



# RED STAR

## PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

Central Organ of CPI(ML)

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**Make First All India Conference of  
AIRSO a Great Success  
31 May and 1 June 2010, Mumbai**

*Mass Dharna of Krantikari Adivasi  
Mahasabha at Delhi on 21-22 April*



# Organise Country-wide Campaign Against State Terror

**IMMEDIATELY** after 1947, in 1940s and 1950s the Nehru government had declared a war against the peoples of Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast and put these areas under military rule imposing the draconian Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) later to suppress the demand for self determination and self-governance by these peoples. Following the criminal destruction of the Babri Masjid in 1992 when the Muslim minority protested, instead of taking action against the RSS parivar, the Muslims were isolated and attacked. When the US imperialists called for a 'war on terror', obediently following it the Indian state intensified attacks on Muslims, creating the bogey that the whole community had become terrorists. Following the imposition of imperialist globalization as the state has wantonly indulged in terrorism in the name of development by ruthlessly imposing the neo-liberal policies, when the Adivasis, the poor-marginal peasantry and the oppressed classes and sections started getting mobilized in ever larger numbers against these, the state has declared a war on them in the name of '*Operation Green Hunt*' in continuation to *Salwa Judum* and all other black laws. Along with the military in J&K and Northeast, police-paramilitary-commando forces are deployed to ruthlessly attack the people to suppress their mass resistance movements.

In this *war against the people*, in order to impose most heinous and brutal atrocities the state is utilizing various bogeys like the so-called *jihadis* in J&K, the insurgents in Northeast, the isolated 'terrorists' or Islamic fundamentalists among Muslims and now the Maoists. For example, the Maoist attack on the CRPF in Dantewada on 6<sup>th</sup> April is celebrated by the whole ruling system and the corporate media as a cover for its barbarous state terror, to attack the basic tenets of communist movement and to attack all peoples' resistance against the neo-liberal policies.

Spending fabulous amounts and utilizing the state machinery efforts are made to glorify the CRPF men killed and to hoodwink the people. The central and state governments, the ruling class political parties, the RSS parivar and the media are engaged in it in a frenzied manner. Numerous civil society groups are also put in to this job. All of them are engaged in concealing the state terror, the atrocities committed by the police, paramilitary, military and various commando and intelligence agencies against the people in general and women in particular and the worse than emergency condition created wherever people resist the neo-liberal policies. 'Non-violence' is repeatedly stressed as a cover while wanton state-terror is imposed.

Actually it is the Indian state which has imposed on the vast masses of poor an imperialist dictated corporate-bureaucrat-landlords-contractors-mafia led model of development threatening them with unprecedented intensification of pauperization and devastation. When they resist it with various forms of mass movements it is the state which is resorting to violence to suppress them. The whole suppressive state machinery built up spending a major part of revenue is wantonly unleashed against them. Innocent people are killed in fake encounters, women are raped, thousands are tortured and jailed, leaders of people's movements

are fabricated in false cases imposing even murder charges against them, and villages are burnt. While the state forces are cannon fodder for the ruling system on the one hand, they, especially the CRPF like forces, act as mercenaries against the people. In this situation the people have the right to use revolutionary violence against the state terror to carry forward their resistance struggle.

While the comprador and neo-colonial state deny all rights to the people even to wage peaceful resistance movements like the Kalinganagar or Posco movements, it is trying to attack the right of the people to use revolutionary violence against state terror through large-scale disinformation campaign, confusing the progressive and democratic forces also by erasing the line of demarcation between people's resistance struggles including the use of revolutionary violence and the anarchist action of Maoists. Falling a prey to this vile propaganda offensive of the state, even petty-bourgeois intellectuals and liberals who otherwise are experts in glorifying the Maoists as the Communists as the reactionary state and corporate media do are shedding tears for the CRPF men. Probably they are terrified by what happened to Vinayak Sen. These intellectuals and fellow travelers of Maoists do not understand the difference between the revolutionary violence by the masses for seizure of political power and the anarchist actions of Maoists. As they are ignorant about Bolshevik concepts they get enamored of Maoist activities. But when the threats of state terror start pinching, even Varavara Rao like people say that "the violence of the Maoists cannot be condoned". It shows that the Maoists' anarchist actions and utilization of them as a cover are helping the ruling system tremendously to silence even its critics and to intensify imposition of state terror.

It is in this situation in the two days mass dharna of AIKAM at New Delhi on 21-22 April, the hundreds of Adivasis from different states shouted in unison for withdrawal of *Operation Green Hunt* and for stopping state terror. The Central Executive Committee (CEC) of CPI(ML) in its 23-24 April meeting in this context has taken a decision to launch a powerful campaign at all India level against state terror culminating with an all India Convention uniting all progressive, democratic and revolutionary left forces. The campaign at state level should be launched uniting all those progressive forces who can be united based on the following slogans:

**Down with State Terror!**

**Revoke Operation Green Hunt, Salwa  
Judum and AFSPA!**

**Stop Corporate Loot of Natural Resources!**

Mobilise the working class, peasantry and all revolutionary classes and sections to fight neo-liberal policies and the state terror that is imposed to speed up them. ●

**New Delhi  
24-04-2010**

**Central Executive Committees  
CPI (ML)**

# UPA Government Fiddles Like Nero When Prices Soar

**WHEN** the prices of all essential commodities are soaring up day by day the only comparison to it is the unprecedented shooting up of mercury as the summer is lashing across the country. But the experience of last months show that winter and summer, however severe and cruel they may be, may come and go, but the prices of essential commodities going up relentlessly are not going to come down. In spite of a series of anti-price rise rallies and other programmes by practically all the political parties from one end of the spectrum to other, the UPA government is behaving in a most insensitive and reactionary way, refusing to take any action to curb it. The statements of UPA's chairperson to prime minister to finance minister clearly show that they are fully aware that the prices are rising as a result of the neo-liberal policies. As they are not at all ready to reverse these policies, they act like Nero when Rome was burning.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, the price rise is the result of the imperialist globalization policies pursued under neo-liberal regime. It is as a result of the systematic decimation of procurement – public distribution system during the last two decades reducing it to a mere skeleton now on the one hand, and the opening of marketing including retail marketing to corporates and MNCs on the other hand have led to present unbearable situation for the vast masses. When they are getting pauperized and denied essential commodities and services at tolerable prices and rates, the central and state governments and the ruling parties are cheating the people by merely blaming each other, when all the consecutive central and state governments are responsible for it. Neither BJP-led parties, nor CPI (M)-led LF nor other parties within the ruling system are prepared it call for a reversal of 115 neo-liberal policies which are causing this price rise.

The governments at centre in the states can be forced to take any meaning action against the price rise only if mass upsurges take place to reverse the reactionary policies causing it. The limitation of the various anti-price rise protests waged so far is that they do not go beyond conventional forms. So the working class should be mobilized to strike work, to raise barricades in the streets and to paralyse the government. The vast masses suffering bitterly under price rise should be mobilized to capture godowns and malls / supermarkets to distribute essential commodities to the masses. In the past such food movements have come up even spontaneously. But just by waiting for their spontaneous out bursts the problem cannot be solved. Such upsurges and out bursts should be consciously crated. The revolutionary left forces should take initiative for it Unless the masses come out on streets the reactionary ruling system is not going to do anything to curb the prices. ●

## Historic Significance of Naxalbari Uprising

**THE** 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1956 was a turning point in the history of the International Communist Movement

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(ICM). Till then, in spite of all the weaknesses getting manifested in the socialist practice in Soviet Union and East European countries and in spite of all the ideological weaknesses becoming explicit in the ICM as well as in the theory and practice of a large number of communist parties pursuing the Soviet path, on the whole the ICM was advancing quantitatively, the dreams of revolution, overthrow of the rule of imperialism and its lackeys, of socialist transformation and communism were still influencing ever larger sections of people across all continents. But the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress including Khrushchov's attacks on Stalin, not on the ideological-political weaknesses, but from filthy, personalized, reactionary positions was a great shock. The main intention of the capitalist roaders, the bureaucratic class who were turning Soviet Union into a state capitalist, social imperialist country was to destroy the socialist dreams, so that they can pursue their path without resistance. Once the socialist dreams, the dreams of building a world without exploitation were given a mortal blow, at international level and in each country its impact was soon felt.

In India, in spite of the right and left deviations which had ideologically and politically weakened the movement, the revolutionary dreams were still persisting, the influence of undivided CPI was still growing. But the rot within became serious from its 4<sup>th</sup> Congress in 1956. Parliamentary illusions and reformism started dominating, soon leading to *Dangeism* and its absurd theory of *National Democratic revolution* collaborating with big bourgeoisie. The ideological

struggle within, the split in 1964 and the formation of CPI(M) once again advocating the path of People's Democratic Revolution was a big relief to the revolutionary classes and sections who rallied behind it. But the opportunist alliances forged by CPI (M) in 1967 elections, the extent of degeneration of not only CPI but also of CPI (M) in the ministry formation in the states, hurrying for sharing power within the reactionary ruling system, and the performance of the CPI (M) led ministries in W. Bengal and Kerala were once again intensifying frustration among the left masses. That is why the Naxalbari Uprising became a *peal of spring thunder over Indian horizon* as the Communist Party of China had correctly evaluated.

In the history of the Indian Communist movement the Telengana Uprising was the greatest ever anti-feudal, anti-state movement which led to the revolutionary seizure of political power in thousands of villages of a number of districts. Considering its spread and duration Tebhaga was also a great advance. Compared to them, the Naxalbari Uprising was miniscule, one can say. But its great historic significance was that it attacked the revisionist and neo-revisionist lines of CPI and CPI (M) which relegated the dreams of revolution into insignificance as something which may happen in the distant future, which rejected revolutionary practice and started fanning up parliamentary illusions. For them revolution was something like the hope of salvation propagated by the religions. The significance of Naxalbari uprising was that it brought People's Democratic Revolution back to the agenda of Indian people. Neither the left adventurist path which soon embraced the CPI (ML), nor its disintegration under internal political weaknesses and ruthless state repression, nor the problems it is still confronting to reorganize itself as the revolutionary Communist party of India has reduced the historic significance of Naxalbari uprising and the CPI (ML) a wee bit. As the ideological struggle going on among the Communist Revolutionaries during the last four decades leading to the historic theoretical formulations and Path of Indian Revolution put forward by the 2009 Bhopal Special Conference of the party clearly reveal, it is in continuation to the inspiration provided by the Naxalbari uprising the CRs have become capable of making this stride forward.

The experience of the last four decades also show that the revolutionary movement can advance not only by struggling uncompromisingly against right reformist and social democratic deviations, but also by exposing and defeating the anarchist line of CPI (Maoist) trend. It is in the context of this struggle the understanding about the transformation that has taken place in imperialist plunder during the post-Second World War period, the understanding about neo-colonialism, the transformation that has taken place in the production relations, class relations and character of Indian state, and its Path of Revolution according to concrete conditions in India could be developed.

Let us observe the 43<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Naxalbari Uprising on 25<sup>th</sup> May with revolutionary vigour, pledging ourselves to fulfil the dreams of martyrs to realize People's Democratic India. ●

## ***Intensify the Campaign to Increase Circulation of Party Organs***

**THIS** is a period when imperialism, especially US imperialism, and its lackeys have intensified their all out

efforts unprecedentedly to transform the world, every nook and corner of it, in its own barbarous image. For this it has transformed its forms of plunder from colonialism to neo-colonialism and has built up various reactionary international

agencies. Under imperialist globalization neo-liberal policies are unleashed. Simultaneously to propagate that “there is no alternative” to imperialism, to establish ‘capitalism as the end of history’ the reactionary ideological offensive is intensified. The media, both printed and electronic, are monopolized and utilized for it. Art, literature and sports besides religion and all other sectarian thinking are utilized. More than the arms, the ideas and propaganda are utilized to confuse, to maim the people and to force them to surrender to the ruling ideas of imperialism.

The impact of this is very much evident in our society. The media, almost as a whole, is monopolized to impose the neo-liberal ideas and policies. Increasingly the revisionists of all hues, the NGOs, the religious-caste organizations and various alien trends masquerading as progressive ones are also serving the ruling system. Thus, reactionary ideas spread in heinous and pernicious forms are turned in to a material force to attack the people, to influence them and to make them surrender to the imperialist onslaught.

In these critical and difficult days the revolutionary communist movement can mobilize, educate, and prepare the people to fight this monstrous ruling system and to overthrow it with socialist perspective only if they are imbued, influenced and inspired by progressive, democratic and revolutionary ideas. The monopoly media is hell bent not to provide any space for revolutionary forces. On the contrary, it is on the one hand projecting the CPI, CPI(M) like forces as the left, the Communist. By repeated projection of CPI(M)-led governments in W. Bengal, Kerala and Tripura as Communist ones, they succeed in creating hatred against communist ideas, in confusing the people and in destroying the communist dreams or they project the Maoists as the militants, the revolutionaries and give a disproportionately high level of publicity to them. Once again conscious efforts are made to suppress the idea of and practice of revolutionary Marxism.

Struggling against all these counter-revolutionary trends, in order to spread the ideology and politics of revolutionary Marxism among vast masses of people, more than ever the importance of revolutionary propaganda has increased manifold. In this context all comrades should remember the teachings of Lenin on the importance of Party press which was repeatedly stressed by the

*Comintern*. Under the stranglehold of sectarianism, as the Bolshevik concepts about revolutionary propaganda and organization building were abandoned for long years, the CRs are still incapable of realizing the importance of Party Press and revolutionary propaganda to make the people capable of creating history. That is why the CC of CPI (ML) along with the publication of the 1921 document of Comintern on party building has called for all out efforts to increase the circulation of Party organs in all languages in particular and propagation of revolutionary literature in general.

Publication of revolutionary literature and their sale among the masses as one of the main areas of work should be given paramount importance. In present situation, spreading the Party organs and other publications through door to door campaign, by selling them at places wherever people go and increasing their circulation are very important. All Party committees should organize all cadres, friends and sympathizers for it. Let us organize a socialist competition to spread revolutionary literature far and wide, among the masses, selecting important areas. ●

## ***Women’s Reservation Bill in Danger Again***

**THE** euphoria created by the ruling establishment and the monopoly media about the great virtues of parliamentary democracy and how it can create positive results, how it works, following the voting for Women’s Reservation Bill in the Rajya Sabha on 9<sup>th</sup> March has almost vanished. In the situation that has emerged now, it will be a miracle if the Bill is presented and passed in the on going Lok Sabha’s budget session. The SP-RJD-JD(U) combine is violently opposing the Bill demanding a quota for dalit, OBC and minority women within women’s quota. Now Shiv Sena, Trinmul and BSP like parties also have joined them.

But a moot question arises: if they are so particular about it and not opposed to the 33% quota for women, why did not any of them try to implement it in practice while selecting their candidates so far? Even in the reserved seats for SCs/STs very few women find a place. This is applicable to the votaries of the Bill now: Sonia Gandhi’s Congress, Sushama Swaraj’s BJP and Brinda Karat’s CPI(M). None has tried during last 15 year, after presentation of the bill for the

first time in parliament in 1996, to field one third or near about women candidates in the elections. None of these parties tried to set an example in this when much more backward countries in the neighbourhood like Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal have a higher percentage of women in their parliaments.

Once again the Constitution is used as a holy cow to scuttle the bill. The Congress and BJP claim that there is no provision for a quota within the quota for dalit-OBC-minority women.

But then, is there a provision for women reservation in the Constitution? No. So, when you are voting for a Constitutional amendment to include 33% quota for women, you can include a proportional quota for dalit-OBC-minority women also. During the long period of 15 years, if both sides were sincere, they could sit together and find a solution for this question. That none tried so far for it shows that none of them are serious about this question of bringing more

women forward in the parliament and assemblies. While quota within the quota is used by the so-called Mandal parties to scuttle the issue, the Congress and BJP insist on getting it passed in the existing form itself. These adamant attitudes on both sides have made the future of the bill uncertain.

As we have pointed out repeatedly, this situation can change only if pressure from below, from the masses of people is built up to compel these party leaderships to get this bill passed in the present form or with a quota within the quota as step towards promoting the liberation of women, however small it may be. There are very powerful forces of reaction within the parliament and outside who are hell bent on scuttling any progressive measures like this. Recognising this fact the struggle for women's liberation, like the struggle for all other progressive, democratic measures should be intensified from outside the parliament, so that its ripples get manifested within the parliament also. ●

## ***Nuclear security Summit: Fooling Whom?***

**THE** *Nuclear Security Summit* convened at Washington by Obama administration is yet another effort by US imperialism to hoodwink the world people utilising the other imperialist forces as well as the junior partners of imperialists like India and Brazil. Starting with the *Nuclear Posture Review* of his administration, Obama first proceeded to resume discussion with Russia on strategic arms reduction process to cut down the nuclear stockpile of both. From there this process is advanced to the Nuclear Security Summit in which the participants of the G-22 as well other countries owning nuclear arms took part was held. But ultimately the summit got reduced to a number of long speeches ending up with proposals for tightening security of nuclear fuel so that *Al-Qaeda* like terrorist outfits do not get them.

