



# RED STAR

## PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

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## Mobilised Under All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha (AIKAM), Adivasis to Organise 48 Hour Dharna at Delhi

**A**S the *Approach Paper on Adivasi Question* prepared by the CC of CPI(ML) clearly states: "The adivasi or 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 aboriginals. In the neo-colonial phase these attacks have become more and more heinous and pernicious.

If the forest policy pursued by consecutive governments in this country, the increasing displacement of adivasis in the name of numerous projects, etc. especially under imperialist globalisation are examined it can be seen that this section of the population is the worst affected by it. Atrocities on adivasi women and adivasis as a whole are intensifying. The interference of religious fundamentalist forces and NGOs has only aggravated their problems. Now under

the bogey of 'Maoism' the adivasi areas are converted into killing fields of para-military and police forces utilising many black laws and *Salwa Judum* like state terror tactics.

It is in this situation the CPI(ML) has decided to organise *All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha* with red flag carrying the symbol of bugle and bunch of grain at the centre. Immediate steps are taken to mobilise the adivasis at state level under the banner during the March to project the specific problems faced by them.

With the fighting slogans: *Jal, Jangal, Jameen Hamara Hai, Stop Displacement of Adivasis, Kick-out MNCs and Corporates*, under the banner of AIKAM thousands of adivasis shall march to Delhi and organise a 48 hour dharna on 21-22 April to put their demands before the people and the rulers. All progressive, democratic forces are requested to make this struggle of the adivasi people a great success. ●

### On Land-grabbing in Jharkhand Under the Recent SC Judgement

**THE** recent judgement of the Supreme Court, using the technical legal devices of "res judicata" and limitation, has negated the protection given to tribals from alienation from their land, which has been given to them by the Chotta Nagpur Tenancy Act (CNT Act) and the Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act (SPT Act). This has only opened the doors for the big bourgeoisie and landlord classes, as well as for imperialist MNCs, to grab the land of the adivasis and to heighten their exploitation.

Even social centres of villages like the one in village Hochar are being acquired and handed over to the capitalists under this loophole, which has been created by the Supreme Court.

Bhopal All India Special Conference of the CPI(ML) resolves to oppose this judgement of the Supreme Court and further resolves to organise a massive demonstration of the adivasis from all over the country against this judgement in New Delhi. ●

### Against SEZs

**THE** way in which the Indian state is selling its sovereignty over vast swathes of land in the name of SEZ (Special Economic Zones) is shameful. The situation of workers in India is, in any case, deteriorating to sub-human conditions day by day. This intolerable situation is rendered even more heinous in the SEZs, where even basic democratic rights and labour rights, recognised in the whole country and the whole world are being flouted. India has the largest number of notified SEZs in the world. The people are already conducting massive agitations against SEZs as was seen in the states of Odisha, Maharashtra, W. Bengal, UP, etc.

Parties like the CPI (M) are opposing the formation of SEZs in some states while enforcing their formation with the threat of police guns in the states where they are ruling. In this manner they are only fooling the people. Bhopal All India Special Conference of the CPI(ML) condemns the formation of SEZs and calls for the scrapping of the SEZ Act, 2005 and the disbanding of all SEZs that have already been formed. ●

# Mobilise Masses for Militant Struggle Against Neo-Liberal Policies

**A**CCORDING to all available indications and the repeated statements of the finance minister, the central budget going to be presented within a week shall be yet another onslaught on the vast masses of people who are already suffering from ever-intensifying miserable conditions due to unprecedented price rise, unemployment and under-employment and commercialisation of all welfare and service sectors. The prime minister, who is an IMF nominee, and the Congress-led UPA government under his are acting with a vengeance to pauperise the masses and to devastate the country in order to fatten the elite classes and the imperialist masters. So they shall be plotting to use the central budget, pursuing neo-liberal policies at faster pace, in present condition of intensifying crisis within the imperialist system, for aggravating miserable living condition of the masses.

The economic agenda of US imperialism like its military agenda is very clear. By printing three trillion dollars worth currency notes, using it to bail out the very same banks and monopolies who caused the present imperialist crisis and utilising the hegemony of dollar in the market, it is working hard to transfer the consequences of its crisis to India and other countries under neo-colonisation. Besides it has taken decisive steps to stop outsourcing to India. Meanwhile, the military tie ups under 'strategic relationship' with India are utilised to involve it more deeply in the Af-Pak imbroglio. At Copenhagen we have seen how the Manmohan Singh government was utilised to save the US from the difficult situation it was facing. Thus while the vast masses are subjected to pauperisation, along with this the neo-colonial slavery leading to acceleration of US influence in various fields is also intensifying under the UPA government.

That the US administration and the MNCs are working according to a well drafted plan at global level to create a food crisis and inflation by reducing the food production in India like countries and bringing the agrarian sector under their control is known to the UPA government. Wide-spread discussions are taking place about it everywhere. Even then the MNCs are allowed to every aspect of agricultural production from seed production. Even after the pernicious effects of Bt Cotton cultivation including increasing peasants suicides, Bt Brinjal and other genetically modified seeds are finding advocates among central and state leaders. Contract, Corporate, MNC farming is being spread to more areas. Millions of acres of agricultural land is taken away in the name of real estate and various developmental projects. Thus the UPA government is collaborating with the imperialists and MNCs to devastate the agricultural sector, further intensifying the price rise.

These treasonable policies of the UPA government are known to the ruling class parties in the opposition and the social democrats leading governments in Kerala, W. Bengal and Tripura. But none of them are coming forward to demand the reversal of these policies. Even when they stage token protests against price rise, they limit these to mishandling by the UPA government. This is because all of them are collaborating with the imperialists, MNCs, Corporate houses and other reactionary forces who are creating price rise and inflation. All of them are, thus, conspiring against the masses, hoodwinking them in various forms. Though the budget session may witness walk-outs and cancellation of sessions due to

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**K.N. Ramachandran**

R-8, Prathap Market

Jangpura-B,

New Delhi - 110014

Phone : (011) 24370233

redstarenglish@yahoo.co.in

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Delhi-20

the dramas going to be staged by all those in opposition and even by some parties like DMK and Trinamul, which are part of the UPA government, they will not dare to bring down the government voting unitedly against it.

Any change in this situation can happen only if the people are aroused and mobilised to come to the streets to challenge the reactionary policies of the central and state governments. The masses should be inspired to wage struggles like storming the godowns, storages of Corporates and MNCs, etc. and distributing the food grains to the people. Only by doing so the government can be compelled to change its policies. Let the revolutionary left forces concentrate their efforts for developing these militant struggles. ●

## President's Speech: Reactionary and Arrogance Par-excellence

**T**HE UPA government has insulted the country and the people through the President's speech to the parliament. It was an arrogant exercise to attach the people. As a woman she has insulted tens of millions of women around the country who are forced to go half or full empty stomachs for days and months. Still to say that there is only "unhappy pressure" on food prices is a calculated effort to conceal the gravity of the situation created by reactionary policies pursued by the government.

She has boasted that the economy continued to grow "at an impressive rate" and expected to reach 9% by 2011-12. Who is growing? According to UN Report, in 2009, 13.6 million more people were pushed into the ranks of extremely poor due to joblessness and high inflation. What will be the number of more poor people who are pushed down to this grade due to present inflation and joblessness? As the attack is going to continue through another dose of petrol-diesel price hike, more indirect taxes in budget to serve the "market forces" and government's refusal to curb price which she has dubbed as "global phenomenon", there number is going to be very high.

At the same time, her government has done everything to help the corporate houses and MNCs to grow: Along with them the elite classes, the upper middle classes, the bureaucracy and all those corrupt, mafia sections are also growing. The profits of 33 sugar companies alone grew from Rs. 30 crores in 2008 to Rs. 900 crores in

2009. During last six years the UPA government has hiked prices of petroleum products' 10 times in the name of hike in international prices. But still petrol and diesel prices can be sold at half the prices if the central taxes on it are cut. By this act it is corporates, especially Ambanis who are benefitting. Plus centre is fleecing billions to lavish on the *Commonwealth Games* like elite projects, from which only the corporate-bureaucrat-politician lobby is growing.

President's statement that the masses have become richer and they can afford to pay high prices is a travesty of truth. Any survey will show that the lower half of 50% masses have become poorer. Are more peasants committing suicide due to madness? Earlier we had a government which talked about *India shining* while millions were getting pauperised under neo-liberal policies. Now, the UPA government which has further ruined the vast masses through speeding up of the neo-liberal policies for last six years is claiming arrogantly that *India is growing*. Whether BJP-led NDA or Congress-led UPA is in power, they are comprador scoundrels in power indulging in acts of treason. President's speech once again underlines this factor. ●

### All India Conference of AIRSO at Mumbai on 29-30 May

**THE** All India Conference of AIRSO (All India Revolutionary Students Organisation) shall be held on May 29, 30 at Mumbai in Shahid Khudiram Hall. Before that the membership campaign in all states shall be completed and the state conferences also shall be completed. About 350 delegates are expected to participate in the conference. *Equal and Compulsory Education for All, Stop Commercialisation of Education* shall be the central slogans of the conference. It shall discuss on ways and means to stop the education-mafia wielding powerful influence in this sector. ●

## The Marxist-Leninist January 2010, Issue No 4

1. Extracts from the Report by Stalin to the 18th Congress of the CPSU(B)
2. From the Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR - Stalin
3. From A Critique of Soviet Economy
4. The Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party

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"Red Star"  
R-8, Pratap Market  
Jangpura-B  
New Delhi - 110014

# *Intensify Mass Movements Against Imperialist Globalisation and State Terror*

**[Resolution Adopted by the CC of CPI(ML) at Nagpur  
Meeting, 17 February 2010]**

1. The two decades long imperialist globalization policies have further worsened the neo-colonial slavery and miseries to the people. Price rise, unemployment and under employment and abandoning of the welfare policies under neo-liberal regime have thrown out millions from jobs, reduced the real income of hundreds of millions, increased peasant suicides, reduced millions to near-starvation level and have thrown vast majority of dalits, adivasis and other oppressed sections to destitution. When the elite classes are enriched manifold, the working class and all other toiling masses are facing unprecedented crises in all fields of life.

2. It is in this situation the latest policy decisions of the Congress-led UPA Government at centre should be viewed. It refuses to take any steps to reverse the policies which have led to present price rise, unemployment/ under employment and destitution of the masses. On the contrary, it is opening more avenues for the MNCs and Corporates to control even retail trade. It is on the verge of another hike in prices of petroleum products which will sky-rocket the prices of all essential commodities further. Besides, the central budget being presented in a few days is going to make the burden over the people much more, while dishing out many more concessions to the Corporate houses and other elite sections. It is undermining the food production by promoting cultivation of cash crops and diverting agricultural land massively for real estates and to various land mafias. The present crisis and devastation faced by the masses are the consequences of the political decisions of the government. They can be fought and defeated only through uncompromising struggles to reverse them.

3. While the vast masses of people are facing unprecedented hardships, in order to divert their attention from the central political issues causing them, and to unleash state terror against people's movements, the bogey of terrorism and 'Maoism' is constantly raised. All the black laws including the *Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act* and the *Operation Green Hunt* are ruthlessly utilized to intensify suppressive actions. While in the name of fighting terrorism the Muslim minorities and Pakistan are targeted, in the name of suppressing the 'Maoists' active in few pockets of few states, all progressive people's movements all over the country are targeted. For doing this the co-operation and services of all state governments are utilized. The services of all ruling class parties, big or small or regional, and of the 'Left Front' led by CPI (M) are utilized.

4. One of the glaring examples of how these reactionary policies are affecting the oppressed masses is the way in which the indigenous people of more than 100 millions are treated in spite of the much trumpeted *Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act* which came to force in 2006. The dead line for receipt of claims by these people ran out on December 31, 2009. But till October 31, according to government of India records, the title deeds were distributed to only a little more than 6,10,000 forest dwellers. Very little is done by the government departments and its various agencies including the NGOs to get these people registered for title deeds. On the contrary the Union government has allowed leasing out of 1,00,871 hectares of forest land for mining and various other projects throwing out the adivasis and creating immense harm to the environment. While no action is taken for

effective implementation of the FRA, the Operation Green Hunt is pursued vigorously in the name of throwing out 'Maoists', creating immense harm to the habitats and livelihood of the adivasis.

5. Almost the same, or worse is the fate of the peoples and aboriginals of North East and Jammu and Kashmir. For many decades these areas are under virtual military rule in spite of the fake elections conducted there perpetuating corrupt, anti-people regimes. Conditions of almost fascist like rule exist there. The people as a whole, especially women are subjected to ruthless suppression. The AFSPA has made life intolerable with almost all democratic rights denied to the masses. The Manorama Devi incident of 2004 and the ten-years old indefinite fast by Ms. Irom Sharmila in Manipur symbolize the state terror under AFSPA and people's resistance against it taking place in the whole of North East. The condition is no better in Jammu and Kashmir.

6. Along with the state terror, the degenerated imperialist and feudal cultural values, religions fundamentalism of various sorts, caste system, chauvinist strife and mafiaisation are utilized to maim the people and to make them incapable of fighting against the neo-colonial slavery which is intensifying day by day. Unprecedented corruption at all levels has socked the country. Liquor and drugs addition is becoming rampant. It is a cultural aggression to perpetuate the neo-colonial slavery.

7. The Central Committee of the CPI (ML) calls for all out efforts to expose and struggle against this neo-colonial slavery in all walks of life:

a) Continue and intensify the anti-price rise campaign at all India level, leading it towards mobilization of the masses for storming of godowns and MNCs-Corporates' storages and distribution of food grains to the masses, so as to compel the central govt to reverse its neo-liberal policies.

b) Mobilise the working class and develop their struggles to seize back the hard-earned rights snatched away from them, to advance their struggle against wage slavery, and to develop their consciousness to become the leader of the social revolution.

c) Develop the agrarian revolutionary movement mobilizing the landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers putting forward land to the tiller slogan, to stop displacements from agricultural land and to achieve Housing rights for all. As immediate slogan, struggle for need based minimum wages, including employment for all the agricultural workers including dalits and adivasis.

d) Develop the struggle for education and employment for all mobilizing the youth and students struggle against unemployment and under-employment focusing on the struggle against neo-colonial globalization policies which are creating them.

e) Develop all India revolutionary women's movement.

f) Mobilize the adivasis to fight for their right to their land and against all forms of displacement. Build up All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha.

g) Organize all India movements against state terror, the Operation Green Hunt and all forms of black Acts including the draconian AFSPA.

h) Launch vigorous democratic, people's cultural movement against the cultural aggression of the imperialist forces and the Indian ruling system. Struggle against religions fundamentalism, communal fascism and caste system.

i) Intensify the campaign against neo-colonial slavery based on the ideological-political line put forward by the Bhopal All India Special Conference.

j) Cast away all sectarian approaches and intensify the efforts to build up a powerful, Bolshevik style party capable of leading the People's Democratic Revolution to victory. ●

## On Question of Telengana

**T**HE present grave political situation in Andhra Pradesh in relation to the Telengana question is the direct out come of neocolonial policies pursued by the ruling class parties, especially the Congress, all through the last many years. Right from the very beginning when Andhra was carved out in 1953 from Madras Presidency after Potti Sreeramulu fasted to death, opposition was there to the merger of the Telugu-speaking districts of erstwhile Hyderabad State with Andhra whose capital was Kurnool during 1953-56. The Fazal Ali Commission that went into the issue of the State reorganization voiced several concerns about the merger of Telengana region into Andhra Pradesh in 1956. Taking these into account, the Nehru Government agreed to a package of development including mandatory safeguards such that the chief minister or deputy chief minister should always be a native of Telengana. But these safeguards were seldom implemented. On the other hand, the neocolonial policies pursued by comprador rulers like Chenna Reddy to Raja Sekhara Reddy aggravated the uneven development between Andhra and Telengana regions. At the same time, they were effectively resorting to the diversionary tactic of counter posing the people of one region against the other by instigating narrow sub-regional interests.

As a matter of fact, the various ruling class parties took a policy of speaking in favour of Telengana so long as it fetched votes in the successive elections. As a manifestation of this, the Congress, BJP, and TDP pursued very opportunistic relations with the Telengana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) which came up systematically whipping up narrow parochial interests. It was in this context that following the hunger strike by Chandra Shekhar Rao, the TRS chief, the Congress led central Government as part of its game plan of dividing the toiling people of Andhra Pradesh gave green signal for a separate Telengana on December 9, 2009. Paradoxically, the very same ruling parties and groups which until the night of December 9 stood for separate Telengana made a vault face and started raising the slogan of united Andhra. Now, as a result of the developments of the last few days, a clear line of demarcation has emerged between pro-Telengana and united Andhra activists, both of whom are united in obstructing the unity of working class, peasantry and other toiling people of the region.

