely states and other rulers.

Many say that the Indian Constitution is merely a copy of the Government of India Act, 1935. Such a statement is not entirely true. Though there are many similarities between the two enactments, there are also many differences. Though both acts had the concept of separation of powers between the judiciary, legislature and executive, the Government of India Act did not contain the fundamental rights. The Government of India Act did not proclaim by its preamble that India was a sovereign democratic republic. The Government of India Act had kept the powers of the Indian princes and Rajahs untouched, to the extent possible except for the suzerainty of the Crown. Thus many feudal and pre-feudal formations were left untouched. In essence, the Government of India Act, 1935 was a piece of colonial legislation, while the Indian Constitution is a neo-colonial formulation.

In 1941 the US President Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Churchill reached an agreement in what was called the Atlantic Charter. Under this, the first outlines of the world which was to be created – the neo-colonial world – were laid down. It was agreed that after the II World War there would be no colonies and that every country would be free to exploit the resources of any other country. We must keep in mind that the US had itself been a colony and its own birth was inextricably woven into the rejection of direct colonisation. The US had never colonised any area and the countries in its own back-yard, Latin America, had been formally declared independent as early as the late 19th century. At the same time, the US had not abandoned capitalism and with the growth of monopoly and finance capital, capitalism in the US had inevitably transformed

into imperialism. The US form of imperialism, without direct colonisation of the oppressed countries, was to be the prototype for the new neo-colonial world.

The neo-colonial project involved formation of a new type of economic system. The World Bank and the IMF were set up under the agreement made by 44 countries in Bretton Woods. Before that, in January 1942, President Roosevelt first used the word “united nations” for the 26 countries which signed the Atlantic Charter. (India and the Soviet Union signed the Atlantic Charter, while both took part in Bretton Woods, though only India signed the final agreement).

This new type of imperialism, which involved a new type of colonisation, needed that the markets in all nations must be freely accessible for all nations all over the world. This needed that all non-economic coercions and inducements needed to be ended. The old feudal rights needed to be brought to an end. Freedom of movement all over the country was necessary for the supply of labour power to be equitably available all over each country. Minimum rights to labour had to be guaranteed to ensure that there was evenness in the market. Land had to be made susceptible to market forces. The “freedom” of the market was, of course, a mere show. In fact, the large monopoly capitalists in the form of the MNCs, which had unprecedented growth in this period, held sway over the whole economy.

It was in this atmosphere that our constitution was to be written. A large number of constitutions of former colonies, which gained formal

independence during this period after the II World War, were written at this time. If we make a comparative study of these constitutions, we find that there were two main trends in such constitutions. One was the “sovereign democratic” constitution which guaranteed certain basic “fundamental rights” to all citizens but also guaranteed the right to property, which made all other rights illusory. The other trend was that of socialist constitutions which denied the right to property and thus felt that there was no need to grant inviolable rights to the individual.

No doubt our constitution made a great leap in the concept of democratic rights but it would be wrong to think of this conceptualisation of democratic rights as originating from our constitution or from its framers alone. The neo-colonial world had a need for enforcing certain democratic rights for the purpose of being able to expand the market all over the world, as mentioned above. It was for this purpose that the United Nations, in 1948, under the stewardship of Eleanor Roosevelt, had adopted a charter of human rights. A glance at this charter shows that most of the fundamental rights enshrined in our constitution were earlier given expression in the United Nations human rights charter.

Another factor which led to the massive growth of “democratic rights” and “human rights” albeit in a bourgeois milieu, was the anti-communism that became rampant in the world after the II World War. This was expressed as early as 1946 in the Truman Doctrine. Freddy Truman had become the President of the US after the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1945. In 1946, after the end of the war, many nations in the world stood at the brink of becoming communist states. Notable among these were Greece and Turkey. It was Truman who, in a speech to the US Congress, stated that the US would supply military and monetary help to Governments all over the world to fight

communism. Immediately, the US supplied arms, armies and money to the Greek and Turkish Governments to fight the communist revolutionaries and their supporters and to impose undemocratic and authoritarian regimes there. This speech of the US President, which became famous by the name of the Truman Doctrine, found its complementary expression in the Marshall plan which was mooted by the then US Secretary of State, Gen. George Marshall. The Marshall plan and the ECA (Economic Cooperation Administration) constituted under it had the “containment of communism” as an avowed aim. To make communism unattractive, certain basic human and democratic rights had to be guaranteed under capitalism. This was a major change in the neo-colonial form of imperialism as compared to the earlier colonial form.

It was under the influence of these global forces that the founding fathers of our constitution sat and debated in the period from 1947 to 1949. It would be futile to think that the ideas for a “sovereign democratic republic” in India and the ideas of democracy and human rights (or fundamental rights) that came into our constitution were totally original formulations originating from the undoubted intellect of the likes of Dr. Ambedkar and Jawaharlal Nehru alone. These formulations owed a lot to the international situation. The UN Declaration on Human Rights, which itself was a result of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, definitely had an impact on the fundamental rights included in our constitution. This is all the more clear from the fact that most of the constitutions made at that time, after the II World War, had similar guarantees of fundamental rights.

This is not to say that the concept of fundamental rights arose only from the ideas of anti-communism and of the need to have a regulated world market. Definitely the struggles of the people all over the world against imperialism and against colonialism did have an impact. In fact, these struggles played a great role in the change from the old colonial system to the new neo-colonial system. These struggles played a role in destroying the old feudal rights and in establishing democratic rights even though these were only bourgeois democratic rights. Rather we may say that the bourgeois leadership of the national liberation movements deceived the people and, in place of the dream of the people for genuine freedom and independence from imperialism, gave them mere formal independence under the domination of imperialism in a new form. The communist leadership of that time was also to blame, to some extent, in so far as they were unable to see the change in the form of imperialism and therefore were equally unable to gauge the deception of the so-called national bourgeoisie. They were unable to see, therefore, that the so-called national bourgeoisie was, in fact, comprador in nature and was subservient to imperialism.

The fact that the “democracy” which was being promoted by the US as a part of the neo-colonial system, is testified to by the fact that the right to property was seen as almost sacrosanct. Article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states,

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

The philosophical basis of the emphasis on the right to property is based on the teachings of John Locke. He argued that property is a natural right and it is derived from labour. In addition, property precedes government and government cannot “dispose of the estates of the subjects arbitrarily.” To deny valid property rights according to Locke is to deny human rights. The British philosopher had significant impacts upon the development of the Government of the UK and was central to the fundamental founding philosophy of the USA.

The Indian Constitution also, thus, emphasised on the right to property. At

the outset, though it did away with feudal right, it did not confiscate feudal property. The Constitution allowed the massive estates of the feudal lords to be acquired but only after paying compensation. The very early attempts at acquisition were frustrated by the Supreme Court. In the famous cases of Kameshwar Prasad (Raja of Darbhanga) and Bella Banerjee, the Supreme Court said that the compensation must correctly reflect the correct market value of the land on the day that it was acquired. This meant that the land of the feudal lords was not to be confiscated but only to be “bought” at a fair price!

Much has been said about the various amendments of the Constitution to allow for forcible acquisition. However the fact remains that the right to property has essentially remained the most defining and inviolable feature of the Indian Constitution. Though removed from the chapter on Fundamental Rights, the right to property was retained, by the same constitutional amendment, by adding a new article, 300 A, in almost the same form as earlier.

The colonial system of exploitation had relied upon feudalism as a sort of social base. It had not changed the feudal base except to the extent that was required to achieve its aim of extended access to raw materials and, to a small extent, access to markets for sale of its goods. It did not aim for a large extension of the market like the neo-colonial system has done. It did not aim for extension of the capital market or the technology market. All these developments were left for the neo-colonial system. The market has always been in contradiction to feudal rights. Discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, sex, creed or belief

was anathema to the market. For the market to work, man and woman, brahmin and dalit, hindu and muslim, Jan Sanghi or Congresswala all had to be subject to the market to ensure the best price. That was the kind of omnipresent and omnipotent market that the neo-colonial system ushered in. Thus destruction of feudal right, at least to some extent, and expansion of “democratic” rights was necessary for the neo-colonial system to work. This was the need that was also served by the Indian Constitution.

However, this was the whole extent of the democratic “revolution” ushered in by neo-colonialism. “Freedom” without property, in a capitalist world is only the freedom to choose your own slavery! It is in this context that we have to evaluate our Constitution and what it has achieved. ●

Condemn Government of India's Comprador role in the rejuvenation of the Doha Round of Talks

THE Doha Round of WTO negotiations aimed at prying open the market for agricultural and non-agricultural goods in neo-colonies by MNCs from imperialist powers had been dragging for several years. It is a fact that the imperialist countries led by the USA and the EU failed in successfully completing the Doha round within the stipulated time on account of irresolvable inter-imperialist contradictions especially between the USA and the European Union regarding the quantum of agricultural subsidies to be reduced on the one hand and differences between neo-colonial countries and imperialist countries regarding import liberalisation on the other. While, led by USA and the European Union, the imperialist powers were compelling the neo-colonial countries to further open up their economies to the unfettered dumping of cheap commodities, the farmer took the stubborn stand that there will not even be a marginal curtailment in the high tariff walls erected against the import of goods from poor countries. Further, in the context of the unprecedented crisis confronting their economies, imperialist powers have resorted to newer and newer protectionist measures which are in fact an outright violation of the so-called free trade regime professed by the WTO.

It was in this context that at the behest of the USA, the comprador Manmohan Government has taken the most retrograde step of acting as a mediator to facilitate the Doha round of trade talks to its successful completion within a

span of a year. Thus, during the first week of September, 2009, the Manmohan Government has arranged a mini trade summit at New Delhi, participated in by all the major G-20 countries having the lion's share of international trade under their control. At the same time, most of the neo-colonial countries who earlier took a bold step in unitedly opposing imperialist machinations at WTO by forming what is called the 'like-minded group' were totally excluded from this mini summit. And led by the trade representatives of the USA and the EU, the Delhi summit is reported to have taken the decision of completing the Doha Round within the stipulated time beginning with the forthcoming Geneva Summit of WTO. Completion of the Doha Round means a further intensification of imperialist globalisation and neo-colonial plunder by imperialist finance capital.

In this context, the All India Special Conference of CPI (ML) resolutely condemns the traitorous steps initiated by the comprador Indian state in this regard and demand that it should desist from the heinous move of acting as a facilitator of the Doha Round of talks. ●

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“Gold Fever”, Dollar Depreciation and Ever-Intensifying Crisis of Neo-Colonial Monetary Order

P.J. James

THE unprecedented rush on the part of governments, central banks, financial institutions, money-spinning speculators, foreign exchange dealers, global hedge funds and other greedy sections to stock up large quantities of gold, the last resort of wealth has resulted in an alarming rise in its price. On account of economic crisis arising from the bursting of “asset bubble” that continues without any let up, gold demand by panic-stricken investors and real estate dealers all over the world has gone up by 51 percent during the second quarter of 2009, as estimated by World Gold Council. Consequently, the price of gold in leading imperialist markets has already hit \$ 1200 an ounce (28.349 grams) and so long as the economic crisis continues unabated, it is projected to rise further in the coming days. As is obvious, in inverse relation to this galloping rise in gold price, the value of dollar, which still, in the absence of an alternative, remains as the de-facto international money is plunging down to the bottom, as a clear manifestation of the irresolvable crisis, and, no doubt, the impending collapse confronting the neo-colonial international monetary order so assiduously built up by US led imperialism in the post World War II period. For, even neo-colonial countries which, on account of their subservience to USA had been stockpiling huge quantities of dollar till recently are reportedly moving away from such dollar-denominated assets in favour of gold. Interestingly, even the Indian Reserve Bank took the extra-ordinary step of buying up 200

metric tons of gold from the IMF for \$6.7 billion, probably under American pressure to curtail a similar purchase by China.

This consistent rise in the price of gold or what is called acute attack of “gold fever” on the imperialist world economy is a clear sign of the breakdown of the entire neocolonial monetary system based on the so called dollar-gold exchange standard designed under American initiative at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. In that Conference, USA, the supreme arbiter in the emerging neocolonial global order, succeeded in installing its dollar as the new international currency after throwing out the British pound sterling from its erstwhile role of global money. Due to the American hegemonic position in the global economic, political and military spheres and especially since USA held 74 percent of imperialist gold reserve at that time, the old colonial powers were compelled to accept dollar as the medium of international settlements and for holding reserves. As per the Bretton Woods agreement, the official price of gold was established at 35 dollars an ounce, the price fixed in USA in 1934. USA was to maintain this dollar-gold exchange rate free from fluctuations and to be ready to exchange dollars for gold and vice versa at this rate without any restrictions or limitations. The other countries were required to fix the price of their currencies directly in terms of dollars and indirectly in terms of gold and the IMF was entrusted with the task supervising and managing it.

This privileged position of the dollar as the generally acceptable international medium of exchange, unit of account and store of value immensely facilitated export of finance capital by America and enabled American MNCs to expand their neocolonial plunder in an unparalleled manner. While the other imperialist countries and all neocolonial countries had to create an export surplus or forego real resources or gold and exchange them for dollars either for making payments for goods or for capital investments abroad, USA, utilizing its prerogative as world’s banker, that is, as the issuing country of dollar, could print any amount of paper dollars without any international regulations and quite unmindful of adequate gold backing, leading to a crisis of confidence among foreign dollar holders such as other governments, central banks and all kinds foreign exchange dealers regarding America’s ability to maintain dollar-gold convertibility and adhere to the dollar-gold parity at \$ 35= an ounce of gold as stipulated at the Bretton Woods. As a matter of fact, throughout the neocolonial period, the real value or the purchasing power of dollar had been constantly declining relative to its proclaimed official value.

Meanwhile, US export of capital through the printing of dollars without any gold backing increased manifold. With these dollars, it purchased most goods from abroad, bought up the most profitable enterprises and economic infrastructures in many imperialist countries and plundered the real wealth of all neocolonial countries. In order to reconstruct the war-torn economies of Europe under the so called European Recovery Program or Marshall Plan and for economic “aid” programs in neocolonial countries to bring them under neocolonial

dependence, paper dollars were profusely used. Same method was used for mobilizing resources for setting up reactionary, subservient and puppet governments in different parts of the world as well as for suppressing socialist, national liberation and progressive movements everywhere. The huge military expenditures of US imperialism for building up various military centres and bases throughout the world including the financing of Vietnam war were all covered with dollars printed in this manner. Rather than taxing the American financial oligarchy, all the Republican and Democrat governments resorted to the easy method of printing dollars for meeting US domestic and neocolonial expenditures.

In the process, America was transforming itself from a productive economy to a consumption based financial bubble. While labour productivity and economic growth rate in Europe and Japan increased relatively, that of USA lagged behind and she remained a net importer of cheap goods from the other imperialist powers. American MNCs transplanted several production processes abroad using the latest developments in transportation, communication and information technologies including those technologies by which production process itself could be decomposed into multi-stages. Evolving a new international division of labour based on post-Fordist business organization and flexible specialization, labour intensive lines of production were transplanted to cheap labour economies, resulting in unemployment and underemployment in USA at high levels. Burgeoning imports into USA naturally led to a paradoxical situation of worsening of the balance of payments of world's banker itself. In fact, in consonance with these trends, what occurred was a reverse flow of gold from USA to other imperialist countries. In course of time, the world's creditor became the biggest debtor.

From the fifties onward, other imperialist powers knew very well that American payments were not at all backed by gold and that it is like any other currency issued by the other imperialist countries. As a result, the dollar holdings which were considered as assets or reserves in the initial stages of neocolonisation became US liabilities or American debt to the rest of the world in the succeeding years as the dollars could not be easily converted into gold as promised. This resulted in an extremely fast growth of US payments liabilities to foreign banks and institutions. Even bourgeois economists like Robert Triffin exposed the extreme irrationality of the Bretton Woods monetary system by pinpointing America's inability to convert dollars into gold. For, in the mid-sixties itself, more than 30 trillion dollars (1 trillion=1000 million) were collected in the world money circulation channels and in the foreign exchange reserves of other countries which could be presented for exchange into gold or to more acceptable imperialist currencies such as Mark, franc, yen, etc. By the early 1970s, US dollar liabilities to the rest of the world were the order of 65 trillion dollars and US current liabilities alone in its balance of payments account were more than six times as high as its gold reserves. In the meanwhile, US gold stock which was more than 70 percent of the global gold reserve in the late 1940s, the foundation upon which the entire neocolonial monetary order was built up, declined to less than 20 percent of the world total in the 1970s. At the same time, as a manifestation of the variation in relative imperialist economic power balance, the gold stock of European countries increased from just 6 percent to more than 40 percent during the same period.