As far as cutting down nuclear material stockpile is concerned, like the US-Russia talks about cutting down nuclear stockpile, very little practical steps are worked out for implementation. Altogether it was another smart move by Obama administration to show its concern about the danger of nuclear proliferation while very little is done to actually cut down its own nuclear stockpile or nuclear research for more

sophisticated nuclear weapons. Even the namesake participation of UN from this process was avoided to emphasise Obama administration's efforts to continue the Bush plan of converting 21st century into one of US hegemony in all spheres. While the US withdrawal from Iraq is still uncertain, while aggression in Afghanistan by US-led NATO forces is intensifying, while US forces are deployed and strengthened in more areas like Haiti under the pretext of an earthquake or anything else, and while Israel is allowed to increase its nuclear stockpile wantonly, this was a futile exercise to fool the world people.

Anyone who is little acquainted with the nuclear disarmament process can easily understand this US game. It was US which dropped atom bombs in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, to test them even when Japan was ready to surrender unconditionally. When the horror of nuclear bombs was fully exposed through the miseries of the millions of people in this region, when under the leadership of socialist Soviet Union the demand for universal total nuclear disarmament was raised, it was consciously sabotaged by the US imperialists who went on increasing their nuclear stockpile to engage in nuclear blackmail.

After the Soviet Union also acquired nuclear weapons, the nuclear arms race intensified, reaching the stage of nuclear balance of power between US and Soviet Union which had by that time degenerated to a social imperialist super power. Then nuclear arms became a tool in the hands of these superpowers for their contention and collusion for world hegemony. They imposed the nuclear *Non-Proliferation Treaty* to prevent its proliferation to other countries. Various mechanisms were built to protect the nuclear supremacy of the superpowers.

But US imperialists promoted nuclear ambitions of Israel which provoked a race for nuclear weapons in West Asia. China's entry along with Britain and France to nuclear club led to the end of US-Russia monopoly over nuclear arsenal. Both US and Russia had their own role in escalating the nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan and in their stockpiling of nuclear arms. Thus the refusal of US imperialism to accept total universal nuclear disarmament and its efforts to utilise it for world hegemony played the major role which has led to present situation of nuclear proliferation, raising the danger of a nuclear war anywhere in the world. In spite of this real danger, US imperialism is trying to fool the world people by projecting the possession of these dangerous weapons by a terrorist outfit like *Al-Qaeda* as the only major threat. That *Al-Qaeda* was created by US

administration in 1980s, that whether in Georgia, Pakistan or elsewhere it is the dirty games of US which make things easy for terrorist outfits to procure nuclear material, that it is US which is the most dangerous terrorist power in the world, *the mother of terrorism*, is concealed. Obama like his predecessors are cheating world people. Total and universal nuclear disarmament and a world without wars

and terrorism is possible only when the imperialist system as a whole is destroyed, because it is imperialism which is creating wars and newer and newer weapons for it. ●

## ***Down With AFSPA, Salwa Judum, Operation Green Hunt***

**WITH** the imposition of *Operation Green Hunt* all over India along with the justification by the new Army Chief for continuation of AFSPA in J & K and Northeast and wherever military is deployed 'to put down insurgency' according to him, the transformation of the pre-1947 colonial state into a bureaucratic fascist state is being speeded up at all levels, in all regions. The police-intelligence-para military wings are deployed for ruthless suppression of people's resistance against the implementation of the neo-liberal policies with the use of the logistics of, and by directly deploying the three wings of the armed forces themselves wherever necessary.

When imperialist globalisation was imposed formally in 1991 along with the liberalization-privatisation policies, it was a departure from Keynesian welfare state concepts in every sense. The role of the state was reduced very fast to maintaining law and order and facilitation of the operations of corporates and MNCs. Thus all state interventions in welfare sectors were increasingly cut down very fast. State withdrew from the field of production to a great extent. Privatisation and contract system came to dominance even in areas where the state had dominance. The state's role correspondingly enhanced very fast to strengthening the police-intelligence-paramilitary-armed forces along with the bureaucracy and judiciary to serve the neo-liberal regime. With the imposition of *Operation Green Hunt* and the latest measures discussed at top most levels after the Maoist attack at Dantewada on April 6 this process of fascicisation of the state has reached a remarkably barbarous stage.

This was possible as the UPA government succeeded to achieve unanimity among all the mainstream parties ranging from BJP and Shiv Sena to CPI(M) not only for speeding up neo-liberal policies but also to intensify fascist measures to put down all resistance to them. Unlike during the internal emergency of 1975-77, now the Congress-led UPA could achieve a consensus among all these political forces to impose state terror. Even the media has started acting fully in support to the ruling system by adopting a policy of self-imposed censorship so that only what is required to help the ruling system are published.

As a result, though the media is continuing to publish lots of rubbish about the so-called details and analyses of 'Dantewada action', the intensification of brutal attacks in Bastar areas after April 6 as a result of which adivasi people from hundreds of villages, especially from the neighbouring areas of 'the action' had to flee are seldom reported. Similarly the renewed attacks at Kalinganagar to get the area vacated for Tatas from the last week of March or intensifying the police-para military attacks in other regions are not reported. The more effective consensus arrived at among all wings of the ruling system, among all its 'estates' including the 'fourth estate', i.e. the media, to transform the state apparatus to crush the people's resistance to their reactionary policies is very evident.

As a result, more than ever, and to a surprising high level the ruling system has succeeded to win over the middle classes also by and large to its side. Even

the opposition to this growing fascicisation is managed smartly by it in such a way that the NGOs and 'civil society groups' are engaged to hijack the voices of opposition also. Thus the field is cleared for the instruments of state to operate ruthlessly. By utilising selected petty-bourgeois intellectuals, journalists etc. sensational stories about 'Maoists' are given wide publicity like earlier instances of such stories about various insurgent and militant groups from J&K, Northeast and elsewhere. Thus a situation is created so that the mainstream newspapers can flash front page headlines '*The War is on*' when 'Dantewada action' took place. The picture presented is that there are only two sides in this war: the benevolent, smart, neo-liberal state which is about to achieve double digit 'growth' in spite of the global recession on the one hand, and the motley crowd of terrorists, Maoists, insurgents on the other. Then the question is repeatedly asked: you are on which side?

The scenario is not basically different from what happened when Hitler took over Germany in 1930s or what is taking place in the imperialist countries as well as in the countries like Iraq or Afghanistan where the US-led forces are launching direct aggression and in other countries under neo-colonial onslaughts. The question: you are on which side is incessantly raised to distort and vulgarise the opposition, to reduce it just to the armed groups, so that licence is obtained under this cover to ruthlessly suppress all people's resistance. The NGOs and petty-

bourgeois intellectuals are utilised on a large scale to promote this tactics.

The statement of the prime minister that 'Naxalism or Maoism is the main danger', using both words synonymously is to suit his intention of confusing the people and to continue the business of selling the country to his imperialist masters, especially US masters. Chidambaram

exposing his true colours as a reliable comprador and Corporate advocate is attacking Marxism under the guise of attacking 'Maoists' so that the crusade against social revolution by his class can go ahead efficiently. The bureaucrats in home ministry acts like scoundrels to attack the people rejecting any idea of diluting or repealing AFSPA so that the corrupt and anti-people military bureaucracy can merrily continue as an occupation force in J&K and Northeast.

In this situation, the movement to get the AFSPA, Salwa Judum, Operation Green Hunt like black Acts revoked should be strengthened at all India level in all spheres. The progressive, democratic and revolutionary left forces should join hands and come to the fore front in this struggle. ●

## Billionaires Utilise IPL to Loot

**THE** one good thing that came out of the stinking duel between the IPL boss Modi and state minister for foreign affairs, Tharoor, is that it has brought out at last some aspects of its very dirty content. High glamour, big advertising and corporate power along with the participation of political bigs of Congress, BJP and NCP have led to big business openly embracing political patrons to loot much more in the name of cricket. It is now proved that IPL has very little cricket in it, it is a gamble of billions played by the billionaires. Win or loose all the billionaires owning or controlling the teams gain more billions through tax concessions, high level speculation, game fixing, bribes in tens of millions of dollars paid to make franchisees quit from bidding and other dirty practices. It is also spreading a mafia culture which the billionaires enjoy.

As a result of the controversy concerning *Kochi Franchisee* the list of atleast its owners has come out. But

the lists of owners of other eight old and one new teams are not yet published. The public as well as the government is kept in dark. In spite of the income tax department starting a reluctant enquiry after the public uproar, with even union ministers, chief ministers, governors, state ministers, bureaucrats through nominees, Corporate houses, mafia dons, Bollywood heroes and heroines involved in such a big way, nothing much is expected to happen. As sports and games, like everything else, is reduced a lucrative, speculative business the ruling system is always ready to protect it.

IPL is yet another dirty game controlled by the dirty men and women of the ruling system on the top. It state governments in debt traps provide tax exemptions to it, if millions of units of electricity is used by it when 10-15 hours power-cut is becoming usual in these summer days to the people, and if all the dirty elite gangs are involved in it, demanding an enquiry against is going to be meaningless. There are possibilities for it blowing over like a storm in a tea-cup with billionaires in control colluding to save it. The third chapter of IPL will close soon, in spite of all the spats around it, only to be out shorn in a fourth chapter next year in more dirty forms. It is part of this very ruling system. And games like it shall continue till this whole dirty ruling system itself is thrown out. ●

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I, K.N. Ramachandran, hereby declare that particulars given above are true to my knowledge and belief.

Sd/-  
K.N. Ramachandran

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# Mass Dharna of Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha : A Great Beginning

**THE MASS DHARNA** of Adivasis mobilised from Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu and Delhi slums at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi on 21 and 22 April heralded a new beginning in the long history of epic struggles of these heroic people from the time of two centuries of mighty revolts against British colonialists. When the, ruling classes and their central and state administrations serving the imperialist forces, especially US imperialists, working frenziedly to intensify the plunder and devastation of all down-trodden classes and sections have made life intolerable for the 100 millions of Adivasi people through decades of their displacements from their habitats which has reached unprecedented levels and through ever-mounting atrocities and state terror. The mass dharna declared their resolve to get mobilised in a countrywide revolutionary mass organisation to resist the onslaughts against them and to join the people's movements to overthrow the neo-colonial slavery. It became a great beginning as it exposed the activities of various religious fundamentalists starting with Christian missionaries and now taken over on a much larger scale by the RSS parivar on the one hand, and tens of thousands of NGOs engaged in Adivasi areas on the other, to confuse and disarm them ideologically and politically, to divide them and to make them incapable of struggling against the ruling system which is looting their land and resources and brutally oppressing them.

Neither the oppressive heat of Delhi nor the multi-crore mobilisation of BJP on 21st April and the numerous programmes of NGOs organised as a ritual during the parliament sessions could discourage the militancy of the hundreds of comrades participating in the dharna. In a memorandum presented to the offices of President and the

Prime Minister the following important demands were put forward:

1. Repeal all draconian acts which are helping the alienation of land from the Adivasis. Defeat the machinations of the bureaucrat-police-contractor-corporate-land mafia-politicians nexus against the Adivasi masses. Implement Adivasi Land Protection Acts and ensure the possession of individual and community lands by the Adivasi people. Ensure the right of Adivasis over land, forest produces and water resources.
2. Stop all illegal mining immediately. Stop the operations of the MNCs and Corporates who perpetuate neo-colonial slavery through their anti-people, reactionary 'development policy'. Stop forthwith the displacement of Adivasi people for SEZs, MNC-Corporate projects, anti-people infrastructure projects etc.
3. Protect the habitat, culture, language of Adivasi people. Ensure education, health care, public distribution system of all essential commodities, housing and employment for all.
4. Implement the autonomous councils ensuring their democratic functioning.
5. Stop the activities of all religious fundamentalist forces and all their agencies. Stop the activities of all types of imperialist funding agencies including NGOs which are harming the interests of adivasi people.
6. Ensure protection of Adivasi women and stop atrocities against them. Ensure equal rights and wages to them.



Com. KN Ramachandran, General Secretary, CPI(ML) Addressing Mass Dharna of AIKAM at Delhi

7. Stop Salwa Judum of Chhattisgarh, Operation Green Hunt imposed in all states, Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and other black acts and ordinances which are intensifying state terror against the Adivasi people in different regions.

8. Amend the Forest Act deleting the provisions which are against the adivasi people.

9. Stop the anti-people development policy pursued under dictates of the imperialist agencies which is creating serious ecological problems making life more difficult and endangering the very existence of human race.

In another memorandum presented to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the following demands were put forward:

“1. Take steps to repeal all acts which are helping the alienation of land from the Adivasis against the provisions of the Constitution. Act against illegal machinations of the bureaucrat-police-contractor-corporate-land mafia-politicians nexus against the Adivasi masses. Protect the Adivasi Land Protection Acts. Ensure the Constitutional right of the Adivasis over land, forest produces and water resources.

2. Take judicial steps against all illegal mining. Provide legal assistance to stop the operations of the MNCs and Corporates who perpetuate the displacement of Adivasi people for SEZs, MNC-Corporate projects, anti-people infrastructure projects etc.

3. Provide judicial assistance to protect the habitat, culture, language of Adivasi people and to ensure education, health care, public distribution system of all essential commodities, housing and employment for all.

4. Ask the central and state government to implement the Constitutional provisions ensuring the autonomous councils at all levels.

5. The Salwa Judum of Chhattisgarh, Operation Green Hunt imposed in all states, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and other black acts and ordinances are imposed against the Constitutional provisions ensuring the democratic rights of the Adivasi people. In spite of a number of judicial strictures they are continued. Para-military forces are engaged in our habitats who are committing atrocities against us. Even military forces are engaged under various guises. We appeal for judicial intervention in order to stop these illegal acts on the part of the government.

6. Repeal the provisions of the Forest Act which are against the adivasi people.”

Com. KN Ramachandran, General Secretary, CPI(ML) and Com. Anjani Kumar, vice president of All India Krantikari Kisan Sabha (AIKSS) addressing the comrades participating in the dharna explained that under neo-colonisation the ruling system has become more ruthless and barbaric. These compradors are speeding up neo-liberal policies. So we should not have any illusion that our demands shall be fulfilled by them. The mass dharna is part of the all India campaign to propagate these demands and to mobilise the Adivasi masses for uncompromising future struggles to achieve them. They called for using the mass dharna as a spring board for future struggles.

From 10 Am to 5Pm one 21st April and from 10 AM to 4 PM on 22nd April the speeches by leading comrades of the AIKAM from different states, leaders of TUCI, AIKSS, other mass organisations, *Bahujan Vam Manch*, and revolutionary intellectuals explaining the significance of the mass dharna were interspersed by militant slogans and revolutionary songs. Slogans remembering historic Adivasi martyrs comrades Birsa Munda, Sidhu, Kannu and others and pledging to carry forward the struggle to throw out the corporates, MNCs and mafias from the Adivasi regions. Comrades Manjul Dadel, Phulchand Pahan, Madhi Munda, Dari Munda, Suni Munda, Sumitha Oraon and others from



Com. Sivaram, Central Committee member of TUCI Addressing Mass Dharna of Adivasis

Jharkhand, Abeswar Digal, Sanjukta Kanhar, Sandhyarani Pradhan and others from Odisha, com. Chandrasekhar and Chandrabhan Dhruv from Chhattisgarh, Nirvanappa (AIKSS) from Karnataka, Com. Rangaswamy from Tamilnadu and Com. Purushothaman of Kerala spoke representing AIKAM state units. Comrades Labh Singh (Punjab), Laxminarayan Misra (Rajasthan) Ramraj (UP), Satpal (President, AIKSS), R. Manasayya (general secretary, AIKSS), Sivarm (TUCI) spoke in solidarity with the mass dharna. Comrades Ganpat Rai, Ashrar Khan and Thomas Mathew of Babujan Vam Manch also addressed the mass dharna fully supporting the demands.

After the two days dharna comrades departed to their areas with the determination to intensify struggle against displacement, corporate-MNC-Mafia encroachments, and state terror, by mobilising the Adivasis in larger and larger numbers under the banner of AIKAM. ●

### **AIKAM Central Organising Committee Formed**

A meeting of the leading comrades of the All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha along with comrades Satpal, president, R. Manasayya, general secretary and Anjanikumar, vice president of the AIKSS after the first day's mass dharna at Jantar Mantar elected the following comrades to the *Central Organizing Committee* of the AIKAM: 1. Com. Dira Munda (Jharkhand) president; 2. Com.