It should be noted that under neocolonial and neoliberal policies which accelerate uneven development, the presence of several backward regions in the country has led to the unleashing of centrifugal forces for redrawing the boundaries of various states. But as the examples of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and so on have already shown, at a time when the entire country is integrating with global market through imperialist globalization, the formation of Telengana will not resolve the contradictions behind it. It should be stated emphatically that under neo-colonialism neither the formation of Telengana, nor the continuation of united Andhra Pradesh will solve the basic problems of the people. Under the existing neocolonial system, in whatever form the present agitation is settled, it will not lead to an improvement in the living conditions of the people. Therefore, the question is not one of supporting or opposing any particular faction of the ruling classes. The task before the working class is to lead the people towards a people's democratic state which alone can resolve the burning problems such as landlessness, price rise, unemployment, lack of health facilities and so on confronting the people. ●

*Nagpur*  
17/08/2010

*Central Committee*  
C.PI (M.L.)

# AP State Organising Committee of CPI(ML)

**A**NDHRA PRADESH has a long history of communist movement. It is the land of great Telengana struggle of 1940s and early 1950s when under the leadership of *Andhra Maha Sabha* formed under the initiative of the CPI, a massive anti-feudal, anti-Nizam rule struggle was waged inspiring the landless-poor peasants, mostly comprising of dalits, adivasis and other oppressed sections, to take up arms to resist the *razakar raj*, liberating more than 3000 villages. Though the CPI leadership failed to carry forward this struggle and to expand it according to the concrete conditions of post-1947 India, the revolutionary fervour continued. When the struggle of the Telugu speaking people for a linguistic state developed, again CPI was in the forefront. It further expanded the left influence in the state.

So when Naxalbari uprising took place, majority of the rank and file comrades and sizable section of the leaders of the CPI(M) revolted and joined the ranks of Communist Revolutionaries. It looked like the spirit of Telengana was being regenerated in Srikakulam agency areas. Tens of thousands of adivasis and other oppressed sections were organised by the CRs to spread the struggle for land. CPI and CPI(M) were almost getting wiped out under the offensive of the CRs.

But, similar to what happened at the all India level and abroad, among the Marxist-Leninist forces who had fought against the Soviet revisionist line and upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the Lin Biaoist sectarian trend, which had come to dominance in the CPC by the time of its 1969 Ninth Congress, calling for mechanically applying the *Chinese Path* of protracted people's war based on semi-colonial, semi-feudal evaluation of Indian state and society, was blindly embraced by the CRs in AP also, in order to give a last push to imperialism and its compradors. To achieve a quick victory for the New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of com. Charu Majumdar this sectarian line was taken to annihilation line causing severe setback to CPI(ML) at all India level by 1971-72.

Though a large number of the CR leaders in AP like comrades Nagi Reddy, DV Rao, Kolla Venkaiah and Chandra Pulla Reddy opposed the annihilation line and com. Charu Majumdar, they were also worshippers of the Lin Biaoist interpretation of Mao Tsetung's contributions. They also mechanically adhered to the semi-colonial, semi-feudal analysis and 'protracted people's war' as the path of revolution. They also refused to make a concrete analysis of the vast changes taking place in the country under neo-colonisation vigorously pushed forward by the imperialist camp led by US imperialism through the comprador ruling classes after the transfer of power. As a result, after the setbacks suffered by the revolutionary movement, while com. Kondapalli Seetharamaiah organised CPI(ML) People's War Group pursuing annihilation line with a better selection of areas and arms, the others also pursued the 'Chinese Path', with their only opposition to the annihilation line. All these groups were different shades of the very same sectarian line, whether they practiced armed struggle or not. Their mass line was only a camouflage. All of them, like PWG, blindly worshipped the class-collaborationist 'Theory of Three Worlds' of Deng Tsiaoping, though belatedly all had to accept the capitalist restoration in China.

As CPI and CPI(M) went on degenerating to social democratic path collaborating with ruling class parties like Congress and TDP, the CPI(ML) Janashakti, CPI(ML) New Democracy and various groups of Nagi Reddy-DV Rao line went on pursuing the 'Chinese Path' under many interpretations like 'resistance line', while PWG utilised the situation to accelerate its militarist line.

Utilising this situation some of the 'ML groups' formed their own squads for 'money actions'. When PWG suffered severe setback by 2005 and Janshakti had already splitted to a number of groups, there was a proliferation of squads under various names indulging in 'money actions'. The efforts of the ruling system to corrupt these groups including providing various monetary incentives to the surrendered PWG members had succeeded to damage the image of the CR forces in the state seriously. The ideological-political degeneration has left to organisational splintering and rampant corrupt practices. Thus the left influence in the state suffered severe damage. Neither CPI-CPI(M) nor these 'CR' groups could take a Marxist approach to the new Telengana movement for a separate state. The left movement is in a crisis in the state.

It is in this situation, the CPI(ML) took initiative for the last one year to contact the youth and students and revolutionary intellectuals along with workers and to take the ideological-political line adopted by the Bhopal All India Special Conference later to them. It was decided that all those sections indulging in collection through 'money actions' and become corrupt, and who pursue the 'Chinese Path' as propounded by Lin Biao under various forms should be scrupulously avoided. New forces should be won over based on ideological struggle.

As a result of these efforts under the leadership of com. Manasayya, CEC member an activists' meeting was organised on 19<sup>th</sup> February at Hyderabad. The party line was explained and all those attending the meeting adopted it after a serious discussion. Based on this political centralisation, a state organising committee was formed with com. Dhammanand as secretary. It was decided to organise ideological offensive. A seminar on "Neo-Colonialism and the Path of Revolution in India" will be organised on 22<sup>nd</sup> March at Hyderabad. ●

# *RYFI Conference Calls for Second Independence Struggle against Neo-colonial Slavery*



**F**IRST All India Conference of RYFI was held at Bangalore on 30-31 January 2010. On the first day, 30<sup>th</sup> January afternoon, inaugurating the public meeting at Bannappa Park, following the colourful militant rally of youth from 10 states, com. KN Ramachandran, General Secretary of the CPI(ML) called on the youth to wage uncompromising Second Independence Struggle to overthrow the neo-colonial slavery perpetuated by the central and state governments, by the ruling system. 600 delegates from Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi attended the delegate session at Varadachar Kalakshetra, re-named as Shahid Bhagat Singh Hall for this occasion.

A presidium consisting of comrades Basavalingappa (Karnataka), MK Dasan (Kerala), Sankar Das (West Bengal), Prajakta (Maharashtra) and Pinky (UP) and Steering Committee consisting of comrades Vijay Kumar (MP), Ravinder (UP), Vellimalai (TN), Manoj (Delhi) and Deepa (Chhattisgarh) were elected. After welcome speech by com. Basavalingappa, convenor of reception committee and the inaugural speech by com. KN Ramachandran, com. Vijay Kumar from MP presented the draft Programme and Constitution, which was discussed and adopted with

suggestions and amendments. It has called for building a powerful revolutionary youth movement at all India level defeating all reformist and reactionary youth organisations. The Programme and Constitution were adopted by the all All India Conference after the reply. They will be developed incorporating the suggestions and amendments.

Com. MK Dasan from Kerala moving the resolution on unemployment stated that the imperialist globalisation, which is intensifying neo-colonisation, has created unprecedented unemployment and under-employment. While the immediate slogan of *employment for all or unemployment allowance at the rate of minimum wage* should be put forward and struggled for, RYFI should launch all out struggles, joining hands with other revolutionary classes and sections to throw out the ruling system which is intensifying unemployment and under-employment. Comrades from all states participated in the discussion. The resolution was adopted with a number of suggestions to further sharpen it.

Moving the resolution on intensifying struggle against unprecedented price-rise, which is sky-rocketing unchecked, com. Shanker Das explained that the price rise is the result of the imperialist globalisation policies which are speeding up liberalisation-privatisation. The

government has withdrawn to a great extent from the fields of procurement of food grains and public distribution system. It has allowed 'advance trading' which is helping hoarding and black-marketing. In this situation struggle against price-rise is a political struggle to throw out the imperialist globalisation policies. The discussion on the resolution brought out many suggestions including the capture of godowns and distribution of food grains to people by arousing them through various forms of campaigns.

The resolution on degeneration of culture and the impact of these degenerated cultural values on youth presented by com. Prajakta provoked a living discussion in a number of delegates participated. The resolution calls for a militant offensive on the part of RYFI to expose and fight these degenerated values and to intensify the struggle for a progressive, democratic people's culture.

Following this, a panel of 21 comrades for the Central Committee of the RYFI was moved by com. Basavalingappa which was adopted by the delegates with enthusiastic applause. The Central Committee held a brief meeting and

announced the following office bearers: president: com. Basavalingappa; vice-presidents: comrades Prajakta, Pinki and Raghunath, Secretary: com. Vijay Kumar; joint secretaries: comrades MK Dasan (South Zone), Shailendra (West Zone), Ravinder (North Zone), Shanker Das (East Zone) and Premjit (North-east Zone); treasurer: com. Manoj.

Representatives of different class and mass organisations: comrades DH Poojar and Sivaram (TUCI), R. Manasayya (AIKKS), Tuhin Deb (Cultural movement), Shukla (AIRWO), Nagaraju (AIRSO) and com. Rudrayya (Karnataka state secretary, CPI-ML) extended greetings to the delegates and the newly elected office bearers. Com. Vijay Kumar, the all India secretary spoke calling on all delegates to build the RYFI at grass root level and to develop struggles on the major issues put forward by the conference so that by the time the second all India conference is held after two years RYFI shall become the fighting vanguard of the revolutionary youth in India. Presidium extended vote of thanks. The Conference successfully concluded with the lowering of the RYFI flag by com. Basavalingappa at 5 PM amidst militant slogans. ●

## Resolutions Adopted by the All India Conference of RYFI

### 1. Resolution on Unemployment

**G**ROWING unemployment and under-employment are inseparably linked with the neo-liberal economic policies that got strengthened during the last two decades. Compared with the era of State-led Keynesian policies that lasted till the 1980s, official unemployment at a global level had doubled during the neoliberal period, rising from 100 million in 1990 to almost 200 million by the end of 2009. This is an underestimate as it does not count the tens of millions of unemployed in rural areas who are completely left out of the official statistics, especially in several neocolonial countries. World wide, the number of under employed today has reached around 600 million. Even the large number of employed themselves are classified as "working poor" as their meager earnings are insufficient for both ends to meet. And in all, about one-third of the world's total labour force of more than three billion is unemployed, underemployed or lack adequate incomes. Imperialist experts and policy makers often gloss over this grave social malady through their pet phrase "jobless growth."

As far as India is concerned, the trend of declining employment growth rate as a concomitant of neo-colonization got strengthened further during the last two decades of imperialist globalization amidst the much publicized high rate of growth of the economy. Obviously, unemployment figures calculated on the basis of live registers of employment exchanges that comes to around 15 percent of the workforce is a gross underestimate since such data with minor exceptions only pertains to

unemployment among educated urban dwellers in India. The vast millions of unemployed, under-employed and casually employed rural youth do not enter into official statistics at all.

Dismantling of the public sector and downsizing of the state coupled with all round liberalization of the economy including import liberalization have already led to unprecedented de-industrialization, under utilization of industrial capacity and closing down of hundreds of thousands of factories throwing millions of workers out of employment. Even today, while 90 percent of the organized sector employment is still provided by the dwindling public sector, the expanding private sector in the newly emerging money-spinning and speculative areas mainly provides part-time, casual and contract employment without job security. The naked entry of corporate finance capital into transportation, communication and other service sectors with their capital-intensive and labour-displacing technologies coupled with all pervasive automation and computerization in banking, administration, railways etc. have intensified under imperialist globalization. The fact of declining employment growth rate remains true even if we take into account all kinds of employment such as agricultural employment, self-employment, house-hold sector employment and similar other informal sector jobs. The recent global economic melt-down and abrupt reduction in outsourcing activities have further aggravated the unemployment situation in the country.

As a matter of fact this worsening of the employment situation is integrally linked with the neo-colonial policies that serve speculative imperialist capital which is reluctant to create or maintain jobs as it reduces the share of profits in gross production. In that sense, the mass unemployment and under-employment today are rooted in the crisis of capital accumulation confronting imperialism. That is, in its mad rush across the globe for increasing profit rate, imperialist finance capital utilizing its comprador sections is shifting the burden of its crisis to the shoulders of world people through unemployment and under-employment.

Unemployment is the biggest challenge to the youth. Lack of productive employment not only results in the destruction of the physical and mental faculties of the youth but also leads to irreparable national and social waste. At the same time, imperialism by promoting its decadent culture and by unleashing reactionary forces is weaning large number of unemployed and frustrated youth to mafia and criminal gangs, to subserve its nefarious ends. The task of the RYFI is to defeat this counter-revolutionary trend by organizing powerful struggles to compel the ruling classes to provide adequate unemployment opportunities for the youth.

However, it is to be reiterated that employment opportunities can be created only through a reversal of the liberalization-privatization-globalization policies unleashed

by imperialism using its subservient comprador Indian State. While raising this basic slogan, the youth of the country should demand the government to provide education and unemployment to all and compel it to incorporate the right to education and work as a fundamental right. In the immediate context, if the government cannot provide employment to all youth it should give an unemployment allowance equivalent to minimum wages capable of meeting at least the basic needs of life. In this context, taking the various aspects related to the causes and consequence of unemployment into consideration, the All India Conference of RYFI calls upon the youth of India to come forward for uncompromising struggles against the comprador Indian State for achieving the objective of education and employment as a fundamental right to all. ●

- ★ **Reverse Liberalization-Privatizations-Globalization Policies !**
- ★ **Provide Education and Employment to All !**
- ★ **Incorporate Education and the Right to Work as Fundamental Rights !**
- ★ **Provide Unemployment Allowance Equivalent to Minimum Wages Per Month to All Unemployed Youth !**

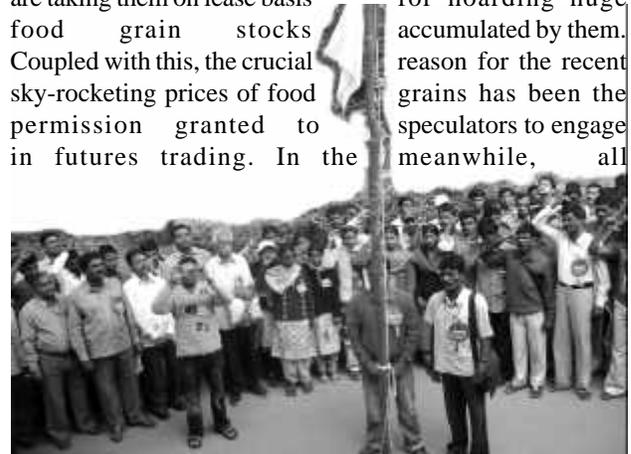
## 2. Resolution against Price Rise

**P**RICES of food and essential items which are indispensable for the sustenance of broad masses of people are galloping without any let up. This irreversible trend of rising prices is quite unprecedented in the entire history of our country. Obviously, this ever-mounting prices are the direct outcome of neo-liberal policies of globalization, liberalization and privatization by successive governments both at the centre and state level during the last two decades and especially since 2004 when the Manmohan Singh led UPA government intensified neo-colonization of the country in all fields.

It is now widely known that the immediate cause for this unprecedented price rise has been the abolition of all governmental control and restrictions on market forces on the one hand, and government's withdrawal from public distribution system and public procurement of food grains and all controls on the grains trade on the other. Market liberalization has unleashed the forces of speculation who have indulged in large scale black-marketing and hoarding of food grains and essential items with the connivance of the government itself.

Under instructions from imperialist forces, the central government has demolished the PDS, first by classifying the people under PDS into APL and BPL categories and denying subsidized food to the former and then by

drastically reducing the number of families under BPL in the name of Targeted Public Distribution System imposed by World Bank. Along with this, the government has progressively withdrawn from public procurement of food grains. Instead the government has allowed speculative giants such as Reliance to start procuring of food grains from peasants who are compelled to resort to distress sales during harvesting season. In fact, while Manmohan government is closing down FCI godowns in various parts of the country, leading speculators such as Reliance are taking them on lease basis for hoarding huge food grain stocks accumulated by them. Coupled with this, the crucial reason for the recent sky-rocketing prices of food grains has been the permission granted to speculators to engage in futures trading. In the meanwhile, all



erstwhile regulations like Essential Commodities act are being repealed at the behest of speculators.

While all kinds of market intervention policies by government are curtailed, global retail giants and corporate houses are permitted to monopolize even retail trade throughout the country. Consequently, propelled by extreme greed for high profit margins at the retail level, the retail monopolies artificially raise retail prices which are several times higher than whole sale prices. This also enables the government to carry on its false propaganda of low inflation quoting wholesale prices which are not experienced by common people.

