



RED STAR

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Central Organ of CPI(ML)

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**Stop Price-Rise,
Or Face People's Fury**

Parliament March on 24th February Against Right to Education Act

THE MEETING of All India Forum For Right to Education held at Delhi on 10th December has decided to organise a parliament march on 24th February 2010 to press for the demands put forward by the Forum (Hyderabad Declaration of forum along with demands is published in this issue of *Red Star*). Representatives of various organisations from different part of country participated in

10th December meeting. Representing CPI(ML) com. Umakant and AIRSO com. Manoj participated and declared full support to the parliament march. AIRSO shall mobilise for the march. The meeting appealed to all student and teachers organisations and progressive forces to join the rally and to make the campaign against privatisation and commercialisation of education a major success. ●

Hyderabad Declaration of All India Forum For Right to Education

THE NATIONAL SEMINAR on 'Right to Education and Common School System' held at Osmania University Campus, Hyderabad on 21st and 22nd June 2009 resolved to reject the 'The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Bill, 2008' tabled in Rajya Sabha in December 2008. **The National Seminar demands that the Central Government withdraw the pending so-called 'Right To Education Bill, 2008' forthwith and replace it with a Bill drafted in the framework of Common School System based on Neighborhood Schools.** It is our considered view that this is the only framework which would ensure education of equitable quality to all children in consonance with the principles of equality before law (Article 14), guarantee against discrimination by the State (Article 15-1) and equal opportunity in public employment (Article 16) as enshrined in the Constitution.

The National Seminar asserts that the Bill, instead of giving a Fundamental Right to the children, deprives them of the Fundamental Right already declared by the Supreme Court through the Unnikrishnan Judgment (1993). Indeed, this Bill amounts to being not only anti-Constitution, anti-education and anti-child but also promoter of unabashed privatization and commercialization of school education.

The Supreme Court through its historic Unnikrishnan Judgment (1993), declared 'free and compulsory education' a Fundamental Right of all children until they complete the age of fourteen years (including the children below six years age) by reading Article 45 of Part IV of the Constitution in conjunction with Article 21 (Right to Life) of Part III. From then onwards, all governments at the Centre – viz. Congress, United Front, NDA and UPA respectively – have been engaged in taking retrogressive measures to dilute and distort the impact of the Supreme Court Judgment. It was

with this intention that the NDA government in December 2002 managed to introduce Article 21A in Part III of the Constitution through the enactment of the 86th Constitutional Amendment Act. This resulted in (a) 17 crore children below six years of age losing their Fundamental Right to balanced nutrition, health care and pre-primary education; and (b) the government being assigned arbitrary powers to provide free and compulsory education to the 19 crore children in the 6-14 year age group "in such manner as the state may, by law, determine", just as the government has been doing for the past sixty years. The above Bill has been drafted under this retrogressive Article 21A.

It is with great anguish that we register our protest against the most undemocratic and arbitrary manner in which the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resource Development returned this controversial Bill to the Chairperson, Rajya Sabha without holding any public hearing or any public consultation whatsoever.

The National Seminar hereby underlines the following serious lacunae and contradictions in the Bill.

● **This Bill**, allows the authorities to dilute the meaning of FREE EDUCATION in an arbitrary manner; in addition, *denies* FREE EDUCATION to those children who have been compelled to go to private schools due to rapidly deteriorating quality of education in the government schools;

● **This Bill**, *distorts* the concept of Neighborhood School recommended by the Kothari Commission (1966) and resolved by the Parliament in the National Policy on Education-1986 (as modified in 1992), thereby authorizing the government to arbitrarily force the poor children to study in inferior quality schools;

☞ *Continued on page 35*

Make 2010 A Year Of Mighty Revolutionary Advances

FOR OUR PARTY, CPI(ML), the last new year day was not a bright occasion. The experiment of uniting the Communist Revolutionary forces even with differences into a single organization with the declared objective of resolving the differences through revolutionary practice together based on “unity and struggle” was proved ineffective in spite of our best efforts. As those sections upholding the obsolete theoretical and political positions refused to take up the revolutionary practice based on the *2005 Political Resolution* and saw that they were losing support of their own cadres, they resorted to unhealthy methods to obstruct the publications of the documents and holding the All India Special Conference to arrive at a single unified stand. As a result, a very unhealthy atmosphere was created. The organization was facing a very serious challenge. It led to difficulties for maintaining the unity and to carry forward the revolutionary tasks. The New Year day of 2009 was at a time of uncertainty.