John Miran Munda (Jharkhand) general secretary; 3. Com. Sunita Oraon (Jharkhand) joint secretary; 4. Com. Chandrasekhar (Chhattisgarh) joint secretary; 5. Com. Aveshwar Digal (Orissa) joint secretary; 6. Com. Dhulchand Pahan (Jharkhand); 7. Com. Sumi Munda (Jharkhand); 8. Com. Sanjukta kanhar (Orissa); 9. Com. Manoj Soren (Orissa); 10. Com. Bholu Biruli (Jharkhand); 11. Com. Somakka (Karnataka); 12. Com. B.C. Ravi (Karnataka); 13. Com. Rangaswami (Tamilnadu); 14. Com. Purushothaman (Kerala).

COC members shall be co-opted from other states as state organising committees are formed.

The COC decided to organize and strengthen the state organizing committees in all states, to form district level committees, to start membership campaign and to form local/village committees, and to start a vigorous campaign based on the demands put forward in the mass dharna. Wherever possible movements against displacements, atrocities and state terror should be organized.

The COC seriously viewed that Com. John, general secretary is behind bars in Chaibasa jail on cooked up murder charges. A campaign for his release should be organised while continuing legal battle to get bail for him. The COC decided to intensify organizational work and mass movements at all India level. ●

## **AIRSO Conference at Thane, Mumbai on 31 May and 1 June**

**THE** all India Conference of All India Revolutionary Students Organisation (AIRSO) shall be held at Shivmangal Karyalay Hall, Gaondevi Maidan, Gokhale Road, Thane (West) Mumbai on 31<sup>st</sup> May and 1<sup>st</sup> June. Delegates from 16 states shall participate. Already the district and state level conferences are being organized in different states chalking out plans to launch membership campaigns as soon as the schools and colleges open for next academic year and to form unit committees so as to launch a vigorous campaign against the privatization and commercialization of education.

A Reception Committee including activists of the revolutionary student movement of the past decades and revolutionary intellectuals are formed for the successful conduct of the Conference. It will start with the inaugural session on 31<sup>st</sup> May morning followed by the delegate conference. In the evening a seminar on *Challenges and Prospects in the Education Field* shall be organized followed by cultural programmes. The Mumbai unit of the AIRSO has decided to launch a vigorous campaign from 1<sup>st</sup> May to propagate the theme of the conference. ●

## **Odisha: Police Station Gherao Against firing in Kalinganagar**

**THE** Navin Patnaik govt. has become a dalal of Tata and other companies in all sense. In spite of democratic resistance movement of Kalinganagar adivasis and statewide and nationwide support to their movement, even after 15 comrades sacrificed their life in January 2006 in police-para military firing, the state govt. is engaged in repression of the Kalinganagar movement to capture their land for TATA. On 30th March, 2010 the police, administration with armed forces gheraoed the villages of Kalinganagar and started brutal repression, burnt their houses, killed their cows, goats, smashed their cooking utensils and food items, so that they will be compelled to leave the place. The state forces suddenly started firing using rubber bullets. More than 30 adivasis were injured as a result of this. Since morning the day long repression continued in Baligotha village of Chandia. Against this brutal repression, immediately the Bhubaneswar area committee of CPI(ML) organised a demonstration on 30th evening. It started from Inquilab Bhavan, the state committee office. After reaching at Nagapalli P.S. they demonstrated before it and the gherao was started. This

demonstration and gherao was led by comrades Harihar Sahoo, Pramila and others. ●

### **Demonstration Against Operation Green Hunt and Repression of People's Movements**

**ON** 9th April All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha (AIKAM) Odisha state committee, organised a mass dharna before Odisha state Assembly at Bhubaneswar. More than 500 adivasis from different districts of Odisha and from different adivasi communities participated in this dharna.

In Odisha collaborating with central government, Navin Patnaik government has signed hundreds of MoUs with MNCs and corporate houses to loot the mines and minerals. But everywhere due to the protest of adivasis and common people they are facing serious difficulties. In Kalinganagar in 2006, 15 adivasis became martyrs, more than 50 were injured in police firing. Still the Adivasi people did not allow TATA to start its project. Since then continuous state repression in going on against Kalinganagar adivasis. But they are fighting heroically.



Against Posco, Vedanta, Mittal, Jindal, practically against every proposed project peoples have organised strong resistance movements. They are still continuing. Since last 5 years Posco in not allowed to acquire an inch of land. Same is the case of Vedanta in Puri district. All over Odisha from Kashipur, Kalinganagar to Bhubaneswar slum-dwellers, everywhere people's democratic resistance movements are continuing. Time to time the police, administration and the government in trying to liquidate and smash the movement. But Adivasi people are fighting giving their blood. In Narayanpatna of Koraput district under the leadership of *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha* they fought for their land rights, to liberate their lands captured by the non- adivasi landlords and mafias. They militantly fought and became successful to stop the liquor trading also there. They fought against mining and exploitation of minerals from Mali parvat.

Every where in all these movements tens of thousands of people are participating. Though in Odisha forest areas

some squads of CPI(Maoist) are operating and indulging in some actions, they have nothing to do with these people's movements. It is clear on the field and exposed in media reports every where.

To repress these people's movements and to stop democratic opposition in the name of putting an end to the Maoists *Operation Green Hunt* is started since April 1st. In the name of this the state forces have started terrorising and killing Adivasis and others who oppose these policies. As a part of this with arrogance the govt again started repression at Kalinganagar also. So against this repression and *Operation Green Hunt* the AIKAM committee is formed with Com. Sagar Munda as president Bhaskar Dugal as secretary, Abheswar Dugal as vice president and Manoj Soren as joint secretary. The first mass dharna of AIKAM was organised on 9th April. Before this extensive campaigns were organised in Bhubanshwar. AIKAM Odisha state committee has decided to continue its campaign and struggle against *Operation Green Hunt*. ●

### **Demonstration at Bhadrak collectorate Against Operation Green Hunt**

**ON** 9th April, All India Krantikari Kisan Sabha (AIKKS) and Jeevan Jeevika Surakhya Samiti (JJSS) organised a demonstration before Bhadrak collectorate against *Operation Green Hunt* and against repression on mass movements. More than two hundred people participated led by AIKKS state convener com. Susanta Jena, JJSS leaders com. Indumati, com. Tunilata Jena, Kelash jena and others. ●

## **Chhattisgarh Report**

Formation of AIKKS state organising committee and state level study camp of its leading activists was organised at Rajim, Raipur district. A handbill on peasant problem was published which was widely distributed and mass meetings were organised in the villages of Raipur dist. RYFI district committees have been formed in Raipur, Bastar and Bilaspur. AIRSO state organising committee is also formed. Meetings were organised in villages of Chhura (Raipur) and in villages of Bastar district for mobilising for the AIKAM mass dharna at Delhi. AIKAM delegates participated in it. On 22nd April party formation day was observed at Rajim. ●

## **"Sreni Sangram"**

**Organ of Odisha State Committee of CPI(ML)**

**Inquilab Bhavan**

**Plot No - 1819, (Opposite N-6/10)**

**IRC Village**

**Bhubaneshwar, Odisha - 751 015**

# ON WOMEN'S RESERVATION BILL

Sharmistha Chowdhary

**IT IS ONLY NATURAL** that communist revolutionaries will decry the women's reservation bill, which has currently taken the country by storm, as being mere symbolism. This writer, too, would have started on the same vein if it hadn't to be for a very brief news published in the Telegraph newspaper recently, a piece of news which strongly brings to light just how important this symbolism really is, and, paradoxically, how it is doomed even before it sees the light of day. No less a personality than the Chief Justice of India, has, while dismissing a PIL against witch-hunting, sneeringly commented that very soon there would be plenty of women MPs to take up such issues and, till then, things could wait. Of course, it is inconceivable in our hallowed democracy that any measure will be taken against such an offensive and unconstitutional remark by someone who is paid by the state to act as guardian and defender of the Constitution. The 'largest democracy in the world' allows its mighty elite to imply with impunity that a social evil like witch-hunting ought, necessarily be the concern of women parliamentarians only, while men debate and deliberate over the 'really crucial issues' that affect the well-being of the nation!

This is precisely why we need reservation for women in parliament and the state legislatures. When the state is quite blatantly committed to patriarchy and the worst kind of oppression of women, when there is a very universal reservation in favour of men firmly in place, even the tiniest bit of symbolism that makes a show of empowering women, is welcome. If the contentious bill does ever become Act, it will at least ensure that the honourable Chief Justice cannot push away issues affecting women till the time 'when there will be plenty of women MPs'! It will also ensure that the existing social reservation in favour of men gets a jolt. With parties compelled to field women candidates in the reserved constituencies, it will encourage the masses of women to view themselves in public roles, breaking the confines of home and hearth.

Reservation for women in parliament is necessary simply because society and the state provides for an overwhelming reservation in favour of men. This is a fact which is conveniently forgotten by that section of feminists who vociferously claim that women do not need the favour of reservation, that women have it in them to make it to the top by dint of their own qualities. In a society where thousands of girls everyday are denied the opportunity of being born, where crimes against women are the order of the day, where women have to bear the brunt of poverty, oppression and wretchedness, where the chief justice of the country feels no qualms in announcing that witch-hunting is the concern of women MPs only, where every little achievement by women is the result of a tooth and nail struggle against established norms, women need legal reservation in every field – from education to the running of the country – to counter balance the extra-legal but universal reservation that men enjoy.

The days following the initial euphoria over the successful passage of the Women's Reservation Bill in the Rajya Sabha have made it abundantly clear that this apparently pro-women move is no priority for the government and there indeed may be more than a hint of truth in the claims of a section of the opposition that the introduction of the bill was timed to divert the attention of parliament

from the thorny and inflammable issue of price rise and to break up the unity of the opposition on the question of price rise which had the government quite cornered. That done, and successfully too, the government seems in no hurry to table the Bill in the Lok Sabha and go full steam ahead with the formalities necessary to make the Bill a law. The Bill, it is evident, has gone into cold storage again and will undoubtedly remain there till it is time to bail the government out of some fresh crisis. Even the most alert observer hears no hint of murmur to indicate that the Bill is to be shortly taken up afresh, or that there is any voluble demand to introduce it in the Lok Sabha.

So much for the hypocrisy of the Congress, the BJP and the Left Front, who have all along stridently vouched for their unshakeable commitment to the women's cause in general and the Women's Reservation Bill in particular. Sushma Swaraj and Brinda Karat might have hugged each other effusively for the TV cameras, but they have done precious little to compel the government to bring the bill out of cold storage. There is, of course, little need to go into the blatant chauvinism of the Laloos and the Sharad Yadavs who would rather die than let the bill become law. They profess Himalayan concern for women of the backward castes and communities and demand 'reservation within reservation' for them. Suffice it to say that if these self-proclaimed messiahs of the backward castes didn't intend to just abort the bill in any possible way, they would have put forward positive proposals and sought to improve on the existing Bill rather than dump it in the vat by any means whatsoever.

More recently, with Mamata Banerjee having come out against the Bill and the BJP backtracking on its earlier vigorous support, the government is content to put the issue on the backburner and concentrate on devising newer methods of oppressing the masses. For, there is

lack of unanimity or consent in Parliament only when the question is one of handing out measly reforms. As far as the patently anti-people UAPA or *Operation Green Hunt* is concerned – or when it comes to ‘standing by the government’ in the wake of a fresh bout of Maoist insurgency – the opposition parties are only too eager to lend their heartfelt support.

So what if the Bill, thwarting all professed and disguised opposition, does become law? Will the average Indian woman be better off than she is today? Has reservation for women in panchayats improved the lot of rural women in any way? Nepal has a much higher representation of women in parliament than India, so can it be said that women in Nepal are better off than their counterparts in India? Will more women in parliament ensure a gender-friendly state? Can it be conceded, by any stretch of imagination, that a Mamata Banerjee or a Sushma Swaraj is bound to be more pro-democracy and hence pro-women, by virtue of her sex? The world has seen women as ruthless dictators who rode roughshod over democracy and cheerfully buried many hard-earned rights of women – Golda Meir, Margaret Thatcher and our very own Indira Gandhi being cases in point. No discussion on the Women’s Reservation Bill can be complete without addressing these questions.

It can unequivocally be asserted that if women do manage to win 33 per cent reservation in parliament and the state legislatures, it will not automatically lead to equality, empowerment and emancipation. Just as no bourgeois democratic republic, not even in its most ideal form, has been able to eliminate oppression of and violence against women, despite any number of laws and legal strictures, so also no new Constitutional provision can do significantly much to further the interests of the masses of women. The Indian Constitution, it can be cited for

example, does ensure equality of women in every sphere, but the reality is that women are victims of gross inequality in every sphere of life. However, this sober fact cannot be wielded to hold that the equality enshrined in the Constitution is of so little value that we can well do without it. It would be as fatuous as arguing that since dowry is still a prominent social evil, we can as well do away with all anti-dowry legislation. Legal reforms, democratic reforms are no manna dropped from heaven, nor are they generous gifts lavished by the ruling class. Rather, they are an acknowledgement by the ruling class that their reign is in desperate need of reforms and if it does not pay at least lip service to such reforms, then the entire edifice may well collapse.

Thus the ruling class has no option but to institute democratic reforms from time to time in order to satisfy the struggling masses that the system does hold succour for them. What these democratic reforms actually do is bring out into greater relief the absence of real social equality between woman and man, thereby intensifying the contradiction and paving the ground for its solution. Wouldn’t the masses have united against a system so ridden with crisis, so bestially depraved, so blatantly anti-people, if the ruling class had not continuously attempted to prove that earnest efforts were underway to cure the system of its numerous ills and all that was necessary to make those efforts bear fruit was the unstinting cooperation of the people? Rebellion need not always be stemmed by brute force, a show of reforms can serve the purpose as well. After all, there is no denying that despite strident assertions that reservation for women in panchayats has not had a liberating effect on women, no one will conclude that such reservation therefore ought to be done away with. In fact, democratic discourses pertain to measures to develop and upgrade the existing reservation rather than seek for alternatives after summarily dismissing it.

Again, it would be fallacious to argue that women in Nepal are better off than their Indian counterparts because they number more in parliament. Higher representation of women in the Nepalese parliament cannot be held as proof that if Indian parliament saw a considerable rise in the number of its women members, the condition of women in India would remain the same as or deteriorate to the condition of women in Nepal. Undoubtedly, women in Nepal are in a better position today, with their participation in politics and parliament increasing manifold, than when monarchy held absolute sway and there was no parliament at all. Similarly, if reservation for women in parliament were ever to become law, women in India would experience a marginal expansion of democracy compared to what they have today rather than decline to Nepal’s position.

The chief contradiction of capitalism is that if it has to sustain itself it must give birth to its own grave diggers and the more it does so, the more its crisis deepens. All other examples apart, it drags women out of home and hearth to ensure for itself a cheap supply of labour, and in so doing, builds the material basis for the emancipation of women, which, in turn, goes on to make it more and more difficult for capitalism to rely on women as a source of cheap and compliant labour. In order to ensure that the people are free to sell their labour power, it must pretend to uphold freedom as the inalienable right of man (and woman), and thereby give the masses the opportunity to challenge the absence of real freedom that is inherent to capitalism. It must keep women stuck in a morass of backwardness in order to ensure supply of cheap labour, and at the same time pay homage to the aspiration for freedom and equality engendered in women by their induction, alongside men, into public production. In order to retain and strengthen social sanction for the sanctity of private property, it must uphold the patriarchal family as the economic unit of society, but at the same time take steps to loosen the grip of patriarchy over women and allow them a semblance of freedom.

Thus capitalism is forever instituting innovative measures to prove to the deprived that deliverance is just round the corner. And one of its favourite forms of doing so is bestowing special privileges on a few so as to entice the masses to believe that they too can avail of the same privileges without dismantling this unequal system. An Indira Gandhi or a Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw can implant in thousands of women the illusion that women are at large liberated and this very system is to thank for it. A Mamata Banerjee or a Mayawati can also inspire society to introspect and redefine its patriarchal outlook to accommodate a few women successes and leaders. So rather than work to replace the existing order by a system committed to equality and non-discrimination, women would rather preserve it and seek to improve on it. In this way, a few can make it to the top, but not the vast masses and the success of a handful few contributes very little to improving the lot of the masses of deprived women.

It is up to communist revolutionaries to expose the class-divided and gendered system for all it is worth as well as insist on the immediate implementation of the meagre reforms that our rulers are so reluctant to mete out.