It is really horrible that this biggest ever price rise is occurring at a critical juncture of ever-declining real wages of workers and purchasing power of peasantry and broad

masses of toiling people in our country and at a time when unemployment is growing rapidly. In the name of balancing the budget, while all kinds of subsidies to poor people, agricultural support programs and welfare payments are being taken away, lakhs of crores rupees of tax money is liberally bestowed on financial speculators in the name of stimulus packages. The Manmohan government is a government of financial speculators and traitors and is against the common people. It is high time for the youth to rise up in revolt against the traitorous Manmohan government to force it to retract from the neo-colonial policies that lead to spiraling prices. We call upon the youth to launch an all India uncompromising struggle and be prepared to go to any extent to express their fury to compel the government to withdraw the policies that create price-rise. ●

### 3. Resolution on the Struggle against Cultural Degeneration

**T**HE RULING CLASSES, in the phase of neo-colonialism uses various devices to enslave the most active and energetic section of society, the youth. When in response to their natural tendency to rebel, the youth comes out on to the streets, new vices are invented to derail them and to mould their thinking in the wrong direction. TV channels promote westernized consumerist culture with the ramp culture of beauty contests and various degenerated imperialist culture. While the media is utilizing the ramp and reality show culture, the most backward, obscurantist, revivalist feudal culture are also promoted. Very often, in the name of using 'eastern mysticism' to get relief from western consumerism, a bastardized version of both is put forward as a radical culture. Such backward culture has allowed a revival of the most heinous forms of caste oppression in the name of "honour killing", etc. as witnessed in Haryana.

Instead of developing love for their country and the people the youth are increasingly turned into individualistic, self-centred and pro-imperialist. Bollywood stars are being

made role models in place of Shahid Bhagat Singh and other martyrs. Careerism taking the place of social commitment, chauvinism in place of patriotism, enslavement in the name of self reliance, gang war in place of class war, fanatical Hindutvavadi attacks and atrocities against women and girls in the name of protecting Indian culture are the concepts which are sought to be forced upon the youth. The All India Conference of the RYFI strongly condemns these attempts and conspiracies of the vested interests to spread decadent culture to misguide the youth. This Conference calls upon the youth to fight against all forms of imperialist and feudal culture and to struggle for the creation of a progressive, democratic and socialist culture.

This Conference calls upon the youth to develop appropriate forms to immediately take these cultural struggles into the streets. ●

- ★ **Resist the existing decadent culture !**
- ★ **Advance along the path of revolutionary democratic progressive culture !**

## *International Messages of Greetings*

### 1. From members of Rebell and Red Foxes, Germany

Dear comrades,

We send you the solidary and militant greetings of the youth organisation REBELL and its childrens organisation Rotfuchse (red foxes). REBELL is the marxist-leninist youth mass organisation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD).

As different as our countries and the situation of the

youth in Germany and India are, we all have one thing in common: The world is in the deepest economic and financial crisis in the history of capitalism. All over the world the burdens of the crisis are shifted to the workingclass and the broad masses. And all over the world an intense discussion takes place how the workingclass and the masses shall react to this crisis. The resistance grows on many issues and the youth is always in the first row in these fights.

The children also have dreams of a better, fair world – without unjust wars, unemployment and hunger. They can

learn and have to learn to contribute their numerous and important abilities to the daily struggle. Our red foxes learn to stand up for a world without exploitation and oppression by learning about the worldwide struggles of the workingclass, by living solidarity in their everyday life and by learning to feel as an organisation.

It's in the nature of the youth to long for a fair world that is worth living for all people. But for being able to stand up for socialism the youth needs a unified organisation. In that organisation the youth needs to learn how to fight, how to think on their own and stand in the first row with the proletarians in class struggle.

REBELL organises a school of life of the proletarian mode of thinking for the youth and the children. Therefore we need the ideological-political leadership of MLPD and the close practical cooperation on the basis of the organisational independence of the youth organisation. REBELL helps the youth to cope with the effects of bourgeois youth culture and a widespread petty-bourgeois lifestyle. We help them to cope with antiauthoritarianism, spontaneism and individualism. In our whole work we realise the guideline of Mao Tsetung „Serve the people”!

It is an important step to build a unified youth organisation of the CPI(ML), which publish the central organ Red Star, and we congratulate you on this success! We wish your All India Conference in Bangalore a constructive discussion and good decisions, which bring forward the rebellion of the youth in India. Unfortunately we can not take part in the conference, but we hope for a good cooperation in the future! Hopefully we will be able to meet personally one day and exchange our experiences.

Most heartily and revolutionary greetings from Germany. ●

## 2. Afghansitan Socialsit Association

Dear cormades and Friends

Afghanistan Socialist Association (ASA) convey its comradely worm greetings to you and all participants of the conference. We are grateful to your invitation to your first conference holding on 30 January 2010 in Bangalore. We interested and deem it necessary to join your conference and exchange information and consolidate mutual relations but due to some problems and limitation, we could not fullfil this task presently.

Dear comrades,

Afghanistan has been repressing under US/Nato occupation and changed our country into hell. Killing, insecurity, corruption, narcotic production and trafficking, unemployment and crimes have been multiplied several time than the time of Taliban dark regime. They under the pretext of war on terror are committing henious crimes and within their wild military operations kill civilians.

They made a “national constitution” for Afghanistan

which deprive secular and socialist forces to work and be registerd. The inforced privatization and market policy which already resulted to poverty and displacement of people to find work in neighboring countries.

On the other hand the brave anti occupation resistance is growing day by day and gain the support of peopl in national and iternational level. The people of Afghanistan including revolutionary left forces demand for urgent withdrawal of imperialist troops from Afghanistan and struggle for independent line of socialist, democratic and nationalist forces of Afghansitan to be emerged us alternative.

Dear comrades, Your brave struggle in India inspires us in Afghanistan and it give us energy to be more organized and take serious steps towards the interest of workers, youth and the oppressed of Afghansitan. We friendly call upon all delegates and militants of RYFI to urge on class struggle and stand for their radical demands in India while the task of worker Internationalism. ●

Remain as important and concentrated one.

● **Long live fraternation relations between the revolutionary youth of India and Afghanistan!**

● **Death to imperialism and their puppet regimes!**

ral Committee of the PMLI

## 3. GML/ Rode Morgen (Denmark)

Dear Comrades of the RYFI

We, from the Marxist Leninist Organization *Rode Morgen* salute you. Were sorry that we are unable to attend to your revolutionary first All India Conference of the RYFI at Bangalore.

We wish you a successful Conference this January. We suppose that with the help of CPIml the RYFI can ideologically and organisationally make steps forward.

People cannot afford this disastrous imperialism with his sharp exploitation of workers, his crises, growing unemployment and poverty and unjust wars. The imperialist media is overloading, specially the youth, with their middle class ideas and solutions. But most of them know and feel that change is necessary. Not just reforms within this intolerable capitalism and semi feudalism, but fundamental change. There is no future without an outlook for socialism. The future belongs to the youth. Therefore we have to propagate fresh socialist ideas against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois currents.

We of GML/ Rode Morgen are building a revolutionary youth organisation. We will inform you of our progress in our mutual struggle.

Success in your Conference!

Long live international solidarity! ●

#### 4. PML Italy

Dear Young Women and Men Comrades,

Thanks for the invitation but unfortunately we are not able to send a delegation of the PMLI to the first All India Conference of the Revolutionary Youth Federation of India.

But we want you to have the revolutionary greeting of the young Marxists-Leninists of the PMLI, that they congratulate you for your important political-organizational initiative and they wish you a good revolutionary work.

We are certain that from the Conference you will get new strength to fight in frontline, under the direction of the CP of India (Marxist-Leninist), to strongly defend the

material, political and social interests of the heroic Indian youth and to always hold high the glorious red flags of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, of the socialism and of the proletarian internationalism.

We young Marxists-Leninists of Italy and of India we have to be the unbeatable champions of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, zionism, racism, riformism, revisionism and parliamentarism. Wishing full success your Conference, we send you the warmest and brotherly greetings revolutionary and of class of the young Italian Marxists-Leninists.

Federico Picerni, Responsible for the Youth Work of the Central Committee of the PMLI ●

## *All India Krantikari Kisan Sabha (AIKKS) Formed*

**T**HE All India peasants activists who met at Nagpur on February 13-14, 2010, decided to form the *All India Krantikari Kisan Sabha* (AIKKS) as the class organization of landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers with com. R. Manasayya as the General Secretary and com. Satpal Singh as the President. After two days activists meet, the first meeting of the central committee was held. This meeting took up following immediate tasks of AIKKS: a) organization build up; b) country-wide land struggles based on the slogan 'land to the tillers'; c) struggle against displacement of landless poor peasants and agricultural workers including dalits and adivasis and against land grabbing by corporate land mafia in the name of neo-colonial projects such as SEZs, townships, highways, etc.; and d) mobilizing the vast number of urban poor under 'house right committees' against the urban land mafia who have cornered vast urban property including land and flats all over the country.

These immediate tasks along with organization build up at the all India level are to be undertaken with the ultimate objective of completing the agrarian revolutionary programme whose content is 'land to the tillers', as outlined in the programme of AIKKS adopted by the All India Peasant Activists meet. Resolutions calling upon nationwide land struggles, against displacement of peasants through SEZs and other neo-colonial projects, on peasants suicides, against state repression on peasantry, against GM crops, price rise and against withdrawal of agricultural subsidies were adopted.

### **Resolution on Immediate Tasks Adopted by the Activists Meeting of the AIKKS**

1. a. The meeting resolved to immediately concentrate on organizational tasks in all the states for

building the AIKKS committees at state level and below with the objective of launching membership campaigns and holding conferences at various levels leading to the all India conference by the end of 2010.

b. Identify thrust areas and develop struggles involving the landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers on a mass scale.

c. Unite all like-minded democratic and progressive forces in the struggle against state repression and against attacks by the land mafia, landlords and their goons.

2. Land Struggles: Build up state level and lower level Land Struggle Committees, study the land relations in various regions including land concentration and landlessness, prepare reports on this for discussion and to develop the land struggle programme. Mobilize the landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers who are mainly dalits, adivasis and other oppressed sections on large scale for capturing and distribution of land held in violation of existing ceiling laws, plantation lands whose lease period is over, government lands and fallow lands. Involve women in large numbers in these struggles.

Propagate the Agrarian Programme of the AIKKS. Develop the methods to evolve land ceiling according to concrete conditions of different regions based on irrigation facility, productivity of land, crop pattern, etc. Struggles for land should be combined with the politics of agrarian revolution, highlighting the importance of *land to the tillers* slogan.

3. Against Displacement: As a result of the intensification of neo-colonial policies including corporate and MNCs land grabbing in the name of Special Economic Zones, Special Agricultural Zones, Coastal Management

Zones, highways, various 'parks' and numerous other projects vast number of peasants are being displaced from agricultural land and their habitats forcing them to migrate to slums in urban areas. Mobilize them under appropriate organizational forms like the Anti-Posco movement in Odisha, various anti-SEZ movements, etc. wherever possible and develop the struggles against displacement.

4. **Slums Protection Committees and Housing Right Committees:** In all the urban areas tens of millions of people are living in slums and shanties without any housing rights, threatened with eviction at any time. On the one hand they have to be organized under Basti Suraksha Manch (Slum Protection Forum) like organisations as in Bhubaneswar in order to resist eviction and to get housing right. On the other hand, those having no housing land should be organized under Housing Right Committees (as in Kochi, Kerala). They should be led towards capturing urban lands under illegal possessions, flats constructed by corporates and land mafias on illegally grabbed government lands, government land lying fallow, etc.

Housing Right Committees should start a survey of lands illegally held, flats and other urban properties owned by real estate barons and mafias and publish them before the people. Demand declaration of ceiling on urban property by the government. Demand the removal of all illegal occupations of urban land and their allotment for the housing of the house-less people. Organize intensive campaign demanding declaration of ceiling on all urban properties including land. Mobilize the houseless people for capturing such illegally held land and properties and fallow government lands not earmarked for public purposes. Campaign with slogan of housing right for all.

5. The campaigns and struggles based on these immediate demands should be organized in such a way that the landless-poor peasants, agricultural workers and houseless people can be mobilized under the leadership of the working class towards the agrarian revolutionary programme based on *land to the tiller* slogan.

## Resolutions Adopted by Activists Meeting

**1. Organize Nation-wide Struggle for Land:** Land to the tiller is the central slogan of the agrarian programme of AIKKS. It is going to be the basis of the democratic, anti-landlord struggles in the coming days. Since imperialist globalization was imposed, the penetration of speculative capital and real estate interests in to agricultural sector has intensified leading to a horrible situation with the ever increasing concentration of land in their hands. There is proliferation of the landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers during this time. About 70% of the peasant population has only 10% of the land holdings. Millions of the adivasis and dalits are on the verge of famine and starvation death.

The neo-colonial plunder and imperialist globalization

policies directly affects the food security and life of the masses. Prices of essential commodities are sky-rocketing. At this juncture AIKKS calls upon the workers and peasants to organize country wide struggles for land and against the anti-people policies of the state and central governments without any delay.

## 2. Against Oppression of Land Struggle in Kerala:

In Kerala the land question is becoming the central political issue due to the pro-landlord policies of the Left Democratic Front (LDF) government like its predecessor Congress-led UDF government. The Tatas and Harisson plantations have illegal land holdings of lakhs of acres all over Kerala. The poor-landless peasants including adivasis and dalits led by Land Struggle Committee is struggling for land. The struggles of Housing Right Committees is also strengthening. But using police along with goondas the government is unleashing indiscriminate terror and oppression over the poor peasants. The AIKKS all India meet demands immediate end to the oppressive policies against the landless-poor peasants and all those who are struggling for land.

## 3. Against SEZs and Corporate Land Grabbing:

The MNCs, corporate houses and land mafias have intensified land grabbing in the name of SEZs, CMZs, SAZs, townships, transport corridors, airports, agri-businesses, resorts and tourism projects, power plants, industrial projects and various 'parks' like Genetic Park, Medicine Park, Steel Park, Cotton Park, etc. As a result, the agricultural workers and landless-poor peasants are displaced from agricultural land and agriculture. The AIKKS calls for intensifying struggle to resist and stop these projects and the reactionary policies and Acts promoting them.

**4. On Peasant Suicides:** During the past one decade almost 2 lakhs of peasants were forced to commit suicide in different parts of the country. This ever increasing trend of peasant suicide is associated with the intensification of the neo-colonial policies in the agricultural sector. Among the lions share of those who committed suicide are landless-poor peasants and marginal farmers who are at the receiving end of the anti-people neo-liberal policies. Abolition of subsidies, welfare measures, price support, statutory rationing and withdrawal of credit and input subsidies with the penetration of imperialist capital and market forces to agricultural sector are the immediate causes of the suicides. The AIKKS demand the immediate reversal of anti-peasant policies of the state that leads to peasants' suicides and call upon the peasantry to intensify struggle against these policies.

**Resolutions** calling for developing countrywide movements against imperialist globalization policies, and for opposing the ever-intensifying contract, corporate, MNC farming were also adopted by the activists meeting of the AIKKS. ●

# Formation of All India Revolutionary Women's Organisation

**T**HE Chennai meeting of the women activists from Kerala, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Odisha, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra on 6-7 February has decided to co-ordinate the activities of women's movement going on so far under state level organisations by forming *All India Revolutionary Women's Organisation* (AIRWO) with a white flag with the symbol of fists breaking chains in the centre, and AIRWO inscribed in English on the left side. Around 30 delegates participated in the meeting.

A three member presidium consisting of com. Usha from Chhattisgarh, com. Hasina from Kerala and com. Sharmista from West Bengal led the proceedings which started with remembering the women and men comrades who have laid down their lives for the emancipation of the human society. In his inaugural speech com. KN Ramachandran, general secretary of the CPI(ML) called for building a revolutionary women's organisation which shall fight uncompromisingly to overthrow the rule of private property and religious fundamentalism and caste system which enslave women, learning from the achievements and shortcomings of the hitherto women's movements in India and abroad. He emphasised the need for focussing the activities among working women and women from the oppressed classes and sections while attracting the women in general in their struggle for emancipation.

Com. Sharmista presented the paper *On the Approach Towards Women's Front* (see Red Star December 2009 issue) explaining that the women's organisation while intensifying the struggle against the feudal values and neo-colonial slavery should go beyond to the struggle against the very capitalist system itself which perpetuates the hegemony of private property. It was followed by day long serious discussion in which various suggestions and amendments that have come up in the state level conferences and activists meetings were presented. Com. Omana from Karnataka explained how each and every religion acts against the emancipation of women and called for emphasising this point. In every sphere women are subjected to double exploitation, by the existing reactionary social system and by male domination, comrades repeatedly pointed out. In the evening com. Sharmista replied to the discussion in detail accepting all the suggestions and amendments for enriching the paper. After adoption of the document comrades presented songs in different languages.

On the second day the proceedings started with the presentation of the paper of the International Initiative Committee for the World Women's Conference in Venezuela

in 2011 (published on page .....). After a serious discussion the general theme of the paper was adopted. The meeting decided to become part of this international process. Then the resolution to declare solidarity with Ms. Irom Sharmila' ten year long indefinite fast at Imphal to get the AFSPA repealed was discussed and adopted. It was decided to make it one of the focal points of the March 8, International Women's Day, programme this year.

Then com. Usha moved the resolution on intensifying unemployment and under-employment under neo-colonisation. Com. Sharmista moved resolution calling for fighting against the sky rocketing prices of essential commodities and cost of social services. Com. Asha from Kerala moved resolution on the growing atrocities against women in all fields, calling for building resistance against them. Com. Selvi from Tamilnadu moved the resolution on the growing privatisation of health-care in Tamilnadu and its consequences on women. All these resolution were adopted after lively discussions. In the course of these discussions the need for fighting against NGOs, which is explained in the Approach Paper, came up again. It was once again emphasised that the NGOs should be exposed ideologically and fought politically. It was also resolved to intensify struggle against all alien trends including reformism and anarchism.