But this New Year day is vastly different. The year 2009 turned out as a year of great challenges and historic achievements. When the unity with the erstwhile CPI(ML) of 2003 could not be carried forward in a revolutionary way, a decision had to be taken to dissociate with this section in the interest of revolutionary cause. Following this the organisation was consolidated, and expanded to new areas even winning over sections of the CPI(ML) of 2003 and other left organisations, including new forces. The class and mass organisations could be developed qualitatively and quantitatively. Major struggles were launched in many areas, consolidating and expanding the party and class/mass organisations in this process. The vigorous campaign first during the Lok Sabha elections and then to Maharashtra and Jharkhand elections putting forward election manifesto calling for revolutionary alternative against the ruling class and opportunist parties and their coalitions strengthened this process.

The historic task taken up this year was the All India Special Conference of the Party at Bhopal in November at the culmination of vigorous ideological, political discussions leading the adopting of the significant draft documents put forward by the Central Committee for developing the Party line based on the analysis of the neo-colonisation resorted to by the imperialist camp led by US imperialism during the post-World War II decades. The Conference was a grand success, theoretically, politically and organisationally. Those documents: International Situation and Our Tasks, Character of Indian State, Principal Contradiction and Path of Indian Revolution are published with the title: *No to Reformism, No to Anarchism, March to Revolution* for discussion among all left forces and practice. Thus the situation is created for a leap forward by the Party leading the people’s movements to great upsurges in the New Year. It shows that though 2009 started in a crisis ridden situation, it has turned out as a great year.

The 2010 is born in a situation when the crisis faced by the imperialist system is further deepening, when US imperialism is facing unprecedented challenges to its hegemony and when the devastating effects of the imperialist policies are leading the world to ever-intensifying miseries to vast majority of the people as well as to ecological catastrophe. The grave consequences of the

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**Edited, Printed,
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K.N. Ramachandran

R-8, Prathap Market

Jangpura-B,

New Delhi - 110014

Phone : (011) 24370233

redstarenglish@yahoo.co.in

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'war on terror' launched by US imperialism along with its allies and lackeys have seriously affected the social, political fabric of the society across the world. At the national level the UPA government led by Congress had led the country to unprecedented price rise, unemployment, corruption and criminalisation causing further pauperisation of the masses. The consequences of imperialist globalisation have thrown up great challenges in all fields.

As a result, both at international and national levels the objective situation has become more become more favourable for revolutionary advances by the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples. Conscious steps to initiate the re-organisation of the Communist International as called by the Bhopal Conference are called for in this situation. Along with this, vigorous offensive to establish the Party line among the left masses, to intensify party building at all India level uniting all genuine communist forces and to mobilise the working class, the peasantry and all other revolutionary classes and sections for mighty revolutionary advances, challenging the reactionary, corrupt ruling system are needed. The determination shown by the whole organisation in 2009 to overcome the great challenges it faced should be continued more vigorously in the coming year.

Let us pledge on the occasion of the New Year to take up daring steps to make 2010 a year of mighty revolutionary advances. ●

Sakhav

Organ of Kerala State
Committee of CPI(ML)

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

Imperialist Games To Shift Burden of thwarting Climate Disaster to Oppressed Peoples and Nations

THAT *global warming* phenomena is a real danger is being accepted by all. But who are responsible for it? The capitalist imperialist system, which is vandalising natural resources, pursuing a devastating 'development' policy creating disaster, indulging in a life of plenty while depriving everything to the vast majority. The disastrous carbon intensity is created as a result of their policies. It is their child, they should bear the responsibility.

But the game being orchestrated by the superpower US imperialism, for last two decades after global warming become a live issue is to transfer this responsibility of protecting the world to the countries they have brought under neo-colonisation. What happened to Kyoto Protocol, Bali Action Plan, etc. reveal this. At Copenhegen this game is played in more dirty way by US imperialists, their allies and lackeys.