It was quite natural in this situation on the part of dollar holders to do whatever they can to get rid of them, to exchange them for gold or more stable currency. The other imperialist powers such as France who had much irritation against the privileged position of America in the neocolonial system had indirectly acted to aggravate the problem through their domestic economic policies. Efforts by dollar holders to get rid of them were expressed in periodic attacks on imperialist money markets and rumours of competitive revaluations and

devaluations by different imperialist countries led to violent fluctuations in imperialist monetary system. For instance, in the beginning of 1971, amidst talk of an impending revaluation (meaning an increase in its official gold content) of West German Mark, dollars poured into Federal Republic of Germany from various sources and under American pressure, for preventing depreciation of the dollar, the German government had to buy up 12 trillion depreciating dollars. But after some time, Germany stopped buying dollars which was followed by the other European powers. The immediate cause of this over abundance of dollar was the heinous neocolonial move on the part of successive US governments, especially by Johnson and Nixon governments to finance America's Vietnam aggression by pumping dollars and dumping them on world nations and peoples. In the process, it transmitted its domestic inflation to the rest of the world. In other words, the Yankees were financing their neocolonial operations not through taxing the financial oligarchy in America, but through the massive export of dollars (which was American debt to the rest of the world) at a global level.

All these developments coupled with intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions and the mad rush for accumulating gold by imperialist centres and wealthy sections led to an unprecedented rise in gold prices. During the five year period from 1967 to 1972 alone, imperialist international monetary system suffered seven acute attacks of "gold fever" such that the entire Bretton Woods monetary system built up as part of neocolonisation was essentially collapsed. Of course, US imperialism tried to postpone this inevitable collapse by officially recognising the factual depreciation of the dollar in relation to gold and other hard currencies. As such, during this period of violent gold fevers, it resorted to a double devaluation of the dollar culminating in the parity of 42 dollars an ounce. But it could not stem the

depreciation of the dollar (In the London Exchange Market, the price of an ounce of gold actually reached 198 dollars at the end of 1974). The only alternative was a formal burial of the Bretton Woods monetary system and on August 15, 1971 Nixon unilaterally declared the abolition of the convertibility of dollar in to gold together with a package of protectionist policies against the rest of the world.

This monetary crisis which was inseparably linked with the logic of finance capital is to be located in the whole course of development of imperialist economy in the post World War II period- an aspect that is not the theme of this paper. But the collapse of the international monetary arrangement devised by US led imperialism had been inseparably linked with the “stagflation” (a combination of stagnation and inflation) of the 1970s and the consequent demise of international Keynesianism. In other words, the monetary crisis was a clear manifestation of the underlying crisis in the real economy, the derangement and disintegration of the imperialist world economy. As such, along with the collapse of Keynesianism and emergence of monetarism or neoliberalism since the 1980s, the imperialist monetary crisis continued to intensify. Overabundance of dollar was a clear manifestation of the alarming growth of parasitic and speculative finance capital relative to production, coupled with the ‘uneven development’ of capitalism as analysed by Lenin in his studies on imperialism. The resultant crisis has aggravated all the inherent contradictions under imperialism. That is, the subjugation of neocolonial countries by finance capital intensifies the contradiction between imperialist countries and oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand, while the unevenness of capital expansion sharpens inter-imperialist contradictions. The so-called gold fever and dollar crisis are integrally linked with this.

Meanwhile, immediately after the formal abolition of the Bretton Woods monetary system, the representatives of the leading ten imperialist countries who were duty-bound to salvage the crumbling neocolonial monetary system from total collapse met at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington and agreed to adjust with the inconvertible dollar as still the international medium of exchange. This was followed by a review of the parities of various national currencies with the dollar and the introduction of “floating” rates of exchange. Though the Smithsonian Agreement hammered out a compromise formula of 38 dollars an ounce, it was far from reality. In January 1975, the IMF recommended abolition of official gold price leaving both the prices of currencies and gold to be determined by market forces. Under monetarism or neoliberalism that followed since the eighties, as speculative capital flows across the world have surpassed all limits, instability has become the hall-mark of every aspect of imperialist world economy including that of the monetary sphere. During this period, from imperialist centres the monetary crisis has already spread to neocolonial countries in the form of Mexican and East Asian currency crises and is engulfing the entire world through global financial meltdown, an aspect already been discussed seriously in recent times. All these are the outcome of the unparalleled growth and internationalization of speculative finance.

The depreciation of dollar and consequent appreciation of gold are not separate events, but integral part of the global ballooning of this speculative finance. According to the McKinsey Global Institute, by 2005 the stock of global financial assets had reached \$140 trillion—that is, more than three times global GDP. This compares with the situation in 1980 when the stock of global financial assets and global GDP were roughly equal. And during the five year period from 2005 it has grown at an exponential rate leading to the ongoing unprecedented financial crisis. A concomitant of this alarming growth in international finance has been the rapid decline in the value of dollar and dollar denominated assets. For instance, in the US alone, the real estate sector that had almost trebled during the decade ending 2008 lost its value by half due to the currency crisis and depreciation of the dollar. Depreciation of the dollar is also associated with the pumping of more dollars to the economy through the ever-widening US budget deficits which after crossing the \$ 1trillion mark by the end of October 2009 has reached the alarming figure of \$1.84 trillion by the beginning of 2010. On the eve of the present crisis, the deficit was \$ 500 billion. And, the official debt of imperial American state now is reportedly \$ 12 trillion.

The ongoing ‘gold ever’ is to be evaluated in this over all context. Panic-stricken American bond and debenture holders world wide are madly engaged in stocking gold and getting rid of their dollar holdings and dollar denominated assets which are becoming worthless piece of paper in the international money market. Naturally, this has given rise to an unprecedented demand for gold on the part of financial institutions and central bankers the world over. Of course, it is a historical fact that the capitalist crisis has always reflected in the form of an escalation in the price of gold. The view that the stagflationary trends including the depreciation of the dollar will continue without any let up has further shot up the price of gold. For instance, it was consequent on the contraction of the world economy by 1.04 percent during 2009 that price of the yellow metal had shot up by an unprecedented 34 percent. As already noted, the immediate cause is the mass exodus of all kinds of speculators and so called investors from dollars and dollar-based financial instruments to gold. All these points to the inherent weakness and fragility of the very foundation of the international monetary system that emerged as part of the neocolonisation process in the post-war period. A positive resolution of this is possible only as part of an embracing fundamental transformation in international relations led by the international proletariat which is historically capable of challenging the logic of finance capital. ●

On Jyoti Basu: A Great Communist or A Leading Social Democrat?

K.N. Ramachandran

JYOTI BASU who died on 17th January was one of the top most leaders of the CPI(M). He was one of the 32 members who walked out of the CPI's National Council meeting in 1964, paving the way for the formation of CPI(M). Born in a middle class family, he went to London for studying law in 1930s. There, under the guidance of the leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain like Harry Pollit, Ben Bradly and Rajne Palme Dutt, especially RPD as he was popularly known, like many other Indian students of that period who went to Britain for higher studies, he joined the communist movement.

The objective condition of 1930s played a major role in a large number of the middle class students and youth like Basu joining the communist movement. Following the *Great Depression* of 1929, the conditions were almost like the end of capitalism. Millions were unemployed, inflation soaring and there were widespread social unrest. Closing down of numerous industrial units had led to huge people's marches against poverty and unemployment. While it led to collapse of the Labour Party government in Britain, in Italy followed by Germany, fascist forces came to power. Fascism was a growing tendency among the bourgeois political forces in Europe and even in Britain. Against these the socialist Soviet Union stood solidly apart upholding progressive values. Its Five Year Plans, egalitarian economic growth which was not affected by the imperialist crisis, its support to the national liberation movements against colonial powers and its solidarity actions to defend the Spanish Republic enthused enormously the contemporary popular forces including students from colonial India. When they returned to India, instead of pursuing the profession for which they went for higher studies, they became whole-time cadres of CPI. Many of them played important roles in building the communist party, trade union movement and peasant movement in Bengal in the 1940s and 1950s.

But when in the colonies, where democratic revolution did not succeed, as in India, the 'de-colonization' took place transferring power to those classes who were ready to collaborate with the imperialist camp, not only the ex-communist like M.N. Roy, the Communist Party also started facing a crisis in evaluating the character of the new state and the ruling classes, and in evolving a *Path of Revolution* according to the new concrete conditions. It was reflected in the abandoning of the *Party Programme* and *Policy Statement* of 1951 soon after they were adopted, and in the new general secretary of CPI Ajoy Ghosh agreeing to Nehru government in 1951 end to withdraw the Telengana struggle and to dissolve the party fractions within the armed forces. In 1952 general election itself parliamentary cretinist tendencies had started creeping in. When the failure to correctly evaluate the post-Second World War situation under which the US-led imperialist camp had started replacing erstwhile colonial system with the neo-colonial policies imposing the hegemony in new forms by putting into command the control of finance capital and market degenerated the post-Stalin CPSU leadership to becoming apologists of neo-colonialism and class collaboration, the CPI leadership soon embraced this line. And the *Dangeist line* of completing *National Democratic Revolution* through collaboration with

Congress, which was characterised as predominantly the party of the national bourgeoisie, came to dominate it.

When the inner-party struggle against the National Democratic Revolution line started intensifying and Basavapunnaiiah, Sundraiah like leaders put forward the People's Democratic Revolution (PDR) line reviving the 1951 documents, Jyoti Basu was in a dilemma. Along with EMS Namboodiripad and Bhupesh Gupta an 'alternative line' was put forward. Though it professed opposition to the Dangeist positions, it did not reach to the PDR line in essence. So even the walk out of the 32 was not against the NDR line but in the name of letter written by Dange to British authorities. Though Bhupesh Gupta went back to CPI, in the 1964 split Jyoti Basu and EMS remained with the CPI(M) even after their line was defeated in the Seventh Congress later. But soon, as all the protagonists of the PDR line were arrested as 'pro-Chinese', both got opportunity to put their 'alternative line' in to practice as reflected in the line pursued in 1965 Kerala assembly elections and in Kerala and West Bengal during the 1967 general elections. Except in words it was a line identical to that of CPI in essence. On international questions, though it took apparently a 'centrist line', claiming to be equidistant from those of the capitalist roaders who had captured the CPSU leadership and of the CPC, it basically upheld the Khrushchev-Brezhnev-Gorbachev line.

In practice the Jyoti Basu-Pramod Dasgupta-EMS line worked for a bureaucratic party structure,

emphasising 'centralism' one-sidedly distorting Leninist concept of democratic centralism even after they upheld the liquidationist, bourgeois liberal *glasnost* of Gorbachev. In order to combat the revolutionary line it propagated that all the legal channels have to be exhausted before it is possible to speak of a revolutionary situation. So it became a more ardent advocate of the existing bourgeois democratic system like true social democrats than the ruling classes themselves. That is why when he was denied the opportunity to become prime minister in 1996, Jyoti Basu called it a 'Himalayan Blunder', and worked hard to get his line adopted by the whole party in its 2000 Thiruvananthapuram Special Conference.

When the Congress government imposed imperialist globalisation policies in 1991, though initially he murmured his opposition by suggesting 'alternative budget', soon, as chief minister of West Bengal, he went around to many imperialist countries to invite capital to the state. The land reforms under the banner 'Operation Barga' did not bring about in any radical changes in the land relations based on *land to the tiller* slogan. It was within the frame of imperialist-led land reforms from above. Budhadeb's *Singur, Nandigram* policies are continuation of his predecessor's neo-liberal policies. Thus Jyoti Basu through his 23 years of chief ministership, through the hard work done along with Surjeet to ensure Left Front support to UPA government in 2004, etc. proved himself an indispensable man for the ruling system.

During last five decades the international communist movement has suffered severe setbacks from a position of great strength to present crisis-ridden situation, which calls for developing Marxist-Leninist theory and practice according to concrete conditions of today. An evaluation of the history of the communist

movement in India clearly shows that while during the colonial days it failed to establish the working class leadership in the independence struggle, later it continuously failed to lead the PDR forward under proletarian leadership. Instead of finding reasons for and rectifying them, Jyoti Basu played a major role in leading the CPI(M) to its present social democratic line of becoming part of the ruling system. While remembering him, the two periods, his younger days as a communist when he tried to implement the party line as a party and trade union organiser, and during the later period when he increasingly degenerated to revisionist and from there to social democratic positions should be distinctly evaluated. Then only the reason why the ruling class leaders, the elitist political class and the corporate media almost as a whole queued up to pay respect to him and why the ruling system with its brutal suppressive state machinery gave open tributes to him including a 'state funeral march' can be correctly understood. That a large section of the left masses respected him and thronged to his 'last travel' should not prevent a Marxist-Leninist analysis of Jyoti Basu, whose activities did immense harm to the communist movement in India by working hard to deviate it from the revolutionary path, and by suppressing the Naxalbari uprising.

So far no official word has come out from any UPA government leaders about respecting him by giving a *Bharatratna*. But the shameless eagerness shown by the CPI(M) leaders about it shows that according to them Jyoti Basu deserves such a posthumous award for the yeomen services rendered by him to the ruling system, though they are not expressing it in such a manner. Claiming themselves as communists who should be dedicated to overthrow the existing rotten reactionary ruling system on the one hand, and clamouring for awards from the very system on the other, shows how far these CPI(M) leaders have degenerated from the revolutionary path.

Jyoti Basu was introduced to the Marxism by Rajne Palme Dutta and other leaders of the CPGB, who could not understand the concrete conditions of a colonial country like India or could not take a correct approach on the *Cominter* resolutions towards the tactical united front formed by Soviet Union to defeat the Hitlerite aggression. They had played a major role in guiding the CPI leadership during the colonial days when it had failed to establish the working class leadership over the independence struggle and in correctly analysing the class character of Indian big bourgeoisie and the Congress leadership.

Jyoti Basu during this entire, long political career had never tried to critically analyse these weaknesses. On the other hand, he and those belonging to his school still eulogise Rajne Palme Dutta and such Euro-centric scholars who contributed their own share in bringing about the severe setbacks to the ICM. Not only this, even during his communist days apart from mechanically implementing the CPI line which was vacillating from right to left to right influences repeatedly from 1930s to 1950s, he has not contributed anything for developing and putting into practice the Marxist-Leninist teachings according to Indian conditions during the colonial or neo-colonial periods. At the same time he has contributed much in strengthening the neo-revisionist deviation of CPI(M). In this way he had become a leading figure of the school of Kautsky in India. And, regarding how to evaluate Kautsky and those belonging to his school, Lenin has made a great contribution in his famous work "*Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*". So, quite different from the evaluation of CPI(M) leaders, the ruling class leaders, comprador pundits and the corporate media, the communist revolutionary movement or Marxist-Leninist school has not weakened as a result of the demise of Jyoti Basu. It is the social democrats and the reactionary Indian ruling system which has lost a tall leader through his death. ●

Approach Towards Adivasi Question

INTRODUCTION

THE Adivasis or the tribal people comprising more than 100 millions, along with the dalits, are the most oppressed and exploited sections of the society. At the global level from the colonial phase itself the mercantile capitalism followed by the imperialist powers had unleashed most barbarous attacks on the Adivasis and the aboriginals. Marx's famous statement in Capital regarding the colonial policy which led to the strengthening of capitalism vividly explains the barbarous oppression on Adivasis and aboriginals as follows : "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in the mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and the looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production" (Capital, Vol. 1, P-751).

In India the British colonialists started an organized and systematic penetration of the Adivasi areas for the first time in history through efforts to bring them under feudal/zamindari system with the systematic dispossession of the Adivasis people from their land resources, which they were holding for generations. As a result the history of nearly a century from 1765 to the first war of Independence in 1857-58 is interspersed with relentless struggles and resistance by the Adivasis along with the peasantry against British imperialist penetration. Just before the great revolt of 1857 the Santhal rebellion broke out. From Malabar region of Kerala to Rajasthan to central India to Orissa-Jharkhand to the Northeast the Adivasis waged relentless struggles against British colonialists and their lackeys. After the ruthless suppression of the revolts of Kols and Santhals during 1881-1895, once again the Santhals and other Adivasis of Ranchi and Singhbhum area rose in rebellion under the leadership of Birsu Munda. These revolts starting initially against the every day social problems of the Adivasis, ultimately turned in to mighty struggles against the rural vested interests, landlords and their patrons, the British colonialists. In spite of barbarous suppression the Adivasis went on resisting. But the organized colonial state went on plundering them, dispossessing them from their lands. The forest, mining, plantation and agricultural policies of the colonialists went on destroying the productive capacity, the very sustenance and livelihood of the Adivasis. The anti-Adivasi approach of the colonialists is self-evident from the Indian Criminal Tribes Act enacted by the British Government in 1871 under which the state forces could kill Adivasis without any legal scrutiny and could dispossess them of their land.