The presidium proposed a panel of 15 member All India Organising Committee which was adopted. Com. Sharmista was elected as its convener and a five member executive committee was also elected. The proposals to take up the membership drive and complete the conferences at state level and below to be followed by the all India conference by the end of 2010 to adopt the Programme and Constitution of the AIRWO and to elect its Central Committee were adopted.

Com. PT Shanmugham, state secretary of CPI(ML) and representatives of the class/mass organisations in Tamilnadu extended their greetings to the women activists meeting and congratulated the participants for successfully launching AIRWO. With the vote of thanks by the presidium the activists meeting successfully concluded on 7th evening with revolutionary songs by participants. ●

## Sakhav

Organ of Kerala State  
Committee of CPI(ML)

"Sakhav"  
Malayalam Fortnightly  
Nehru Road  
Ayyappankavu  
Kochi - 18, Kerala

# Declare Solidarity with Ms. Sharmila's Indefinite Fast Against AFSPA

## Support Struggle of People of North-East for Repealing AFSPA

**I**ROM Chanu Sharmila who is continuing her ten year old fast surmounting all obstacles is the symbol of the struggle of not only the people of Manipur, but of the whole North East India against state terror intensified through the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA). From her childhood she had heard and seen the atrocities committed against the women and the people of Manipur as a whole by the military, para-military and numerous other security forces under the licence provided by the AFSPA in order to suppress their struggle for self-governance. From the time Nehru government deployed armed forces in 1948 to Naga areas to suppress the Naga people's movement for the right of self-determination these atrocities are continuing in North East.

In October 2000, to do something against this barbarity Ms. Sharmila volunteered her service to the Justice Suresh's People's Tribunal enquiring about it. There she heard the testimony of a victim who was raped by the army men in front of her father-in-law. Then she felt more bitterly to do something to protest, to revolt against the brutal system. It was then Assam Rifles killed ten innocent people including a woman in Malom near Imphal airport on 2nd November 2000. She could not tolerate it any more. On the very same day after witnessing the bloody scene she declared her decision to start indefinite fast until the AFSPA is repealed, and started it.

When M.K. Gandhi, acclaimed as the father of the nation, went on indefinite fast a number of times during independence struggle, the British colonialists have never arrested him on the charge of attempt to suicide. But the Indian rulers who claim to uphold him, got Sharmila arrested on 5th November alleging attempt for suicide. She was removed to the Security Ward in JN Hospital, presently JN Institute of Medical Sciences, and put under painful forced nasal feeding.

Though the central and state governments continued the drama of releasing and re-arresting her many times, though popular movement has broken out in support of her fast many times, and though her case was taken up even up to Supreme Court, the ruling system remained unmoved about any steps to repeal the AFSPA. But Sharmila, in spite of the inhuman attitude of the authorities continued the fast undaunted.

On 11th July 2004 when the bullet ridden naked body of Manorama Devi who was in Assam Rifles Custody and subjected to mass rape was seen on the public road, intense agitation broke out. In protest against torture, rape and

killing of Ms. Manorama ten women marched naked in front of the head quarters of Assam Rifles. It became an international news exposing the autocratic policies of Indian government and its virtual imposition of military rule in North East and Jammu Kashmir. It was then the central home minister followed by the prime minister visited Imphal and then set up a five member committee under the chairmanship of Justice Jeevan Reddy, former Judge of the Supreme Court, to advise the government on the continuation of the AFSPA.

The commission after visiting all the seven states of North East, based on the materials presented before it and the impressions gathered during the inter-actions with various sections stated in its Report submitted to the central government on 6th June 2005 : "The Armed Forces (Special Powers) 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..... 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, an object of hate and an instrument of discrimination and highhandedness. It is highly desirable and advisable to repeal this Act altogether". In spite of this absolutely clear recommendation by the Commission no action is so far taken on it by the government. The military, para-military and other security forces are still continuing their reign of terror. The judiciary is turning a blind eye towards these acts of terror in spite of so many appeals. The bureaucracy and the elite political class are abetting these crimes against the people while engaged in perpetuating the corrupt regime.

In this gruesome situation, in the lonely corner of the Security Ward of JNIMS in Imphal Ms. Irom Chanu Sharmila is continuing her heroic struggle in spite of the irreparable damages to her body from the ten years of forced nasal feeding. Outside, led by Ima Taruni, the women are continuing their indefinite relay fast. The people are hurt and angry. On the occasion of every act of atrocity they come out on the streets and protest. If a plebiscite is conducted, overwhelming majority of the people of North East shall vote against the draconian AFSPA and for self-governance. Ms. Sharmila, Ima Taruni, the people of Manipur and the people of North East as a whole expect the solidarity of women, solidarity of progressive democratic forces of India and abroad to their life and death struggle to get the barbarous AFSPA repealed.

# Time has Come for a New Awakening of the International Women's Movement ! Onward together to the World Women's Conference of rank-and-file women in Venezuela in 2011 !

**M**ILLIONS of women in the entire world are taking their future into their own hands and taking action for their economic, social, cultural and political rights. We women are organizing ourselves and fighting together – some still alone by themselves. We women have always been constantly forced to fight for our emancipation and against adverse circumstances.

Today humankind needs this commitment of the women in the entire world – the working, unemployed and exploited women and those who are discriminated - in order to march forward towards a future of solidarity, equality and happiness. On all continents we women are suffering in particular under exploitation and the crises of the capitalist system. Millions of people in Africa, Asia, America, Oceania and Europe are starving. They have no access to education, health care, housing, work, social welfare, recreation – in short: to a life in dignity).

The immense changes during the last years have not brought about any solution to the existential problems faced by the great majority of people. On the contrary, they have been used to concentrate wealth and power in a few hands. The contradictions of capitalism have intensified. The expansion of the big monopolies into all corners of the world mean intensified exploitation of the working people and subjugation of the overwhelming majority of countries and peoples. The scientific-technological advance, which arises from the creative power of the working people, only serves the competition of the imperialist powers for markets, as well as for political and military predominance. More and more evidently, the imperialist countries take possession of regions which are rich in natural resources and which are of strategic importance. They do not hesitate to incite conflicts, invade nations and instigate wars among the peoples. They are also responsible for the great damages to the environment and environmental destruction. All this

reveals the rapacious character of imperialism.

Millions of women on all continents directly experience poverty, unemployment, work for minimal wages and with a minimum of protective rights. They are suffering from wars or are being driven massively into migration. Drinking water, clear air, all-round public health care, education, housing and possibilities for leisure activities are often lacking. The overwhelming majority of women is suffering from the double exploitation and oppression by capitalism, because they are part of the working classes and, at the same time, are being discriminated merely on grounds of their gender! Broad masses of people are being oppressed, because they are living in dependent countries and belong to subjugated peoples and cultures.

Imperialism promotes abnormal forms of violence against women, children and young people. Sex trade, pornography and trade with human organs are a lucrative business. This shows how little human life is worth in this system.

Two billion children, the future of this world, are mostly looked after and raised by women. In the entire world, we women cannot freely determine over our bodies and our sexuality: sexual abuse, patriarchal laws and traditions, as well as fashion trends and clichés, which the prevailing culture is spreading, are having direct adverse effects on our lives. The modern media of communication promote prostitution, pornography and perversion.

Today the world is experiencing an upswing in the struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation, an upswing in the struggles of many countries and peoples for their liberation and independence. Countries are rebelling against dependence and neo-colonialism. The world women's movement is alive and is struggling for its demands. In most countries it joins forces with the working

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The All India Convention of the activists of the All India Revolutionary Women's Organization (AIRWO) declares its firm solidarity with the struggle of Ms. Sharmila and the people of Manipur and North East for getting the AFSPA repealed and vows to take up this struggle at all India level.

The AIRWO appeals to all women's organizations in India and all over the world to raise their voice against the AFSPA for its repeal as early as possible, and in support of

the heroic struggle continued by Ms. Sharmila for last ten years sacrificing her life for the cause of democracy, for the cause of the people. The AIRWO resolves to raise the solidarity with Ms. Sharmila's struggle as one of the main slogans of the March 8, International Women's Day, 2010, programmes and appeals to all women's organizations in India and abroad to do the same. ●

Chennai  
7th February 2010

Sharmistha  
Convenor, AIRWO

class movements, the people's and liberation movements.

The world women's movement has learned that a general line of the women's movement that is exclusively based on the battle of the sexes does not bring about a solution, just as little as the integration into the state apparatus. This also applies to the activities of so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which are financed by reactionary political parties, foundations, churches or other international organizations in the centers of power. On the contrary, these strategies have contributed to the fragmentation and disorientation of the women's movements. Currently the consciousness among the masses of women is developing that the equality of women cannot be achieved alone by means of a formal legal equality. There is a growing awareness of the necessity for a worldwide exchange of experience, collaboration, stimulation of common actions of solidarity. There is a growing awareness that it is necessary to struggle for the liberation of women in a world completely liberated from exploitation and oppression.

In the entire world, the preconditions for the liberation of women and all of humankind are developing: for the complete satisfaction of the material and mental needs of women and men, for a social life that guarantees work, health care, education and prosperity for all. However, the immense wealth which today is created through the efforts of millions of working people, only serves to satisfy the capitalist greed for profit up to now.

For this reason we say that the time is ripe to go forward and again take up the struggle for the real emancipation of women. It is time to unite our voices and our rebellion, to join forces with the perspective of building a society without exploiters and those exploited. We, the women and men of all continents, want to be the beneficiaries of our own creative power – having respect for the different cultures and peoples, which are all with their history part of one world. We deserve a future in happiness!

We call on all women worldwide who live and struggle in hope of a better world, to participate in the World Women's Conference of rank-and-file women, which will take place in Venezuela in 2011.

In 2011, we will come together from all corners of the world to take up the legacy of the women who, in 1910, under the leadership of Clara Zetkin had given momentum to the International Women's Day which was first held in 1911. This paved the way for the great achievements of the

female and male workers and all women in the world. In memorable struggles and with great sacrifices, they sowed the seeds for a life in freedom and equality for all women.

We will meet in Venezuela, in this generous country of fighting women and men, which today has become a symbol and signal for the struggle against imperialism, for the defence of the dignity of the oppressed peoples. We will unite in a project of social and political emancipation: rank-and-file women from all continents, women workers, peasant women, migrant women, unemployed women, housewives, women of the indigenous peoples, scientists and artists. All women who are part of the oppressed peoples and cultures, all young people, we all want to be a part of this great wave that is going around the world: for a future with real equality and freedom. ●

**Women of the world!**

**Let us combine our will in the awakening of the militant world women's movement!**

**The liberation of humankind will not be possible without our action!**

**Let us all advance for the liberation of women in a society without exploitation and oppression!**

**Mobilize for the participation in the World Women's Conference in Venezuela in 2011!**

**Initiative Committee:** Women's Movement "Ana Soto" (Venezuela), Ecuadorian Women's League for Change (CONFEMEC), Women's Political Counsel/ Militant Women's Council, Germany

*Caracas, 8th March 2008*



**Marxwadi-  
Leninwadi**

**Organ of Karnataka  
State Committee**

**"Marxwadi-Leninwadi"  
Kannada Monthly  
No. - 21,  
1st Main, 2nd Cross  
Hanumanathpuram  
Shrirampuram  
Banglore - 560021**

# The Political Organisational Report

[Extracts from POR of the Central Committee Adopted by the All India Special Conference from November 7 to 12, 2009]

**On building CPI(ML) in to Bolshevik Style Communist Party with Countrywide Influence**

**Struggle Against Neo-Revisionism**

1 The inner-party struggle against the Dangeist leadership in the undivided CPI which was trying to degenerate the Party into an appendage of the Congress Party, the main political representative of big bourgeois-big landlord classes serving imperialism, in line with the class collaborationist Krushchovite clique which had usurped the leadership of the Party and the state in the Soviet Union, went on intensifying leading to the split in 1964 and the formation of the CPI(M). Though the Seventh Congress of the CPI(M) in November 1964 adopted a Party Programme based on the programmatic approach and the policy statement put forward in 1951, it refused to recognise the collaboration of the big bourgeoisie with imperialism as its main character, to uphold the basic positions of the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of ICM* put forward by the CPC in 1963 against the revisionist line of “peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition with imperialism and peaceful transition to socialism” of the Soviet party leadership, and to develop a proletarian revolutionary line for advancing the People’s Democratic Revolution according to the concrete conditions in India. The CPI(M) leadership did not try to settle accounts with the rightist tendencies including trade unionism, parliamentarism and reformist positions which were gaining strength in spite of the split with the Dangesit line. As a result, by degenerating to neo-revisionist positions, in 1967 general elections the CPI(M) leadership formed united fronts with the renegade CPI and reactionary and communal forces in the name of defeating the Congress. Following the elections, it formed ministries in West Bengal and Kerala joining with these forces, deviating to the line of parliamentarism and class collaboration. These CPI(M)-led governments in West Bengal and Kerala refused to implement even the land reforms called for by the All India Kisan Sabha under its leadership.

2 The Communist Revolutionaries (CRs) within the CPI(M) had started an inner-party struggle against the rightist line of the leadership immediately after the Seventh Congress focussing on the theory and practice of the People’s Democratic Revolution in the concrete conditions of India and upholding the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM* put forward by the CPC. The formation of the opportunist united front in 1967 elections followed by the formation of the coalition ministries confirmed their criticism that the leadership has deviated to right opportunist line. The inner-party struggle developed focussing on the approach to be taken towards agrarian revolution based on the land to the tiller slogan and other vital issues. Demanding confiscation and distribution of the surplus land based on ceiling laws, and revolutionalisation of the land reforms with the land to the tiller approach, the CRs within the CPI(M) led the Naxalbari uprising in North Bengal in May 1967, which was brutally suppressed by the CPI(M)-led government with the assistance of the Indira Gandhi government at the centre.

3. As the *Approach Paper* of the CC adopted by the 2007 Plenum of the CPI(ML) evaluated: “After Telengana, the Naxalbari uprising and Srikakulam

movement provided an excellent opportunity to break free from the chains of revisionism and neo-revisionism which dominated the communist movement at that time and to take steps to build a genuine party of the proletariat guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.” The CRs within the CPI(M) organised with this purpose, first the *Naxalbari Krishak Sangram Sahayak Committee*, soon to be followed by the *All India Coordination Committee of CRs within the CPI(M)*. But as the 1968 *Burdwan Plenum* exposed the Krushchovite line of the CPI(M) leadership, the CRs decided to revolt against the leadership, to come out of the CPI(M), and to form the *All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries*.

**Towards Formation of CPI(ML)**

4 Following the call of the AICCCR to create Naxalbaris all over the country, revolutionary agrarian movements started developing in Srikakulam in AP, Debra-Gobiballabhpur in West Bengal, Mushahari in Bihar, Terai region of UP and elsewhere. Millions of youth and students were inspired and joined the revolutionary upheaval. But the leadership of the AICCCR failed to analyse the concrete conditions and class relations in India two decades after the transfer of power and to apply Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions when the imperialist camp led by US imperialism had resorted to neo-colonial forms of plunder in the decades following World War II. Though it uncompromisingly opposed Soviet revisionism, denounced the transformation of socialist Soviet Union into a social imperialist power, upheld the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM* put forward by the CPC, propagated the great *Cultural Revolution* in China and resorted to intensification of ideological struggle against revisionist CPI and neo-revisionist CPI(M), due to the above mentioned weakness in analysing the

concrete objective conditions in India and due to the influence of the sectarian line dominating the 1969 Ninth Congress of the CPC, which it was upholding as the international authority, which had in effect upheld the Lin Biaoist line deviating from Mao's contribution, it soon deviated to sectarian positions. It scuttled the possibilities for developing the AICCCR as the platform of all genuine Communist Revolutionaries coming from different parts of the country.

5 Still the formation of the CPI(ML) as the vanguard of the Indian proletariat on 22nd April 1969 was a timely and bold step in the objective situation existing then for the formation of a genuine communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It was a historic step in continuation to the revolutionary heritage of the Indian communist movement from 1920s, for uniting all the CR forces active in the country, for leading the people's struggles surging forward in different parts of the country. But as the 'left' sectarian line manifested in the adoption of the *line of individual annihilation* against mass line and people's revolutionary struggles and in adopting the guerrilla warfare as the only form of struggle rejecting all class/mass organisations and other forms of struggles, and squad as the only form of organisation, the enthusiasm created by the formation of the party started waning fast. As a result of this and due to the intensifying attack by the state machinery and the comprador forces, by 1971-72 the revolutionary movement suffered severe setbacks and CPI(ML) splintered in to a number of groups. Though the CR forces who were not part of the CPI(ML) got organised in to different groups and were opposing the 'left' sectarian line of the CPI(ML), they also failed in the concrete analysis of Indian situation and in developing the strategic approach and tactical line for Indian revolution. As a result, they also soon got weakened and splintered continuously.