Not only need we support the women's reservation bill and demand its passage, denouncing its opponents as shamelessly chauvinistic, we also need to go beyond the question of reservation and uphold the necessity of a revolutionary transformation of society in order to strike at the roots of patriarchy. It is in the combination of these democratic and revolutionary struggles that lies the key to the emancipation of women. ●

[Comrade Sharmistha is convenor of the Central Organising Committee, AIRWO]

## Down with AFSPA: AIRWO to Organise Solidarity Programmes in Manipur

**THE STATEMENT** of new Army Chief that there is no question of withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) or dilution of its provisions exposes that the UPA government is going to further intensify the onslaughts on the people of Northeast and of Jammu & Kashmir where military is deployed and this draconian Act is imposed. The hitherto experience in these regions has proved that it is a heinous black Act which has turned these areas in to killing fields of the military where it can commit any atrocities with immunity. Six decades of this barbarity against the people of these regions for raising the demand of right of self determination and self governance exposes the real character of the democracy that exists here. Any opposition to this military rule immediately results in brutal retaliation including shameful instances of uncountable number of cases of atrocities against women. By deploying the army in this way, it is turned in to a corrupt, anti-people, mercenary force serving the interests of the reactionary ruling system.

As all democratic movements are suppressed ruthlessly and democratic dissent of people is disallowed, insurgency has broken out in these areas in different forms. A cursory glance through the history of these regions during the last six decades show that it is the autocratic policies of the central government and the atrocities under the military rule which have created the insurgent forces. In spite of it, instead of taking initiative to resolve these political issues through political means, in the name of insurgency suppression and atrocities are intensified.

It is this context, in continuation to the democratic movement of the Manipuri people against AFSPA and for achieving right to self-governance, Ms. Irom Sharmila

launched indefinite hunger strike from 2nd November 2000 to get this draconian Act revoked. The suffering, privacy and mental torture she had to face to continue the struggle during these years under detention is terrific. Still she is continuing the struggle. Outside, women and men are in struggle in solidarity with her. The Congress-led UPA government at centre and Congress-CPI government in Manipur, in spite of these people's struggles are intensifying suppression and allowing the military rule with AFSPA to continue.

Already the All India Revolutionary Women's Organisation (AIRWO) has unequivocally condemned AFSPA and has called for its withdrawal. Its call is re-published by a number of women organisations around the world. On March 8, while observing International Women's Day, Sharmila's struggle for revoking AFSPA was highlighted all over India.

In continuation to these the AIRWO has decided to send a five member delegation of comrades Sharmistha Chowdhary (convenor), Urmila, Usha, Asha and Omana to Manipur to meet Ms. Irom Sharmila, Ma Taruni and other leaders of the women's movement struggling against AFSPA, to express solidarity with the struggle, in an effort to develop the movement against AFSPA at all India level. The delegation will be at Imphal on 11 to 13 May attending various programmes against AFSPA.

The AIRWO has called for observing an *All India solidarity Day* in support of the struggle of the people of the seven states of Northeast and of Jammu & Kashmir to get AFSPA revoked and the military withdrawn. ●

# **Chidambaram's Attack on Revolutionary Marxism Cannot Succeed to Deter Communists from the Path of Revolution**

**K.N. Ramachandran**

**UTILISING** the Dantewada attack of CPI(Maoist) on the CRPF forces as a cover, the UPA government and its home minister are on a crusade to polarise all streams of the so-called mainstream political parties ranging from BJP to CPI(M) around the holy mission of saving the existing reactionary ruling system. When the home minister told about his intention to resign taking responsibility for the Dantewada reverse, a sentimental trick played smartly, while Manmohan Singh and Congress leader Sonia Gandhi rushed to ask him to continue, both BJP and CPI(M) leaderships along with other 'mainstream' parties also rushed to extend full support to him, asking him to continue. Thus the Maoist action has helped the whole rotten political system to get united in defence of the big capitalist-big landlord state serving imperialism, especially US imperialism.

In this atmosphere of extraordinary expression of comradeship by all these parties to save the ruling system, Chidambaram dared to go another step forward to attack the fundamentals of Marxist thought. He has violently opposed the calling of the bourgeois parliament as a *pigsty* by the communists. Similarly he has expressed horror at the concept of seizure of political power overthrowing the existing ruling system put forward by the communists. Depicting these as Maoist slogans, he has called for unity of all the parties represented in the parliament against them.

That the MPs of CPI(M) and CPI remained seated in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha without expressing any dissent even when basic concepts of Marxism are attacked exposes the

extent of their degeneration from the communist path. The tactics of the ruling powers is to attack all *Naxalites* since the Maoists are also upholding Naxalbari uprising. Similarly they are attacking all basic tenets of Marxist-Leninist teachings claiming that the Maoists are also upholding them. In short every Naxalite, Communist, Marxist is attacked and the basic teachings of Marxism are vulgarised and attacked dubbing them as Maoist jargons. The CPI(M)-led 'LF' parties act as apologists in these anti-communist onslaughts by the reactionary ruling system.

It is not CPI(Maoist) but Lenin who called the bourgeois parliaments *pigsties* and mere talking shops serving the rule of the elite ruling classes. From the time of Marx, the communists have analysed that whether it is parliamentary or presidential system, even the best among the bourgeois democratic rules is nothing but dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the toiling majority of the masses. With the transformation to its present monopoly stage, imperialism, the capitalist system has become more and more autocratic and corrupt corresponding to the totally speculative character of imperialist capital. So the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that without overthrowing this decaying, moribund, exploitative, autocratic system, and without the seizure of the political power by the working class and other oppressed classes and sections the transformation from capitalism to communism through a period of socialist transformation is not possible is proved correct more than ever. Only those who recognise and work for it is a Marxist, a communist. Chidambaram, the efficient corporate lawyer and the product of the traditional comprador '*Chettiar*' family of Tamil Nadu is trying to attack these basic principles of communism by repeating it as something produced by Ganapati, the leader of CPI(Maoist). He knows that the easy way to kill a goat is first to depict it as a dog, or even as a mad dog so that licence to kill is automatically obtained.

This is what the BJP government in MP and Chhattisgarh and other state governments are doing for a long time, and the reactionaries are trying to do every where. When the CPI(ML) organised a rally at Bhopal on 7th November, the October Revolution Day, last year, preceding its All India Special Conference raising slogans like *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, Advance along the path of Telengana and Naxalbari, and Naxalbari Zindabad* the RSS outfits and the BJP state government tried to create problems by depicting Naxalites are Maoists' and so the 'Maoists should be driven away'. Though they tried hard we could defeat this conspiracy with revolutionary firmness explaining who are Naxalites today and their differences with Maoists and challenging the conspiracy of the RSS Parivar. Chidambaram and the UPA government behind him are trying to continue this age old conspiracy of attacking communists by presenting them as some 'ghosts who should be exorcised'.

The CPI(M), CPI like namesake communists in the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha did not object to these dirty attacks of Chidambaram as they have abandoned revolutionary Marxism long back. But we the Naxalites, who uphold the great Naxalbari uprising do not conceal our aim of overthrowing the present rotten ruling system to usher in People's Democracy and Socialism, oppose this

heinous attack on Marxism by him in the name of attacking Maoists.

We differ from CPI(M) like forces and denounce them as renegades since they have abandoned the path of revolutionary Marxism and degenerated to ruling class positions. Similarly, we differ from the Maoists not for calling the present parliament as a pigsty or for calling for the overthrow of the existing ruling system or for calling for the seizure of the political power by the proletariat and the oppressed masses. We differ from them on the anarchist path they are pursuing in the name of achieving these goals. That is why we denounce the handling of the 'Maoist problem' as a law and order problem, and call for dealing it as a political question. By speeding up the reactionary neo-liberal policies which are intensifying the pauperisation of the masses and devastation of the country on the one hand, and by suppressing all dissent, people's resistance to them, dubbing them as 'Maoist', and by trying to militarily suppress the Maoists,

as they are trying to put down insurgents in Jammu and Kashmir and in Northeast for last six decades, the ruling system is only creating fertile soil for the militants to come up in one form or other.

This ruling class game should be exposed and defeated by persisting in the path of revolutionary Marxism, revolutionary mass line by mobilising the masses to overthrow the reactionary ruling system and to seize the political power.

## Kerala: Agitation by AIKKS

**AS PART OF** the decision to intensify land struggles under All India Krantikari Kisan Sabh (AIKKS), marches led by landless-poor peasants to the land illegally occupied by Harrisons Malayalam Limited (Goenka Group) and other land mafias were conducted in various districts in Kerala. According to various Commissions appointed by the government, this land mafia is holding almost 76000 acres of land in six districts. Though the lease period of these lands is already over, the CPI(M) led LDF government, as in the case of Tata who is the biggest land grabber, is protecting Goenka too. It is in this context that as a prelude to the upcoming land struggle, the AIKKS had organised several marches to illegal land occupation by Goenka.

On March 30, the AIKKS march to Harrison estate in Trissur district. It was inaugurated by com. Rajesh Appatt, CPI(ML) district secretary. On the same day in Ernakulam district two vehicle jathas led by AIKKS district secretary com. PA Siddique from Fort Kochi and com. Jayan from Perumbavoor converged at Valanthakkad at the periphery of Kochi where in the name of *Sobha City* a land mafia with backing of petro-dollars has already encroached hundreds of acres of land in an ecologically fragile region with the connivance of state government. The march was followed by a People's Convention at the site which was inaugurated by com. PJ James, central committee member, CPI(ML). It was presided over by Dr. G. Sadasivan Nair, former Director, School of Legal Studies, Cochin University. Com. PN Provint, state acting secretary of CPI(ML), com. TC Subramaniam, state Secretary of TUCI, com. KS Sindhu, State Convener of AIRWO and district leaders of CPI(ML) addressed the convention.

On April 6 under the banner of AIKKS comrades marched to the Harrison Estate at Mundakkayam in Kottayam district. Com. VJ Joy, district secretary, CPI (ML), Com. MK Dasan, State Secretary, RYFI and Com. Simi Surendram, State Convener, AIRSO addressed the marchers. Com. Achankunju, district convener of AIKKS led the March. On the same day in Waynad district hundreds of AIKKS volunteers led by Com. Velayudhan, district convener of AIKKS marched to the Harrison Estate near Kalpatta, the district headquarters. The march was inaugurated by com. Sam P Mathew, district secretary of CPI(ML).

### Protest Against Tourism Mafia

Closely pursuing the footsteps of previous Congress led UDF government, the CPI(M)-led LDF government is transforming Kerala into an international tourist destination. This is creating untold hardships to the common people along with

several social, environmental and economic problems. Vast areas of fertile agricultural land, ecologically sensitive habitats, etc. are being converted into forest resorts and townships. Among these the case of Kumarakam which belongs to upper Kuttanad, the granary of Kerala, is a typical one. The entire paddy fields in this area are being converted in to tourist resorts and like Thailand, Kumalakam is fast turned into a sex-tourist destination. Highlighting this aspect, both the RYFI and Cultural Forum jointly initiated a campaign against the LDF government's neocolonial policy of promoting tourism at the cost of food agriculture and ecology. As part of this Campaign the activists visited almost 2000 homes and distributed handbills. As a culmination of this month long campaign, on April 10, a public meeting was held at Kumarakam. Among others, Kureepuzha Sreekumer, Kerala's renowned progressive poet spoke on the occasion.

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# “ISLAMIC BANKING” AS A SUBSET OF FINANCE CAPITAL

PJ James

**ISLAMIC BANKING** or Islamic finance that emerged lately in the context of Pan-Islamism and world wide Islamic revivalism has become a serious topic of discussion and debate among both academic and policy circles. Interestingly, amidst this debate, leading transnational banks and speculative financial institutions the world over and even imperialist governments have come forward opening their overseas “Islamic” financial branches or subsidiaries. For instance, Citibank, HSBC, ANZ Grindlays, UBS, BNP, etc. have already started their Islamic subsidiaries. Even stock market institutions such as the Dow-Jones Islamic Market Index in US, the Shariah Advisory Council of the Securities and Exchange Commission in Malaysia, the Meezan Islamic Fund Criteria in Pakistan are also reported working. In neocolonial countries like India, comprador ruling classes are also generally in favour of what is called Islamic banking. In Kerala, one of the Indian states, the government led by the revisionist CPI (M) itself is taking the initiative to start an Islamic financial institution in spite of strong opposition from Hindu chauvinists and intervention from judiciary. Thus, the entire ruling spectrum including the revisionists who are implementing the neo-liberal program of liberalization, privatization and globalization has become uncritical proponents of Islamic finance irrespective of apparent ideological differences among them. An objective evaluation or scientific approach to the interest-phobia of Islamic banking which focuses itself in the “prohibited elements” mentioned in *shariah*, especially that pertains to the avoidance of *Riba*, i.e., interest, is totally lacking.

Adherents of Islamic finance who are against the practice of *interest* claims to derive its intellectual and theoretical resources from Islam. Of course, it is a historical fact that almost all religions of the world right from their origin had disapproved or tried to restrict the practice of interest in some way or other. Traditional Judaism, Christianity and Islam forbid the practice of lending money at interest. In fact, Jesus’ righteous indignation at usury and his driving out of usurers from the Temple of Jerusalem are oft-quoted themes in Christian belief. While Judaism allowed exaction of interest only from non-Jews, Hinduism through the laws of Manu had imposed certain limits on the charging of interest. In general, while all the religions are staunchest worshippers of private property as “god’s gift”, many of them have criticized or opposed specific elements of different social systems like slavery, feudalism and capitalism. Christianity has been a source of criticism against capitalism during latter’s initial days when appalling conditions of capitalist exploitation and widening gap between haves and have-nots disturbed the conscience of well-meaning people. The first socialists characterised by Marxism as “Utopian Socialists” drew many of their principles from Christian values against the uncontrolled bourgeois motives of wealth accumulation, profiteering, greed, selfishness, and hoarding.

In a similar manner, Islamic law also regulates economic activities. In Islamic countries where *shariah* prevails, a 2.5 percent alms tax, i.e., Zakat is levied on all gold, crops, and cattle. An Islamic sect, Shia Twelver Muslims, even pay an additional 20 percent tax on all savings. Usury or *riba* is forbidden though the religious law encourages the use of capital to spur economic activity. Sayyid Qutb an Islamic writer, has even counterpoised Islam against capitalism in his 1951 book *The Battle Between Islam and Capitalism*. The Islamic Constitution of Iran, which was drafted mostly by Islamic clerics, has similar apparently “anti-capitalist” nuances. The recent revival of Islamic banking or Islamic finance is to be evaluated in this over all context of the proclaimed efforts by various Islamic scholars to re-design the global financial structure in conformity with the direction of Islam. The World Islamic Banking Conference held annually in Bahrain since 1994 is internationally recognised as the largest and most significant gathering of Islamic banking and financial leaders. NEW HORIZON published since 1990 provides information on various aspects of Islamic Banking. According to data available, the total assets (“shariah compliant assets”) of Islamic banks reached about \$400 billion in 2009 of which Iranian Banks alone accounted for about 40 percent. Bank Melli Iran, Bank Saderat Iran, Al Rajhi Bank and Bank Nallat in Saudi are the leading Islamic Banks in the world.

According to Islamic Scholars, the unrelenting financial crises that haunt the capitalist-imperialist system for the last so many years have been an inspiration to put forward an alternative based on zero interest Islamic banking. However, with more than 60 percent of the Muslims in the world living in poverty, Islamic banking is of little benefit to them or to the general population. Interestingly, the majority of financial institutions that offer Islamic banking services are majority owned by Non-Muslims and orthodox Muslim clerics view their services with suspicion. Recently, as reported in the Net, one Malaysian Bank offering Islamic based investment funds was found to have the majority of

these funds invested in the gambling industry. These types of stories contribute to the general impression within the Muslim populace that Islamic banking is simply another means for banks to increase profits through growth of deposits and that only the rich derive benefits from implementation of Islamic Banking principles.

### Approach towards Interest

The essence of Islamic banking is its uncompromising opposition to interest either as receipt or as payment. It has no fundamental contradiction with the core characteristics or driving forces of capitalist-imperialist system such as private property, right of inheritance, wage-labour, profit motive, competition, monopolisation, inequality and so on. In spite of its declared opposition to interest, it upholds all other forms of return to capital and investment such as profit, dividend, rent, etc. Its criticism against interest does not even touch up on the private accumulation of wealth or the very basis of capitalist production or circulation processes. In fact, several die-hard anti-interest Islamic theoreticians are staunch protagonists of neo-liberal globalization led by speculative finance capital.