In the colonial phase itself as the British imperialists launched plantations, took up industrialization in a limited way and the comprador classes were promoted to take up mining and industrialization, they started displacing the Adivasis from their lands in a big way since their areas were richest in natural and mineral resources. After the transfer of power when the colonial state was replaced by the neo-colonial state as the five year plans were launched and industrialization was taken up on a bigger scale the pressure on Adivasi habitats went on mounting. Millions of Adivasis were turned in to destitutes and workers in the land once cultivated by them or under their control. Adivasi women came under more severe repression including increasing sexual assaults or many of them were turned in to prostitutes. The neo-colonial state with its bureaucracy, judiciary,

police, other security forces and forest/revenue departments served the corporate-landlord-money lender-politician nexus in a bigger way to dispossess the Adivasis of their land and culture.

As imperialist globalization has intensified the neo-colonisation through neo-liberal policies, this barbarous process has further sharpened. Vast sections of Adivasis are rendered landless, unskilled, bonded labourers. In the context of worldwide movements on the part of Adivasi people and aboriginals with the support of democratic forces, which led to adoption of special UN provisions for "Indigenous People", though the comprador, neo-colonial Indian state resorted to symbolic pro-Adivasi laws such as the Adivasi Land Protection Act of 1970s, Forest Act etc., both the material and cultural life of Adivasi people is deteriorating day by day. Overwhelming majority of them are deprived of education and better jobs.

SPECIFIC SPHERES OF ATTACK ON ADIVASIS

a. Forest Policy: A major section of the Adivasis lives in forests. The forest policy of British rulers and various forest acts enacted by them destroyed the organic relationship between them and forest. Even after transfer of power there is no change in this approach. The forest mafia composed of bureaucrat-contractor-politician nexus and its operation have driven out adivasis from their habitats. Destruction of forests associated with neo-colonisation has completely alienated the Adivasis from their habitat and destroyed their livelihood and sustenance.

Restoration of Adivasis to their habitats along with inalienable rights to make use of the forest products is very essential. Appropriate policies for this are needed. Neither the forest laws enacted by the comprador Indian state nor the World Bank initiated Participatory Forest Management

programs do serve this purpose. Only a People's Democratic state through appropriate schemes can protect the life of indigenous people.

b. Land Relations: For the tribal people land is not at all a commodity for sale. Through the introduction of private property and private land ownership along with the advent of money, the Britishers destroyed the traditional tribal life. The same process of White Man's annihilation of the Red Indians in America is being repeated in tribal areas under neo-colonialism. The so-called protection of tribal lands under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution in India has not yielded any results as the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-landlord alliance is subverting the laws using their own loopholes. Alienation of tribal lands under benami transfer, bogus titles, etc. with the connivance of bureaucrats, forest officials and politicians continue. This is to be resisted and overcome. All the alienated land should be restored to tribals.

c. Attacks on Adivasi Women: Though the erstwhile tribal communities accorded equal status for women in property ownership and social life, penetration of colonial and then neocolonial culture made the position of tribal women more vulnerable than women in the rest of the society.

Today sexual exploitation of tribal women by forest mafia is wide-spread. Hundreds of adivasi women who go into forests for collecting firewood are being raped and killed in African countries. A similar situation is prevailing in India too. Building up of organised resistance against all kinds of oppression against Adivasi women is immediately needed.

d. Consequences of Imperialist globalisation intensify attacks on Adivasis: The imperialist globalisation policies and predatory moves on the part of speculative capital for land, mines and forest grab on the one hand

and withdrawal of the state from its erstwhile welfare functions on the other have increased the oppression and exploitation of Adivasis manifold. Almost 25 per cent of the tribal people are being displaced in the name of development. The mad rush on the part of corporates and MNCs for appropriating land, forests and mineral resources has intensified the deprivation of Adivasis. Those displaced are forced to migrate to urban slums as contract workers and bonded labours in unorganised, unskilled works, in construction and hazardous activities. The proportion of malnutrition, hunger and starvation deaths is very much higher among the Adivasis compared to the rest of the society.

HOW THE NEO COLONIAL STATE DISPLACES ADIVASIS FROM THEIR LAND

1. Massive dispossession of the Adivasis from their life support resource base has taken place because of the government policy of treating tribal possessions beyond 10% slope in the hills in which they are living since time immemorial as encroachment. In the name of soil conservation World Bank Projects are taken up without bothering to obtain the consent of the population concerned. The burden of maintenance and repairs of these projects is imposed on the Adivasi families. While the government is derecognising the rights of Adivasis beyond 10% slope in the name of discouraging *shifting cultivation* (jhoom cultivation), it has no record of how much soil erosion is created by it. At the same time, there is no action taken against the bureaucrat-contractor-politician nexus engaged in wanton destruction of forests all over the country under various pretexts.

2. Forest lands are extensively used after plundering the valuable timber wealth for plantation of cashew nuts etc. Even when these plantations have come up on Adivasi Land, neither they are returned after plantation, nor any share of the yield is given to them.

3. Among many Adivasi sections the individual right of land is included within the community control of land. But when the government took up surveys no heed was paid to this. The communal ownership of land traditionally maintained was not recognised. As a result the embedded rights of the Adivasi families were also not recognised. Thus the revenue operation for preparation of ownership records turned out virtually into open denial of Adivasi rights to their land.

Though two decades have elapsed since the commitment made in parliament that land reforms policy focussing on communal land ownership in Adivasi villages shall be formulated, nothing is done so far. This is happening in spite of the Expert Group on Prevention of Alienation of Tribal Land and its Restoration set up by the Ministry of Rural Development in its 2004-06 Report acknowledging that the community ownership of the land continues to be the dominant mode of the tribal societies and takes precedence over that of individual ownership.

4. The colonial rulers had started 'feudalisation' of the ownership of the community ownership of land in tribal villages for encroachment by declaring zamindars or money lenders etc. as owners of these lands. Or some tribal village heads were declared as owners and signing deeds with them the land was encroached. During colonial period the Kuki-Mizo chiefs were similarly projected as landlords in North East. In many areas after 1947 the tribal chiefs were paid compensation as owners of land with their collaboration and lands were snatched away. In Manipur the local Land Reforms Act of 1960 did not recognise community right to land. Without consent of the tribal people in 1970 it was extended to the hills where Adivasis maintain community control of land. Thus promoting the private ownership of land arbitrarily the collectively owned resources of the people are usurped, dispossessing the hill dwelling Adivasis from their traditional land rights.

5. During colonial period, the imperialists had resorted to categorising sections of Adivasis and aboriginals as *primitive* for the invasion and conquest of lands across the oceans. Following this colonial tradition, in the name of providing 'special assistance' by the government, from Fourth Five Year Plan within the category of Scheduled Tribe a sub-category *primitive tribe* was introduced. They are deemed as in pre-agricultural stage of the economy. In many states the Adivasis are dispossessed of their land utilising this categorisation. All over the country, utilising many loopholes in the laws or tricks like the above, tens of thousands of Adivasi families are dispossessed of land, their life support resource. Numerous studies and even reports of many commissions appointed by the central and state governments have come out with details of these cheatings of the Adivasi people. But no action is taken since the bureaucrat-land mafia-politician nexus is behind these.

6. In 1960, the Judicial Commissioner of Manipur with the status of a High Court Judge, in his judgement on a civil writ petition filed by people of a village decided that in the hills of the state the village communities were the ultimate owners of the land [AIR 1961 Manipur 31] taking the concrete conditions in the villages in to consideration. But while delivering the judgement on a case lodged by the people of a different hill village claiming compensation for the appropriation of the community land by a public sector undertaking, the Supreme Court not only rejected the claim, but passed an order setting aside the judgement of the judicial commissioner four decades ago, thus rejecting community land right of the villagers. The Supreme Court which has rejected a writ petition against privatisation of BALCO Aluminum Plant along with thousands of acres of erstwhile tribal land, has come out openly in favour of the bureaucracy and corporate sector. Thus the planning commission and the judiciary have joined hands with the bureaucrat-corporate-land mafia-politician nexus to dispossess the Adivasis of their traditional land rights.

7. Major Adivasi sections like Mundas are essentially agricultural people with the ownership of land initially on community basis. But under colonial rulers they came under Zamindari system. Against this the Birsa Munda led revolt took place forcing the colonial rulers to enact 1908 Chotanagpur Tenancy Act protecting the land rights of Adivasis. In 1969 the Land Regulatory Act came in to force for restoration of the Adivasi land. But utilising the loopholes in those acts, the alienation of the Adivasi land is increasing day by day. Even in the richest Jharkhand, the Adivasis are the poorest.

SELF PROCLAIMED SAVIORS OF ADIVASI PEOPLE

a. Religious fundamentalists and NGOs: During the colonial days Christian missionaries and 'charitable organisations' from colonial centres were rampant in Adivasi areas leading to massive conversions in different tribal regions, especially in the Northeast. This continues even now. But in recent years, as part of the Hindutva agenda, through its Vanavasi Kalyan Parishad the Sangh Parivas has emerged as a competitor to Christian Church and Church-led NGOs. In Orissa and elsewhere this has given rise to divisive tendencies among tribals consciously created by these religious fundamentalists and their various institutions. Apart from this in the name preserving tribal identity and culture, imperialist funding agencies are penetrating into tribal areas on an ever-increasing scale with their ideology of "neo-tribalism".

b. 'Maoist' Approach to Adivasi Problem: The CPI(Maoist) pursuing a petty-bourgeois anarchist line is not upholding this class line. Operating in the forest areas of Central India inhabited by a large section of Adivasis through armed squads, indulging in isolated actions, it is trying to project itself as the savior or liberator of the Adivasi people. In spite of having contact in these areas for

decades it has not bothered to mobilise them in organisations and to develop their mass movements and mass upsurges against the neo-colonial state perpetuating and intensifying their destitution.

On the contrary, the anarchist activities of the CPI(Maoist) have led to large scale presence of the oppressive state forces, black laws like the Chathisgarh Special Powers Act and *Salva Judum* like fascist attack by the state machinery turning Adivasis against Adivasis. In spite of the setbacks suffered by the erstwhile People's War Group in AP where it was claiming to have established even 'liberated areas' once, it is not taking any lessons from it.

Class Approach: While taking up the specific problems confronted by the Adivasi people it is necessary to pursue the class approach of unity between Adivasis and the non-Adivasi people. The Adivasi question is not merely a question of Adivasi identity as professed by the NGOs. Even while emphasizing the unique aspects like the identity, culture, language, etc. of the Adivasi people, the fact that vast majority of them are semi-proletarians composed of landless-poor, agricultural workers, bonded labourers, who constitute part of the revolutionary peasantry, who have to wage the agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class based on worker-peasant alliance should be given due consideration. Along with this the solidarity of the Adivasi people with the non-Adivasi working people should be fostered.

An intensive ideological-political campaign against the activities of the religious fundamentalists forces, the NGOs and other reactionary forces who are engaged in spreading superstitions, reformist illusions and reactionary ideas and culture among the Adivasi people on the one hand, and against the anarchist activities of the 'Maoists' which are ultimately serving the ruling system to raise the

'Maoist' bogey to suppress the organised democratic movements of the Adivasi masses have to be waged. The barbarous acts of suppression and state terror unleashed by the central and state governments in the adivasi areas should be exposed and opposed. A major campaign should be launched in these areas putting forward the following short term and long term demands in order to mobilise the Adivasi people for a mighty movement against the ruling system.

DEMANDS

1. Throw out all draconian acts which are helping the alienation of land from the Adivasis. Defeat the machinations of the bureaucrat-police-contractor-corporate-land mafia-politicians nexus against the Adivasi masses. Implement Adivasi Land Protection Acts and ensure the possession of individual and community lands by the Adivasi people. Ensure the right of Adivasis over land, forest and water resources.
2. Stop all illegal mining immediately. Throw out the MNCs and Corporates who perpetuate neo-colonial slavery through their anti-people, reactionary 'development policy'. Ensure the right of Adivasi people over the minerals, forest produces and water resources. Utilise them under a national, people-oriented, progressive development policy. Stop forthwith the displacement of Adivasi people for SEZs, MNC-Corporate projects, anti-people infra-structure projects etc.
3. Protect the habitat, culture, language of Adivasi people. Ensure education, health care, public distribution system of all essential commodities, housing and employment for all.
4. Implement the autonomous councils ensuring their democratic functioning.

5. Stop the activities of all religious fundamentalist forces and all their agencies. Stop the activities of all types of imperialist funding agencies including NGOs.
6. Ensure protection of Adivasi women in all respects. Ensure equal rights and wages to them.
7. Repeal all Black Laws. Withdraw the state forces from the villages. Punish the corrupt officers and political leaders.
8. Remove all anti-Adivasi provisions in Forest Acts.

FORMS OF ORGANISATION

Adivasis because of the concrete and specific problems they are facing, even while they are part of the revolutionary sections of the peasantry in the main, and because of it are part of the revolutionary peasant movement also, still requires a separate organisation at all India level to fight for their specific demands, with its own programme and constitution. Such an organisation shall help to mobilise and educate the Adivasi masses to launch uncompromising struggles to achieve the above listed immediate and long-term demands. ●

Repeal ASEAN Agreement

THE free trade agreement with ASEAN countries by the Government of India is yet another neo-liberal move to integrate the economy of India with the global market. This is an integral part of trade liberalisation unleashed by the WTO as the later article of agreement provides. The necessity of a series of regional free trade agreements is aimed at the dismantling of economic boundaries between countries as is often projected in the mainstream media. The real gainers of this agreement will be agri-business MNCs who control a lion's share of agriculture production in the ASEAN countries. At the same time the comprador big bourgeoisie who have a stake-holding in services and the real estate business will also gain from this agreement. The vast majority of the poor peasants and the toiling people will be the real losers. The ASEAN free trade agreement is a part and parcel of the trade agreements formed in the interest of the WTO which is a most effective weapon of the imperialist forces in their neo-colonial plunder. This All India Special Conference of the CPI(ML) calls upon the toiling masses of India to rise up against the anti-people free trade agreement imposed upon India by the comprador Manmohan Government. ●

No to Reformism, No To Anarchism, March to Revolution

Documents Adopted by the All India Special Conference of the CPI(ML) Held at Bhopal from 7 to 12 November, 2009

Contents:

International Situation and Our Tasks
Character of Indian State
The Principal Contradiction
Path of Indian Revolution

Umakant
R-8, Pratap Market
Jangpura-B
New Delhi - 110014

Contribution : Rs. 25

Price Rise Becoming a Major Political Issue

CPI(ML) Calls for Intensifying Food Movement

HOWEVER hard the UPA government and its spokespersons try to conceal the price rise, it is becoming the central issue before the people all over the country. No diversionary tactics can minimise its ever intensifying impact on the lives of majority of the people. Every political party, however, reactionary it may be, is forced to say something about it. As a result, even the Congress and its UPA partners, wherever they are not in power, are staging some forms of dramas in protest. So is BJP and every other party which is in power in the states. All are trying to absolve themselves from the responsibility for the unprecedented price rise which is becoming more unbearable day by day. Their effort is to show someone else is responsible for it, while all of them, especially the UPA government in power at centre for the last six years are responsible for it.

According to latest UN statistics more than 220 million people in India suffer the pangs of hunger. This number and the extent of their hunger are increasing due to the price rise. At the same time, due to the land and agricultural policies under which more and more agricultural land is utilised for other purposes, all subsidies and irrigation projects are cut down and as no efforts are made to increase food grain production, the overall food production is declining, while its demand is rising. Food imports are rising. Food insecurity is deepening. While per capita availability of foodgrains in 1979-80 to 2004-05 has reduced from 190 kg per person to 185 kg, price rise has made problem more serious since then. As Congress and the UPA government led by it is in power for last six years, it and its partners are mainly responsible for this severe situation, as food grains production, their procurement by government and the public distribution system are adversely affected due to the major policy decisions during these years. It is as a result of these policies the land mafia has taken over millions of acres of agricultural land making them not available for farming. These policies have cut down government procurement of food grains drastically, cut down even the number of BPL ration cards and food supply to even these card holders, allowed corporate houses to enter in retail trade, allowed advance trading, with the result that hoarders and black-marketeers are having hay days.

So today the price rise is a major political issue, or the foremost political issue. Unless the present food and agriculture policies are reversed, prices are going to rise further. That is why *CPI(ML) has called for a no-holds-barred food movement including capture of godowns of hoarders and distribution of the food grain to the people.*

INTER-RULING CLASS SQUABBLES:

The NCP leader Sharad Pawar, the agent of the sugar lobby, who is the agriculture minister and one of the chief villains responsible for present crisis, has tried to escape from the charges by putting the blame on the prime minister and entire cabinet. The high power committee of central cabinet has failed to meet even when the food crisis is deepening as a result of contradictions within the UPA. Putting the whole blame on the central government, the state governments are trying to absolve themselves from the responsibility for the sky-rocketing food prices. In this way they allow the food racketeers a field day as no actions are taken against even open violation of existing laws. Both central and state governments are responsible for cutting down the number of BPL card holders and not providing even them with declared quantity of food grains. NREGA and all other much trumpeted sops have also vanished into thin air.