### Marxist-Leninist Movement after Setback

6 By 1973 the CPI(ML) had splitted mainly into three trends: Firstly, those sections who had rejected the line of annihilation and Charu Majumdar's leadership totally and opted for mass line. But in spite of rejecting the sectarian line they could not analyse the reasons for its emergence and domination, they could not overcome the weakness in analysing the objective conditions in the country and in developing the revolutionary mass line to carry forward the democratic revolution. Incapable of any creative initiative, in the name of fighting 'left' sectarian line, these sections were deviating to just opposite positions, to right sectarian positions. Secondly, those sections, mainly in West Bengal, who rejected the 10th Congress positions of the CPC and were upholding the Lin Biaoist positions which had already done immense damage to the communist movement both in China and internationally. Thirdly, those sections who were still upholding 'com. Charu Majumdar's revolutionary line', who had taken up in their own way the question of rectification as pointed out in the last article of CM, "People's Interest is Party's Interest". In spite of these divisions, when the bourgeois democratic movement erupted under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan against Indira Gandhi rule and later when internal emergency was declared by her government, the CPI(ML) as well as non-CPI(ML) groups played active role in the struggle against the autocratic Indira Gandhi regime.

### Problems of Re-organisation of CPI(ML)

7 In 1977 elections the Congress government led by Indira Gandhi was defeated. Emergency was withdrawn. Large number of the CR forces incarcerated for long was released. Meanwhile, in 1976 Mao Tsetung passed away. Immediately after it the capitalist roaders in CPC usurped power of both the Party and of the state and put forward the 'Theory of Three Worlds' (TWT) as the *General Line of the International Proletariat*. Evaluation of the new political developments in India, and the developments in the ICM was a new challenge before the CR forces. According to the way they responded to these developments, the old polarisation gave way to new polarisations among the CR forces. But whatever may be the polarisation of these sections almost all of them were still adhering to the 'Chinese path' mechanically, analysing India as a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country and protracted people's war as the path of revolution. Though most of them had accepted the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM* of 1963, and the *Cultural Revolution*, they mechanically upheld the Dengists who had usurped power and their TWT many years. They failed to grasp the changes taking place in the agrarian sector following the ceiling laws imposed from above and the *green revolution*, to understand the class character of the agrarian struggles coming up from the post-emergency years and the neo-colonial form of plunder intensifying in the country. Though by 1982 many of these groups, except CPI(ML) Liberation and some other fringe groups, denounced the Dengist revisionists, they still clung to the class collaborationist Three World Theory. At the same time, some of these groups like CPI(ML) People's War, CPI(ML) Party Unity and the MCC were mechanically pursuing the *line of annihilation* and guerrilla struggle as the only form of struggle with some technical improvements. The Lin Biaoists, after another short spurt in mid-1980s, almost vanished and got reduced as a fascination of certain petty-bourgeois elements in West Bengal.

8 The 1970s and 1980s was a crucial period both internationally and nationally. At international level the imperialist camp led by US imperialism was facing yet another upswing of its general crisis. Abandoning the Keynesian policies adopted during post-World War II years, under the newly intensifying crisis manifested as *stagflation*, it adopted the neo-liberal policies. The international communist movement suffered further reverses and setbacks, with

the degeneration of China and Albania also to capitalist path and almost all communist parties formed during Comintern (Communist International) period to social democratic line. The historic victories of the Indo-Chinese peoples in the mid-1970s in throwing out the US imperialists and their lackeys could not make any qualitative change. Within the country the comprador ruling system was in a severe economic crisis creating upheavals in the socio-political spheres. While the CPI, CPI(M) like forces had degenerated to social democratic positions, the CR forces were also facing serious challenges with some groups deviating to rightist path and some others to sectarian, anarchist line.

### **CRC, CPI(ML) Adopts Neo-colonial Approach**

9. At this time, in continuation of its denunciation of the capitalist roaders who usurped power in China, the metaphysical line of the Albanian revisionists and class collaborationist Three World Theory, upholding the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM* put forward by the CPC in 1963 and the *nine comments* published by it as part the *Great Debate*, the CRC, CPI(ML) initiated an analysis of the concrete conditions in the country during the post-World War II decades, especially following the 1947 transfer of power as part of the 'de-colonisation' resorted to by the imperialist camp led by US imperialism for its neo-colonial offensive. In its First All India Conference in 1982 it tried to develop the Marxist-Leninist understanding about the replacement of colonial form of occupation and plunder by the neo-colonial form of exploitation during the post-World War II decades by the imperialist camp led by US imperialism. In continuation to this, through concrete studies of Indian situation it pointed out that while feudal remnants were continuing to exist in some regions, under imperialist promoted ceiling laws and *green revolution* the feudal landlords were being replaced by the agricultural bourgeoisie and rich peasants, a kulak class as they were called. It was these classes who were mainly leading the agrarian struggles for remunerative prices of agricultural outputs and subsidies for inputs. It manifested the contradiction among the ruling classes contrary to the views of some of the CR groups who were mechanically supporting the movement of the kulaks.

10. This neo-colonial understanding put forward by the CRC, CPI(ML) was a major breakthrough in the direction of concrete analysis of contemporary Indian conditions in continuation to the positions taken by the CR forces internationally and in India during 1960s and early 1970s. It was an attempt to study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to develop the theory and practice of People's Democratic or New Democratic Revolution in India in the concrete conditions following the transfer of power in 1947. Based on this understanding it tried to analyse the reasons for the setbacks suffered by the ICM from 1950s and initiative was taken to bring the Marxist-Leninist forces at international level on a common platform for mobilising the struggle against imperialism and world reaction. Though these were significant steps, as a result of the emergence of a petty-bourgeois, chauvinist line within the leading committee, the efforts to carry forward this line was seriously affected. The CRC, CPI(ML) faced a serious inner party struggle in 1987 in the course of which this alien trend led by K. Venu was defeated.

### **Towards Formation of CPI(ML) Red Flag**

11. Very soon in a Special Conference in 1987 the vast majority of the comrades of the CRC, CPI(ML) were reorganised as CPI(ML) Red Flag and the efforts to re-organise the Marxist-Leninist movement in the country were carried forward with a new vigour. In continuation to the neo-colonial understanding, in 1983 the line of individual annihilation, the line of guerrilla struggle as the only form of struggle and the *Concept of Charu Majumdar's Revolutionary Line*

were rejected, and a political organisational resolution was adopted to reorganise the party on Bolshevik lines surrounded by class/mass organisations. The Second All India Conference of the CPI(ML) Red Flag in 1991 and the All India Plenum of 1993 further developed this ideological, political and organisational understanding. The Third All India Conference in 1994 put forward the stand that while intensifying the efforts to develop the ideological-political line based on the neo-colonial understanding and to organisationally develop the Party, efforts should be made to build a platform of Marxist-Leninist organisations at all India level to wage country-wide struggles on common issues against the ruling system. Based on this understanding while the Party organised a country-wide movement against imperialist globalisation imposed by the Congress government in 1991, against signing of the GATT Treaty in 1994 and against joining the WTO in 1995, the joint forum of six organisations formed in 1995 took up many country-wide campaigns.

12. The Fourth All India Conference in 1997 further developing the neo-colonial understanding adopted the international document: "On International Developments and Tasks of the Marxist-Leninist Forces". Based on this, the party joined hands with like minded forces at international level to carry forward the task of building a platform of the Marxist-Leninist forces. In the Fifth All India Conference, the Party adopted a new *party programme* analysing India as a neo-colonial country. These were significant steps forward. Now the urgent task before the organisation was to develop a *Path of Revolution* document based on the programmatic approach adopted. As a part of this effort an approach paper on developing the working class movement and agrarian revolution based on the neo-colonial conditions in India was being contemplated. Unity talks with two of the organisations —

CPI(ML) Unity Initiative and COI(ML) — in the *Six Party Forum* was also started.

### **Inner-party Struggle Within CPI(ML) Red Flag**

13. In the course of these developments a serious struggle had to be waged against the sectarian line pursued by com. S.A. Rawoof. As he was not prepared to rectify his line, insisted on pursuing annihilation line and indulged in anti-party activities he had to be expelled in 1998. In 1999 the *Enlarged Meeting of the Central Committee* decided to utilise the parliamentary form of struggle as part of utilising all forms of struggles to develop class struggle. Following the Fifth All India Conference, a serious right deviation came out in the open involving the leadership and majority of the state committee members in Kerala. It was a right opportunist and liquidationist line which advocated for supporting the CPI(M) leadership in essence, though it tried to cover its real intentions in the name of opposing the taking up of the agrarian revolutionary movement, in the name of opposing the unity efforts etc. This liquidationist line was defeated in the course of an uncompromising struggle mobilising vast majority of the party members in the state behind the Central Committee. The Sixth All India Conference in December 2003 marked the successful culmination of this struggle.

14. The victory over the liquidationist line led to all round development of activities in different fields following the Sixth All India Conference. Attacking the *World Social Forum* meet at Mumbai in January 2004 as an international carnival of the NGOs, the party organised an international conference of Marxist-Leninist parties with the slogan: *Against Imperialism, Socialism is the Only Alternative* condemning the WSF slogan: *There are Many Alternatives*. It was a major ideological struggle against the NGOs and their counter-revolutionary

positions. The position paper put forward by the Central Committee calling on the state committees to make analysis of the concrete situation and launch land struggles with *land to the tiller* slogan created enthusiasm in the organisation. The SCs took up the call vigorously and land struggles and campaigns with land to the tiller slogan were organised in a number of states.

### **Unity Talks and Emergence of the Untied CPI(ML)**

15. Meanwhile taking the unity talks with the CPI(ML) Unity Initiative and COI(ML) a step forward a Co-ordination Committee of three organisations was formed. A joint campaign for the 2004 Lok Sabha elections was organised. Even an attempt was made to form a joint forum of like minded organisations to contest the elections on common agreed slogans. The Co-ordination Committee successfully completed the drafting of four documents: Outline Party Programme, Party Constitution, Political Resolution and Unity Resolution. While drafting these documents, even after compromises made by the both sides in the interest of unity, it was found that the differences noted on the following points from the beginning of the unity talks still persisted: On the character of the Indian state, on the Principal Contradiction, on the Path of Revolution and on evaluating the Party history between 1967 and 1972.

16. Two options were there: either to continue as the co-ordination committee till the differences are resolved, or to make a bold experiment of uniting with these differences by chalking out methods to resolve them. It was unanimously decided that in the present situation when the unity of the CR organisations was becoming an almost difficult task and when most of the unity efforts so far have failed, it is better to make the bold experiment of uniting with differences and trying to resolve them through the process of *unity and struggle* in a single organisation while adhering to the organisational steps agreed upon to resolve them. The experience of the untied organisation for four years from January 2005 Vijayawada Unity Conference has proved that this unity did create lot of enthusiasm among the CR forces and the united organisation could make significant development during this period.

17. What was the condition of the various pseudo left and left forces in the country at the time of Vijayawada Unity Conference? On the one hand the CPI(M)-led Left Front was propping up the Congress-led UPA government which was intensifying the neo-liberal economic policies and signing agreements strengthening strategic subservience to US imperialism, exposing its total degeneration to ruling class policies under socialist façade. The CPI(ML) Liberation was deviating fast to right opportunist positions. Almost all the fringe groups who had interpreted the ‘de-colonisation’ policies of imperialism led by US imperialism after World War II as completion of democratic revolution in these countries and analysed India as a capitalist country in the stage of socialist revolution had degenerated to reformism and NGO ideology. Organisations like CPI(ML) New Democracy advocating protracted people’s war based on ‘resistance line’ was finding it difficult to develop neither the ‘resistance struggle’ nor the mass line, reducing themselves to vacillating between sectarian positions and rightist deviation. On the other hand, the formation of CPI(Maoist) uniting CPI(ML) People’s War with CPI(ML) Party Unity and then with the MCC had further reduced it to mere squad actions, strengthening its anarchist line. As a result, none of these organisations were in a position to launch any countrywide mass movements and upsurges against the central and state governments representing the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-landlord classes and serving imperialism, especially US imperialism. In this context the Vijayawada Unity Conference leading to the formation of the united CPI(ML) was a significant step forward.

18 The Political Resolution and the Unity Resolution adopted by the

Vijayawada Unity Conference had put forward concrete proposals to carry forward the unity process to bring together all genuine Marxist-Leninist forces within the CPI(ML), to develop fraternal relations with Marxist-Leninist parties at international level, to develop party organisation and take up political campaigns and mass movements at state level and all India level, to unite all the trade unions centres/trade unions under the leadership of the merged organisations into a single centre to lead countrywide working class struggles, to unite the agricultural workers-poor and landless peasant organisations to intensify the agrarian revolutionary movement based on land to the tiller slogan, to unite the women's, youth and student organisations at all India level etc. The Political Resolution had also called for intensifying ideological-political campaign uncompromisingly against right opportunist and sectarian/ anarchist tendencies.

19. Following the Vijayawada Unity Conference the Delhi Party Centre was further activated, the central organs of the party were regularly published giving Marxist-Leninist orientation to the comrades. Through uncompromising ideological-political struggles many cadres of CPI, CPI(M), CPI(ML) Liberation, the Maoist trend etc. were won over strengthening and expanding the party to new areas. The working class struggles and land struggles with land to the tiller slogan were intensified in some states. The youth, student, women organisations were developed in more areas. A massive parliament march was organised in November 2007 against the anti-people and anti-national policies of the UPA government. At a time when the CPI(M)-led LF was shamelessly propping up the reactionary central government and the state governments led by it were pursuing the very same neo-liberal policies resulting in Singur and Nandigram like people's struggles against them, when the anarchist actions of CPI(Maoist) was isolating the movement from the general masses and vulgarising the image of Marxist ideology, and when most of the other CR organisations were getting weakened, the Vijayawada Unity Conference and the activities under the leadership of CPI(ML) had created positive atmosphere.

### **Differences Sharpening Within CPI(ML)**

20 But the CPI(ML) could do a great lot more than this. Immediately after the Unity Conference the ideological-political-organisational differences between former CPI(ML) Red Flag and the former CPI(ML) 2003 formed in 2003 with the unity of CPI(ML) Unity Initiative and COI(ML) started coming to the forefront as the latter refused to carry forward the activities based on the letter and spirit of the Political Resolution and Unity Resolution. For example when the question of pursuing unity talks with other CR organisations was taken up, the CCMs of CPI(ML) of 2003 started looking upon all initiatives taken in this respect with suspicion and blocked it. When the question of developing fraternal relations with the Marxist-Leninist parties at international level, attending international conferences and the party congress of fraternal parties came up, it was prevented by the leading comrades of former CPI(ML) of 2003.

21. At the time of unity, CPI(ML) Red Flag had TUCI as its TU centre whose activities had spread to a number of states. Trade union centres or trade unions under the leadership of former state committees of CPI(ML) of 2003 were existing in West Bengal, Bihar-Jharkhand, AP, etc. When the question of uniting them in to a single centre or federation was taken up, it was opposed by them and numerous obstacles were created for developing the working class movement at all India level as well as for politicising them with the orientation of making the working class capable of leading the democratic revolution. Though the leadership of former CPI(ML) of 2003 was paying lip sympathy to the land to the tiller slogan, they had not tried to put it into practice. After the unity they blocked the formation of a revolutionary peasant organisation at all India level as well as created obstacles to developing the land struggle going on in a

number of states. Similarly, they blocked all efforts to form all India organisations of youth, students and women also.

22. When the question of launching all India political campaigns and a parliament march was taken up, once again they stubbornly resisted, and when finally a parliament march was decided for November 2007, their participation was namesake. On running the Party Centre at Delhi, on publishing the English and Hindi central organs, on reacting to important national and international developments through press statements, demonstrations, etc. also their participation was negligible. Even when the question of actively utilising elections to five state assemblies in October-November 2008 for political campaign of the party was taken up in the CC meeting, their response was almost similar to boycott of elections.

23. It was being repeatedly proved that the leadership of former CPI(ML) of 2003 were victims of the dilemma of their own creation. In spite of all their animosity to Charu Majumdar, they were fervently sticking mechanically to the 'Chinese path' of 'protracted people's war' and 'area-wise seizure of political power', products of their 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal' approach. In spite of all their talks about vast differences between pre-revolutionary China and present India, they could not put forward in a Marxist-Leninist way a path of revolution based on concrete analysis of the changes that have taken place. In spite of all their talks about utilising all forms of struggles and linking open and secret and legal and illegal forms, they had no vision of either mass line of a party surrounded by class/mass organisations, or of developing armed struggle. It was eclecticism and a rightist sectarian approach which was dominating them. This had led most of the leadership to inactivity, pessimism and petti-bourgeois approaches. Even com. Kanu Sanyal elected as general secretary was

sticking to his decades long practice of leading a small tea-garden workers union from his village, neglecting the task of providing ideological-political-organisational leadership to the Party at all India level. All most all these limitations and weakness of the CPI(ML) of 2003 were not known to the CPI(ML) Red Flag leadership when the unity was forged enthusiastically. It should be seen self critically.