At the outset it must be stated that antagonism against interest is not a new theme but an old wine in new bottle. Regarding *interest* or *interest-bearing capital*, right from the time of industrial revolution and emergence of classical political economy, bourgeois economists used to argue it as a hindering factor for the unhindered growth of the industrial capitalism which was forced to divert a major part of its profit to 'usurious capitalists' or feudal forces. Several theorists during this period had interpreted the payment of interest to usurers as a major leakage or drain from the profit stream that retarded the forward march of entrepreneurship, investment and capital accumulation. Interest payment was often regarded as a reward for laziness and idleness. In fact, till the development of the bourgeois credit system, laissez-faire capitalism had to wage an uncompromising struggle against *interest* and *rent*, the respective returns to usury and feudal land ownership.

For instance in England, the birth-place of industrial capitalism, the British parliament had to enact a series of laws against usury for paving the way for capitalist development. A similar approach was taken towards *rent*, which was a payment to the feudal landlord whose contribution to production was nil. David Ricardo, the leading economist of the classical period interpreted *rent as the reward to the original and indestructible powers of the soil* so that feudal lords had no rightful claim to it. According to Ricardo, rent should not at all be a part of cost of production. Thus, one of the aims of the industrial bourgeoisie was the defeat and elimination of both feudal forces and usurers effectively utilising the emerging parliamentary system. Actually, interest-bearing capital or usurer's capital as it is called in political economy is an initial form of capital whose crucial characteristic is the excessively high rate of interest. While examining the history of this form of capital, Marx had shown how by entangling the slave and feudal societies usury led to the undermining of such economies.

As a matter of fact, there is fundamentally nothing new regarding the so called 'interest antagonism'. While Marx was unraveling the laws of motion of capitalism through his painstaking studies, both Christian socialists and industrial bourgeoisie though from different ideological persuasions were vehemently opposing "interest bearing capital." As a result, Marx had made several interesting, at the same time in-depth, observations on this controversy. In his *Theories of Surplus Value* which is considered as the Fourth Volume of Capital, Marx had situated interest-bearing capital and usury in the proper historical perspective in the 19<sup>th</sup> century itself. Characterising the superficial

criticism of anti-interest protagonists like Utopian Socialists as a "reforming zeal against interest-bearing capital" Marx criticised them for ignoring "real capitalist production, but merely attacking one of its consequences." Marx had beautifully unraveled the radical mask of the 'anti-interest protagonists' thus: "This polemic against interest-bearing capital ..., a polemic which today parades as "socialism", occurs, incidentally, as a phase in the development of capital itself, for example, in the seventeenth century, when the industrial capitalist had to assert himself against the old-fashioned usurer who, at that time, still [confronted] him as a superior power." (p, 456).

The criticism against interest without taking into consideration private property and wage-labour which among other things form the foundation of capitalist exploitation, according to Marx, is part of the religion-induced indignation against capitalist greed and it belongs to the realm of Christian and Utopian socialism. For, exposing the hollowness of those who stand only for the abolition of interest or at least a reduction in interest, Marx opines: "It is clear that any other kind of division of profit between various kinds of capitalists, that is, increasing the industrial profit by reducing the rate of interest and vice versa, does not affect the essence of capitalist production in any way. The kind of socialism which attacks interest-bearing capital as the "basic form" of capital not only remains completely within the bounds of the bourgeois horizon. In so far as its polemic is not a misconceived attack and criticism prompted by a vague notion and directed against capital itself, though identifying it with one of its derived forms, it is nothing but a drive, disguised as socialism, for the development of bourgeois credit and consequently only expresses the low level of development of the existing conditions in a country where such a polemic can masquerade as socialist

and is itself only a theoretical symptom of capitalist development although this bourgeois striving can assume quite startling forms such as that of “credit gratuit” for example. The same applies to Saint-Simonism with its glorification of banking.” (p.467). As later history proved, it was the emerging industrial bourgeoisie who gained from the anti-interest campaign led by Utopian and Christian socialists. The rising industrial and commercial bourgeoisie along with the development of capitalism required immense credit to carry on its commercial operations but both of them were unable to make use of usurer’s money with its exorbitant interest rates, which often exceeded the industrial or commercial profit. Consequently, a stubborn struggle of the growing industrial bourgeoisie took place against usury for a reduction or abolition of interest on the one hand, and the development of modern credit system on the other.

### **Capitalist Credit System versus Usury**

With the strengthening of capitalism and further development of industrial capital and the credit system created by it, the bourgeoisie gradually squeezed usurer’s capital into second position. The general historical tendency of the rate of interest (return to usury) is for it gradually to fall and that of profit (general form of return to capital) to rise. As capitalism develops, the supply of loan capital grows leading to a decline in interest, which is its price. The number of big money capitalists or what Lenin called “rentiers” under imperialism with huge loan capital grows along with the development of the capitalist credit system. Free money resources with the people also grow leading to a reduction or a level close to zero in interest rate as the economic history of capitalist-imperialist countries shows. However, for small commodity producers, petty traders, poor and landless peasants, credit system developed by bourgeoisie was not

available even under the golden period of capitalism. Large capitalist banks refused to extend credit to small producers and poor peasants since they were not considered credit-worthy, such that they continued to be cruelly exploited by usurer’s capital, in spite of the latter’s subjection to a secondary position. Even today, this is the reality in most of the neocolonial countries where industrial revolution and development of the capitalist credit system in the classical pattern did not take place. Obviously, Islamic finance which is also rooted in the laws of imperialist capital (except, of course, the practice of interest) and private property relations has nothing to offer as solution to this question.

Unfortunately, Islamists fail to comprehend the historical fact of capitalist antagonism to interest-bearing capital and that the evolution of capitalist credit system had been a major blow to usury. Compared to usury, the credit system composed of a whole complex set of banks and financial institutions, credit agencies, non-financial intermediaries, insurance companies, credit cooperatives, etc. speed up the circulation process and the flow of capital among different sectors in the capitalist economy. In fact, growth of credit accelerates the rate of capitalist exploitation by facilitating an increase in the production of surplus value. Various credit instruments speed up the circulation process, shortens the turn over time of capital and eliminates non-productive expenditure connected with the transportation of cash and gold which was the case during pre-capitalist days. Credit also stimulates the development of capitalist production by acting itself as a powerful means of concentration and centralisation of capital. This centralisation got a further boost with the origin and development of joint-stock companies that overcame the limitations of individual capitalists. With this, as *dividend* emerged as the principal form of earnings to moneyed sections, the share of interest as a form of return to capital declined further in capitalist society. Together with the credit system, the growth of joint-stock system of undertakings encouraged the development and sharpening of all the inherent contradictions of capitalism. By speeding up the socialisation of production, they lead to sharpening of the basic contradictions of capitalism, that between the social character of production and private capitalist form of appropriation. By furthering the development of production and the concentration of tens of thousands of workers in giant undertakings, credit helps intensify their exploitation and sharpening of the class contradictions between labour and capital. By accelerating the process of capitalist production and circulation, credit promotes a more rapid onset of crisis of overproduction, conceals the beginnings of crises, and increases their destructiveness. It hastens the expropriation of small capitalists by big ones and leads to the growth of monopoly, which is the dialectical opposite of competition.

Explaining the capitalist way of destroying or subjugating usury or interest-bearing capital, Marx aptly opines: “Where capitalist production has developed all its manifold forms and has become the dominant mode of production, interest-bearing capital is dominated by industrial capital, and commercial capital becomes merely a form of industrial capital, derived from the circulation process. But both of them must first be destroyed as independent forms and subordinated to industrial capital. Violence is being used against interest-bearing capital by means of compulsory reduction of interest rates, so that it is no longer able to dictate terms to industrial capital. But this is a method characteristic of the least developed stages of capitalist production. The real way in which industrial capital subjugates interest-bearing capital is the creation of a procedure specific to itself- the credit system. The compulsory reduction of interest rates is a measure which industrial capital itself borrows from the methods of an earlier mode of production and which it rejects as useless and inexpedient as soon as it becomes strong and conquers its territory... The credit system originally is a polemical form directed

against the old-fashioned usurers (goldsmiths in England, Jews, Lombards, and others). (*Theories of Surplus Value*, Part III, pp.468-69)

### Advent of Finance Capital and Emergence of new “Rentiers”

With the transformation of competitive capitalism into monopoly capitalism or imperialism and the emergence of finance capital which is the result of the interweaving or coalescence of big banking monopolies with that of major industrial monopolies, capitalist economy and polity underwent fundamental changes. Lenin defined the place of imperialism in history as that of extreme parasitism and decay quite unprecedented in the entire history of humankind. Rather than the old-fashioned usury which was dominant before capitalism, under imperialism which according to Lenin was finance capital itself, an entirely new “stratum of rentiers” became the most parasitic and reactionary class retarding social progress.

In his book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin wrote that a significant part of the big bourgeoisie make a final break with production. The management of enterprises is transferred increasingly to hired specialists, while the big capitalists themselves live idly on income from securities, shares and state loan funds and become capitalist rentiers. The major source of income of this parasitic class is dividend, speculation in stock and money markets and super profits from the export of capital. However, after WWII, with the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism, finance capital in alliance with imperialist state machineries, neo-colonial institutions such as Fund-Bank combine, MNCs, transnational banks, global stock, commodity, currency and real estate markets is amassing *monopoly super-profits* of hitherto unknown levels. Neo-liberalism has imparted an added dimension to this. Today, finance capital is imperialist states’ most powerful neo-colonial weapon for exploiting and enslaving neo-colonial countries.

The proponents of Islamic banking with their religious-oriented obsession with *interest* are incapable of comprehending the underpinnings or the laws of finance capital behind this neocolonial system led by US imperialism. Today finance capital has succeeded in subjecting all religions and their laws to its laws of motion. Paradoxically, Islamists’ interest antagonism happens to be a mask for camouflaging diverse forms through which finance capital ensures its super-profits. Their position is akin to and even much below the erstwhile bourgeois economists who stood for the development of capitalist credit system that brought about a relative reduction in interest vis-a-vis other earnings by capital. Demonizing interest and attacking it which is a declining form of exploitation and at the same time supporting other means of capital’s super-exploitation is an imperialist agenda of diverting people’s attention from the real issue. In fact, Marxist political economy evaluates the existence of interest-bearing capital and its separation from industrial capital as necessary product of the capitalist mode of production itself. Here also Marx’s far-sightedness is very clear: “Abolition of interest, and of interest-bearing capital...means the abolition of capital and of capitalist production itself. As long as money (commodities) can serve as capital, it can be sold as capital. It is therefore quite in keeping with the views of the petty-bourgeois Utopians that they want to keep commodities but not money, industrial capital but not interest bearing capital, profit but not interest.” (p. 472). Thus fully understanding the fact that Islamists’ interest-phobia is a mere smoke-screen, imperialist think-tanks themselves have come forward accommodating Islamic banking as a subset of imperialist finance capital by establishing Islamic appendages to their financial institutions as already noted. Obviously Islamic laws like any other religious laws can only sub-serve and not challenge the laws of motion of global capital.

### Conclusion

In connection with the development of capitalism, an ever greater separation of *capital as property* (interest bearing capital) from *capital as a function* (profit earning capital) takes place. While the money lending capitalists operate exclusively as the owner of capital, its real functioning takes place in the hands of another capitalist. Interest-bearing capital which is the most parasitic form of capital share with industrial capitalists in the exploitation of workers and in the distribution of surplus value. As is obvious, capitalist production had to fight against usury to the extent that the usurer himself does not become a producer. However, as the history of capitalism shows, with the establishment of capitalist production, the domination of usurer over surplus value ceased along with the fading of the old mode of production. But, with the transformation of competitive capitalism into imperialism, the parasitism associated with finance capital as the all embracing form of capital today has assumed manifold forms and become multidimensional in character. Today compared with competitive capitalism, the loot of capital is more deep and more pronounced through the invention of newer and newer financial instruments and no society or state including imperialist states is free from the instability and speculation unleashed by finance capital. The so called Islamic finance has also evolved through the favourable conditions created by finance capital under Neo-liberalism. Apart from criticising its symptoms, no Islamic scholar has come forward with a basic criticism against private property or private accumulation of wealth which is the root cause of the crisis.

The interest phobia cultivated by Islamists today is more in consonance with an archaic criticism against usury that smacks of a low level of social development and human conscious-

ness quite reminiscent of pre-capitalist or early capitalist days. The political power of the usurer except in places where feudal remnants are still prevailing and capitalist credit system has not yet started full fledged functioning, is no match for the political and economic power of the financial oligarchy that controls the whole world. Under finance capitalism, more particularly in its neo-liberal phase, conditions of wealth and capital accumulation have fundamentally altered. Now, the biggest appropriations by finance capital which is capital's dominant form today are not through usury but through fabulous gains from stock exchanges, foreign exchange markets, futures trading, real estate businesses and subjecting every sphere of social and economic activity to speculation. As a manifestation of this, while the global GDP amounts approximately to fifty trillion dollars, the money value of financial transactions or the so called "fictitious capital" runs into thousands of trillions of dollars. The "money-spinning" businesses and parasitism associated with speculative financiers or "rentiers" as Lenin called them is a thousand-fold bigger than that of pre-capitalist or modern day usurers. Ironically, while characterising usury as the main evil today and opposing it, Islamic financiers are seeking investment opportunities on the stock market, even as some Islamic scholars have recently started talking about the myth of "shariah compatible stocks."

One of the objectives of the monetary policy pursued by Central Banks in imperialist countries is to make the net interest rate to zero and if one takes into consideration the continuing inflation, the real rate of interest might have become negative in developed capitalist countries. Instead of giving interest to deposits, commercial banks have started imposing service charges for keeping money. Today there is a concerted effort on the part of finance capitalism to divert as much money as possible

to speculative, money spinning sectors by discouraging interest-earning savings in commercial banks. Even public sector pension funds, insurance companies, provident funds, etc., under diktats from neocolonial institutions such as IMF and World Bank are drastically reducing interest on such hard earned savings of the working class on the one hand and are diverting these huge funds to stock markets for speculation under the control of global speculative giants. In a similar manner, trillions of dollars worth money deposits named as petro-dollars, euro-dollars, etc. are being locked up in world money circulation channels with practically no earnings. The global bubble economy can be ballooned further if such funds are directed to speculative channels. Islamists' disrespect to "interest-earnings" and their affinity towards other money-spinning forms are to be evaluated in the context of the real trends in imperialist world economy. It is only a wishful thinking that the reduction or elimination of interest which is a declining of form of capitalist exploitation will change the plunder, parasitism and dehumanisation unleashed by finance capital. On the other hand, as is evident, imperialist think tanks are effectively using this interest phobia of Islamists to cover up the biggest-ever capitalist offensive against world people through newer and newer forms of financial engineering. As such, as of now, Islamic banking is a diversionary tactic to deviate world people's attention from the crucial issue of imperialist globalization led by finance capital. ●

## Significance of Dandi March 80 Years Ago

**TO REMEMBER** the Dandi March of 1930 and the *salt satyagraha* organised by Indian National Congress against the British colonialists under the leadership of MK Gandhi has great relevance today when the very same party is leading a government which has surrendered not only the total control of salt but even the monopoly for bottling and selling drinking water to corporates and MNCs. Writing on Dandi, Gopal Krishna Gandhi, chairman of the Dandi Memorial Committee writes: "That a gift of nature, salt, could be turned in to a (colonial) government controlled commercial monopoly suddenly seemed unacceptable. And non-violent but strident resistance of that monopolisation also suddenly seemed logical and in fact vital" (*The Hindu*, 6 April) He also points out: "India, like the rest of the world, is aware of the manner in which the industrial behemoths of the world hold nature's gift of air and water, of non-renewable energy sources, including land and its minerals, in a techno-commercial grip". All natural resources including land, all basic requirements like salt and drinking water, etc. are under total monopolisation of corporates and MNCs who are plundering them to produce enormous private wealth at the expense of the vital interests of the vast masses of people. And, if Congress governments presided over the transformation of India from its colonial past when Dandi March became part of the independence struggle, to present neo-colonisation under which even whatever control the people had on the land and its resources are completely lost, today it is leading the UPA government which is intensifying the neo-colonial slavery putting to shame what was happening during colonial days.

If Congress observes the 80th anniversary of Dandi March and talk about creating a memorial for it, it is adding insult to injury. Congress has forsaken all credit for whatever anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movements that took place during the independence struggle. It has forsaken whatever patriotism it had totally and has turned in to a party of traitors engaged in selling the country to neo-colonial slavery. Its role today is worse than that of the rajas and nawabs of colonial days who had surrendered to the colonialists. ●

# THE NOTION OF 'JUST PEACE' IN POST-WAR SRI LANKA

Asvaththamaa

**POST-WAR** Sri Lanka has several new dimensions to it. The new setting poses enormous challenges. The thirty year civil war has ended, but the root causes of the conflict which led to full-fledged war have not been addressed. Besides, the destruction caused by the civil war in the economic, social and cultural spheres have torn Sri Lankan society into pieces. Against this backdrop, talk about 'just peace' has gained prominence in several spheres of activity, but nearly all of it reduced to the idea of reconciliation and not political solution. The theme during and after the presidential elections has been national reconciliation. This is the sad reality of post war Sri Lanka, in which hardly anyone is willing to talk about a political solution or about the grievances and rights-based issues of the minorities.