In this situation, a blame game is started by the UPA on the one side and other opposition parties including BJP on the other, to escape from increasing people's wrath, or to make capital out of it. UP chief minister has threatened not to participate in the chief ministers' meet unless Sharad Pawar is not removed.

While these squabbles among the ruling and opposition parties are intensifying to

hoodwink the masses, none of them are ready to admit that the food crisis is the result of the neo-liberal policies in ushering in and promoting which all of them have a major or not so major responsibility. None of them admit that it is the result of the imperialist globalisation policies implemented by them during last two decades, and that unless these policies are reversed the crisis cannot be resolved. Their blame game and internal squabbles should be exposed as political gimmicks with the eye on next elections.

INTENSIFY FOOD AGITATION:

It is in this context, the CPI(ML) has called for intensifying the countrywide agitation against price rise in more militant forms. In Kerala in continuation to the campaign launched by the state committee of CPI(ML), marches to a number of food grain godowns of government and corporate houses were organised on 20th January. In Karnataka also such marches to godowns are organised. House to house campaigns are organised to bring the people to the street to intensify the struggle. The main focus of the campaign at this stage is to arouse the masses for food movement. As the CPI(ML) Central Committee has pointed out, after initial protest marches, dharnas, etc. the party committees should concentrate on mobilising the masses for street action. Unless people come out on the streets the government cannot be compelled to retrace its policies. As the prices are going up the people's anger is growing. Knowing it all the ruling class parties are engaged in channelizing their anger to token protests and defuse it. The main task is to expose this game and arouse the masses. CPI(ML) has called on all Party committees to pay attention to this central task so that people in their thousands start coming out on the streets, capture godowns and distribute the food grains in them to the people. ●

TUCI Bulletin

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Farm Suicide: A 12-Year Saga

P. Sainath

THE loan waiver year of 2008 saw 16,196 farm suicides in the country, according to the National Crime Records Bureau. Compared to 2007, that's a fall of just 436. As economist Professor K. Nagaraj who has worked in-depth on farm suicide data says, "the numbers leave little room for comfort and none at all for self-congratulation." There were no major changes in the trend that set in from the late 1990s and worsened after 2002. The dismal truth is that *very high numbers of farm suicides still occur within a fast decreasing farm population.*

Between just the Census of 1991 and that of 2001, nearly 8 million cultivators quit farming. A year from now, the 2011 Census will tell us how many more quit in this decade. It is not likely to be less. It could even dwarf that 8 million figure as the exodus from farming probably intensified after 2001. The State-wise farm suicide ratios — number of farmers committing suicide per 100,000 farmers — are still pegged on the outdated 2001 figures. So the 2011 Census, with more authentic counts of how many farmers there really are, might provide an unhappy update on what is going on.

Focussing on farm suicides as a share of total suicides in India misleads. That way, it's "aha! the percentage is coming down." That's silly. For one thing, the total number of suicides (all groups, not just farmers) is increasing — in a growing population. Farm suicides are rising within a declining farm population. Two, an all-India picture disguises the intensity. The devastation lies in the Big 5 States (Maharashtra, AP, Karnataka, Chhattisgarh and MP). These account for two-thirds of all farm suicides during 2003-08. Take just

the Big 5, their percentage of all farm suicides has gone up. Worse, even their percentage of total all India suicides (all categories) has risen. Poor States like Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh are doing very badly for some years now. In the period 1997-2002, farm suicides in the Big 5 States

accounted for roughly one out of every 12 of all suicides in the country. In 2003-08, they accounted for nearly one out of every 10.

The NCRB now has farm suicide data for 12 years. Actually, farm data appear in its records from 1995 onwards, but some States failed to report for the first two years. Hence 1997, from when all States are reporting their farm suicide data, is a more reliable base year. The NCRB has also made access much easier by placing all past years of "Accidental Deaths & Suicides in India" reports on its website.

The 12-year period allows us to compare farm suicide numbers for 1997-2002, with how they turned out in the next 6-year period of 2003-2008. All 12 years were pretty bad, but the latter six were decidedly worse.

Reading a 'trend' into a single year's dip or rise is misleading. Better to look at 3-year or 6-year periods within 1997-2008. For instance, Maharashtra saw a decline in farm suicide numbers in 2005, but the very next year proved to be its worst ever. Since 2006, the State has been the focus of many initiatives. Manmohan Singh's visit to Vidharbha that year brought the "Prime Minister's Relief Package" of Rs.3,750 crore for six crisis-ridden districts of the region. This came atop Chief Minister Vilasrao Deshmukh's Rs.1,075 crore "CM's relief package." Then followed the nearly Rs.9,000 crore that was Maharashtra's share of the Rs.70,000-crore Central loan waiver for farmers. To which the State government added Rs.6,200 crore for those farmers not covered by the waiver. The State added Rs.500 crore for a one-time settlement (OTS) for poor farmers who had been excluded from the waiver altogether because they owned over five acres of land.

In all, the amounts committed to fighting the agrarian crisis in Maharashtra exceeded Rs. 20,000 crore across 2006, 2007 and 2008. (And that's not counting huge handouts to the sugar barons.) Yet, that proved to be the worst three-year period ever for any State at any time since the recording of farm data began. In

Big 5 states 1997-2008								
Year	Maharashtra	A.P	Karnataka	M.P. & Chhattisgarh*	FS* Big 5 states yearly total	FS All-India yearly total	Big 5 as % of all FS	Big 5 as % of ALL suicides
1997	1917	1097	1832	2390	7236	13622	53.1	7.6
1998	2409	1813	1883	2278	8383	16015	52.3	8
1999	2423	1974	2379	2654	9430	16082	58.6	8.5
2000	3022	1525	2630	2660	9837	16603	59.2	9.1
2001	3536	1509	2505	2824	10374	16415	63.2	9.6
2002	3695	1896	2340	2578	10509	17971	58.5	9.5
TOTALS								
1997-2002	17002	9814	13569	15384	55769	96708	57.5	8.7
2003	3836	1800	2678	2511	10825	17164	63.1	9.8
2004	4147	2666	1963	3033	11809	18241	64.7	10.4
2005	3926	2490	1883	2660	10959	17131	64	9.6
2006	4453	2607	1720	2858	11638	17060	68.2	9.9
2007	4238	1797	2135	2856	11026	16632	66.3	9
2008	3802	2105	1737	3152	10797	16196	66.7	8.6
TOTALS								
2003-2008	24402	13465	12116	17070	67054	102424	65.5	9.6
TOTALS								
1997-2008	41404	23279	25685	32454	122823	199132	61.5	9.1

2006-08, Maharashtra saw 12,493 farm suicides. That is nearly 600 more than the previous worst of 2002-2005 and 85 per cent higher than the 6,745 suicides recorded in the three-year period of 1997-1999. The same government was in power, incidentally, in the worst six years. Besides, these higher numbers are emerging within a shrinking farm population. By 2001, 42 per cent of Maharashtra's population was already urban. Its farmer base has certainly not grown.

Every suicide has a multiplicity of causes. But when you have nearly 200,000 of them, it makes sense to seek broad common factors within that group. Within those reasons. As Dr. Nagaraj has repeatedly pointed out, the suicides appear concentrated in regions of high commercialisation of agriculture and very high peasant debt. Cash crop farmers seemed far more vulnerable to suicide than those growing food crops. Yet the basic underlying causes of the crisis remained untouched. The predatory commercialisation of the countryside; a massive decline in investment in agriculture; the withdrawal of bank credit at a time of soaring input prices; the crash in farm incomes combined with an explosion of cultivation costs; the shifting of millions from food crop to cash crop cultivation with all its risks; the corporate hijack of every major sector of agriculture including, and especially, seed; growing water stress and moves towards privatisation of that resource. The govt was trying to beat the crisis, leaving in place all its

causes, with a one-off waiver.

In late 2007, *The Hindu* carried (Nov. 12-15) the sorry result emerging from Dr. Nagaraj's study of NCRB data: that nearly 1.5 lakh peasants had ended their lives in despair between 1997 and 2005. Just days later, Union Minister for Agriculture Sharad Pawar confirmed those figures in Parliament (Rajya Sabha Starred Question No. 238, Nov. 30, 2007) citing the same NCRB data. It's tragic that 27 months later, the paper had to run a headline saying that the number had climbed to nearly 2 lakh. The crisis is very much with us. Mocking its victims, heckling its critics. And cosmetic changes won't make it go away. ●

[Courtsey:*The Hindu*, 25 January]

Repeal Marine Fisheries Regulation Act

THE newly introduced Marine Fisheries Regulation Act, enacted by the Central Government envisages unhindered exploitation of our seas by foreign trawlers and mother ships in both the deep seas and also along the coast. The Act seriously affects not only the millions of traditional fisherman but also those workers associated with modern fishing. As 22 nautical miles of the sea are under the control of the respective State Governments at present, there are many legal barriers for foreign vessels to fish within this limit. Beyond these limits foreign vessels require permission from the Central Government to engage in fishing. As part of imperialist globalisation, the Central Government is liberally issuing licences to foreign vessels for fishing in this sector. Entry of monopolies in the fishing sector has created an enormous crisis in this sector. Presently the fishing sector contributes thousands of crores of rupees every year to the country's economy and it provides employment to millions of our people. The arrival of foreign fishing vessels has created a situation where those fishermen are forced to leave their natural habitat also. Till the advent of the new law, licences from four Government agencies were required for fishing in the coastal sector, which will now no more be required. This is a surrender to MNCs operating deep sea vessels.

The All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) calls for the immediate repeal of the Fisheries Regulation Act, which denies employment to our fishermen, which dangerously depletes the fish stock in our waters, which ravages our environment and which snatches away food from our people. ●

Oppose the Manmohan Government's Policy of Aligning with US on the Climate Change

US IMPERIALISM which is the biggest emitter of greenhouse gases in the world has been consistently refraining from signing the Kyoto Protocol in climate change. It is estimated that Americans who comprise almost 5% of the world's population are responsible for almost 30% of gas emissions at a global level. Progressive and democratic world opinion has already condemned this American position such that in several international fora America has become isolated.

It is in this context that as part of the Manmohan Government's strategic alliance with US Imperialism, the latter has taken the most deplorable position of supporting the US position pertaining to the Kyoto protocol. In the recent UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, while most other countries isolated the Government of India came forward supporting the arrogant American position on the climate question. Though the Indian environmental minister Jairam Ramesh has come out with a formal denial regarding such an Indian move, well meaning people and concerned sections still believe that India is covertly supporting the US Government in this regard.

This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) condemns this comprador position of the Manmohan Government and appeals to all progressive and democratic forces to come forward exposing and opposing this shift in the erstwhile Indian stand on the climate question under American pressure. ●

Oppose Draconian AFSPA, Support the Struggle to Repeal It, Declare Solidarity with Irom Sharmila

THE imposition of the draconian, autocratic Armed Forces Special Power Act in the seven states of North East for more than four decades and deployment of the armed forces, para-military and numerous other security forces along with all types of intelligence forces is a fascist act of consecutive central governments. It was 62 years ago the Nehru government deployed armed forces and unleashed a reign of terror against the Naga people in order to suppress their mass movement for the right to self-determination. Deployment of army and imposition of black laws have only led to transforming the mass movement into people taking up arms for waging guerrilla struggle for last so many decades. Same is the case in all other areas of North-East. It is the autocratic policies, unleashing armed forces against the people, instead of finding political solution to the problems in this region pursued by the consecutive central and state governments which has led to the emergence of insurgent forces in all these states. Thus the ruling system has turned the North-East like Jammu & Kashmir in to killing fields for the armed forces. The army which is supposed to fight against foreign aggression is deployed against the people of the country. In order to give it a legal cover the draconian AFSPA is imposed, allowing even an army hawildar to issue shoot and kill orders. Thus the people in the whole region are terrorized.

Even the Justice Jeevan Reddy Commission constituted in 2004, which submitted its report in June 2005 and on which no action is so far taken by the central government had stated: "Keeping in view the material placed before us and the impression gathered by the Committee during the course of its visits and hearings held within and outside the North-Eastern States, the Committee is of the firm view that:

"(a)The Armed Forces (Special Power) Act, 1958 should be repealed. Therefore, recommending the continuation of the present Act, with or without amendments, does not arise. The Act is too sketchy, too bald and quite inadequate in several particulars. It is true that the Hon'ble Supreme Court has upheld its constitutional validity but that circumstance is not an endorsement of the desirability or advisability of the Act. When the constitutional validity of an enactment is challenged in a Court, the Court examine (i) whether the Act is within the legislative competence of the Legislature which enacted it and (ii) whether the enactment violates any of the provisions

of the Constitution. The Court does not – it is not supposed to – pronounce upon the wisdom or the necessity of such an enactment. It must be remembered that even while upholding its constitutional validity, the Hon'ble Court had found it fit and necessary not merely to approve the "Dos and Don'ts" in the instructions issued by the Army Headquarters from time to time but has also added certain riders of its own viz., those contained in clause 8, 9 and 14 to 21 in para 74 of its judgement (at pages 156 and 157 of the judgement in NAGA PEOPLES' MOVEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS v UNION OF INDIA – (1998) 2SCC109). The Committee is of the opinion that legislative shape must be given to many of these riders. We must also mention the impression gathered by it during the course of its work viz., the Act, for whatever reason, has become a symbol of oppression, and object of hate and an instrument of discrimination and high-handedness. It is highly desirable and advisable to repeal this Act altogether"

After the imposition of this Act in 1958, the military, para-military and other security forces are indulging in wanton killings, tortures and rapes whose horrendous details have come out very often from North-East. On 2nd November 2000, continuing their brutal acts, Assam Rifles killed ten innocent people including a woman in Malom near Imphal airport. It shocked the whole of Manipur. Massive agitation broke out against it involving overwhelming majority of people. It was on that day the 28 year old Ms. Irom Chanu Sharmila, who had volunteered his service earlier to the *Justice Suresh People's Tribunal* when she had heard the testimony of a victim who was raped by the army men in front of her father-in-law, after seeing the bloody scene decided to start an indefinite fast till the ASFPA is repealed.

But in a country where so much is written, filmed and exhibited about the indefinite fasts of MK Gandhi, putting to shame the British colonialists who allowed him the freedom to fast, the authorities arrested her on the charges of trying to commit suicide on 5th November and tried to force her to stop the fast. When she heroically resisted and continued her fast, she was put under forced painful nasal feeding and kept under security in a ward of JN hospital (presently JN Institute of Medical Sciences). Though many times she has forcefully removed the tube and thrown it away, she was forced to submit to it again and again. While she was continuing her fast, the atrocities against Manipuri

people did not stop. On 11 August 2004 the bullet ridden naked body of Manorama Devi who was in the custody of Assam Rifles and who was killed after mass rape in the street of Imphal led to another round of intense agitation. Even a number of women paraded naked before the Assam Rifles headquarters exposing the atrocities of the armed forces. The home minister and then the prime minister Manmohan Singh visited Imphal and assured that the question of repealing AFSPA will be looked into. The Jeevan Reddy Commission was constituted. It has recommended that this draconian Act should be repealed.

Five years have passed. But no action is taken so far. Though under the pressure of continuous agitations the present chief minister of Manipur who is notorious for his statement that “killing is the only way to solve the problem” agreed to withdraw its imposition in Imphal valley, it is nakedly pursued in the valley even now every day through combing operations and repeated fake encounter killings.

Ms. Sharmila is continuing her indefinite fast all through these years. Though on 21 November 2000 and on numerous other occasions she was released from custody and even though her case went up to the Supreme Court, every time she is rearrested and put under security custody in the same corner.

Outside *Sharmila Kanba Lup* (Sharmila Solidarity Committee) led by Ima Taruni is continuing its relay indefinite fast in solidarity with her. But the brutal ruling system including the central and state governments impervious to her determination to continue the struggle, impervious to growing people’s resentment, is continuing to use the AFSPA more brutally than ever.

That a woman is waging this ten year long saga of struggle has immense relevance. As the naked parade of the ten women in front of army headquarters in Imphal emphatically proved, it is the women who are the worst victims of this fascist Act. From the time Nehru government had send the army to Naga areas in 1948 the atrocities committed against women in North-East by the military and all other security forces should put any country to shame. Women are mass raped, tortured and killed with impunity in most uncivilized way. As in every other field, in the military field also the army is emulating the atrocities of the colonialists with more vigour, in their barbarous treatment of women. That is why Sharmila and tens of thousands of women like Ima Taruni are waging their continuous struggle for the last one decade exposing the sham nature of democracy in this country.