24. In spite of all these problems creating acute differences for taking up the responsibilities of leading the organisation forward utilising the favourable objective conditions, the former CPI(ML) Red Flag comrades put up with them in a healthy manner shouldering the additional burdens to lead the party organisationally and to lead numerous struggles. It was an approach of principled compromise in order to win over the other section to the path of revolutionary struggle. But to pursue this path to save the unity faced a serious challenge when the Plenum was organised in June 2007 to resolve the differences on analysing the Party History during 1967 to 1972.

25. It should not have been a very difficult task to hold the plenum in healthy way as both sections had basic unity on the point that the CR movement suffered severe setback by 1972 due the sectarian line pursued under the leadership of com. Charu Majumdar including the 'line of individual annihilation'. But grave difficulties were faced to arrive at a common approach paper on this question as the leadership of former CPI(ML) of 2003 refused to accept the role of the sectarian influence dominating the CPC, which was upheld by all sections of the CRs in India as the international authority, for the sectarian deviation in the CPI(ML) and put the whole blame on CM for it, even calling him a terrorist. Besides, the organisational principles were violated during the whole Plenum process in a most unhealthy way imposing their dogmatic views. Only because of the exemplary sense of discipline of the delegates and because

of the compromises made by the former CPI(ML) Red Flag CCMs to save the unity, a split was avoided and a common approach paper was adopted leaving remaining contentious issues to a History Commission.

### **Initiative for All India Special Conference**

26. The Unity Resolution had called for an All India Special Conference to be held within two years to resolve the differences on (1) character of Indian state and (2) principal contradiction and to chart the path of revolution document. As the Plenum itself could be held only in June 2007, it was decided to start the conference process soon to complete it by November 2009. The CC formed a sub-committee to draft documents in August 2007. But due to the negative approach of the sub-committee members of former CPI(ML) of 2003, the process went on getting delayed. In spite of the repeated decision of the CC in April 2008, only one set of drafts representing former CPI(ML) Red Flag's views was presented by stipulated time. Ultimately only in December 2008 CC meeting drafts of comrades Subodh Mitra and Viswam were presented.

27. It was absolutely clear from these drafts that there is no possibility for presenting a joint document. So the CCMs of former CPI(ML) Red Flag took the stand that let all these drafts be published in *The Guide*, start inner-party discussion and start the conference process in the course of which possibility for joint drafts can be sought. But these proposals based on former CC decision were violently opposed by the CCMs of former CPI(ML) of 2003. They took the stand that as these drafts went against the line of the Unity Conference according to their view, they cannot be published and demanded redrafting of them. In spite of five days of discussion, no agreement could be arrived at and another CC meeting was called in January 2009. In the course of the discussion they had also tried to divert it from the cardinal question of coming to an understanding on the programmatic approach and path of revolution by raising organisational allegations vituperating the atmosphere.

28. It was in this situation eight state committees with more than two-thirds of the party membership sent letters to the General Secretary with copy to all the CCMs that all the three sets of drafts should be published, the inner-party discussion should be started in *The Guide*, and the Conference process to be started after the Lok Sabha elections. Comrade Kanu Sanyal did not take any initiative to solve the problem and when the CC members assembled for the 21st January meeting in a fax message he stated that as any compromise is not possible on the drafts, it is better to part ways peacefully. Before the CC there were only two possibilities. Either to publish all the drafts and start inner-party discussion in the pages of *The Guide* to be followed by the Conference process after the Lok Sabha elections, or part peacefully. But the CCMs of former CPI(ML) of 2003 not only opposed the first part violently, but also tried to raise unfounded organisational allegations in order to prevent a healthy parting of ways to the former co-ordination committee level as suggested by the CCMs of former CPI(ML) Red Flag.

29. It was in this situation, in order to save the Party, all the CCMs of former CPI(ML) Red Flag met and decided to save the unity and to function as the CC of the CPI(ML). It issued a *Party Letter* to all the state committees appealing to them to unite under this CC of the CPI(ML) and to carry forward the Lok Sabha election campaign vigorously and to carry forward the conference process soon after. It also decided to publish a theoretical journal and publish all the three sets of drafts in it. It was published in February 2009 itself.

30. All the party committees of former CPI(ML) Red Flag are aware of the initiative taken by us during the last three decades continuously for unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces and to the strenuous efforts made by the organisation

to realise the materialisation of the Vijayawada Unity Conference, to develop the ideological-political line of the party and to unite all genuine Marxist-Leninists into a single party. In spite of many negative factors, it was because of the initiative and necessary compromises from our part the unity was realised. It was again because of the very same approach the unity could be maintained in spite of numerous severe problems that arose continuously. Our effort was to overcome the differences through a process of unity and struggle remaining within the same organisation. When it was found by the other side that they are getting more and more alienated from their own cadres and that they are failing to put their own line in to practice, they sabotaged the Conference process which led to the separation. The dogmatic and anti-unity approach of the leadership of the former CPI(ML) of 2003 is entirely responsible for it.

## Conclusion

1. After the CPI(ML) started splintering from 1971, during the course of almost last four decades of our unity and party building process the revolutionary movement has gained rich experiences. One of the basic features of the reorganizational efforts right from the time the CRC, CPI(ML) was formed in 1979 was the primary importance given to ideological-political line in rebuilding the Party. While taking up the challenging experiment of uniting with differences with the CPI(ML) of 2003 in 2005, in the Unity Resolution all the four major points of difference were well defined and inserted. And it was only when the democratic process of distributing the different documents, holding inner party discussion based on them and proceeding to hold the All India Special Conference was blocked by the CPI(ML) of 2003 contrary to the decisions of the Unity Conference, the unity was disrupted. Based on these experiences, Party should firmly adhere to the Marxist-Leninist principle that ideological-political line determines everything, overcoming whatever weaknesses had surfaced in this respect in the past.

2. The communist movement both at international and national level is at a critical juncture at present. In spite of the severe setbacks suffered by the movement a large number of organizations refuse to find out the ideological-political reasons for the setback. Most of them are satisfied with certain superficial changes made, afraid of analysing and taking lessons from the changes in the concrete conditions that have taken place and applying the Marxist-Leninist principles accordingly. As a result alien tendencies have gained dominance over them. A major section of them led by CPI(M) have degenerated to outright social democratic positions. In spite of waving the red flag and using the name 'communist' they have for all practical purposes become part of the ruling class politics. On the other extreme, the CPI (Maoist) is sticking to dogmatic, anarchist line, pursuing the line of annihilation still, and helping the ruling system and all forces of reaction to defame, isolate and attack the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Besides a number of organisations, in spite of their claims about pursuing the mass line are the prisoners of concepts like 'protracted people's war' and 'area wise seizure of political power' practiced by the CPC in the then concrete conditions of semi-colonial, semi-feudal China. And the 'socialist revolutionaries' of various hues, even while continuously splintering and pushed to the fringe, refuse to see imperialism, especially US imperialism, increasingly penetrating its tentacles on our country.

3. In this situation, the most significant feature of our Party is that for the last three decades we have dared to initiate a discussion on the neo-colonial forms of plunder launched by the imperialist camp led by US imperialism from 1941 when US and British imperialist leaders under the initiative of US imperialism put forward the *Atlantic Charter* and later 1944 *Brettonwood Agreement* to re-chart the post World War II global scenario to combat the advance of the socialist

camp and the national liberation movements and to find a way out of the inherent crisis the imperialist system was confronting. This challenge was subjected to discussions at various levels from that time onwards, even the democratic forces from Afro-Asian-Latin American countries. The post-Stalin leadership in Soviet Union refusing to recognise this neo-colonial offensive and failing to the combat it ideologically and politically degenerated as its apologists. Within the CPC the theoretical understanding on neo-colonialism and revolutionary approaches based on it could not be further developed due to intensification of the inner-party struggle and as post-Mao leadership also degenerating as apologists of neo-colonialism. As a result, in the absence of 'directives from the international authority', as the social democrats degenerated to apologists of neo-colonialism, most of the Marxist-Leninist parties mechanically clung to the 'semi-colonial' analysis.

4. In this situation it was a major challenge taken up by the CRC, CPI(ML) along with its struggle against the capitalist readers who had usurped power in China soon after Mao's death and their class collaborationist Theory of Three world's. The neo-colonial understanding initially put forward in the early 1980s was further developed through the international document of 1997 and the Party Programme adopted in 2000 Fifth All India Conference. The settling of accounts with the CPI(ML) of 2003 who tried to scuttle the democratic process of subjecting the two approaches based on neo-colonial and semi-colonial understanding for open discussion in the All India Special Conference has now provided the opportunity for uniting all the forces to launch an all out offensive for developing the ideological-political line based on the understanding about neo-colonialism and for building the Party and class / mass organizations at all India level.

5. The discussion and adoption of the four basic documents on the *International Situation and Our Tasks, the Characterization of the Indian State, the Principal Contradiction and the Path of Revolution*, have provided the theoretical basis to carry forward this revolutionary task fighting all alien trends. In the course of the last four years significant advances in Party building were made which is reflected in this Conference. It has provided the momentum to unite all like minded forces, to win over the cadres from various other 'Marxist' forces who wants to join the revolutionary stream and to recruit cadres from the new generation in order to speed up the party building at all India level.

6. While carrying this task forward continuously and tirelessly, the All India Special Conference has resolved to make conscious efforts to advance towards the 9th Party Congress to adopt the Party Programme based on the basic positions put forwards adopted by the Conference. Carry forward the Party building and building of class/mass organizations at all India level, develop the working class struggles, agrarian revolutionary movement and revolutionary struggles in all other fields, launch all India movements focusing on various people's issues so that this historic task of holding the Ninth Congress of the Party can be accomplished as early as possible in an atmosphere of all round revolutionary advances. Let us Dare to Think, Dare to Struggle, and Dare to Win for advancing towards People's Democracy and socialism. ●

**Long Live Marxism- Leninism –  
Mao Tsetung Thought**

**Long Live Proletarian  
Internationalism**

**Long Live CPI (ML)**

**Advance along the path of People's  
Democratic Revolution as part of  
World Proletarian Socialist  
Revolution**

13-11-2009

CC, CPI(ML)

## Neo-Colonialism: The New Order of Imperialist Control

**Shankar Das**

**T**HE second half of the last century was full of events and a very significant period as well. The remarkable advancement that the international proletariat could bring about in the first part of the twentieth century could not be maintained in the second part when the class struggle intensified much more. When the capitalist roaders could seize the state power first in Russia and then in China too and subsequently captured parties shining with the glory of many past struggles, the capitalist class became overzealous to proclaim that socialism an effective alternative to capitalism. The alternative of capitalism is capitalism itself. On the other hand the world proletariat has been searching the cause of the defeat in order to explore the guideline to advance anew. Analysis of concrete situation is naturally an important task in accomplishing that. This is all the more true when we find that serious changes have taken place in the global economy and politics since the Second World War (WW II), imperialism—the enemy of the world people –has made changes in the mode of its rule and aggression and had been continuously doing so. Yet the larger section of the left forces, maintaining indifference to all these changes, is keeping themselves confined within the old obsolete concepts. In such an atmosphere, a comprehensive assessment of the concrete situation turns out to be the need of the hour. This is the context when we attempt to discuss the question of neo-colonialism. The reason is, neo-colonialism not only points to the characteristics of the state and society of countries like ours, it also indicates the changed global strategy of imperialism and the politics and economy followed by it.

### INDIRECT RULE, INDIRECT CONTROL

Neo-colonialism means a particular kind of colonialism different in character from the former kind of colonialism rule. The British rule in India or the rule of various imperialist powers in different countries at that time was older kind of imperialist rule that was associated with direct capture of foreign lands, direct ruling through physical presence in the subjugated countries, etc. But after the WWII a new situation emerged worldwide. Liberation struggles running in different countries to get the imperialist fetters smashed, intensified. The working class and the communist parties began to play important roles in the liberation struggles. The thunder of Russian revolution of 1917 had by this time accelerated the birth and development of Communist parties in different countries. Now started establishing the rule of Communist parties over a vast area of the world. In international arena, the contradiction between imperialism and socialism had been growing sharp and decisive and the balance of force in this contradiction was gradually changing in favour of socialism. At the same time we notice some changes in the world capitalist economy in this period. Though the capitalist economy attacked by the great depression of the 1930's had the survival through the Second World War, it was forced to make some changes in its internal structure that became characteristic feature for the next 30 or 40 years. Thus the post-war situation was different from the pre-war situation. The captains of imperialism could readily realize that the character of their rule must be changed in this new situation in order to continue their hegemony.

One thing must be made clear at this point. That is, the liberation struggles

running in countries at that time played important role to set forth the necessity of changing the system of ruling before the imperialist powers. The history of freedom movement of our country also witnesses the same. 'Freedom' was no gift of the British imperialists to the people of our county. It was rather for the purpose of pacifying the tremendous current of freedom struggle, to deviate it from uprooting the imperialist powers that imperialism had to take recourse to a different way of world system. In addition to this, some other compulsions were there too behind such measures that we have already mentioned. This is that new world system which is known as neo-colonialism.

Imperialism was successful in its bid through securing the comprador leadership of the freedom movements fully under its control. Consequently they could establish an indirect rule dependent on imperialism by the compradors in the erstwhile colonies under indirect control of imperialism. It should be kept in mind that such indirect control of imperialism appeared before the WWII too. Such indirect control of imperialism in that period was known in the communist circle as semi-colonial rule. In the document 'The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party' prepared by some leading members of the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung in Yen-an in December 1939, the then China was identified as a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Some regions of China at that time was under direct imperialist clutches, Some portion was under indirect rule with the help of the compradors. This indirectly controlled region was termed by the Chinese party as 'semi-colonial'. Some features of this indirect control were identified in that document, such as—1) forcing China to sign numerous unequal treaties by which they have acquired the right to station land and sea forces and exercise consular jurisdiction in China; 2) gaining control of all the important trading ports in China by these unequal treaties; 3) gaining control of China's customs, foreign trade and communications (sea, land, inland water and air); 4) dumping their goods in China, 5) capturing its agricultural system; 6) operating many enterprises in both light and heavy industry in China in order to utilize her raw materials, minerals and cheap labour and thereby directly exerting economic pressure on China's national industry and obstruct the development of her productive forces; 7) monopolizing China's banking and finance and maintaining the control by extending loans to the Chinese government; 8) supplying the reactionary government with large quantities of munitions and a host of military advisers, in order to keep the warlords fighting among themselves and to suppress the Chinese people; 9) along with all these, waging cultural aggression in order to run the whole affair smoothly.

One finds that the features of indirect imperialist control in semi-colonial regions identified in the document of the Communist Party of China have resemblance with those of the control and rule of post-WWII new world order we deem appropriate to term as 'neo-colonialism'. It is quite reasonable to think that the international communist movement had never paid due importance to consider this question. It is true that in one of the documents (Apologists of Neo-colonialism) prepared by the CPC during the Great Debate with the Russian party, it was mentioned that after the WWII imperialism has taken recourse to a kind of indirect ruling system instead of its direct rule, and the system was recognized as neo-colonialism. Despite initiating the task, the Chinese party failed to develop it due to the complexity of the contemporary situation and it was abandoned midway. Hindrances developed in the way of proper understanding of 'neo-colonialism' due to theoretical weakness of the communist movement and indirect rule of imperialism of the present time too was termed as semi-colonial system. Naturally, therefore, discussions go on most of the time taking the two terms 'semi-colonial' and 'neo-colonial' synonymous resulting in incompleteness in the analysis of the concrete situation of the present period.

Consequently, serious errors take place off and on in deciding friends and enemies and in evolving methods and means of struggle.

Anyway, we will enter here on the concrete discussion over the question we are going to raise now, i.e., why are we identifying the post-WWII indirect control of imperialism as 'neo-colonial' instead of 'semi-colonial'. In our consideration, along with retaining the erstwhile features of indirect rule in the new order, some such features have been attributed that that ascribes a completely different character of the worldwide imperialist control. These new features were not present or, rather, it was not possible to appear in the pre-WWII indirect rule of imperialism i.e. the semi-feudal system. Before we enter the features that needs a separate discussion, it is necessary to understand first the positional difference of the two systems—semi-colonial and neo-colonial. In the past, it was found that direct colonial system through direct presence in foreign territories and indirect semi-colonial rule to run alongside. The places where and when imperialism was forced to lodge indirect semi-colonial system instead of direct rule that compulsion was of regional character. But a fundamental change took place in the world situation after WWII to what the freedom movements continuing in different countries had an important contribution. The above mentioned Chinese document too recognized that new situation. There it is stated, "While revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies suffered serious setbacks after World War I owing to suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, the situation after World War II is **fundamentally different.**" (emphasis ours) So, after the war a fundamental change took place and the freedom movements made important contribution to bring about that change. What was mentioned in that document regarding this change is that the people of Asia, Africa and the Latin America had uprooted the former colonial rule of imperialist

powers and it is now impossible for imperialism to revert to the erstwhile system of ruling. It has to resort to a new kind of colonial system. Thus it is no more possible to find the simultaneous existence of semi-colonial indirect rule and direct colonial rule like the earlier times. This means, while indirect rule and control was a regional compulsion behind ruling, the worldwide freedom movements have transformed it to a worldwide universal compulsion. This is the very first new feature of the neo-colonial system that should be borne in mind.