Giraudoux, highly reputed French playwright and war hero of WWI, called peace 'the interval between wars'. The way the post war politics is conducted in Sri Lanka would persuade one to endorse Giraudoux. Does anyone really want to bring about 'peace' in real terms? Political jargon and newfangled catchphrases that have entered the public sphere dominate discussion and the ideas implicit in them are readily taken for granted. The 'Civil Society', which in Sri Lankan context has come to mean NGO society, is also driving this agenda at the expense of minority rights. Many articles, columns and other forms of comment in the print media and internet keep chanting about reconciliation, and bringing 'just peace' to Sri Lanka.

Reconciliation is an over-arching process embracing the search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing and so on. Seeking accurate understanding of the past is vital to the reconciliation process. But 'truth' in itself cannot bring about reconciliation, for while seeking the truth is a key ingredient of reconciliation it is not the only one. Likewise, justice, which is vital for healing wounds, making offenders accountable and re-establishing relations of equity and respect, cannot by itself bring about reconciliation. Truth and justice are integral parts of reconciliation. Was this the reconciliation that was bandied about in the election campaign? Certainly not. The two main candidates were equally responsible for the war offences, and should be held responsible for the events of the final weeks of the war where an estimated 30,000 innocent civilians were killed. Is the reconciliation that is being talked about—said to be based on 'just peace'—of the kind mentioned above?

If there can be reference to a 'just war' cannot there be one to 'just peace'? The question is not as trivial as it sounds. For a war to be just, it has to justify the heavy cost it involves—the untimely loss of lives, and the economic and other damages incurred—and it will invariably be unusual. 'Just war' seems a contradiction in terms, but history has witnessed such wars, especially to fend off an aggressor for survival, making it a valid concept. The term just peace would sound redundant, but its problem lies not in its redundancy, but in the implicit notion of an 'unjust peace'. The notion of 'unjust peace' creates room for resistance to peace, where it may be said to be unjust, by causing injustice to a party affected by the war. Separating peace and 'just peace' diminishes the value of peace, with

consequences that are not just theoretical or conceptual but also political, and creating a category that cannot be objectively confirmed.

The history of the world has been much a history of war and intermediate periods. Many conflicts have been resolved based on the "winner takes all" principle. Annihilating all men, capturing women and children, and looting the enemy's possessions had been accepted and even 'fair' endings to conflicts. Territories that belonged to the vanquished have been ceded to the victor. Once norms of war were thus set, regardless of the winner, the principle went unchallenged. Thus, for instance, in economic wars resolved by designated representatives, as in the battle of David and Goliath, the victory of an individual determined the fate of the loser's camp. It is difficult to locate justice in such a case, but the victory was legitimate, one perceived by the loser not as criminal injustice, but as an inalienable part of a lifestyle he was born into, agreed with, or had come to terms with. Why then has peace been often unjust and why has justice been more often belligerent than peaceful?

Against this backdrop, talk of 'just peace' the post-war Sri Lanka takes centre stage. The fundamental causes for the conflict remain and the chauvinism, running high as triumphalism in wake of the defeat of LTTE brings back haunting memories of the past to the minorities. With no will for a political solution, what are sought are stopgap solutions. There has been no accountability for the war crimes committed and the country is kept in

the dark about the last days of war and casualty rates for combatants and civilians. Ironically, when the results of the Presidential Election were announced, the opposition and several individuals and organisations protested that democracy is dead. Did any of them truly believe that there had been democracy in the country? When innocent civilians were killed, the main political parties, the mainstream media and civil society organizations were silent in the pretext of 'War on Terrorism'. Thus far, none of them has dared to probe the events of the final stage of the bloody civil war, but each most forthcoming in discussing the merits of the two war heroes contesting the presidential polls and siding with one or the other of the candidates. Civil society organizations which call themselves defenders of human rights and justice were in fact supporting one war criminal over the other. In the process, even earlier alleged war crimes and gross violations of human rights by their preferred candidate were forgiven and sanctified. What was the kind of justice that they were talking about, or more fundamentally justice for whom? For the parties to the conflict or for the victims of the compromises constructed by the states concerned?

The world that we live in and relations among states and non-state organisations are governed by partiality which works in two ways: each party tends to see things only from its own point of view, and there is no impartial judge empowered to judge what is just and even less impose its judgment on the parties. In the Hobbesian universe, the Leviathan alone defines what is just and it is therefore an arbitrary decision. In the Sri Lankan context each side asserts its notion of justice (which fuels wars if the said actors are armed) and, of course, its own interests. Grave injustices are often condoned to maintain the established order. It bears

remembering the saying attributed to Goethe: "better injustice than disorder". It seems the near universal mantra shared by all right-wing statesmen, and now openly in practice in Sri Lanka.

It is rare for regional or world order to be established without both injustice and violence. If victory over other is not followed by effort to resolve the root causes of the conflicts and reach an agreement acceptable (if not satisfactory) to the warring factions, then peace will remain fragile, and feelings of injustice strong enough for violence to resume. Can one promote the notion of 'just peace' when no acceptable means to a solution is in sight?

As Edward Said has paraphrased "there is no doubt, for instance, that a people whose basic rights to self-determination have not been realized because they are under military or imperial occupation and who have struggled to achieve self-determination for many years, have a right in principle to the peace that comes as a result of liberation. It is hard to fault that as a statement of what a just peace might entail. But what is also entailed is perhaps greater suffering, more destruction, more distortion and a whole lot of problems associated with an aggrieved nationalism ready to exact a very high price from its enemy and its internal opponents in order to achieve justice and peace".

Thus the right to self-determination of the nationalities which provided the basis for resolving peacefully national contradictions seems the only viable route for a political solution in the Sri Lanka.

Post-war Sri Lanka seems to be a place with no war but retains all aspects, tendencies and mindsets of the war-torn past. There seems no will to break with the past, and what we see is the continuation of the past. Post-war Sri Lanka seems more conducive to fully-fledged globalization and for imposing neo-colonization in full force in the guise of nationalism. When the market assumes utmost priority, advances in technology and modernity will move in to haunt the rural backwaters of Sri Lanka, to be called development so that there will be no case to argue for justice or peace.

It may be best to throw out the notion of 'just peace'. As long as talk of peace is necessary, who else but NGOs are best equipped to conduct high profile seminars, conferences and workshops in five star hotels? Donors will ensure that the reports are printed in glossy paper for 'peace' to return to Sri Lanka on glossy paper, no matter what happens in reality.

Eventually, all the talk about peace is based on vested interests and no more. I will conclude by citing Edward Said again. "For those who challenge all this and call it utopian or unrealistic, my answer is a simple one: show me what else is available today as a way of thinking about and moving towards a Just Peace. Show me a scheme for peace that is not based on abridged memory, continued injustice, unmitigated conflict, apartheid". ●

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**Marxwadi-  
Leninwadi**

**Organ of Karnataka State  
Committee of CPI(ML)**

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Kannada Monthly  
No. - 21,  
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Hanumanathpuram  
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# A Big Debate Within the Greek Left

**AFTER** the revolt of December in Greece, a big debate develops within the Greek Left concerning the attitude of the communists in front of the bourgeois governments. This heated discussion is part of a greater debate about the tasks, the strategy and the tactics of the left and communist forces in Greece. The polemical character of the debate is owed to the fact that, during December 2008, the split within the Greek Left became more wide: One part (KOE, the Radical Left Coalition/SYRIZA and the extra-parliamentarian left groups) supported the Revolt. Another part (mostly the Communist Party of Greece/KKE, as well as the right-wingers of the former “euro-communist” current) condemned the movement and labeled it as “violent acts of masked rioters of suspicious origin and of reactionary character”. Thus, indirectly but objectively, aligned themselves with the bourgeois-governmental block of “law and order”. Since January 2009 the debate became very acute, as the KKE leadership attacked repeatedly KOE and SYRIZA with statements and publications in its Press, slandering us as “supporters of the social-democratic PASOK” because of our slogan “Down with this government of murderers!”

Despite the fact that this debate is unavoidably marked by the ongoing “civil war” within the Greek Left, we consider that it is of interest outside the boundaries of Greece as well. In reality, the issue is whether those claiming to be communists will use as an excuse the “ultimate goal” (the seizing of power by the working class) in order to limit their “action” in exercises of revolutionary verbalism - while at the same time they let the bourgeois governments undisturbed and present themselves as “responsible” force. We are of the opinion that the reasoning used by the leaders of KKE (“we do not fight for the fall of the right-wing government because if it falls it will be replaced by the equally bad social-democratic PASOK”) is in reality attempting to hide their alignment with the camp of “law and order”, their fear of a mass movement that they do not control, and their refusal to struggle for the building of a popular front that will victoriously oppose the bourgeoisie and political parties, the right-wing *Nea Dimokratia* and the social-democratic PASOK.

The leaders of KKE are feeling much safer as long as they remain self-isolated in their virtual world, receiving the congratulations and the grateful recognition by the government, the bourgeois media and even the extreme right-wing party LAOS for their “responsible attitude”. Today they spend all their energy in the “left civil war”, attacking viciously the Radical Left, sparing the government and even justifying the murderous attacks against the revolted youth. Their actual tactics comes in high contrast with their distant and recent past, for which they have not proceeded to the slightest self-criticism: (a) in the 70s and early’80s they were the staunchest allies of the “socialist” PASOK,

accusing the revolutionaries who struggled against social-democracy as “cover agents of the right-wing and of the secret services”; (b) in the late ‘80s they participated in the government formed by the right-wing party *Nea Dimokratia*, and immediately after in a “national unity government” together with both *Nea Dimokratia* and PASOK; (c) in the late ‘90s they were calling for the resignation of PASOK’s government – and this was correct, but then also the “realistic” alternative would be the other bourgeois party, the right-wing *Nea Dimokratia*.

The leaders of KKE pretend today that they do not understand the dynamics that could be created by a united and radical popular movement, able to overthrow a reactionary government. They pretend to ignore the very realistic scenario (if the Left would act as a combative front and thus gain even bigger popular support) of the bourgeoisie been obliged to form a “big coalition” government by both *Nea Dimokratia* and PASOK – and the possibilities that such a development would create for the communists and the popular movement.

Instead, they continue the revolutionary verbalism while at the same time they put their forces in the service of the government (as they did in December, when, among other.....heroic feats, they attempted to block the entrance of the universities in order to prevent the students to hold general assemblies and to continue the occupations.....) And the icing on the cake – just to confirm that sometimes even the formalities are very revealing: No organization of the Radical Left was invited in the opening ceremony of KKE’s 18<sup>th</sup> Congress. At the same time there were present and addressed the Congress two top-level delegations from the parties of *Nea Dimokratia* and of PASOK, as well as the (right-wing) president of the Greek Parliament. Apparently, the Radical Left deserves

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# Statement of the Communist Organization of Greece (KOE)

to be treated as main enemy, and not the bourgeois parties..... The presence of the top-level bourgeois delegations and the..... curfew on the Radical Left is indeed another marvelous result of the appeal to “wage war against the opinions supporting ‘the unity or the common action of the Left’, put forward by several intellectuals who, consciously or not, are selling the causes of the ‘progressive’ bourgeoisie and of opportunism” [KKE’s daily organ “*Razospastis*”, 18/1/2009].

As the global capitalist crisis develops and deepens, the big bourgeoisie attempts to “answer” it by transferring its burden on the already extremely exploited, barbarously oppressed and increasingly impoverished popular masses. However, the peoples of the world are developing and radicalizing their resistance, as shown by the mass protests in Italy or France, for example, and by the revolts that break out from Greece to the Baltic countries and from Iceland to the French colonies in the Caribbean.

Our people desperately need a Communist Left willing and able to orientate, lead and develop the new and increasingly radical revolts and resistances that are urgently necessary. Our people desperately need a Communist Left willing and able to organize victorious struggles, which will bring us more near to the overthrow of the imperialist-capitalist system. What they do not need, is a force that claims to be communist but does not believe in the possibility of popular victories, and instead prefers to patiently and “responsibly” wait for the Second Advent (which will bring socialism also in Greece, all the more without “riots” and “without breaking even one glass”, as Mrs Aleka Papatriga, Secretary General of KKE, recently declared in the Greek Parliament – only to be enthusiastically applauded by the government supporters). ●

[KOE, 24 Feb 2009]

**THE** KOE salutes the combative mass demonstrations that took place yesterday afternoon and today morning all over the country against the new measures adopted by the government of PASOK. These demonstrations must become the starting point of a great uprising of all the workers and of the whole people, obliging the government to pay dearly its effort to impose the barbaric measures imposed by Brussels. Today the Greek people, demonstrating in their dozens of thousands with such an impressive and militant way, send a clear message to the government: The new anti-people measures will go, or this government will go!

The Communist Organization of Greece condemns the coward attack of the special police forces against Manolis Glezos, the 87 years old Hero of our National Resistance against the Nazi Occupation, outside the entrance of the Parliament, which resulted to his injury and hospitalization in Intensive Care Unit. Seven decades after his legendary and symbolic blow against the Nazi Occupation, Manolis glezos is aggressed by the political servants of Brussels and Berlin!

The Communist Organization of Greece also condemns the unprecedented attack of the special police forces against the Parliamentary group of SYRIZA (Coalition of Radical Left while the MPs were coming out of the Parliament with their own banner in order to meet the demonstrators. The out of limits behavior of the police forces corresponds very well to the equally out of limits economic and social suffocation imposed on the country by the government of PASOK.

The Communist Organization of Greece denounces the provocation set up in common by the parliamentary speaker of PASOK Christos Papoutsis and by Adonis Georgiadis, MP of the extreme right-wing party LAOS, who targeted KOE and SYRIZA as responsible for the attack of demonstrators against Yiannis Panagopoulos (president of the General Confederation of Labor).

The orchestrated attack against KOE and SYRZA proves that the extreme right-wing LAOs supports the government of PASOK both in the Parliament and in provocations.

It is very well known to all that KOE has a radically different political line than the one followed by the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor – especially today that the workers become the subjects of the wildest attack ever perpetrated by the ruling classes and their governments. But it is also equally very well known that KOE puts in practice this political line as the Left always did: massively and politically, in the working places and in society.

It is shameful that, the very day that PASOK and LAOS bury in the parliament the conquests of a whole century, the same parties, these shameless representatives and puppets of Brussels, hasten to cover their huge responsibilities with such cheap tricks and provocations against KOE.

The Communist Organization of Greece calls to even bigger and more combative mobilizations. Today we gave a battle, but the struggle continues. Every one to the streets, until the government’s measures will be cancelled and until the EU Stability Pact will be abolished! ●

[Athens, 5 March 2010 Communist Organization of Greece (KOE)]

# ***Where do we differ from the Maoists?***

## **On Our Approach to the Marxist-Leninist Movement**

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**K.N. Ramachandran**

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**THE** *Communist Manifesto* put forward by Marx and Engels as the programme of the *Communist League* in 1848 and which is upheld by the Marxist-Leninists all over the world as the basic document of the international communist movement concludes with these words: “*The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working Men of All Countries, Unite!*”

So there is no ambiguity, or there should not be any ambiguity about the aims and objectives of the Communist Party. It is for forcible overthrowing of all existing social conditions to achieve a communistic revolution. When the capitalist system transformed in to its highest stage, imperialism, and it itself is in its highest speculative phase abandoning whatever progressive values it had achieved during its anti-feudal struggles, when the capitalist-imperialist system has become more barbarous and reactionary than ever, and when the comprador regimes in the countries under neo-colonization have become more anti-people, and autocratic unleashing state terror against the toilers and oppressed than ever, the question of forcible overthrowing of all existing social conditions and the reactionary state which perpetuate them leading to the seizure of political power by the proletariat and all oppressed classes and sections have become more important than ever.