It is not the struggle of Sharmila and women of Manipur or North-East alone. They symbolize the anger of the people of whole of North-East. It is the task of everyone who upholds progressive, democratic values to express solidarity with this struggle of Sharmila, to do what is possible to get this draconian AFSPA repealed. ●

Manipur: CPI(ML) State Organising Committee Formed

A MEETING of the communist revolutionary activists of Manipur in the evening on 20th January at Imphal attended by CPI(ML) General Secretary, com. KN Ramachandran decided to form Manipur state organizing committee of the Party. A thirteen member SOC was formed including two women comrades. Com. Sapam Syam Sunder Mangeng was elected state secretary.

Comrade KN Ramachandran explained the history of the communist movement in India and the significance of the Bhopal Special Conference which has adopted the four basic documents including the *Path of Indian Revolution*. The Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) can be thrown out and Manipuri people’s liberation can be achieved only by joining hands with the struggles going on all over India for people’s democracy and socialism. The struggle against the ruling system and the reactionary parties can be intensified only when the communist party and class/mass organizations are built up and when the class struggle in all fields are developed mobilizing and educating the revolutionary classes and sections. While taking up this task the right opportunist CPI which is part of the Congress-led state government and party to all the atrocities committed against the people and CPI(M) should be exposed. Along with this, the present activities of various insurgent organizations indulging in isolated actions which are only providing an excuse to the ruling system to unleash state of terror against the people also should be exposed. The Marxist-Leninist line put forward by the Party should be taken to the masses only based on which the demands of the Manipuri people can be achieved.

On 20th morning a study class on neo-colonialism was taken by com. KNR at the Press Club Hall in which the transformation from colonialism to neo-colonialism and the specific features of neo-colonialism were explained in detail and questions were clarified.

The SOC decided to publish *Mikap Thokpa* — Manipur Awakening — as a bilingual, bi-weekly paper from 5th February to propagate Party line. It also decided to send delegates to the RYFI All India Conference under the leadership of com. Premjit. The SOC also decided to help the intensification of the struggle for repealing the AFSPA joining hands with all progressive and democratic forces struggling for it. The meeting decided to form party committees at district level as the next step and to organize activities in the trade union, peasant, women, youth and student fields immediately.

On 20th February afternoon a well attended press conference was held at Press Club. In a statement issued to

the press, com. KN Ramachandran severely criticized the central government for continuing the AFSPA and deployment of para-military forces everywhere using the bogey of the insurgents. He called for withdrawing army and para-military forces to the barracks and repealing of the draconian AFSPA as a first step towards establishing a democratic atmosphere in the state. CPI(ML)'s full solidarity with Ms. Irom Sharmila fasting for this cause for ten years and all those who are fighting for it was declared. ●

CPI(ML) Declares Solidarity with Sharmila's Struggle Against AFSPA

ON 21st January com. KN Ramachandran, General Secretary, CPI(ML) along with leading comrades of Manipur SOC, comrades S. Syam Sundar, Advocate Sapan Lemba, Rajesh and Dollar went to the premises of the JN Institute of Medical Sciences and declared solidarity with the women activists of *Sharmila Kamba Lup* (Sharmila Solidarity Committee) who are continuing indefinite relay hunger strike for the repealing of the AFSPA. They discussed about the struggle going on for last ten years uninterruptedly. They were of the view that people outside North-East are not showing much interest about the struggle going on against Indian government's autocratic policies putting whole North-East virtually under military rule. Every day atrocities are committed by the security forces.

Along with Ima Taruni and other leading activists of *Sharmila Kamba Lup*, com. KNR and other comrades who had procured permission from the home secretary with difficulty just then to visit Ms. Sharmila proceeded to the Security Ward and met her. Ten years of painful forced nasal feeding has weakened her body. But she showed astonishing spirit and stated that irrespective of what may happen she shall continue the struggle till AFSPA is repealed. While expressing solidarity with Ms. Sharmila, The delegation assured her that the CPI(ML) shall take up the matter actively in various fronts to highlight the draconian law and to get it repealed. "It is high time that not only the people of Manipur and North-East, but the progressive forces all over India should take it up as an urgent issue to be resolved." Ms. Sharmila expressed her thanks to the Party delegation and Ima Taruni expressed the hope that unlike the promises made by many in the past, the CPI(ML) shall take up the matter in right earnest. The Manipur SOC has decided to get actively involved in the struggle to get the AFSPA repealed. ●

Jharkhand: Under JMM- BJP Government State Terror and Corruption to Intensify

WITH *Jharkhand Mukti Morch* of Shibu Soren, which was in the third place throughout the campaign made headways during the last days surpassing Congress and BJP combines in both money and muzzle power, gaining 18 seats alone, once again it was a hung assembly. Once again there were days of horse-trading. Finally Shibu Soren has formed the government in alliance with BJP and *All Jharkhand Student Union*. Soon the state government has launched Chhattisgarh model *Salwa Judum* like campaigns in the name of isolating and suppressing the *Maoists*. In this way state terror is being intensified to suppress all people's movements against the looting of the rich resources of the state, while pushing the people down the poverty ladder. Meanwhile the corruption charges against former chief minister Madhu Koda and some bureaucrats, and other such cases are sought to be slowed down. Like predecessors, this government is also going to indulge in more naked corruption, the political leadership and bureaucrats amassing huge commissions from the corporates, MNCs and land mafia. As the delaying tactics of the High Court in the writ petition of John Miran Munda shows, the judiciary is also helping this corrupt system to thrive.

As a result of more blatant hijacking of the election by the ruling class parties and JMM, AJSU like local parties into a high budget crime game, the Party candidates in the five seats could get only around five thousand votes, in spite of good political campaign. In the last days these parties even launched a propaganda that many independent candidates and our party comrades had withdrawn their nominations. Party candidates had no resources to counter these heinous tactics.

While the RJD-LSP-CPI-CPI(M) front fared badly with only RJD succeeding to get six seats, the CPI(ML) Liberation could regain its lone seat and AK Roy's *Marxist Co-ordination Committee* won a seat in its trade union stronghold. All those candidates who were previously activists of 'Maoists' contested as ruling party candidates. In some seats they openly supported these parties. No where they supported any left forces, exposing their real colour.

Party State Committee to Launch People's Struggle

The state committee meeting held on 11th January has decided to intensify the anti-price rise movement, organising a *Raj Bhavan March* on 29th January demanding reversal of central policies that led to price rise. The construction

workers' union shall organise struggle for enhancing wages and facilities at work site. The state committee decided to organise youth, women and peasant activists meeting at state level and to send delegates to all India conferences. To fight displacement of adivasis from their land and to regain the ownership, raising this and other basic demands they will be organised at the state level. The SC decided to actively participate in Parliament March and all India convention of the adivasis at Delhi.

On 12 January a meeting of the ACC cement workers and the local people have decided to organise a vigorous campaign for the release of com. John who is languishing in Chaibasa jail and against subjecting him to torture in the jail for raising the demands of the prisoners. A rally and dharna was organised at Chaibasa on 22 January with these demands in which more than 300 workers participated. In protest against John's detention the workers of the ACC Cement Factory went on strike that day closing down the factory fully. ●

Odisha: Condemn Police Onslaught on Tribals in Kalinganagar

THE leaders of mass movements and pro-people political organizations and parties in a meeting in Bhubaneswar have strongly condemned the brutal use of armed, para-military and state police force by the state government to promote private capital in the agricultural lands of the tribals in Kalinganagar area. They killed 14 tribals on 2nd January 2006 who were protesting against forcible displacement. A Tata goon killed Amin Banara on May 1, 2008 to demoralize the agitating tribals and another leader escaped death. They stopped all developmental work in the area and arbitrarily cut off all essential services to the villages to create a situation so that desperate villagers leave the area on their own. Hundreds of false cases have been booked implicating the leaders of Vistapan Virodhi Jan Manch and any youth who looked to be a potential activist of the Manch. People can't get out of the area even for any medical emergency as the whole area has been turned in to an open house prison. Those in the past made some attempt to go out and do some urgent work landed up in jail. The world outside is not able to know the truth as the media is also not allowed to operate independently or without influence. The political parties in the mainstream power struggle seem to have reached a consensus that rapid industrialization has to be accomplished at any cost even if 100 more tribals die in Kalinganagar or elsewhere.

The leaders of different political organizations and mass movements have strongly condemned the way the state is indulging in all undemocratic and unethical means to suppress the just and genuine demands of a section of the society who have always been victims of injustice at the hands of the powerful, in this case the Vistapan Virodhi

Jan Manch and their supporters. At a time unemployment is growing at an alarming rate and farmers are committing suicide because of the injustice done to poor peasants and marginal farmers, the State should not convert an inch of agricultural and forest land for any non-sustainable, unnatural and profit making activities. But the chief minister even after a series of mining scams, farmers' suicides across the state does seem to have learnt any lesson.

After having failed miserably to divide the movement in the last election, in their attempt to book the leaders in a mysterious murder case, now they have been making attempts to build some so called industrial corridor highway (from Rohit Ferro Tech Ltd to Nilachal Ispat Nigam covering a distance of 4-5 Kms the width of which is 200 meters) so that not only the agricultural land goes for Tata and the Vistapan Virodhi Jan Manch also gets marginalized in the process. It may be mentioned here that about 100 families have claims over this land that have not been consulted in the past. Some of the families have also gone to Orissa High Court and the matter is pending over there. It may be further stressed here that Kalinganagar has got very good network of wide roads with good interconnectivity, thus, this controversial corridor highway was not at all required if the administration did not have any mischievous intention. The SP, Jajpur a known agent of Tata and other houses is coming out with conflicting statements when confronted by media persons. Sometimes he says he has launched the offensive to nab a murder suspect and at the same time he also claims that 'corridor highway is essential'. From December 25th till today people in Baligotha and adjacent villages have not been allowed to sleep a single night as the police is attacking the villages in the middle of the night or at dawn. This has been possible because the new high tech police station is just 1 Km away from Baligotha. This police station was built at a cost of 66.2 lakhs according to the statement of the SP and the entire money came from the Tatas and other industrial houses. Nobody questioned the rationale of having one more police station just 8 KMs away from the old one. The Chief Minister who never visited the area to console the families of the victims of police firing went there to dedicate the police station in their memory. Now 13 platoons of police force have been deployed in such a small place. On 19th January, they again made an attempt to enter Baligotha and attack the villagers. Now the situation continues to be tense and the villagers are crying for justice. But there seems to be none to hear them.

Demands: 1. Immediate withdrawal of armed police force and dismantling of the new police station which is located just 8 kms from the old one; 2. Immediate stop of construction work of the controversial corridor highway; 3. Immediate stop of all harassment done to the villagers opposing displacement in the form of false cases, uncalled for arrests and detention, torture and immediate release of all arrested tribals of the area. Due compensation should be paid to all tribals injured in today's police attack; 4. Immediate dismantling of the all undeclared encirclement of

area where armed police have been deployed to terrorize the tribals; 5. The SP. Jajpur who seem to be planning for a second massacre and who is alleged to have appropriated huge wealth by working as an agent of the TATAs needs to be transferred immediately and CBI investigation must be initiated to know more truths about his involvement with the industrial houses; 6. Restoration of essential services in the area including supply of drinking water, maintenance of tube wells, PDS, health and nutrition services, child care services, village road repairing, Indira Awas which the govt. has stopped by declaring the area as if acquired for industrial purposes for last several years. ●

CPI(ML), Lok Shakti Abhijan, CPI(ML) Liberation, Samajvadi Jan Parishad, CPI(ML) New Democracy, Posco Pratirodh Sangram Samiti

RYFI First All India Conference

THE First All India Conference of Revolutionary Youth Federation of India shall be held at Bangalore on 30-31 January. In the rally and public meeting at Bannappa Park on 30th January thousands of youth are expected to participate. In delegate session at Shahid Bhagat Singh Hall on 31st January about 1500 delegates from 15 states are expected to take part.

Propaganda Campaign at Bangalore: The Karnataka state committee of RYFI has launched vigorous propaganda campaign from 1st January through postering and street corner meetings. “Fight Neo-colonial Slavery, Intensify Second Independence Struggle”, the central theme of the Conference, is propagated. RYFI volunteers are campaigning with cultural troupe and collecting fund for conference through mass collection in the city. On 23rd January RYFI state leaders addressed a well attended press conference in which the objectives of the Conference was explained. State Conferences were held prior to all India conference in most of the states.

Maharashtra State Conference: The first Conference of the RYFI was held in Dharmabad, in Nanded District, on 15th and 16th January 2009. The delegates from five districts gathered in Nanded on 15th January and the deliberations of the Conference started on the 16th. The Conference discussed the resolutions concerning Price Rise, Unemployment and Imperialist Culture which are to be discussed at the All India Conference to be held in Bangalore on 30th and 31st January 2009. The Conference was attended by 50 delegates and there was a rally of around 200 youths immediately following the Conference. Students from nearby areas also attended as fraternal delegates. The Conference elected a State Committee of 10 members.

Odisha State Conference: On 22nd January RYFI Odisha state conference was held successfully at Bhubaneswar. Conference started with a rally comprising hundreds of youths. Rally started from Bhubaneswar railway station and it reached Lohiya Academy Hall.

Delegates from eleven districts were participated. Two minute silence observed in memory of martyrs. Comrade Raghunath Dhal gave welcome speech. CPI(ML) state secretary com. Sivaram inaugurated the conference. RYFI central leader com. Tuhin Dev presented the programme and constitution of RYFI which was accepted after discussion. 13-member state committee was elected with com. Sabyasachi Mohapatra President, Basudev Das Vice-president, Raghunath Dhal Secretary, Kumari Ranjita Jena and Guruprasad Sahu Joint Secretary and Patitapaban Behera as treasurer. The conference passed resolutions against unemployment, price rise and displacement.

Chhattisgarh State Conference: RYFI CG state conference was held on 24th January at Jagadapur (Bastar). 70 delegates from five districts participated. The conference was inaugurated by CPI(ML) state secretary com. Saura Yadav. The Programme and Constitution of RYFI was presented by com Tuhin Deb, which was adopted after discussion. Resolutions against unemployment, price rise, decadent culture and “Operation Green Hunt” were adopted. A 15-member state committee was elected with com. Chandrabhan President, Deepa Vice President, Deepak Secretary, Santoshi Joint Secretary and Hemant Treasurer.

Karnataka state conference was held well ahead in April 2009 at Raichur with massive participation of youth in which state office bearers were elected. Com. Gangadhar President and Umesh Secretary were elected. The **Uttar Pradesh state conference** was held at Kanpur on 13th January in which youths from 5 districts took part. Eleven member committee was elected with com. Ravindra Kumar from Allahabad at convenor. The **MP state conference** was held on 28th January at Bhopal. The **Tamilnadu state conference** was held at Madurai on 7th January. Com. Lata was elected as President and com. Vellimalai as Secretary. **Kerala state conference** was held on 16-17 January. Com. PC Saju was elected President and MK Dasan Secretary. ●

Odisha: Seminar on Path of Revolution

ON THE occasion of inauguration of progressive political bi-monthly “Abhyuthan” on 10th December a seminar on *Path of Indian Revolution* was organised at Bhubaneswar. It was started with an introduction by com. Srimanta Mohanty, editor of *Abhyuthan*. Com Bhalachandra presented his written speech on CPI(ML) New Democracy’s approach on the subject. Then com. KN Ramachandran presented his paper (published on page 25). This paper was circulated to the participants before hand. Many activists and intellectuals like Prof. Nilamani Sahu, Natabar Sarangi, Sesdev Nanda and CPI(ML) Odisha state secretary com. Sivaram, CPI(ML) Liberation com. Radhakanta Sethy, spokesperson of Posco Pratirodh Sangram Samiti com. Prasanta Paikroy, leader of Samajvadi Jan Parishad Lingaraj, trade union leader com. Ram Sankar, human rights activist com. Biswapriya Kanungo participated in discussion. ●

On the Path of Indian Revolution

K.N. Ramachandran

THE first and foremost significance of the All India Special Conference of the CPI(ML) held at Bhopal in November 2009 was that it raised the central question: why the international Communist movement which had made great advance by 1950's capable of challenging the imperialist camp and its lackeys everywhere has suffered such a serious setback during last five decades, and tried to answer it. Continuing the discussion that had taken place within the ICM and outside in the 1950's and 1960's, and the discussion taken up during the time of CRC, CPI(ML) and later CPI(ML) Red Flag from 1982, the Bhopal conference has pointed out that if it was Lenin's great contributions in developing the scientific understanding about imperialism and about the theory and practice to be followed in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution which helped the ICM to overcome the collapse of Second International and to make great strides forward, it was the weakness in recognizing the neo-colonial methods of exploitation resorted to by the imperialist forces led by US imperialism in the post Second World War period replacing old colonial methods which led to later deviations leading to capitalist roaders coming to dominance and to the splintering of the ICM. Analyzing these developments the Conference evaluated that through the transfer of power in 1947 India is transformed from a colony to a country under neo-colonization. It also pointed out that the imposition of imperialist globalization through neo-liberal policies is intensifying this neo-colonization of all walks of life day by day, reducing the country to a junior partner of the global imperialist system.