The system of neo-colonial indirect rule has revealed itself as much more sly. As one of the most important component of this sly system of control, parliamentary democracy has been developed. Firstly, we should take into account that the neo-colonial system is not identical in all countries. Initially it was dependent on establishing puppet governments. The above Chinese document has indicated this during the Great Debate. It states, “The imperialists headed by the United States enslave or control the colonial countries and countries which have already declared their independence by organizing military blocs, setting up military bases, establishing “federations” or “communities”, and fostering puppet regimes.” But they who refuse to consider neo-colonialism as a developing system and in comprehending it confine themselves to what was said in the above document might have the idea that neo-colonialism implies essentially a puppet government. But the reality is somewhat otherwise. The neo-colonial system has matured to more and more cunning and tricky with every passing day. In the post-WWII situation this control has been established flexibly in accordance with the level of development of democratic systems and institutions in an unyielding way. As a result, the neo-colonial system has appeared in different forms in different countries.

Somewhere it is in the form of puppet government, somewhere in the form of debt-trap, or somewhere hoisting the flag of democracy—it has been perpetuating its control, although parliamentary democratic system has proved to be the most favourable one for the neo-colonial control. The power and efficiency to mould parliamentary democratic system as a tool of control is one of the features of neo-colonial system that was absent in the former semi-colonial system. On democracy in the erstwhile colonial system it is said in ‘The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party’: “Our enemies have made peaceful activity impossible for the Chinese people and have deprived them of all political freedom and democratic rights.” But in the new situation after WWII, when direct colonial rule became obsolete and the system of indirect control of imperialism appeared as neo-colonialism, a fractured and dwarf democracy was established in countries through parliamentary systems based on universal franchise which was presented before the people as the acme of ruling system and state structure. This is what was initiated in our country as ‘Government of India Rule’. After 1947, such a parliamentary structure came out that was reckoned as the highest policy making body by the oppressed people. When on the one hand bourgeoisie claims regarding parliamentary structure had been gaining justification to the people through the first Communist government in Kerala in 1957, fall of Indira-regime in 1977 and victory of Left Front Government in West Bengal and Tripura, the Communist circle of India on the other hand failed to comprehend the pseudo-democratic elegance of this fractured form of parliamentary democracy under neo-colonial system. One section disparaged the imperialist control and exaggerated the strength of parliamentary system of India. The CPI (M) leadership has fallen in the ditch of establishing socialism in the way of reforms within the present bourgeoisie state structure. On the other side, an enormous section of Communist revolutionaries have grasped imperialist control in a blunt way taking it in the erstwhile semi-colonial structure. They failed to understand the pseudo-democratic form of parliamentary democracy forged with neo-colonial slyness and consequently did not take into account the strength of parliamentary democracy. They had either elevated the question of election boycott to one of principle or despite participating in elections, shunned the tactical path of forming a revolutionary government through election. They have limited themselves in copying the tactics followed by the Bolsheviks in an institution like the Duma of Russia in the beginning of the last century where there was neither universal franchise nor was the power to legislate, and labeled it as the precise revolutionary path. As a result, the limitations of the parliamentary democratic system did not come out clearly to the working class and the toiling masses. All the efforts of the bourgeoisie to glorify the parliamentary system achieved more justification.

#### **ECONOMIC REFORMS: RULE OF CAPITAL**

The question of the role of imperialism in under developed countries has never been studied in the Communist circle in India in accordance with the concrete analysis of the situation. This, like many other questions, has been confined to a stereotype discussion. As a result, the role this one of the most important features of neo-colonial system could play in the theoretical development of Marxism-Leninism could not have been materialized. The truth the British rule in India brings forth is that as imperialism on the one hand preserved feudalism in colonies, throttled the development of national capital and industries, it has on the other hand been compelled to develop a capitalism dependent on imperialism. As imperialism of the twentieth century is the highest stage of capitalism, it needs no mention that the important role of capital must be served through its activities. Be it imperialist capital, nonetheless being capital it must, alongside preserving feudalism, develop a kind of capitalism. This is beyond their will, rather a compulsion. It is necessary in this context to mention

a few brilliant observations of Lenin as early as 1916. He wrote in 'Imperialism—the Highest Stage of Capitalism': "The export of capital influences and greatly accelerates the development of capitalism in those countries to which it is exported." Again, "Capitalism is growing with the greatest rapidity in the colonies and in overseas countries. Among the latter, new imperialist powers are emerging (e.g., Japan)."

Though the Communist circle of India turned a blind eye to all these observations and the concrete situation, the Chinese party was able to evaluate this fact to a considerable extent. In 'The Chinese Revolution and The Chinese Communist Party' it is said, "As China's feudal society had developed a commodity economy, and so carried within itself the seeds of capitalism, China would of herself have developed slowly into a capitalist society even without the impact of foreign capitalism. Penetration by foreign capitalism accelerated this process." Again, "Apart from its disintegrating effects on the foundations of China's feudal economy, this state of affairs gave rise to certain objective conditions and possibilities for the development of capitalist production in China".

The observation that imperialism was not only developing capitalism crushing feudalism, rather a contrary process i.e. of preserving feudalism was also going along was presented too by the Chinese party in that document. "The emergence and development of capitalism is only one aspect of the change that has taken place since the imperialist penetration of China. There is another concomitant and obstructive aspect, namely, the collusion of imperialism with the Chinese feudal forces to arrest the development of Chinese capitalism." (ibid) Thus the Chinese party had rightly acknowledged the dual role played by imperialism in colonies and semi-colonies. Vis-à-vis the larger section of the Communist revolutionaries of our country finds the role only in preserving feudalism. This is the first anomaly in conclusion whence followed the subjective interpretation of this subject.

After WWII a number of changes took place in global capitalist economy. One of these is almost total subjugation of small capital to big monopoly capital. The mechanism of total control on relatively small capital has been devised by imperialism and spread this franchise system all over the world. On the other side, the Bretton-Woods talks in 1944 solidified the new arrangement of rendering the underdog countries totally dependent through huge loan capital. Since then the dependence of imperialism on feudalism of the underdeveloped countries started declining. To imperialism, feudalism was necessary in underdeveloped countries to divide the world, keeping those countries backward, into developed and underdeveloped ones. But after WWII, with evolving the most modern weapons and institutions of finance capital, feudalism remained no longer essential to imperialism for this purpose. The dual role of imperialism in underdeveloped countries of the semi-colonial period started rapidly become a matter of past. Through reforms, imperialism has taken recourse to developing slowly but steadily a dependent capitalism in countries like ours. Subsequently a huge economic reform has been launched in its support. Thus, economic reform is one of the most important features of neo-colonialism.

This process too has two phases. One phase has continued from 1940 to the 1970's. Development of capitalism in this period has taken place under state control. This is the feature of no particular country rather that of the capitalist system itself. The same picture is visible also in countries under neo-colonial subjugation. Varieties of Keynesians and neo-Keynesians have reigned in this period in the world of economic theories. This scenario started changing since 1980's. The second phase of economic reform had set up. Neo-liberal thoughts prevailed in this period. The development of capitalism in this period ensued directly by big monopoly imperialist capital, by multinational companies. The

reign of FDI-FII-INC has clasped speculative capital—the acute and extreme form of decadence and parasitism of the erstwhile finance capital. In both the phases, rule of capital is the essence, though at the present phase it is unbridled. In the world of economic theory, this the era of Milton Freidman, Fredrick Hayek and the likes.

The deliberation the Chinese party presented on neo-colonialism during the Great Debate was incomplete judged even from that contemporary context. Shifting of imperialism from the dual role in underdeveloped countries was not pointed out there. The significance of the economic form of neo-colonial rule that was unfolding at that time was also beyond their discussion, although hegemony of capital (in case of control) was noticed.

"Listen to the voice of the people of Latin America. The Second Havana Declaration says, "Latin America today is under a more ferocious imperialism, more powerful and ruthless than the Spanish colonial empire."

...Since the end of the Second World War . . . North American investments exceed 10 billion dollars.

. . . There flows from Latin America to the United States a constant torrent of money: some \$4,000 per minute, \$5 million per day, \$2 billion per year, \$10 billion each five years. For each thousand dollars which leaves us, one dead body remains. \$1,000 per death that is the price of what is called imperialism".

We know that the document raised the question of neo-colonialism centering a specific question in the debate with the Russian party. So it was quite natural that many issues would remain beyond the purview of discussion. What was necessary is the development of the deliberation which was hampered by the predominance of the extreme lefts in the Chinese party. Concrete analysis of the concrete situation could not be done. As a result, the international

Communist revolutionary camp that grew up around the Chinese party made a one-sided evaluation of the economic and political strength of imperialism and mistakenly identified the time as 'the era of rapid fall of imperialism'. Development of Marxist-Leninist theory on neo-colonial control failed to go ahead.

## CONCLUSION

Foresight drew Lenin to reach the conclusion that the semi-colonies appeared in the first half of the last century will not survive long. These will be of transitional nature. In 'Imperialism—the Highest Stage of Capitalism' Lenin writes, "As to the 'semi-colonial' states, they provide an example of the transitional forms which are to be found in all spheres of nature and society. Finance capital is such a great, such a decisive, you might say, force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject, to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence". In this enthralling observation of substance, almost the whole essence of a new world order was implied that is to come after thirty years from that time. Lenin could grasp the dynamics through meticulous consideration of contemporary imperialist economy.

First of all, Lenin could clearly point out that these semi-colonies will not last long before the all-devouring supremacy of finance capital. Before long, these will come under total control of imperialism and on the question of share of this, fight among the imperialists will be fierce. Thus the conversion of semi-colonies to colonies was just a matter of time, and that really happened. The change that has occurred is in the mode of colonization, the hint there of lies in that very statement of Lenin. In the second part of his remarks, Lenin has correctly shown that finance capital is 'such a decisive force' which can bring 'even the states enjoying fullest political freedom' under its control. So,

not only the subject countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, even the fully politically independent of Europe can also be brought under full control of imperialism and, if viewed from other angle, even if the dependent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are allowed political independence, they can still be controlled. Thus the development of political institutions and reforms can never curb the dominance of finance capital, rather, we have seen, they can appear as toughened means of dominance of finance capital. Example of Asia, Africa and Latin America was not possible for Lenin to cite because Lenin's above observation had been materialised there after about three decades. But in case of Europe, Lenin put the fascinating instance of Portugal. He writes, "A somewhat different form of financial and diplomatic dependence, accompanied by political independence, is presented by Portugal. Portugal is an independent sovereign state, but actually, for more than two hundred years, since the war of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), it has been a British protectorate. Great Britain has protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify her own positions in the fight against her rivals, Spain and France. In return Great Britain has received commercial privileges, preferential conditions for importing goods and especially capital into Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, the right to use the ports and islands of Portugal, her telegraph cables, etc., etc." Just notice, how a comparatively weak imperialist power is also being controlled by the British bourgeoisie for not a couple of years, rather for two hundred years. That the hegemony of finance capital is able to reinforce this control and make it smooth needs no mention. This control in the age of finance capital becomes absolute. It grows up to a world system. Next to the above, Lenin writes, "Relations of this kind have always existed between big and little states, but in the epoch of capitalist imperialism they become a general system, they form part of the sum total of 'divide the world' relations and become links in the chain of operations of world finance capital". Preserving feudalism no longer remains necessary to such a world system. Rather, getting feudalism gradually wither away through reforms from above at a slow pace is beneficial for it. Commodity economy and the flow of capital becomes thereby more dynamic. Political institutions and reform process becomes compatible as components of this very economy. Rapid financial growth of some countries (like India, Brazil etc) within the neo-colonial network that often makes people puzzled also appears as an internal component of this all pervading dominance and control of finance capital. Uneven development is but an insurmountable feature of imperialism that appears here some time and there at some other time. In this very context, it is possible to understand rapid growth of capitalism in this world locally or in its various branches. ●

## *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**

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# Remembering Darwin

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Sanjay Singhvi

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**FEBRUARY** 12th this year marked the end of the bi-centennial celebrations of Charles Darwin. Charles Darwin, born on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1809, published his most famous book, *The Origin of the Species* on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1859. Hence 24<sup>th</sup> November last year marked 150 years of the publication of this book.

Darwin was one of the most famous men of scientific thought. Darwin Day is celebrated throughout the world today as a tribute to science and the spirit of discovery. Darwin uncompromisingly followed his observations where they led him, eventually to put forward the theory of evolution. Though, at first, he was careful not to apply the theory of evolution to human beings, eventually, in his book *The Descent of Man* he made it clear that even humans were evolved from earlier animals like apes.

Overall, these observations angered the Catholic Church which at once embarked on a mission to debunk the theory of evolution. For many years the church was not willing to accept the theory of evolution, solid scientific evidence notwithstanding.

In the famous Oxford evolution debate of 1860, in the opening days, Richard Owen, an anatomist, had already clashed with Thomas Huxley over Darwin's theory of evolution. Owen opposed Darwin to put forward a theory of evolution by divine intervention. Huxley had opposed this while defending the Darwin's theory of evolution based upon natural selection. In this debate, Samuel Wilberforce (known as "soapy sam") had famously asked Huxley whether it was on his mothers side or on his fathers side that he was descended from apes. Huxley replied that he would not be ashamed to have a monkey for his ancestor, but he would be ashamed to be connected with a man who used his great gifts to obscure the truth.

Darwin's theory was later used by the fascistic philosophers to put forward the concept of "social darwinism" in the sense of genetic engineering and eugenics. However, it is well recorded that Darwin had read the works of his cousin, Francis Galton, the father of eugenics and did not subscribe to those views.

One of the views to propagate which Darwin's theory of natural selection was used – or rather abused – was racism. In the beginning of the twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt, the President of the United States, justified the virtual wiping out of the indigenous Red Indian population by taking shelter in the superiority of the white race and some lame ideas of "natural selection". However, Darwin himself was not convinced that human beings came from different races at all. He wrote in the **Descent of Man**

*"Man has been studied more carefully than any other animal, and yet there is the greatest possible diversity amongst capable judges whether he should be classed as a single species or race, or as two (Virey), as three (Jacquinot), as four (Kant), five (Blumenbach), six (Buffon), seven (Hunter), eight (Agassiz), eleven (Pickering), fifteen (Bory St. Vincent), sixteen (Desmoulins), twenty-two (Morton), sixty (Crawford), or as sixty-three, according to Burke. This diversity of judgment does not prove that the races ought not to be ranked as species, but it shows that they graduate*

*into each other, and that it is hardly possible to discover clear distinctive characters between them"*

It is to Darwin that we owe the elevation of the theories of evolution and natural selection to the levels of natural laws. He clearly elucidated the mechanism by which man evolved from apes and made our natural history as clear as daylight. Perhaps we can best describe his works in the words of Thomas Huxley:

*"Darwin's work ... put the world of life into the domain of natural law. It was no longer necessary or possible to imagine that every kind of animal or plant had been specially created, nor that the beautiful and ingenious devices by which they get their food or escape their enemies have been thought out by some supernatural power, or that there is any conscious purpose behind the evolutionary process. If the idea of natural selection holds good, then animals and plants and man himself have become what they are by natural causes, as blind and automatic as those which go to mould the shape of a mountain, or make the earth and the other planets move in ellipses round the sun. The blind struggle for existence, the blind process of heredity, automatically result in the selection of the best adapted types, and a steady evolution of the stock in the direction of progress..."*

*Darwin's work has enabled us to see the position of man and of our present civilization in a truer light. Man is not a finished product incapable of further progress. He has a long history behind him, and it is a history not of a fall, but of an ascent. And he has the possibility of further progressive evolution before him. Further, in the light of evolution we learn to be more*

*patient. The few thousand years of recorded history are nothing compared to the million years during which man has been on earth, and the thousand million years of life's progress. And we can afford to be patient when the astronomers assure us of at least another thousand million years ahead of us in which to carry evolution onwards to new heights."*

Today Darwin's ideas are once more under attack. Since 1999 some states in the US are trying to force the anti-scientific theory of intelligent design down the throats of young students even in the face of the US Supreme Courts injunction that to do so would be to have the state sponsoring religion in education which is against the US Constitution. The theory of intelligent design is not new. In Hindu philosophy the later Nyaya-Vaisheshikas like Udayana and others argued along the same lines. In Christian theology, even in the days of Darwin, some Anglican clergymen like Charles Kingsley had seen Darwin's theory as an exposition of God's design calling it "just as noble a conception of Deity". But the truth is put into words by Eugenie C. Scott, the Executive Director of the National Centre for Science Education in the US and also the President of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. "At heart, proponents of intelligent design are not motivated to improve science but to transform it into a theistic enterprise that supports religious faith." ●

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## Film review: *Avatar*

**JAMES CAMERON's** *Avatar* has quickly become one of the biggest hits of cinema history, attracting millions of viewers and receiving overwhelmingly positive reviews (and grossing over \$1bn in its first three weeks).

*Avatar* is set in the year 2154 on Pandora, a moon populated by a species called the Na'vi – large, blue humanoid creatures with a deep understanding of their natural habitat.