When the CPI and later CPI(M) deviated from basic orientation of revolutionary Marxism, degenerating to the line of class compromise and parliamentary cretinism, the greatness of Naxalbari uprising and the formation of CPI(ML) was that they brought the cardinal principles of revolutionary Marxism back to the agenda of the Communist movement in India. In spite of the left adventurist line which came to dominance soon disintegrating it, nobody can obfuscate this contribution of the Naxalbari movement. From that time onwards, during the last four difficult decades of evaluation and reorganization, what differentiated all those who continued as Communist Revolutionaries from the CPI-CPI (M) and all such alien forces was their adherence to the basic line of overthrow of the existing state and capture of political power for advancing towards people’s democracy and socialism. So it is not on the question of using revolutionary violence against the ever-intensifying state terror of the ruling system or on the question of forcible overthrow of existing social conditions and capture of political power CPI(ML) differs from the CPI(Maoist). We differ from the Maoists basically on the evaluation of the experience of the International and Indian Communist movement, on the analysis of present international and national situation and on the line and practice of Indian revolution. As the state, as seen in the statements of Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram is trying to depict the Maoists as the Naxalites and even as the Communists and erase all lines of demarcation between revolutionary Marxism and the anarchist, sectarian line of Maoists this theoretical intervention based on the documents of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML) has paramount importance in the polemics today.

### **1. On the question of Maoism**

The ICM has upheld Mao Tsetung as a great Marxist-Leninist, next only to Stalin, from 1940s, for his contributions in applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China and leading the democratic revolution to victory there. In the course of this Mao has developed the understanding about the theory of *Contradiction* and later put forward the theoretical and practical understanding about the *Cultural Revolution* as the line of continuing class struggle in countries where the proletariat has seized power. It was only when, following the 1963 *Great Debate* and the separation with the revisionist line of the CPSU leadership, the Marxist-Leninist parties were formed and the Cultural Revolution had it sway, the formulation of Mao Tsetung Thought was adopted by these newly emerging parties at international level. Neither Mao nor the CPC nor the ML parties had elevated Mao’s Thought to the level of Marxism-Leninism. It only reflected the contribution of Mao in pre and post-revolutionary China in applying the Marxist-Leninist principles according to the concrete conditions in the course of which he developed the understanding about concepts like *Contradiction* and later Cultural Revolution.

It was during the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPC in 1969 during which the left adventurist Lin Biaoist line had come to dominance that the concept of the *new era*, “the era of total collapse of imperialism and worldwide victory of proletarian revolution” different from the concept of the Leninist era of imperialism and proletarian revolution

was put forward, and Mao Tsetung Thought was elevated to the status of 'Marxism-Leninism of the new era'. It was under this left adventurist line the theoretical debate started through *Great Debate* about the *General Line of the ICM* and neo-colonialism was blunted, the 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal' characterization of the 'decolonized' countries who came under neo-colonization was put forward, protracted people's war including concepts like armed struggle as the only form of struggle, area-wise seizure of political power etc. was advanced and the 'Chinese path' was projected mechanically as the universal path of revolution in all countries. These formulations rejected in the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of CPC and proved harmful to the ICM as well as to the revolutionary movement in India were later projected as 'Maoism' by the *Shining Path* group of Peru along with *Gonzalos thought* and adopted by those sectarian sections across the world who persisted with the left deviation of the CPC during its 9<sup>th</sup> Congress. Though there are some Marxist-Leninist parties or groups who use Maoism and Mao Thought synonymously meaning Mao's thought and the UCPN(Maoist) which use the formulation has abandoned whatever it means, the CPI (Maoist) persist in this concept. As a result it has deviated from the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, from the *Great Debate* and from the concrete analysis of the post-1947 Indian conditions. Maoism as analyzed and practiced by the CPI(Maoist) means a mechanical copying of the *Chinese Path* contrary to the concrete conditions of India, leading its to anarchist path.

## 2. On Analysis of international situation

CPI(ML) Through almost two and half decades of ideological struggle as analyzed in its 2009 documents has put forward the stand that it was the failure of the ICM to analyze the changes brought about by the imperialist camp led by US

imperialism in the post-World War II years in its forms of plunder from colonialism to neo-colonialism which led to the right deviation in Soviet Union and left deviation in CPC causing severe setbacks to the ICM. Though the CPI(Maoist) recognizes the emergence of neo-colonialism as a more sinister and pernicious form of colonialism in p-13 of its document on *Strategy* it has not made any analysis of the changes it brought in imperialist plunder and the damages it caused to the ICM. Coming to analysis of Indian state (p-14) it insists that India is not a neo-colony but a 'semi-colony under neo-colonial form of indirect rule'. Lenin has explained what is a semi-colony in *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and Mao has explained it in the context of China. The stand of CPI(Maoist) is self contradictory, goes against the analyses of Lenin and Mao and do not help to explain the concrete conditions in India like countries.

Again going against the formulations of *Comintern* and *Great Debate* the *Strategy* document of CPI(Maoist) has obliterated the contradiction between socialist camp and the imperialist camp from among the fundamental contradictions at international level stating that it went out of existence with the degeneration of erstwhile socialist countries. According to it, this contradiction will re-appear only when a socialist country emerge in future! It is nothing but a mechanical interpretation. It is the result of its clinging to the understanding put forward by the *Theory of Three Worlds* put forward by the Dengists in 1970s based on their line of class compromise. The CPI(ML) upholds the Marxist-Leninist stand that irrespective of whether one or more socialist country exist or not the fundamental contradiction between imperialism and socialism reflecting the present era which is that of imperialism and proletarian revolution shall continue to exist providing the basic orientation to the ICM.

As a result of these basic weaknesses, the analysis of the present imperialist crisis and other developments put forward by the CPI(Maoist) goes against its own formulations in the *Strategy* document.

## 3. On CPI (Maoist) Analysis of India as Semi-Feudal

Its *Strategy* document (p-16 to 21) explains that 'comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism as social props of imperialism' for its neo-colonial control and exploitation. And according to it 'feudalism versus the broad masses of the people is the principal contradiction at present.' These formulations show that it rejects the changes in the feudal relations brought by British colonialists through *Zamindari* and *Ryotwari* systems and by the comprador state in the post-1947 period under imperialist prompting. While the Telengana movement was suppressed, through the land ceilings and other reforms old agrarian relations were changed from above creating agricultural bourgeois-rich landlord classes to facilitate *green revolution* and other imperialist, corporate penetrations to agricultural sector which have reached unprecedented levels under neo-liberal policies. Any study shall show that profound changes have taken place in the agrarian sector under imperialist dictates to help the neo-colonization through penetration of capital, market system and technology As a result of this only remnants of old feudal and semi-feudal or pre-capitalist relations exist.

It does not mean that India has turned in to a capitalist country and the stage of revolution has changed to socialist revolution, as some petty-bourgeois degenerates from the Marxist camp advocates. These changes are imposed from above under imperialist domination to facilitate neo-colonization bringing about vast changes in the rural sector. But CPI(Maoist) refuse to see them. As a result they are going deeper and deeper in to the jungles in search of feudalism which is the principal enemy. It is a very clear cut example of how it mechanically copy the *Chinese path* causing immense harm to the revolutionary movement.

On the contrary, CPI (ML) analyzing these changes concretely has explained that the feudal, semi-feudal relations have changed to domination of agricultural bourgeoisie and rich landlords with vast majority of the rural people reduced to marginal peasants and agricultural workers who are forced to migrate for a livelihood. Characterization of feudalism versus people as the principal contradiction by CPI (Maoist) shows that they are living not in India but in 19<sup>th</sup> century China. Against this totally erroneous approach, the CPI(ML) has analyzed that the Indian state is led by comprador bureaucratic bourgeois – big landlord classes and the Principal contradiction of the people is against the alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlordism.

#### 4. On path of Indian revolution

Chapter 6 of the *Strategy* document starts with this quotation of Mao: “The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. But while the principle remains the same (for all countries), its application by the party of the proletariat finds expression in various ways according to the varying conditions”.

How is CPI(Maoist) putting in to practice this excellent teaching of Mao? He has repeatedly asked all delegations calling on him not to copy what happened in China. He always asked them to develop their own path of revolution according to their concrete conditions. But contrary to facts, after upholding that *protracted people's war* as practiced in China is the path of Indian revolution, the *Strategy* states: “the history of the revolutions in colonial, semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have shown that this path is applicable to all such countries”. Of course many elements in the course of hitherto revolutions may get reflected in the revolutionary movements of other countries. But beyond that can CPI(Maoist) site a single country which has applied the *Chinese path* as it does and has completed the seizure of political power anywhere in the world? It cannot. Neither North Korea, Vietnam, Kampuchea or Cuba followed it nor the national liberation movements in the African continent. And wherever the *Chinese path* was copied as in India and in many other countries in 1960s and 1970s they faced severe setbacks. Same is the fate of the new crop of Maoist parties in Peru, Philippines and elsewhere. In Nepal after a certain period the UCPN(Maoist), though calling itself Maoist still, changed track. In AP what happened to the PWG group is common knowledge.

In China the revolution took place in an entirely different situation. The democratic revolution led by Sun Yat Sen had overthrown the Ming dynasty and took over power. Kuomintang led by Sun Yat Sen was the first government to recognize Soviet Union and allowed the CPC, when it was formed, to work in Kuomintang including in its army. So after Sun Yat Sen's death when Chiang Kaishek took over and launched murderous attacks on CPC in 1927, with the communist cadres a section of Kuomintang army also joined as they withdrew to Chinglang mountainous area. From then onwards the struggle between CPC and Kuomintang was a conflict of two armies in a country where the warlords had their own control in provinces and there was no centralized power. Mao's military writings explains how the military war was waged. Even then the CPC did not forget to organize powerful trade union, peasant, cultural and democratic movements to mobilize the masses.

The CPI(Maoist) in its *Strategy*, after declaring that the Path of Russian revolution is not applicable in India (p-37) states that “the path followed by the Chinese party is applicable in India” (p-38). In spite of all its justifications, it is clear that it is not making the shoes for the size of the legs, but trying to cut the legs to suit the shoes. First misinterpret present Indian situation as a prototype of the China of 1920s and 1930s and then mechanically apply Chinese path!

India is a neo-colonial country dominated by all imperialist powers, especially US imperialism, through capital, technology and market, where capitalist relations have developed even in agrarian sector under the comprador government. It is a country with almost 200 million workers and about 500-600 million devastated landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers, a country with considerable urbanization, infrastructural development, a powerful bureaucracy, advanced oppressive forces of the state and a very centralized governmental system. Thus the concrete conditions of India vastly differ from that of the China of 1920s or 1930s. The international situation itself has changed vastly with the ICM facing severe setbacks. In this situation whatever initial success the Maoist sections may get, it is impossible for a mechanical application of the *Chinese path* like the mechanical application of the *Russian path* to succeed. What is required is an *Indian path of revolution* according to concrete conditions here.

It is in this context the *Path of Revolution* document of CPI(ML) states: “18.8 The path of Indian revolution calls for rejecting all shades of parliamentarism and reformism and pursuing the path of revolutionary seizure of political power. It means combining the countrywide struggles of working class with the revolutionary agrarian struggles combining all other forms of struggles with it. It also demands class analysis in general and class analysis in each concrete situation, in different regions, and developing the tactics of united front in all phases of struggle according to the demands of concrete situation.

“18.9 India is a very vast country of 1.2 billion people with extreme diversities and unevenness, a country under neo-colonization where neo-colonial plunder is taking ever-intensifying forms under the neo-liberal policies, where the principal contradiction is between imperialism,

comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlordism on the one hand and vast masses of the people on the other. The tasks of revolution is to overthrow the rule of comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-landlord classes serving imperialism, completing the People's Democratic or New Democratic Revolution, and advancing towards socialist revolution. It involves the tasks of mobilizing the people, and launching and developing the countrywide class struggle in all spheres leading to mass upsurges, mass insurrections including armed uprisings interspersed with guerrilla forms of struggles wherever necessary leading to the capture of political power.

“18.10 Mobilizing the people for revolution includes building up of the Party, mobilizing and politicizing working class as the leader of revolution; organizing the landless, poor peasants and agricultural workers; organizing the women; organizing the youth and students; and developing a vigorous cultural movement as already explained above. While mobilizing all these sections of people for their immediate demands, they should be mobilized on political, national and international issues also. While launching struggles for immediate and economic demands, political campaigns should be organized to educate the masses for social change. Utilizing the present possibilities all out massive campaigns propagating revolutionary programme should be launched. Agrarian revolution according to present conditions should be brought to the forefront once again. The Party and class/mass organizations should develop skill to float all forms of organizations and to utilize all forms of struggle to propagate and practice the revolutionary alternative against the various ruling class alternatives floated by the ruling classes and parties representing them to hoodwink the masses.” This path shows our basic difference with that of the Maoists.

## 5. On Approach to Utilization of Parliamentary Struggles

The *Strategy* starts by stating: “participation or boycott of election are forms of struggle and related to tactics” (p-46). Then it goes on to say: “participation in election will only sabotage the revolutionary movement.” “Participation in election neither helps in developing revolutionary class struggle nor in enhancing democratic consciousness among the people” (p-47). Then it says: “the participation will only drive them into legalism”. According to it “the parliamentary institutions and system in India are discredited”. So it concludes that “boycott of election, though a question of tactics, acquire the significance of strategy in the concrete conditions in India” (p-48). But in the considerably long *Strategy* and *Tactics* documents (140 pages) it has not evaluated anywhere its experience of boycott of elections during the last four decades. On the contrary, there are reliable reports that in all elections wherever it claims mass influence, instead of strategically boycotting them, it has helped one ruling class party or other directly or indirectly. In the name of boycott the CPI(Maoist) is pursuing an absolutely opportunist line which is corrupting its cadres.

As Lenin pointed out, though the bourgeois parliamentary elections have become historically obsolete, they have not yet become either politically obsolete or discredited among people. Even while the parliamentary system is becoming more and more corrupt and anti-people, through various tactics the ruling system along with the mainstream parties have greatly succeeded to maintain the ‘attraction’ of people to it. Nowhere the Maoists have succeeded to make the people conscious and to educate them to boycott the elections so far. The document says that participation in election will drive the people to legalism. Strange! Are they not already influenced by legalism to a great extent due to various factors? Election is only one aspect of it. By boycotting it how can they be saved from legalism? In that case in the post-revolutionary situation when communists contest elections, how much democratic they may be, and run the proletarian state, the possibility of ‘legalism’ influencing and a repeat of erstwhile socialist countries is very much possible. Running away from elections is not the answer to it. Learning to use elections in a revolutionary manner to develop class struggle and to educate the people about the anti-people role of bourgeois parliamentary system by developing the concept of proletarian democracy and advancing it as the alternative is the way to save them from legalism and to help them to advance along revolutionary path. The Maoists are not only running away from the challenge of utilizing parliamentary elections as a tactics to develop class struggle, but also indulging themselves in corrupt practices by supporting this or that ruling class party, directly or indirectly. The more sectarian they become, more the possibility of getting influenced by corrupt practices.

## 6. On Building a Bolshevik Style Party and Class/Mass Organization

Not only in developing Marxism to a new height, in educating the ICM on building Party and class/mass organizations also Lenin's contributions are enormous. It is the Leninist style of Party building which enabled many of the communist parties which developed under Comintern guidance to make great strides. Along with the adventurist line, it was the abandoning of the building of Party and class/mass organizations on Bolshevik lines which weakened the efforts of CPI(ML) to vanquish CPI and CPI(M) not only ideologically and politically but also organizationally. As a result, in spite of total degeneration to ruling class positions, they survived organizationally. CPI(ML) is in the middle of a serious effort to overcome this serious weakness by publishing the Comintern documents on organization and educating the cadres on it.

But in the name of secret party the Bolshevik style Party building is abandoned. Hardly there are differences between Party and the squads. Both become synonymous. The class/mass organizations are reduced to mere banners. As a result, bureaucratic tendencies develop very fast along with individualism. In the absence of any efforts to mobilize the masses and build democratic class/mass organizations the organic relations with the masses of people are lost. Instead of following “from the masses, to the masses”, as Mao taught, the CPI(Maoist) is imposing its petty-bourgeois notions developed not based on a concrete analysis of Indian situation, but from a pre-supposition that present India is like pre-revolutionary China. Even after the serious setbacks suffered by the ICM, CPI(Maoist) refuses to learn anything from them. It thinks of only militarist solutions to all complex and vexed problems before the people and the party as these two documents *Strategy* and *Tactics* expose.