Secondly it evaluated the concrete conditions in the country following the so-called 'de-colonization' of 1947 from the time of the land ceiling acts and green revolution imposed under neo-colonial domination. The semi-feudal relations of the colonial period have undergone vast changes with capitalist relations gaining strength, with pre-capitalist relations existing only as feudal remnants in the agrarian sector. Based on these changes the principal contradiction has transformed to imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the landlord classes on the one hand and vast masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat on the other hand.

On the basis of these evaluations the Path of Indian Revolution is developed and put forward according to the concrete conditions of the country. The significance of this document is that it is for the first time that settling accounts with the higher to experience of mechanically clinging to the Soviet path or Chinese Path, an Indian path of revolution is put forward as called for by 1951 policy statement. CPI(ML) calls for a major ideological-political debate on this path in the Communist movement in the country as a whole.

The nine decades of history of the Communist movement in India shows that it adopted the basic formulations of the Comintern regarding the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution including the stage of revolution in countries like India as People's Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class. But it failed to develop a Path of Revolution according to the concrete conditions of the colonial India. As a result it could not establish the leadership of the working class in the national liberation movement. In effect, till its Second Congress in 1948, it compromised with the leadership of Congress and Muslim League which serve the interests of comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlord classes.

The Second Congress witnessed the deviation of the leadership to a left adventurist line, calling for urban insurrection for the victory of both democratic and socialist stages of revolution at one stroke. It went against the Comintern formulations and did not take in to consideration the subjective strength of Communist forces. As a result, it soon collapsed. In the period of uncertainty that followed, the line put forward by leading comrades of the Telengana struggle calling for a Chinese path came to dominance briefly. Soon, following consultations with the CPSU leadership including com Stalin, for the first line a programme for People's Democratic Revolution and a Policy Statement which called for an Indian path of revolution utilizing all forms of struggle were adopted. It was an important step forward.

But very soon the rightist line came to dominance again. Following the 1952 general election, the parliamentary cretinist line was gaining strength. As the leadership refused to accept the comprador character of the big capitalist class and the character of Congress serving this class and the landlord classes, it started collaborating with the Congress leadership, increasingly abandoning working class struggles and the path of agrarian revolution. As revisionist Khrushchevian leadership usurped power and started degenerating Soviet Union to capitalist path under the theory of peaceful competition and peaceful co-existence with capitalism and of peaceful transition to socialism, the CPI leadership very soon came under its total sway. It analyzed the Congress as a party led by the national bourgeoisie and called for completing the 'National Democratic Revolution'

collaborating with Congress, degenerating to revisionist positions, going out of revolutionary stream.

This degeneration of CPI leadership led to intensive inner party struggle with in the party leading to 1964 split followed by the formation of the CPI(M) and its Seventh Party Congress soon On. It reinstated the 1951 line and adopted the line of Peoples Democratic Revolution. Though it analyzed the big bourgeoisie as having dual character, that of collaborating and contenting with imperialism, it refused to state which of these is the principal aspect in present day conditions. In effect it was also drifting to the CPI positions. It also started abandoning the path of agrarian revolution. It did not put forward a path of revolution document, and as manifested in its role in 1967 general elections and later formation of coalition ministries in W. Bengal and Kerala, it degenerated to neo-revisionist positions. Both CPI and CPI(M) abandoned the task of completing the People's Democratic Revolution in practice, whatever their documents continued to claim in words.

It was in this situation, the inner party struggle went on intensifying within the CPI(M) immediately after the Seventh Congress calling for adopting a Path of Revolution. The 1966 All India Kisan Sabha Conference had called for radical land reforms and implementation of land to the tiller slogan. But the West Bengal and Kerala ministries led by CPI(M) refused to put it in to practice. It led to the Naxalbari uprising of the landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers with land to he tiller slogan which was suppressed by the CPI(M) led government with the support of Central Government. This led to the formation of the All India Co-ordination Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) which called for Naxalbari type struggles all over India. Srikakulam, Musahari, Lakhimpur-kheri, Debra-Gobi Ballabhpur like mass uprisings started,

involving hundred of thousands of families. A revolutionary reorganisation of the party including the development of the ideological-political line and the path of revolution according to concrete conditions here.

In the struggle against Soviet revisionist line and later during the inner party struggle in CPI(M) the CRs had upheld the 1963 General Line document of the CPC including Mao Tsetung's contributions to the ICM, Mao Tsetung Thought. In the absence of a Communist international organization after the dissolution of the eomintern in 1943, the CRs were upholding Mao's China and the CPC as the international centre. So, when the ;Lin Biaoist 'left' adventurist line started dominating the CPC from 1966 with the publication of his 'Long Live the Victory of Protracted People's War' and later deviated the CPC in its 1969 Ninth Congress to it based on the erroneous evaluation of present era as that of total collapse of imperialism and worldwide victory of socialism, the CPI(ML) formed in 1969, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties formed during that period, became a victim of this adventurist sectarian line. It went as far as to adopting the 'line of individual annihilation 'and rejection of class/mass organizations, as well as other forms of struggle except armed struggle. This sectarian line led to the alienation of the movement from the masses. Under ruthless state suppression the movement suffered severe setbacks. CPI(ML) splintered to a number of groups. This setback in spite of the excellent objective situation favouring the revolutionary advance, was entirely due to erroneous evaluation of Indian situation as semi-colonial and semi-feudal and due to mechanical adoption of the 'Chinese path' and the line of 'protracted people's war'

Following this setback during 1971-1972, though major sections of the movement had rejected the line of annihilation and adopted mass line, they did not rectify the semi-colonial, semi-feudal characterization of Indian state and society. Though they stated that they are rejecting the Chinese path, they were clinging to the line of protracted people's war and in effect to the Chinese path as explained by the Lin Biaoist line. Thus, irrespective of the CPI(ML) or non-CPI(ML) division, major part of the movement was broadly divided in to two streams. One section comprising of CPI(ML) People's War, CPI(ML) Party Unity and Maoist Communist Centre was still following the line of annihilation and protracted people's war, including the semi-colonial, semi-feudal evaluation. They have united in to CPI(Maoist) following a Path of Revolution based on these positions, which is a mechanical application of the Chinese path. All the manifestations of this line are visible through the anarchist practice of this organization.

As far as CPI(ML) Liberation, PCC-CPI(ML) like organizations are concerned, they criticize the 'Maoist' line as anarchist. They have started taking the rightist positions more and more, with CPI(ML) Liberation even calling for a Left Confederation with CPI and CPI(M). But organizations of this trend continue to analyse India as semi-colonial, semi-feudal, and their Path of Revolution is not basically different from that of CPI(Maoist) at least in words, though in details they differ. Thus, even after declaring possibilities for peaceful transfer to socialism in the 2007 December Congress documents, Liberation has not come out of the old sectarian frame of thinking while talking of Path of Revolution. This is the case of a number of organizations existing in states or local level. Even while not putting in to any form of practice, they continue to uphold the 'Chinese Path' including its protracted people's war concept.

As far as CPI(ML) New Democracy is concerned ,it has put forward a Path of Revolution document which is claiming to pursue the path of resistance struggle. In content it is also putting forward the line of protracted people's war including area-wise seizure of political power as in the 'Chinese Path' of the CPI(Maoist). It has not so far succeeded to put in to practice its line of 'resistance

struggle'. Its practice, so is not basically different from that of Liberation like organizations. It differs from them mostly in its sympathy to CPI(Maoist) line. As a result, it is more or less functioning as a B-team of CPI(Maoist) in practice.

As a result, while CPI, CPI(M), like parties have abandoned the revolutionary path all together, confining their talks about the NDR, PDR etc to the pages of their programme documents, CPI(Maoist) is pursuing the 'Chinese Path' in its anarchist line and the others claiming to uphold the mass line are also in effect, or at least in words are talking within the frame of semi-colonial, semi-feudal analysis and the 'mechanical application of the 'Chinese Path'. Thus the Communist movement appears to be broadly divided in to either the social democratic path of CPI and CPI(M) or the anarchist path of the CPI(Maoist). Most of the others are some way or other linked to there two trends. None of them have come out of this vicious circle.

It is in this context; the vital importance of the Path of Revolution document adopted by Bhopal Conference should be seen. It calls for uncompromising struggle against both right opportunist and anarchist lines building the party at all India level in this vast country of 1.20 billion people, mobilizing and politicizing the working class and establishing it as the leader of Indian revolution not only in theory but also in actual practice, organizing the landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers for agrarian revolution, mobilizing the women, youth, students and all oppressed classes and sections and leading all of them for seizure of political power through a series of mass upsurges involving ever larger sections of people, utilizing all forms of struggle, culminating in mass insurrections led by the party. In the course of this the party and class/mass organizations should develop skill to float all forms of united fronts to utilize all forms of struggle to propagate and practice the revolutionary alternative against the various ruling class alternatives of the ruling class parties.

Indian revolution is taking place at a time when imperialism, led by US imperialism, has adopted and intensifying neo-colonization replacing old colonial forms to plunder and subjective world people, and when the erstwhile socialist countries have degenerated to capitalist path, failing to develop the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice to combat it, and when numerous theoretical and practical weaknesses had surfaced in the socialist construction as part of World Proletarian Socialist Revolution. It is also taking place at a time when the technological developments and development of productive forces, along with the ecological problems have brought forward new challenges before the revolutionary movement. Not only in the capture of political power but also in building socialism in the countries where revolution has become successful, the Marxist-Leninist movement has to develop its theory and practice.

This path of Revolution puts forward the significance of waging fierce ideological struggles winning over all genuine Communists in this process and building the party at all India level to wield decisive influence. It demands recognizing the growth of the working class altogether to nearly 200 million, and taking up their mobilization and politicization to make them the leader of revolution in all respects. It calls for recognizing the changes that have taken place in the production relations in the agrarian sector and launching land struggles involving millions of the peasantry to advance the agrarian revolution in present conditions. Rejecting the concepts like protracted people's war and 'peasant revolution', according to concrete conditions of neo-colonial phase of imperialist onslaught, starting from mass upsurges all forms of struggles and all forms of organizations should be initiated to mobilize and unleash the fury of the people against the ruling system, to advance towards capture of political power. The party built on Bolshevik style should be developed as a party of day to day struggle. Every struggle including struggles for partial demands should be linked

to the political struggles for capture of political power. For example, while rejecting boycott of elections like anarchist slogans, uncompromising struggle should be waged against all forms of parliamentary cretinism. Elections should be utilized as part of the political struggle always trying hard to advance people's consciousness from bourgeois democracy to people's democracy, to proletarian democracy. While desisting from rejecting any form of struggle, the party should guard against deviating to worshipping any form of struggle. The central question is mobilizing and politicizing the masses, so that the masses create history, turning the revolution in to a festival of the masses. The central task in to make the masses the heroes, instead of the concept of a few heroes making history.

This Path of Revolution calls for building party and class/mass organizations vigorously drawing millions in to their fold continuously, launching people's upsurges and insurrections against the ruling systems, and starting from developing local centres of political power country wide, create revolutionary alternative to existing bourgeois democratic system. It combines destruction of existing relations of production and ruling system with the construction of new relations of production and forms of people's political power. In this way starting with mass revolutionary movement with the proletariat as the vanguard according to concrete conditions of our country, it proceed to arming the people for capture of political power to create a new society as part of World Proletarian Socialist Revolution.

An unprecedented sharp ideological struggle is called for to reject the concept of 'protracted people's war' which has stunted the revolutionary movement for more than four decades and to establish this Path of Revolution based on mass line and develop it through continuous revolutionary practice. ●

Economic Motives of Chiquita Banana in Overthrow of Zelaya in Honduras

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM teaches that there is a **dialectical relationship between politics and economics**. One of the fundamental means by which the opportunists of all stripes – from bourgeois liberals to revisionists of both the right and the “left” – underestimate the necessity for the working class and the toiling masses to make world history by smashing the state machine, by seizing and holding power by any means necessary, is that the opportunists deny the necessary interconnection between politics and economics. On the basis of this separation of politics from economics, the opportunists can promote the idea that Obama or this or that individual representative of international capital can operate in some way outside the laws of bourgeois political economy, that Obama can “choose” to do the right thing without being compelled to do so by the militant movement of the people. On the other side of the coin, the opportunists can thus put forward the idea that “great individuals” (usually great *men*), rather than the working class and the masses themselves, *make* history.

In Latin America today, one clear and dramatic example of the necessary interconnection between politics and economics and their global character can be seen in Belize, the former British Honduras. Reflecting the progressive winds of change in Latin America, this fall, Belize Prime Minister Dean Barrow, “though no Hugo Chavez,” pushed through the nationalization of the dominant telecom company, Belize Telemedia. Twenty-eight of the thirty-one members in the lower house of Belize’s parliament voted for it. (This even included three of the six opposition party members.) According to *The Economist*, this nationalization was directed against

British Lord Michael Ashcroft, whose interests also include Belize Bank, the nation’s largest! As *The Economist* put it, “Belize may be a country, but Lord Ashcroft’s reputed fortune is more than six times the total assets of its Central Bank.” (10-24-09)

It is noteworthy that Lord Ashcroft is a leader of the British Conservative Party. So Ashcroft is able to use the economic clout he possesses on the basis of the super-exploitation of the people of Belize to help prop up the capitalist rule over the British working class. And Ashcroft is able to use his political clout in England to help shape the conduct of Great Britain, a major world power, in its relations with the small oppressed nation of Belize. Will Ashcroft give up his fortune and his power without a fight? Will he not use every political and economic weapon at his disposal to defend his interests?! Because such extraordinary political *and* economic power is concentrated in the hands of one individual, Lord Ashcroft, the interpenetration of imperialist politics and economics in this instance is undeniable.

Far more central to the whole history of U.S. imperialist oppression of Latin America, and Honduras, in particular, is the history of the infamous United Fruit Company. Largely because of its infamy, the company changed its name to United Brands and later to Chiquita Banana.

It got into the banana business around the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. By 1904, the famous writer, O. Henry coined the term “banana republic” to refer to the uncontrolled murders of workers and other criminal actions of the United Fruit Company in Honduras. The head of United Fruit once famously remarked, “In Honduras, a mule costs more than a member of parliament.”

By the 1920’s, United Fruit controlled 650,000 acres of the best land, almost one quarter of all the arable land in Honduras. In Colombia, in 1928, the United Fruit Company dealt with three thousand banana workers who had gone on strike for better wages and working conditions by getting the Colombian military to fire on the workers, killing many.

In 1954, in Guatemala, progressive President Jacobo Arbenz carried out land reform and planned to redistribute unused land owned by United Fruit to the Guatemalan peasants. United Fruit backed the CIA-engineered military coup that overthrew Arbenz. In 1961, United Fruit lent its ships to the CIA-backed Cuban exiles who sought to overthrow the Fidel Castro-led revolutionary government at the Bay of Pigs.

After this defeat, United Fruit became United Brands, and in 1972 promoted General Oswaldo Lopez Arellano to power in Honduras. He was ultimately forced to step down in a “bananagate” scandal involving a huge United Brands’ bribe of Arellano in exchange for his agreement to reduce fruit export taxes.

In the late 1990’s, the company, whose name had been changed to Chiquita, subsidized right-wing paramilitary groups in Colombia. Chiquita became the first corporation in U.S. history to be convicted in the USA of financial dealings with a designated terrorist organization and paid a \$25 million dollar fine to settle the Justice Department investigation. Meanwhile, in the same cause, Chiquita’s CEO, Charles Lindner, a big Republican Party donor, began to provide a lot of loot to U.S. President Bill Clinton, a Democrat. Clinton, the U.S. Commander in

Chief, now became a powerful promoter of Colombian President Andres Pastrana who presided over the proliferation of right-wing death squads in Colombia. A lawyer for the victims of the paramilitary violence said, in a lawsuit, that Chiquita's relationship with the paramilitaries "was about acquiring every aspect of banana distribution and sale through a reign of terror." (This quote is cited in the July 17-19, 2009 *Counterpunch* article by Nikolas Kozloff, entitled, "From Arbenz to Zelaya – Chiquita (United Fruit) in Latin America." Much of the documentation in this section of the Newsletter is taken from Kozloff's excellent article. –ROL)

The bipartisan support of Chiquita for Democratic as well as Republican Party administrations over the past decade and more has continued unabated – from Bill Clinton to George W. Bush to Barack Obama! In this process, the powerful Washington, DC law firm of Covington and Burling has played a central role. Recently, as George W. Bush's United Nations Ambassador, John Bolton has been an implacable foe of Latin American leftists, including Hugo Chavez. From 1974 until 1981, John Bolton had served as an associate at Covington.