A mining corporation from Earth (the US, of course) has established a base on Pandora, and is busily mining Pandora's reserves of the precious mineral 'unobtainium'. The brutal expansion of the corporation's activities start to threaten the existence of the Na'vi and the Pandoran ecosystem.

Meanwhile, a group of human scientists are working to better understand the complex Pandoran ecosystem. They have developed 'avatars' – genetically engineered Na'vi bodies that can be controlled by human minds. Although the scientists are themselves motivated by 'pure' science and simply want to improve their understanding of this incredibly rich ecosystem, they are under pressure from the corporation (which funds their activities) to gather the 'right' kind of information about the Na'vi – anything that will help get them away from the area of Pandora with the richest unobtainium reserves.

Jake Sully, the film's main protagonist, is a paraplegic former marine called to Pandora to take over from his murdered identical twin brother, a scientist trained to be an avatar operator. Having lost the use of one leg in his previous mission, Jake quickly comes to enjoy controlling his avatar. With his natural courage, marine training and the pure joy of being able to use two legs, Jake is able to integrate much more effectively into Pandoran society than any of the other scientists.

Soon he wins the trust of the Na'vi. The corporation top-brass and their military associates are extremely keen that Jake use his position to further the process of either moving or exterminating the indigenous population. However, as Jake falls in love with the Na'vi way of life (not to mention the chief's daughter, Neytiri), he increasingly comes to identify more with the Na'vi than with the humans. As the corporation becomes more and more desperate (its stockholders are demanding the vast profits they've been promised), the military decides to move in. They send Jake to prepare the ground, but he ends up fighting on the side of the Na'vi in what turns out to be the mother of all battles.

The parallels with the real history of colonisation are intentionally stark. By making the most bloodthirsty military commander, Colonel Miles, talk about delivering a blow that will bring "shock and awe" to the Na'vi, director James Cameron is relating his story directly to the military subjugation of Iraq in the name of oil profits. However, the parallel goes beyond Iraq. The corporation and the military represent the whole US military-industrial complex, working in tandem in the pursuit of economic gain at any cost. The Na'vi, on the other hand, are the highly idealised – indeed somewhat clichéd – generalisation of an oppressed people conducting guerrilla warfare to defend their land.

By taking the perspective of the colonised population, the film gives western audiences a rare chance to 'decentre' and identify with those people (the colonised people of the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and Asia) that the imperialist press have always painted as evil 'terrorists'. They are the Iraqi resistance; they are the Viet Minh; they are the populations of Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Cuba, Korea, India, China and many other places.

The vast majority of people watching the film *want* the Na'vi to win. What they perhaps don't realise is that this is tantamount to calling for victory to resistance forces in, say, Iraq.

Some have criticised the film on the basis that the Na'vi are only able to win when they are led by Jake, a white man, who arrives to lead them to glory. This criticism is valid to an extent, but remember that Jake does *become* a Na'vi; the only difference being that he has a deep understanding of both the Na'vi and the humans (and thus best conforms to the guerrilla mantra: know your enemy, know yourself). Also, the fact that Jake identifies with the Na'vi so readily is a way of showing how depraved human imperialist civilisation has become.

Another popular criticism is that, while one can quite easily imagine the developments in military technology that make the humans' attack so ferocious, it is less easy to buy into the spiritual/ecological connectedness (loosely based on Gaia theory) which allows the Na'vi to prevail.

Again, this criticism has some merit, but there is another way of looking at it: the spiritual/ecological connectedness is a metaphor for the relationship between the guerrilla unit and its native environment, which always works heavily in favour of the guerrilla (eg, the jungles of Vietnam, the caves of Afghanistan, which are havens to those who live there, but seem alien and inhospitable to the invaders).

Certainly there is an anti-technology element to the film (ironic, for a film which relies so heavily on the latest technology!): it gives the impression that once humanity had eaten the forbidden fruit of knowledge and technological advance and lost its innocence, it was, in effect, doomed.

This is an easy point to relate to today, when modern capitalism is defined by very advanced technique on the one hand and by poverty, war and ecological degradation on the other. However, socialists recognise that the problems are caused not by the technology itself but by the warped class society that controls the technology.

By putting technology to use for meeting the needs of the people and the planet – rather than for profit – humanity will finally be able to put a stop to war, poverty, unemployment and destruction. By promoting a primitivist view, *Avatar* runs the risk of generating nihilism and hopelessness rather than anti-imperialist activism.

No doubt there are a host of perfectly valid criticisms, but, at the end of the day, the film is enjoyable, inspiring, breathtaking and important. All of which begs the question: why did Hollywood make it? Why has 21st Century Fox – the film company owned by Rupert Murdoch – spent hundreds of millions of dollars making a film with an anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist message?

The simple answer is that the pros outweigh the cons, from a corporate point of view. 21st Century Fox are making vast amounts of money out of *Avatar*, and clearly they feel this is worth the risk that the film might actually help to create a generation of militant anti-imperialists. Their calculations are almost certainly correct. As good as the film is, it is not part of a broad social movement to end imperialism.

People will watch *Avatar*, enjoy it and perhaps even have their thinking changed by it to some degree, but will they act on it? Is the film organising people? Is it drawing them towards a real movement? It is not. Rather, it resembles the sort of carefully-managed emotional outpouring discussed by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Fanon cites Sékou Touré, first president of post-colonial Guinea, as saying:

“To take part in the African revolution, it is not enough to write a

revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves and of themselves ... There is no place outside that fight for the artist or for the intellectual who is not himself concerned with and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity.”

This gives us a clue as to why *Avatar* was made. It is disconnected. It's a protest song that very clearly *isn't* “at one with the people in the great battle” to put a stop to imperialism.

In summary: good as *Avatar* is, it's not going to build a meaningful anti-imperialist movement in the West for us. Nonetheless, you should go and see it if you haven't already. Oh, and it's definitely worth seeing it in 3D. ●

*Courtesy: Proletarian, No. 34*

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## AIF-RTE Stages Demonstration at Delhi

**WITH** the slogan: *Equal, compulsory and free education for all, Stop privatisation of education* thousands of students and teachers drawn from different parts of the country organised a powerful demonstration at Delhi culminating with public meeting at Parliament street. It was organised under the banner of **All India Forum for Right to Education (AIF-RTE)**. Activists of AIRSO participated in the programme raising anti-imperialist globalisation slogans. They warned the UPA government that if the privatisation and commercialisation of education is not stopped it will be forced to face countrywide resistance struggle. The participants raised slogans against imperialists and their agents and declared that socialism is the only alternative for the people. Prof. Anil Sadgopal and others addressed the meeting. ●

**I**N KERALA the land question has once again become the central political question. In spite of the much trumpeted land reforms that ignored the basic concept of 'land to the tiller' initiated since the time of the first communist ministry in 1957 and completed under successive governments by the early seventies, the degree of Kerala's land concentration still remains at par with the all India average. As a consequence, majority of the real tillers of the soil who, as elsewhere in the country constitute mainly dalits and adivasis, are subject to extreme deprivation and devastation arising from landlessness.

In a state which is at present ruled by the social democratic CPI(M) led LDF, even according to the Chief minister's own statement, more than 15 lakh acres of prime agricultural land is illegally occupied by land mafia with the connivance of Congress, CPI(M), CPI and other local ruling class parties for the last several years. Leading among them are the Tata and Goenka who respectively have grabbed 1,27,000 and 76,000 acres with the backing of all wings of the state, namely, executive, legislature and judiciary. Whenever landless poor people's struggle for land emerges, these three wings of reactionary state utilizing police and bureaucracy effectively scuttle them. In this process, along with the Congress, the social democratic CPI and CPI(M) have degenerated as lackeys and middle men of both Tata and Goenka. Both the UDF and LDF leadership have immensely gained through this.

It is in this context that in relation to a public interest litigation case in the High Court, the land grab by Tata in Munnar has once again become a hotly debated topic in Kerala. As a result, the CPI(M) leadership has once again exposed as running dogs of Tata in Munnar. To cover up this ignominy, they have started some struggles in Wayanad and these struggles were directed against the illegal land occupations of M.P. Veerendrakumar

## Kerala: CPI (ML) Intensifies Land Struggles

and Pothan who are small fishes compared with Tata and Goenka. It is well known that the CPI(M) leadership targeted them not because of their love towards the landless, but because of their petty feuds against Veeren and Pothan who have recently gone over to the UDF camp. At the same time, instead of distributing this land among the landless, the CPI(M) leadership is incorporating it under the so called "land bank" to be distributed again to land mafia who come forward in the name of several neo-colonial projects such as SEZ.

Following this, the CPI(ML) led land struggle committees have started occupying such lands which are illegally held by land mafia, especially Goenka (Harrissons Malayalam) in Wayanad district challenging both the land mafia and police. Along with the land struggle committees, workers in Goenka's estate who are denied even minimum wage have also come forward for capturing land and erect huts in it. However, the CPI(M) led Achuthanandan government is unleashing its police force on the landless adivasis and dalits along with Goenka's goondas. Agitators, some of them even having more than 70 years of old are being arrested and put in custody. Following this the CPI(ML) had organized protest marches in various places in the state. It is decided to intensify the land struggles under the newly formed All India Krantikari Kisan Sabha (AIKKS) through out the state and at the same time politically exposing the heinous move on the part of CPI(M) to hijack such struggles.

**Martyrdom of Com Varghese observed:** The CPI(ML) had observed the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Com Varghese's martyrdom on February 18 throughout the state. Com. Varghese who fought for the adivasis was brutally murdered by the CPI led Achuthamenon government thirty years back to appease feudal and reactionary forces. In Mananthavady in Wayand, where Varghese led several struggles against land lords who even unwilling to recognize the adivasis as humans, hundreds of people participated in the rally and the public meeting that followed. Com PN Provint, State Secretariat member of CPI(ML) and Convener of Land Struggle Committee inaugurated the public meeting. Com. Sam P.Mathew, District Secretary, CPI(ML) presided. ●

## TUCI Protests Against Price Hike

**IN ACCORDANCE** with the call given by the TUCI Central Committee, protests were held against the price hike in various states. Seen above is the torch light protest held in Koppal in the state of Karnataka on 5th February. The protest here was led by Com. D. H. Poojar, Secretary, TUCI. Such protests were held in Raichur and Chikmangalur districts also. In Chhatisgarh, under the leadership TUCI, demonstrations were held in Durg on 12th February 2010, after



Torch light demonstration in Koppal on 5<sup>th</sup> February against Price Rise

leaflets were distributed there on 5th February. In Maharashtra, leaflets were distributed and the State Committee has resolved to continue with the agitation. In Odisha, there were massive demonstrations in Bhubhaneshwar against price rise on 5th February 2010. With this the first phase of the protest against the price rise, though many state committees have decided to continue to take up the issue. ●

# On the Trade Union's Call for Mass Protests on 5<sup>th</sup> March

**T**HE *Workers Assembly* comprising of the major trade unions centres affiliated to reformist and social-democratic parties like CPI and CPI(M) has called for mass protest at all India level on 5th March 2010 on following demands: (1) Price rise of essential commodities must be contained. Universal Public Distribution System must be established. Measures to end speculation in commodities market must be immediately taken. (2) Government must take measures to ensure employment protection in the recession stricken sectors. (3) The Unorganised Workers Social Security Act 2008 must be expanded to remove the poverty line based restriction on eligibility of workers. There must be a National Floor Level Social Security to all unorganised sector workers including the contract/casual workers. (4) Strict enforcement of all labour laws without any exception or exemption and stringent punitive measures for violation of labour laws. (5) Disinvestment of shares of Central Public Sector Enterprises is not resorted to and instead their growing reserve and surplus is used for expansion and modernisation purposes and also for revival of sick Public Sector Undertakings.

All these are relevant demands in the present situation. So in spite of the differences with the failure of the *Workers Assembly* to organise even any such token programmes at all India level for a long time, and in spite of the failure of these trade union centres to mobilise any significant campaigns focussing on these demands, workers in different states including those organised in the centres not affiliated to *Workers Assembly* are expected to participate in it. In the present situation when the attacks on the working class is mounting day by day even such ritualistic programmes, bereft of any political content, can not be ignored. That is why every such protests, however, trivial and reformist they may be, calls for participation of the working class in large numbers, giving them whatever possible militancy which the leadership of these trade union centres are afraid of providing them.

It is clear as day light even to the leaders of these trade union centres ranging from BMS-INTUC to AITUC-CITU that whatever right earned by the working class during a century long struggles are snatched away and contract system — 'hire and fire' have come to dominance in addition to closures, lock outs and unprecedented price rise as a result of the imperialist globalisation policies. Each and every one of the demands raised show that liberalisation and privatisation is the villain behind them. Still the leaderships refuse to call a political strike against these political questions including the neo-liberal raj and neo-colonial slavery, getting intensified day by day. They do

not dare to raise slogans against and campaign against the neo-liberal policies intensifying the miseries of the working class.

A glance through the all India scene that various sections of the workers in different sectors have waged numerous struggles all over India during last 2-3 months. On October 30-31 steel workers and contractors' worker in this sector participated in an all India strike called by the Steel Workers Federation of India. More than 2.5 lakh jute mill workers of West Bengal led by 20 trade unions waged a long strike struggle from 14th December. It is reported that more than 7 lakh construction workers struck on December 8 as part of an all India strike. The fish workers organised all India protest on January 11. Workers of petroleum sector organised a conference demanding protection of Oil PSUs from Corporates and MNCs on December 11-12 at Mumbai. Many more such workers' actions are reported at state level and local level. The total number of workers involved in these are many millions.

All these workers' actions under the initiative of different trade unions show that workers are discontented, and they are ready for struggle against their miserable conditions of life as a result of the neo-liberal policies imposed by central and state governments for last two decades. Or, they realise more and more that imperialist globalisation has intensified their contradiction with the capitalist class, and that without struggles it cannot be resolved. The imperialist crisis, which is still persisting and intensifying, have worsened working conditions, under-employment and unemployment. As a result, conditions are created for launching political strike struggles across the country.

But as almost all the prominent leaders of the trade union centres in the *Workers Assembly* are affiliated to prominent ruling class parties and social democratic parties running the governments at centre and in the states which are faithfully implementing the neo-liberal policies at an ever-accelerating level, none of them are ready to mobilise the workers for a political strike to force the government to reverse the reactionary policies. This situation calls for serious introspection among the working class, and the politically conscious and militant leaders and activists among them. ●

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## Defend and Help the People of Haiti, No to U.S. Troops!

**H**AITI is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. It is currently occupied by UN troops and controlled by a puppet government installed after the US military kidnapped democratically elected President Aristide in 2004. It now faces the tragedy of a catastrophic earthquake destroying its main population center, Port-au-Prince. The death toll will likely surpass 200,000 people with widespread deadly diseases to follow.

Haiti's infrastructure became collapsing tombs for hundreds of thousands of fathers, mothers, sons and daughters. Similar to the victims of Hurricane Katrina abandoned by the US government, when "humanitarian aid" virtually never arrived, the Haitian people desperately wait for food, water and medicine from their US imperialist's puppet government. Anger is growing on the Haitian streets about their government's and the United Nations' slow response to saving the lives of those buried under rubble and to provide basic necessities to the survivors.

The US government has pledged "humanitarian aid". The main "aid" is **10,000 U.S. troops** to "provide security" to the country to make sure the Haitian people do not overthrow their puppet government. News footage has already showed the arrival of machine gun-toting US troops in full riot gear.

The US Empire's unity of purpose is reflected in President Obama's appointment of former Presidents Bush and Clinton to coordinate the "humanitarian" relief efforts in Haiti. This is the same George W Bush that brutalized the mostly Afro-American victims of Hurricane Katrina and is the criminal murderer of more than a million people through the US invasion and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan. And former President Clinton is the criminal murderer of some 500,000 Iraqi children with the ten year long economic blockade against Iraq.

Calls for humanitarian assistance are coming from all quarters. Certainly we support people of good will responding to such a human tragedy and through labor unions, community and faith-based organizations we encourage such international solidarity. However, all humanitarian relief, money, volunteers, medicine, food and water should be channeled to genuine Haitian peoples' organizations, militant trade unions such as the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers, and the community organizations struggling for the return of the democratically elected Aristide government. It is the people of Haiti who should decide what is best for their country and how to best rebuild Haiti and recover from such catastrophic human suffering.

The people of Haiti have a long history of struggle, becoming the first country to win independence from a European colonial power through a slave uprising in 1804. Yet, following the establishment of the first Black Republic in the Western Hemisphere, the colonialists and imperialists ultimately proved successful in plundering the land, resources and labor of Haiti for most of the last two centuries. In the mid-1980's the Haitian people rose up and drove out the US backed brutal Duvalier dictatorship. President Aristide was first elected in 1991 on the tide of a popular peoples' movement.

The growing anger and righteous indignation of the Haitian people is fully justified. Self-determination — for the people of Haiti to take matters into their own hands, for the peasants to cooperatively own the land to feed the country and for a worker-peasant alliance to take the reigns of government to rebuild their land, houses and lives in freedom — is the path through which a new world can be built from the ashes of the old! ●

**All US Troops Out of Haiti !  
No to the Continuation of UN Occupation !  
Self-Determination for Haiti !  
(Revolutionary Organization of Labor, USA)**