## 7. On Learning from Setbacks to ICM and Indian Communist Movement

CPI(ML) is of the firm view that without a scientific evaluation of the severe setbacks suffered by the ICM and the communist movement in India, and without trying to develop the Marxist-Leninist teachings and Mao's thought according to concrete conditions of today and applying them in Indian conditions the revolutionary movement cannot advance. It is with this understanding an evaluation of the post-World War II developments, especially the efforts of the US imperialists who came to the leadership of the imperialist camp during the War to transform colonial forms of plunder to neo-colonial forms, and the failure of the socialist countries to analyze this danger and take appropriate steps to combat it leading to many weaknesses paving the way for capitalist degeneration in later years is undertaken. Similarly, a critical evaluation of the failure of the Soviet leadership and later the leadership of the CPC to reorganize the Communist International which was dissolved in 1943 is undertaken, which is helping to take initiative along with other Marxist-Leninist parties to take up re-organization of the Communist International, first by building their co-ordination. Along with these, the importance of the question of developing proletarian democracy against bourgeois democracy in the context of the problems that had come up in the socialist countries is also taken up for serious discussion. In this context the lessons of the Cultural Revolution in China and the setbacks suffered by it later and the cardinal question of continuing the class struggle in the countries where proletariat succeeds to capture political power also call for serious studies. In the *Path of Revolution* document put forward by the CPI(ML) in Bhopal Conference a serious effort is made to link the study and development of the understanding about these problems with the concrete steps of developing class struggle to capture the political power.

But if one go through the documents of CPI(Maoist) which are available in their website including the *Programme*, *Strategy* and *Tactics*, it can be seen that they are impervious to these problems or none or very little attention is paid to these problems. Even on the question of approach towards NGOs a very pragmatic approach is taken, in effect joining hands with them which is absolutely detrimental to the socialist cause. Abandoning the Marxist-Leninist path and Mao's Thought, it is taking a mechanical, purely militaristic and pragmatic approach to all basic problems confronting the ICM and Indian Communist movement. This approach is reflected in each and every issue they are taking up like the present Telengana question and the relation it develops with ULFA, LTTE like forces. As reflected in its basic documents, the basic orientation is anarchist in practice, a divorce from Marxist-Leninist teachings on the approach towards developing revolutionary theory.

## 8. Conclusion

In order to destroy the revolutionary movement the imperialists and their lackeys including the ruling classes in India and their ruling system have a clear cut agenda. On the one hand, they and the corporate media consistently depict CPI (M)-Led Left Front and similar forces who have abandoned the path of revolutionary Marxism, who in practice pursue the neo-liberal policies and who join the ruling system in its witch hunt against revolutionary forces as the ‘communists’, using them as a cover to attack the basic tenets of Marxist teachings on *State and Revolution*, and socialism. When the CPI (M)-led governments energetically implement neo-liberal policies, when in Tripura it helps the military to suppress people's demand for self-governance utilizing AFSPA and when in Bengal it joins the central forces and Budhaddeb shares the platform with Chidambaram to hunt down the adivasis in Jangal mahal area depicting them as Maoists, each and everything of these helps the comprador rulers to discredit revolutionary Marxism and to suppress people's resistance movements led by the revolutionary forces. So, it is the task of the Marxist-Leninists to intensity uncompromising struggle against this right opportunist trend led by the CPI(M)-led forces which has in effect become part of the ruling system.

On the other hand, the Maoists through their analysis of India as ‘semi-colonial and semi-feudal’, through their path of ‘protracted people's war’ which is nothing but mechanical copying of the Chinese path in vastly different Indian conditions and their ideological-political positions which are very often going very close to reformist ones, are practicing an anarchist line indulging in a militarist line. Their party and squads are one and the same and they do not build up any democratic class/mass organizations mobilizing

the vast masses. Even while talking about proletarian revolution they have no approach towards building a revolutionary working class movement. Their isolated, militarist actions are becoming quite handy for the ruling system to impose more black laws and to savagely attack the people's movements against the neo-liberal policies. More than that, the words Maoists and Naxalites are utilized synonymously to depict all those who uphold the Naxalbari uprising as Maoists and to attack them. Further, as Maoists quote many of the Marxist-Leninist formulations, they are also depicted as Maoist dictums, they are also vulgarized and attacked. In this way, along with the intensification of state terror, a savage and fierce attack is launched on Marxist-Leninist forces by the state utilizing Maoists as a bogey. So a consistent and uncompromising ideological political struggle has to be waged against the theory and practice of the CPI(Maoist) and all those B-teams of it who upholds the same path of revolution, though they do not put it in to practice.

Uncompromisingly fighting against these two deviation, on the basis of an in-depth analysis of the experience of the ICM and Indian communist movement including the ups and downs and the serious setbacks suffered by them, and on the basis of concrete analysis of post-World War II international situation and post-1947 Indian situation the CPI(ML) has tried to develop the Marxist-Leninist understanding according to present conditions and has put forward the theory and practice of Indian revolution through the four basic documents adopted by its 2009 Special Conference. As a result, it is consistently advancing in building the Party at all India level and in building the revolutionary class/mass organizations at all India level. In a number of states it is in the forefront of the people's resistance movements against the neo-liberal policies which are intensifying the

neo-colonization where the ruling classes, comprador in character, through the development of their economic base are working as junior partners of the imperialists, especially US imperialists. It calls for capture of political power under the leadership of the working class utilizing all forms of struggle overthrowing the rule of comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-big landlord classes serving imperialism. For this, it has put forward a *Path of Revolution*, which, while taking lessons from all hitherto revolutions, shall develop an Indian path mobilizing the masses, educating them and launching mass movements, mass upsurges and mass insurrections.

It is to obfuscate this intense ideological-political struggle within the communist movement the ruling classes and corporate media are working hard to project the right opportunist trend on the one hand as communist and the anarchist Maoist trend as the Naxalite. As Lenin said both these deviations ultimately serve the cause of the ruling classes. A number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals are knowingly or unknowingly playing in the hands of the ruling system by advocating one or the other of these deviations. The NGOs like forces also have succeeded in penetrating among them to speed up their decay in the service of the ruling system. It is more or less the condition in a number of countries around the world. The CPI(ML) has resolved to unite all revolutionary Marxist forces, intensify Party and class/mass organization building and to advance the class struggle in all fields fighting uncompromisingly against these two deviations by putting forward its ideological-political line and revolutionary practice. ●

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## Severely Condemn Killing of Dalits in Haryana

**ONCE** again Haryana state witnessed another arson and dalit killing in Mirchpur village of Hissar district on 21st April. The upper caste landlords set afire several huts belonging to dalits in which 18 year old physically disabled Suman and her 70 year old father Tarachand were burnt alive. During the last decade numerous such instances of arson, loot and killings besides rape of dalit women have taken place in which the police charge cases half-heartedly and the upper caste landlord culprits and their musclemen go scot free even if court cases take place. The Congress government in the state, like the previous BJP led coalition government, refuse to act while the state machinery, the police and judiciary invariably help the upper caste landlords to commit these atrocities and escape. In the case of notorious 'honour killing' by 'khap panchayat' also same thing happens. It was in Haryana again the Honda workers in Gurgaon participating in a struggle against management were brutally beaten up inflicting severe injuries to many. Thus under Congress regime Haryana is turned in to a state where the rich, whether they are Jat landlords or MNCs or corporates, can lord over with immunity while the dalits, the down trodden, the toilers are burnt alive, murdered, raped, beaten up to still their voice. In this context, once again all the progressive, democratic and dalit forces got mobilised at Hissar and Chandigarh and at Delhi severely condemning the killing.

On 26th April the Bahujan Vam Manch, All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha and a number of other organisations took out a parliament march demanding immediate action by Haryana government against the culprits. As the march was stopped by the police the speakers addressing the march called for intensifying the struggle to change the rotten ruling system to put an end to such atrocities. ●

# **BUILD TUCI AS AN ALTERNATIVE ON THIS MAY DAY!**

## **[Call of the Central Committee of TUCI]**

**THIS MAYDAY** approaches when we are all still in a phase where imperialism is in a crisis. There is much being said about how the Indian economy has rebounded from the world crisis and how it is reviving much faster than the advanced imperialist countries. This is not a reality. Statistically, the business that is coming towards neo-colonial countries like India is growing at this time due to the super-exploitation of labour that is allowed in such countries. However, these very same countries are also attracting the highest degree of speculative capital for the very same reasons. This has resulted in massive inflation and great impoverisation in these countries.

For attracting capital, the ruling classes are resorting to curtailing the existing rights of the workers. The Courts, including the Supreme Court, which are today spearheading the attack on the workers, are openly stating that the existing laws have to be interpreted keeping the imperatives of globalisation in view. Thus the basic tenets of our Constitution, promising mere bourgeois democratic rights like the right to protest, right to organise and the commitment towards helping the weaker sections of society are being expelled at the altar of profit in the name of globalisation.

Even the legislature, be it the Central legislature or that of any state – be it of the UPA, NDA, the “Left” front or any of the self-proclaimed “social justice” parties have not enacted any laws to protect the workers from being made into sacrificial lambs for globalisation. There has been no new law for the benefit of workers as a whole, particularly for the benefit of permanent workers, since 1972. The only new laws in recent times, the Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996 and the Unorganised Workers Social Security Act, 2008 are being implemented only in token form. The trend has changed even from the bourgeois democratic notion of providing minimum job protection to workers and providing newer and better rights to permanent workers – from discouraging casual and contract nature of work – to openly advocating such human-trafficking as the pernicious contract labour and casual labour systems. The Government is openly declaring that they will not “harass” industry by inspecting whether labour laws are being implemented.

The attacks on workers are not only in the form of attacks on wages. Massive slum demolitions are taking place all over the country in the name of “modernisation” as a part of globalisation. There is an internal land-grab in all cities and builders are making massive profits while further impoverishing the working classes. The JNNURM is a scheme made with this very objective, as also are the so-called schemes touting “public-private” partnership.

In the same vein, in the rural areas, the lands of the peasantry and the adivasis all over the country are also being taken over by force, all over the country. The shameful way in which the adivasi villages at Kalinganagar in Odisha were put to the torch this very month is a clear example of this. TUCI takes a clear stand against these land-grabs in both, urban and rural areas and calls upon all the workers to join the fight of the peasantry and adivasis. We declare our support for the newly formed All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha and which has recently led a dharna of adivasis in Delhi on this issue.

At the same time, in the name of fighting the “Maoist” bogey, the Central and State Governments are imposing draconian measures like the recent Operation Green Hunt. While TUCI is not in agreement with the actions being undertaken by the Maoists, it condemns strongly the fascist measures of the Governments like *Operation Green Hunt*, the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act and the Public Security Act of Chhattisgarh.

Communal forces across the country are being encouraged and given free rein. This has a very deleterious effect on the trade union movement, causing a fall in the level of unity of the movement. Besides communal and casteist forces, NGOs have also entered the trade union movement. In the name of “independent” trade union work, such unions divert the movement from the required focus, and dilute the fight of the working class from a political struggle to a mere struggle for tid-bits.

The workers all over the country are also putting up a massive struggle. Right from the struggles of the workers of Gurgaon (including the recent struggles of workers in Rico) to the struggles in Bangalore and in other parts of the country, the workers are willing to put up a fight. What is lacking is the necessary leadership and direction.

Broadly, the direction cannot be in terms of a return to bourgeois democratic rights. Trade union centres like the AITUC and CITU are wallowing in such misplaced hope. History cannot take a step back. The only way is forward. We have to show the workers clearly that the only

choice is between socialism and fascism – between even more corruption, more authoritarianism, more dictatorial attitudes, more power to capital and imperialism, or, all power to the workers, a new concept of development where the development is not of the Tatas and Ambanis but of the people, a more egalitarian and truly democratic society, where property is for the service of society and not the other way round.

Today TUCI has to take the cause of politicising the struggle of the working class. This means that the workers must be mobilised to fight against the price rise, against communalism and casteism, against land grab and for democratic rights, against the contract labour system as a whole, against closures and for a total system of social security, where the working person and his family is looked after in sickness and old age and any other disability or accident, where the working person has a guarantee, not only of food, clothing and shelter but also of recreation, education, information, etc. Many of the existing leaders, extolling the virtues of schemes like the Rashtriya Bima Swasthya Yojana are seeking to turn the trade unions into insurance agents and commission agents. Whereas we do not want to deny the workers the benefits, meagre as they may be, of such schemes, TUCI will also work to exposing the sinister purposes behind such schemes which include removing the burden of social security from the capitalist class and placing it squarely on the Government's revenue, which means, ultimately, placing it on the common people.

We have to fight to organise the working class, mainly the unorganised sectors, which account for 94% of all workers and 97% among women workers. At the same time we have to fight to defend the rights of the workers of the organised sector, as otherwise, we will soon reach a situation where there are no permanent

workers left at all. We have to, thus, also unite the workers who have security of tenure and we have to fight to enforce the concept of security of tenure against the attempts of the ruling class to introduce "hire and fire". We must attempt to bring the permanent workers into the struggle for getting security of tenure for the casual and contract workers. It is only in this fashion that the precious right of the workers to security of tenure, won over decades of struggle, can be defended.

We have to unite with other unions and organisations which have views and actions similar to ours. We must build a broad front of such unions to provide a viable platform from which to lead the working class in its brave attempts to struggle. For this we must also seek to unite, at various levels, with unions at the international level, seeking to build a broad international front of workers, with a common understanding, willing to put up a genuine and uncompromising struggle against globalisation and imperialism.

These then are the tasks that inform our work for the coming year. Comrades, let us once again renew our commitment to the struggle and enter the fray once again with energy and vigour. ●

**Workers of the world unite!**

**Down with globalisation and imperialism!**

**Down with communal fascism!**

**Socialism is the only alternative!**

**Fight against land grab – fight for democratic rights!**

**Implement all labour laws immediately!**

**Down with price rise – storm the godowns!**

**Security of tenure is not only a requirement – it is our right!**

**Permanent, casual and contract workers – fight together  
for security of tenure – down with "hire and fire"!**

**Social security for all – funded by the capitalists!**

## ***No to Reformism, No To Anarchism, March to Revolution***

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

**Contents:**

**International Situation and Our Tasks**

**Character of Indian State**

**The Principal Contradiction**

**Path of Indian Revolution**

**Contribution : Rs. 25**

**Umakant**

**R-8, Pratap Market**

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**New Delhi - 110014**

# Make First All India Conference of AIRSO a Great Success

## 31 May and 1 June 2010, Mumbai

**EVERY** ruling system props up an educational system that suits its ideological class interests. The comprador Indian state is no exception. The elite-oriented education of Macaulay evolved during the colonial days continued unabated even after the transfer. The neo-colonial Indian state hood-winked the masses by incorporating into the Constitution the provision that universal primary education would be achieved by 1961. Not only was this target not met but India remained the country having the largest number of illiterates in the world. Today, the number of children below 14 out of schools is estimated to be 10 crores. Even the reformist suggestion of the Kothari Commission to set apart a minimum 6 percent of the GDP for education was ignored and the actual educational expenditure of both the Centre and State Governments combined together is still about half this amount. The per capita expenditure on education in India is much less than that of the poorest countries on sub-Saharan Africa.

Since the 1990s, under imperialist globalization, consequent on the withdrawal of the state from social expenditures, public spending on education, in general, has steadily gone down such that common education for the broad mass of people has become a casualty. While on the one hand, common education is increasingly informalised under the World Bank dictated DPEP, SSA, etc, the elite stream of education is largely monopolised by speculative corporate capital, both domestic and foreign under the liberalisation-privatisation-globalisation regime.

Both the Central and State Governments are abdicating their educational responsibilities and the sham slogan of "Education for All" is used as a smokescreen to shift the entire burden of common education to the shoulders of people themselves by entrusting it to fund-starved local bodies, self-help groups and NGOs. Thus, while the entire edifice of common education is destroyed, right from LKG to professional higher education, the elite stream is steadily privatised and commercialised. Under the liberalised atmosphere, various MNCs and foreign universities are rushing to the Indian educational market for reaping huge profits. The new constitutional Amendment making education as a fundamental right will remain only on paper as no resources have been earmarked for its implementation.

The demands on the part of the progressive forces for a mother-tongue oriented, secular, democratic and scientific common education to all are increasingly becoming a mirage under neo-liberalism. Only a concerted and resolute intervention on the part of a revolutionary student organisation in alliance with all progressive and democratic forces can reverse this negative trend in favour of a people-oriented education. The All India Revolutionary Students' Organisation is committed to this task. The All India Convention of AIRSO being held in Mumbai on 31<sup>st</sup> May and 1<sup>st</sup> June, 2010 will draw out plans for country-wide agitations with the aim of achieving a democratic and scientific education in the country. We request the whole-hearted solidarity and support of all democratic and progressive people for the Convention. ●

**Stop Privatisation and Commercialisation of Education!**

**Fight for Free, Equal and Scientific Education!**

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**All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha's Cultural Troupe Comrades from Karnataka Presenting Revolutionary Songs at Mass Dharna On 21-22 April at Delhi**



**Comrade Padmakka, Convenor, AIRWO, AP State Organising Committee Addressing the Meeting at Sangareddy on March 8 on the Occasion of International Women's Day**