John Negroponte, the former chief over all of U.S. Intelligence under Republican President George W. Bush, became Vice Chairman of Covington in the Spring of 2009 in the same period in which he played a pivotal role in the preparation for the June 28, 2009 coup against President Zelaya.*

Today he serves as an unofficial but key advisor to Obama's Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, the wife of the previous Democratic President with whom Chiquita had a close relationship. Immediately after the overthrow of Zelaya, while Obama "condemned" the event in words, Secretary of State Clinton made it very clear that the U.S. government would take no action placing pressure on the Micheletti Coup Regime to compel them to bring Zelaya back.

Obama's Attorney General, Eric Holder, was himself, until recently, a partner at Covington and Burling. In that capacity, Holder was the lead counsel in defense of Chiquita against the U.S. Justice Department investigation into Chiquita's financial dealings with the right-wing terrorist organizations in Colombia cited above. Despite the fact that the company had to pay a \$25 million dollar fine and was the first corporation convicted of financial dealings with a terrorist organization in U.S. history, Holder was able to broker a sweetheart deal in which none of the six company officials who approved payments to the terrorists received any jail time! Does anyone really believe that Holder has stopped defending Chiquita now that he is the *head* of the U.S. Department of Justice?!

Earlier in 2009, Chiquita Banana had complained that, if President Zelaya's government raised the Honduran minimum wage by 60%, as proposed, Chiquita would lose millions of dollars in profits. When the minimum wage law was passed, Chiquita joined with Dole and with the most important business group in Honduras, the Honduran National Business Council (COHEP) that encompasses 60 trade associations and chambers of commerce, to try to reverse the wage increase.

Hence, Chiquita had the bipartisan *political* clout in the USA and internationally to defend its *economic* interests in Honduras. It had a strong *motive* for the coup. It had the long history of taking comparable measures. What "democratic process" in the USA and in the world today could have been brought to bear to stop Chiquita and U.S. imperialism from carrying out one more Central American coup d'etat, one more violent act to suppress the democratic will of the Honduran people?!

Only the international working class, including the Honduran working class, has the concrete experience in the class struggle between labor and capital to understand the overwhelming motivation that international capital possesses

to defend its profits *by any means necessary!* The revolutionary proletariat understands that the monopoly capitalist and imperialist system, the modern capitalist system based on the exploitation of man by man, must be smashed and replaced by socialism, the economic-political system based on cooperation among all toiling humanity. Only the international working class has the relationship to production that gives it the strategic strength to organize the movement of the masses of humanity to overthrow the old and dying, parasitic and violent system of monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

In Latin America today, there are as many different levels of *dependence on and independence of imperialism*, headed by U.S. imperialism, as there are Latin American countries. Accordingly, the proletarian revolutionary vanguard parties and organizations need to be mindful of Lenin's teaching that "... finance capital ... gives rise to a number of transitional forms of national dependence. The division of the world into two main groups – of colony-owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other – is not the only typical feature of this period; there is also a variety of forms of dependent countries; countries which officially, are politically independent, but which are, in fact, enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence." (*Imperialism – The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Chapter 6)

Hence, the proletarian vanguard movement must proceed on the basis of a concrete analysis of the concrete conditions in each country. The relative strength of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard, nationally and internationally, including the closeness of its connections to the working class movement and the mass movements and their strengths, all relative to the local ruling classes and the imperialist power(s) and their international connections, will determine a correct revolutionary strategy and tactics in each country.

Secondly, our revolutionary strategy and tactics should be developed from the perspective of the Leninist theory of the two-stage revolution: “The proletariat must carry out to the end the democratic revolution, and in this unite to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution and in this unite with itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyze the instability of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie.” (*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*).

Lenin advises us that the transition from the national democratic stage to the socialist stage of the revolution should be undertaken as swiftly as the degree of preparedness of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard allows. This is crucial so that the revolutionary momentum is not lost and so as not to give the forces of reaction the time to regroup and stage a come-back.

Finally, a new edition of the Third (Communist) International, needs to be built and work toward that end needs to be undertaken *immediately*. Every Marxist-Leninist Party worthy of the name needs to begin to understand and put into practice what Che Guevara understood forty years ago: To Che, we are all Vietnamese; we are all South Africans; we are all Bolivians. Today, we are all Iraqis; we are all Afghans; we are all Hondurans! This proletarian internationalist outlook flows dialectically from the strategic vision of Karl Marx that the working class has no nationality!

Let us revive the revolutionary slogan of the Third International:

Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples Unite!

[Ray O' Light Newsletter, No. 58]

Afghanistan: Extension of the War to Pakistan Digs a Deeper Hole for Occupation

[This analysis of the *Afghanistan war* of the NATO forces was written before the November re-poll in which Karzai was reinstated for another term as the president of the puppet regime. Following this US has substantially increased its forces there. The NATO military strength is now well over 1,00,000. Besides, most modern weapons and unmanned bombers are also utilized. Still Obama administration's hope of an 'honourable retreat' from Afghanistan is getting shattered as the resistance to the occupation forces and the puppet regime is getting strengthened day by day. Under US pressure, though, the Pak ruling elite has thrown its full force to throw out Afghan rebel forces from the border region, it has not succeeded in any manner in spite of large scale attacks, bombings, destitutions and killing of thousands. On the contrary, Pakistan itself has fallen in the grip of *jihadi* forces. The suicide bombings are increasing even in the heartlands with more devastating effects. When the hatred of Pak people is intensifying, the ruling elite and military are serving the interests of US-led NATO forces. It is increasing the threat of a possible 'Balkanisation' of the country also. The US imperialists are not going to take any lessons from their setbacks in Iraq or from the impeding defeat of their AfPak war, as they refused to take any lessons from the Vietnam debacle. Nor the ruling elite of Pakistan is going to put an end to its subservience to US imperialists.

On the contrary, Obama is forging plans to launch a new war front in Yemen, to intensify interference in Iran to abet Israeli aggressors to launch more attacks against Palestinian people. Thus while West Asia is subjected to more aggressive interferences, the AfPak war is being expanded to involve the central Asian countries and South Asia. In spite of the writings of Paul Krugman like lobbyists of Obama, his administration is hell bent to intensify militarization to expand the weapon trade and neo-colonial plunder to surmount the escalating economic crisis. We are reproducing this analysis from www.lalkar.org to show how devastation created by the so-called 'war on terror' launched by the Bush regime is continued, in new forms and under new labels, more fiercely under Obama.

What is required is the international solidarity action of world people to overthrow the imperialist system as a whole, since so long as it continues to exist, the wars for plunder and hegemony shall continue to intensify — **RS**]

A T THE TIME of the invasion of Afghanistan by the US-led Nato forces, it was the belief in imperialist circles that the war would be over within a matter of a few months, and that, having installed a puppet regime (beg your pardon, a democratic government) in Kabul, the predatory imperialist forces would return home unscathed and covered in glory. Eight years on, imperialism is losing the Afghan war – and losing it badly. With each passing year, the situation for the invading hordes has become worse, with an incremental loss of lives among the Nato forces. In addition to the losses suffered by other countries participating in this criminal, cruel, unjust and predatory war against the Afghan people, the US has thus far lost 891 soldiers (8 of them just as these lines are being written on 28 October), while Britain, with the second-largest contingent of 9,000, has lost 222 soldiers.

So far this month, the US has lost 53 soldiers. This exceeds the figure of 51 deaths for August. With two months still to go, 275 US soldiers have been killed in Afghanistan this year, in comparison with 155 in 2008 and fewer than 100 for every year between 2001 and 2007.

NATO on the road to defeat:

With increasing losses, and defeat staring it in the face, Nato has had to increase the number of troops deployed to fight this war. While in 2006 there were 39,000 Nato troops in Afghanistan, of which 20,000 were US soldiers, by the beginning of this year this number had doubled to 80,000. Last March, the newly-installed US president, Barack Obama, who has characterised the Afghan war as a 'war of necessity', despatched another 21,000 US soldiers to the Afghan theatre, bringing the total number of US soldiers deployed there to 68,000 and the Nato strength to 100,000. That surge in troop numbers was effected as a consequence of his own, supposedly fundamental, review of strategy. But all to no avail, for since then his commander of choice, General Stanley McChrystal, has openly stated that the Afghan resistance is winning the war and he is reliably rumoured to have requested an extra 80,000 troops, indicating that he would settle for 40,000 extra soldiers as a compromise.

Even if the US administration manages to overcome the resistance of the US population to a further increase of troop numbers for this highly unpopular war, the extra soldiers would not enable imperialism to stop further deterioration in its fortunes, let alone help it defeat the Afghan resistance, which has assumed the proportions of a national insurrection against imperialist occupation and brigandage. Thus the latest request for additional troop numbers will doubtless be a precursor to further and frequent such requests. Since most of the soldiers in the so-called Afghan National Army (ANA) are ill-trained, ill-equipped, incapable and unwilling to fight against the resistance, the bulk of the 600,000 needed to fight against the resistance must come from the US, Britain and other imperialist countries. There is not a hope in hell of the US being able to mobilise such a large force of its own or in co-operation with its partners in crime. In any case, numbers alone will not avert imperialist defeat in Afghanistan, for to stand any chance of achieving even a semblance of success, imperialist armies need to be stationed in Afghanistan for at least two decades – a luxury that neither the depleted treasuries nor public opinion in the centres of imperialism would allow for. In the proverbial language of the resistance, while its enemies have watches, it – the resistance – has time. It can therefore outlast the willingness, ability and patience of the imperialist armies to stay and fight in Afghanistan; it can wear down their will to fight.

There are of course those who argue that Nato must stay the course, for the regional stakes are high, and that valour and perseverance are required to achieve any foreign policy objectives. It is to counter such sages that Max Hastings, realising the certainty of defeat facing the occupation, correctly asserts: *"But this does not make it sensible for the west to continue pushing military chips on to the table if each spin of the roulette wheel obstinately delivers a zero."* ("The west's strategic options in Afghanistan", *Financial Times*, 20 Oct. 2009).

Electoral fraud:

In an effort to gain some legitimacy for the occupation forces, as well as for the puppet government in Kabul, imperialism staged the electoral farce of 20 August. What was supposed to have served as a panacea for all the ills of the occupation has turned out to be a catastrophic nightmare for the Afghan puppets as well as their imperialist masters. Attended by an abysmally low turnout and electoral fraud on an unbelievably massive scale, this travesty of an election, held under the shadow of the guns of the occupation, has discredited the entire exercise and those responsible for staging it – causing deep divisions in the camp of the puppets as well as in the camp of imperialism.

After two long months of horse trading, skullduggery, arm-twisting, threats and intimidation, Hamid Karzai was forced to submit to the dictates of the US-led imperialist occupation regime by accepting, albeit implicitly, that the August 20

exercise had been a fraud and agreeing to a second round of the Afghan presidential election – something which he, and his corrupt coterie of warlords, drug dealers and criminal gangsters, had fiercely resisted up to the very last moment. On 20 October, a glum-looking Karzai, flanked by US Senator John Kerry, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the US and UK ambassadors, and a UN envoy, announced his agreement to a run-off election, which is scheduled to be held on 7 November.

After the announcement of the run-off election, the leaders of imperialism were quick to express hypocritically their appreciation of the "courageous" and "statesmanlike" acceptance by Karzai of the electoral audit by the UN-backed Electoral Complaints Commission (ECC), which had reduced Karzai's votes by 954,526, bringing down the percentage of votes cast for him from the earlier 55% to 48.3%, thus necessitating the second-round run-off. As a matter of fact, Karzai had resisted the recommendations of the ECC and the demands of the principal imperialist occupying powers until threatened with a "car crash" between him and the so-called "international community". The US administration, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the Nato secretary-general, and the UK premier, Gordon Brown, all threatened to withhold extra troops for Afghanistan unless Karzai agreed to the run-off. Singing from the same imperialist hymn sheet, and not wanting to lag behind, Ban Ki-moon, the UN Secretary-General, made it clear that if Karzai did not submit to the demands of the imperialist powers, he would be working outside the Constitution and would no longer be a partner of the West. Karzai's options having thus been closed, he had no option but to knuckle under and have the mantle of statesmanship and the quality of courage thrust upon him.

A risky strategy:

The run-off election itself is a risky strategy and a logistical nightmare for

imperialism. Staged in a desperate bid to somehow gain legitimacy for the puppet government and the occupying powers, in the eyes of the Afghan masses and the populations of the belligerent imperialist countries, the second round is only too likely to be just as disastrous in consequences as the first - this for the following reasons. First, with Abdullah Abdullah, a Tajik, pitting against Karzai, a Pashtun, the contest is likely to end up deepening divisions along ethnic lines. Second, it is just as likely to be accompanied by a gigantic electoral fraud, hand in hand with a similarly low turnout, as the first round. And lastly, while the electoral sideshow prolongs the political stalemate, the resistance gathers strength and further momentum. As if to give notice of its intention to put Kabul at the forefront of its endeavours to frustrate the electoral sham imposed by the occupation forces, on 28 October the resistance launched a lethal assault on a UN residential compound and a luxury hotel.

Extra troops won't help:

In any case, whatever the outcome of this non-election, the person chosen (the world 'elected' is totally inappropriate) to be the head of the puppet Afghan administration, whoever he is, will be a prisoner in the presidential palace, unable to step outside of it for fear of losing his life, presiding over a corrupt tiny clique of warlords, drug barons and an assortment of Mafiosi – all enriching themselves and doing the bidding of the imperialist predatory powers, chiefly that of US imperialism. At a time when more than two-thirds of the country is beyond the control of the Afghan government and the occupation armies, when it is too dangerous for the imperialist 'aid' agencies to work there, the very idea that the incoming Afghan government, even with the help of its imperialist backers, will somehow be able to provide jobs, security, schools, clinics, roads, electricity and water,

and put an end to corruption, borders on the insane.

US officials now openly admit that the resistance now holds the initiative. Totally disconnected from the Afghan people, the puppet regime is gasping its last. No amount of extra troops will be sufficient to save it. This bitter truth is known to perceptive observers even in the heartlands of imperialism. As a matter of fact, political, military and ideological representatives of imperialism on both sides of the Atlantic, faced with the reality of their imminent defeat in Afghanistan, are busy preparing excuses for that defeat and deciding on whom to put the blame. Writing in the *Financial Times* of 16 October, its contributing editor, Max Hastings, wrote that “...it is implausible that even a reinforced Nato army can secure a country the size of France unless the population shares its objectives”.

This hits the nail on the head. The imperialist soldiery in Afghanistan are an occupation army, which has imprisoned and disenfranchised the entire Afghan people. As such, they are hated and resisted by the latter. The puppet regime set up by the occupation forces, as a façade for its predatory activities, is likewise despised by the wider masses of the country. As if the occupation of the country were not offensive enough, soldiers of the occupying powers, frightened by the mere rustling of leaves in a hostile territory, shoot their way into people's houses, bang into women's quarters, detain thousands of innocent Afghans at will, call frequent air strikes, which kill dozens at a time. By their very presence and the nature of their activities, their objectives cannot and will never be shared by the Afghan people.

The dissensions and disarray in the imperialist camp are all too obvious and add to the problems of the occupation. Let Mr Hastings speak on this question: “*Mr Obama's credibility on Afghan policymaking is wearing thin. His representative, Richard Holbrooke, has proved unconvincing. Scarcely any Nato ally is willing to meet US requests for more troops. The Canadians, who fought hard in the past, are now withdrawing from active combat. Only the Danish and Romanian contingents are doing real fighting*”.

Such being the state of affairs, continues Mr Hastings: “*Politicians and commanders on both sides of the Atlantic are drawing lines on which responsibility for failure in Afghanistan will sooner or later be contested. The soldiers will claim they were denied adequate resources. Mr Obama and Mr Brown will say their predecessors made political mistakes that were irreversible. Both views possess some substance.*”

“*As for the Afghans, they back winners. Taliban leaders and Afghan warlords watch CNN. They know how frail western commitment has become, how sour public opinion is. To have any chance of success, Nato troops need to fight and accept losses for years. It is unlikely that the patience of their own nations will match that of their enemies on the battlefield. Only a dramatic improvement in the quality of the Kabul government might change this equation*”.

The last sentence in the above quotation is an attempt, albeit implicit, to put the blame for the coming defeat on the quality (lack of quality to be precise) of the Afghan government. The author 'forgets', however, to add that the quality of the Afghan government is merely a reflection of the occupation regime, which, for obvious reasons, unable to get on its side patriotic and honest forces in Afghan society, is compelled to rely on the dregs of Afghan society – warlords, drug traffickers, gangsters and CIA agents – who readily and willingly sell their country's fundamental interests and its sovereignty to the predatory imperialist powers in return for being allowed to enrich themselves through trade in narcotics and a hundred other rackets. Only this explains why such a corrupt person as the brother of Karzai is, and has been for several years, on the CIA payroll.

It is not the case that Afghanistan is incapable of producing politicians who are not corrupt. It is just that such elements belong to the forces fighting the occupation regime. This is how the *Guardian*, in its leading article of 20 October, put it:

“There is an alternative to the corrupt government of President Hamid Karzai. It appoints governors, reviews their performance, replaces them if necessary, appoints courts that deliver swift justice, levies taxes and hires a conscript army. The snag is, it is run by the Taliban. The hunt for what Rahm Emanuel, Barack Obama’s chief of staff, called an acceptable Afghan partner has proved to be more elusive.”

US administration paralysed:

The successes of the Afghan resistance are having a paralysing effect on the US administration, causing deep disagreements within the government, as well as between the government and the military. Obama has thus far withheld his decision concerning further reinforcements requested by General McChrystal. This has infuriated the General, who tried to force Obama’s hand by an openly defiant speech in London in which he declared: *“Uncertainty dismays our allies and emboldens our enemies”*. For this embarrassing insubordination, General McChrystal received this rebuke from the US defence secretary Robert Gates: *“It is imperative that all of us taking part in these deliberations – civilian and military alike – provide our best advice to the president candidly but privately.”*

Obama replied through his Chief of Staff, Rahm Emanuel, saying that, in view of the seriously flawed 20 August Afghan presidential election, there was no effective partner in Kabul and it was therefore pointless sending further troops in the absence of a legitimate Afghan government. But this pretext will run out after the 7 November run-off election, whatever the result. After that date, Obama will be forced to choose between the two contending parties in the US administration – one headed by vice-president Joe Biden, which opposes further reinforcements and favours a counter-terrorism strategy, the other proposing the more ambitious counter-insurgency approach advocated by General McChrystal. On Monday 26 October, Senator John Kerry, back from successfully coercing Karzai into accepting a runoff for the Afghan presidency, warned that the McChrystal plan *“goes too far, too fast”*, calling instead for greater emphasis on the training of Afghan forces, provision of civilian assistance and improvement of the effectiveness of local government.

In a sign of deep divisions within the US policy-making élite, the *Washington Post* reported on 27 October the first known resignation by a US official by way of direct protest against the US war in Afghanistan. Matthew Hoh, the civilian representative in Zabul province, according to the *Washington Post*, resigned despite having been airlifted to Washington and offered several other posts by Karl Eikenberry, the US ambassador in Kabul, and Richard Holbrooke, Mr Obama’s special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The *Post* added that Mr Hoh, a former US marine, was due to have a meeting with a senior advisor to Joe Biden, who has expressed his own serious doubts about General McChrystal’s Afghan war strategy. In his resignation letter, Mr Hoh drove the point home by questioning US involvement in *“...a 35-year civil war”* observing that from his experience in the east and south, *“...the bulk of the insurgency fights not for the white banner of the Taliban but rather against the presence of foreign soldiers and taxes imposed by an unrepresentative government in Kabul”*.

He went on to add *“I do not believe any military force has ever been tasked with such a complex, opaque and Sisyphean mission as the US military has received in Afghanistan.”*

Extension of the war to Pakistan:

In the face of rising Afghan resistance, and in a futile effort to extricate itself from the quagmire of its own making, US imperialism has maniacally extended the war to neighbouring Pakistan, in the belief that the Afghan resistance only exists because of cross-border attacks by Afghan resistance groups with bases and safe havens on the Pakistani side of the long border between the two countries, and that the elimination of their presence in Pakistan, as well as the defeat of Pakistani groups who support them, is a necessary precondition for the victory of US-led forces in Afghanistan.

Following this line of thinking, in July 2008, and without seeking prior Pakistani permission, the former US president, George W Bush, authorised cross-border attacks by US forces on Pakistan from Afghanistan. On 3 September 2008, US troops crossed into Pakistan and killed 20 civilians in the Pakistani village of Angoor Adda. A few days previously, on 25 August 2008, Pakistani soldiers exchanged fire with US troops when two US helicopters crossed into Pakistan. These incidents inflamed the feelings of the Pakistani people as well as sections of the armed forces.

Pakistani government and military coerced:

Since those days, the Pakistani government and armed forces have been goaded into waging war against their own people in the name of fighting terrorism – a good part of which is being created through the US war in Afghanistan, and its extension into Pakistan, with the consequent loss of hundreds of innocent lives for every alleged Jihadi killed by the US or the Pakistani army. First the Pakistani army conducted military operations in the Swat Valley. It has now sent 30,000 soldiers to take on an estimated 10,000 Jihadis in south Waziristan. The Pakistani army’s collaboration with the US-led so called war on terror, and its resultant war on

its own people, have spawned a number of armed groups who are increasingly co-ordinating and co-operating with each other and waging a veritable guerrilla struggle against the Pakistani state.

In advance of the Pakistani army's offensive against Waziristan, which was expected for some weeks and actually commenced on 16 October, the Jihadi groups struck pre-emptively. On 5 October a suicide bomber killed 5 people at the Pakistan headquarters of the UN's World Food Programme in Islamabad, forcing the UN to close its offices in the country. On 9 October, 50 people were killed when a suicide bomber drove his car into a crowded shopping area in Peshawar's main bazaar. Then, on the weekend of 10-11 October, came the most audacious of attacks, in which the Jihadis struck at the headquarters of the country's army in Rawalpindi, killing at least 9 people. The Pakistani army headquarters at Rawalpindi is one of the most fortified of Pakistan's bases and was hitherto considered impregnable. Yet the attackers, wearing army uniform and carrying false IDs, managed to drive through it, striking at the very heart of the military establishment. This was, thus, the third, and the most daring, Jihadi assault in a week – after the bombings in Islamabad and Peshawar.

Two days later, on 12 October, a suicide bomber killed 41 people in an attack on a Pakistani military convoy in Shingla near Swat. On 15 October, gunmen attacked three security sites in Lahore, while bombs exploded in Kohat and Peshawar, claiming 30 lives. On 22 October, gunmen shot and killed a Pakistani army brigadier and his driver in Islamabad, the capital. On 29 October, as Hillary Clinton, the US Secretary of State, arrived in Islamabad, a powerful car bomb exploded in the busy Peepal Mandi Market in Peshawar's old city, killing 90 people and injuring another 100. Although Mrs Clinton was at a safe distance from it, the explosion and the resultant carnage were meant by their

perpetrators to send a clear message to the Pakistani and US government alike that their unholy alliance in the 'war on terror' carries a very heavy price. In October alone, more than 300 people have been killed in such Jihadi activities.

The October attacks come on top of other lethal assaults launched by the Jihadi groups earlier this year. On 3 March, gunmen attacked a bus carrying Sri Lanka's cricket team outside a stadium in Lahore, killing 6 policemen and a driver, and wounding 6 of the cricketers and a British coach; on 30 March, Jihadis armed with guns and grenades stormed a police training centre in Lahore, killing 8 recruits and wounding scores; on 27 May, they attacked a police headquarters in Lahore, setting off a car bomb that killed over two dozen people; and on 9 June, the Pearl Continental Hotel in Peshawar came under attack, with 7 people killed.

All these attacks were intended by their perpetrators to deter the army from unleashing its then impending assault against Taliban strongholds in Waziristan, the region bordering Afghanistan, or in revenge for this attack. They were intended, too, to demoralise the army and send a clear message that before you, the army, come to get us, we the Taliban will come to get you; that the Jihadis can strike at will at targets of their choosing. By attacking Lahore, the second biggest city, the cultural centre of Pakistan and capital of the Punjab, from which the army draws most of its officer corps and soldiers, the aim of the Jihadis was to undermine civilian support for the army.

The Pakistani army, numbering 619,000, with approximately 528,000 reserves, is the strongest institution in Pakistan, deriving much of its clout from the fact that it has ruled the country for more than half of its 62-year existence. The most recent attacks are a source of major embarrassment to the army, coming as they do in the wake of its claims of success in the northern Swat Valley. They will set alarm bells ringing in US and Nato circles, for the Pakistani military's ability to fight the Jihadis is a matter of crucial concern to them, as it has great bearing on their predatory war against the Afghan people.

Danger of disintegration:

In the opening paragraph of its leading article of 19 October, this is how the *Financial Times* evaluated the situation in Pakistan in the wake of the string of attacks by the Jihadis in Pakistan:

"The sustained wave of attacks on Pakistan's cities and markets, police and army over the past two weeks is a lethal display of jihadi power that looks chillingly like the beginnings of a war for the future of the country, which is in real danger of failing as a state" ('Pakistan's struggle').

It is thus clear that the extension of the war to Pakistan, far from improving Nato's military fortunes in Afghanistan, is merely serving to destabilise Pakistan and the wider south Asian region. US imperialism has learned nothing from its experience in the Vietnam war, where, suffering heavy defeats at the hands of the Vietnamese people, it began the wholesale bombing of Cambodia, in the mistaken belief that by doing so it would defeat the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people by choking off supplies reaching the NLF fighters in the southern part of Vietnam. The result was the widening of the front against US imperialism through the inclusion of the Cambodian people into its ranks. US-led imperialist forces in Afghanistan are vying for the laurels of the US imperialist authors of the Cambodian fiasco – and succeeding.

Normally the Jihadi groups would be no match for the Pakistani army. What makes them a formidable force is that the Pakistani masses, while not being enamoured of the Jihadis, harbour sympathy for the latter's opposition both to imperialism's war against Afghanistan as well as to the extension of that war to Pakistan. They resent bitterly the present role of the Pakistani army as a hired gun of US imperialism. According to a Pew Global Attitude Survey released



Kerala: Second Anniversary of Meppadi Land Struggle

THE second anniversary of Meppadi land struggle where 150 families of landless and agricultural workers, mostly adivasis and dalits of Wyanad district occupied the land illegally held by Harison company and had turned it into com. Varghese Memorial Colony was observed on 25th January. Addressing the meeting comrades P. Surendran, prominent writer, PN Provint, state Land Struggle Committee convenor, Sabi Josepsh, TUCI state president, TC Subramanian, TUCI state secretary and others called for carry forward the land struggle to occupy government land, illegally occupied land by plantation owners and other uncultivated lands. They call for revolutionary land reforms. ●

Anti-Price Rise Struggle

HUNDREDS of people participated in the march to district collectorate at Kalpeta, Wyanad on 20th January demanding reversal of policies which are creating price rise. Comrades Sam P Mathew, dist. secretary, CPI(ML) and KJ Eldo addressed the demonstration. Marches to foodgrain godowns of government and private agencies were organised in six other districts in Kerala. ●



Against Land Acquisition

UNDER the neo-liberal policies implemented in India, the corporate houses and MNCs have acquired lakhs of acres of land in the name of industrial development and SEZs / Real Estate, etc. These policies have created huge land mafias. The state is taking steps to seriously implement neo-liberal policies, forming an acquisition-area board and other such agencies with the direct protection of police and army forces. After 2005, when the SEZ Act was enacted, land grabbing has become rampant. Every state in different parts of India is making a victim of rural peasants who lose their land and become landless. Having no other skills, they end up as helpers on construction sites. Forced to migrate to the cities, such peasants lose their livelihood and all their fundamental rights including the right to life exist only on paper. All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) resolves to fight alongside all the peasants and progressive forces against land acquisition and to guide this movement against imperialist globalisation. ●

in August, 64% of Pakistanis regard the US as an enemy. Unless the Pakistani government and army reverse their present policy and course of action, there is a serious danger that Pakistan may disintegrate as a state. Besides, without such a change of the present course, the Pakistani military may prove ineffectual in controlling the Jihadi menace. There is even the likelihood that, in the face of continued violation of Pakistan's sovereignty by the US-led forces in Afghanistan, the Pakistani army may break into two warring factions, with one faction fighting on the side of imperialism and the other on the side of the Jihadis resisting the US and its stooges. No wonder, then, that, alarmed by the turn of events in Pakistan, Stephen Cohen of the Brookings Institution, a US think tank, has come to conclude that Pakistan is a bigger and far more serious problem than Afghanistan and has suggested that, to reflect his reality, the coinage should be changed from the present AfPak to PakAf or even PakPak.

It is high time the Pakistani civil and military élites put an end to their subservience to US imperialism, opposed Nato's predatory war in Pakistan, and refused the use of Pakistani territory as a conduit for the transit of war materials to Nato forces across its borders. Only by so doing will the Pakistani ruling élite be able to win the sympathy and support of the Pakistani people – a support without which all its efforts in containing the Jihadis are only too likely to founder. ●

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Oppose Manmohan Government's Move to Further Reduce People Under BPL Category

AS a part of imperialist globalisation and under the dictates of the World Bank, successive Governments from Rao to Manmohan Singh have resorted to bringing about a drastic reduction in food subsidies. An ingenious method for this was the classification of people into APL and BPL categories and limiting the Public Distribution System to the latter only. While subsidised food grains through fair price shops are given only to the BPL category the APL section was forced to purchase food-grains at open market prices even from the Government's Fair Price Shops.

With the second coming of the UPA Government under Manmohan it is decided to further reduce the number of people below the Poverty Line to just 20% of the existing BPL category. To facilitate this under instructions from the Planning Commission, efforts are in full swing to redraw the poverty line itself, thereby elevating a large number of poor people to the APL category through statistical jugglery. This neo-liberal policy of denying food subsidy to the vast millions of poor people is done at a time when lakhs of crores of rupees are set apart in the form of stimulus packages for speculative and corporate sections who themselves are responsible for the present economic crisis. Consequently the poor people are confronting starvation deaths.

This Conference demands that the Govern should desist from redrawing the poverty line. We call upon all progressive sections to resist this anti-people move by the Manmohan Government. ●

Against the Allowing of Genetically Modified Foods

INDIA is a country based on agriculture. It has developed its own agricultural culture over thousands of years. The land is naturally fertile. There is great bio-diversity such as probably may not be found anywhere else. In spite of this, the crisis in the food-grains sector has been growing over the past few years. The faulty policies of the Government has allowed imperialist forces to force their way into the agricultural sector.

For production such as cotton, it is the American and European companies that have assumed a monopoly position. Even Government companies like Mahyco have become agents of MNCs for the propagation and spread of BT (Biotechnology) Cotton seeds. Due to the side effects of BT Cotton, the soil is losing its fertility. Due to the unsuitability of these seeds to our environment, production is falling. Cattle have died after eating the leafs and the fodder made from these plants.

Hundreds of peasants, having been made bankrupt have committed suicide. Though their memory is still fresh in our

minds, the Government has agreed to allow genetically modified brinjals and is considering the same for cabbage, potatoes, etc. The Government is giving MNCs a virtual monopoly to supply these genetically modified seeds.

This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) condemns these anti-people policies of the Government which are going to cause such great harm to the lives of our people and resolves to intensify the struggle against such policies. ●

Oppose Government's New Law on Self-Financing Education

IN CONSONANCE with the intensification of neo-liberal policies in the country, liberalisation and privatisation of education are also gathering momentum. In continuation of the World Bank sponsored DPEP and SSA in school education, the Manmohan Government is encouraging corporate houses and speculative financiers in the sphere of higher and professional education. It was with this objective that, some time back, the Ambani-Birla Report on education was prepared and circulated. This Report has now become a guideline for privatisation of higher education in the country. Today the private corporate sector has identified higher and professional education as the most profitable avenue of investment in the country.

The move on the part of the Manmohan Government to enact a new self-financing law in the forthcoming Winter Session of Parliament is to be seen in this context. Since education is in the concurrent list, the State Governments are supposed to have at least nominal control over education. The proposed Central Law aims at abolishing this state jurisdiction altogether, thereby encouraging the educational gang-lords to operate without any public control. When this law comes into force, even the highly liberalised self-financing regulations issued by the UGC in 2007 will become redundant. Henceforth, private corporate investors will be capable of entering the educational business without even an entrance test or counselling. Apart from Indian corporate houses, international financial companies will also be free to enter the lucrative higher and professional education fields, which are becoming, and will further become, increasingly elitist in character.

This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) sternly demands that the Central Government retract from its move towards the proposed self-financing law aimed at the commodification and commercialisation of higher education. ●

Oppose the Sale of Navratnas

THE All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) condemns the move by the Indian Government to sell profit-making undertakings including the prized "navratnas". By this policy, the value accumulated over the years in these massive undertakings by the people is being looted and handed over to the imperialists and comprador bourgeoisie. We strongly condemn this move and call upon the people of India to launch an agitation against this action. ●