The horrifying, at the same time amusing, part of this drama is that Manmohan Singh and all Sonia Gandhi's men running the Indian government are engaged in getting the chestnuts out the fire for the US masters. Environment minister Jairam Ramesh along with a host of comprador bureaucrats are engaged in this act with Manmohan Singh visiting Copenhegen to supervise it. Even the governments of other neo-colonial countries have recognise these shameless comprador acts of Indian government.

It is a shame. It is an act of treason. At the expense of not only the more than one billion people of this country, but also of billions of people around the world when the US imperialists are engaged in transferring this burden also the backs of oppressed peoples and nations, and when the government of this country is slavishly serving the US plans, our strong dissent, opposition should be expressed in more and more militant forms. ●

Develop Anti-Price Rise Movement To Higher Levels

THE ANTI-PRICE RISE campaign leading to December 11 Raj Bhavan marches, dharnas before district collectorates and central government offices was successfully organised across the country under the leadership of Party committees called by the Central Committee, as the report published shows. That within a month after the successful completion of the All India Special Conference this campaign could be taken up is not a small thing. By December 29 the Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand state committees are also going to organise the campaign. Thus we shall be completing the first stage of the campaign.

The more important task ahead is to mobilise and bring the masses of people to the streets to involve them in the movement effectively. At present reactionary, communal, caste, chauvinist forces are doing this with great success for their sectarian purposes. Against this, the task of bringing people to the streets to struggle for their vital interests should be earnestly taken up by the revolutionary left forces.

It is clear as day light that this unprecedented price rise is the result of almost two decades of imperialist globalisation policies. As part of it the government has withdrawing from the field of food procurement and putting an end to public distribution system (PDS). Along with it speculative forces indulging in wanton hoarding and black marketing are given full freedom. Even retail trade is handed over to monopolies. For facilitating these existing laws are revoked and new one created. So unless the government is forced to change its liberalisation-privatisation policies the price rise cannot be stopped. It is necessary to take this message to the people.

As the intensity of the price rise is felt and people are becoming restless the reactionary parties who are ruling at centre and in states are trying to champion the anti-price rise campaign wherever they are in opposition in order to lead the movement astray. This can be exposed and people can be mobilised for a determined struggle against the central and state governments only if our Party committees continue the campaign more energetically and lead the masses to mighty movements to stop the Malls and Super Bazars of the MNCs and corporates and to capture godowns hoarders.

The immediate task is to bring the masses to streets and to develop the anti-price movement to higher levels. All Party committees should get actively involved in this uniting all like-minded forces in this process. ●

Another State, Telengana

THE VIOLENT agitations in Telengana region compelling the Congress led central government to show green flag for the formation of Telengana state are the consequence of the anti-people policies pursued by the Congress and its governments at centre and in the state for long. There are historical reasons for the backwardness of Telengana. Nizam's feudal autocratic rule played a major role in this. So when the Andhra Pradesh was born in 1953 uniting the Telugu speaking areas a package for the development of this backward region was agreed to by the Nehru government. The consecutive central and state governments never bothered to get it implemented. Along with this, the imperialist globalisation policies have further accelerated the uneven development among states and among different regions in a state. These factors had intensified the

demand for separate Telengana in the last few years leading to the formation of Telengana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) led by Chandra Shekhar Rao. Both Congress and BJP as well as the regional parties pursued opportunist relations with TRS, while delaying the state demand under various pretexts. Finally the boil has burst. Formal acceptance of the demand is announced. Naturally, it has led to lot of counter reactions splitting all the ruling class parties in the state. This turmoil may continue for some time. But a new state of Telengana is going to become a reality.

Citing the examples of what happened in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Utrkhand formed nine years ago, we have explained the qualitative difference between the struggle for reorganisation of the states in the 1950s and what is happening now. Today the hegemony of imperialist capital and market has reached even interior villages, which are also getting integrated to the global imperialist system. So the transfer of power to this party or that party, divisions creating more states, etc. are not going to make any basic change in the life of the toiling masses. The local leaders of Congress and all other ruling class parties are interested to maintain their hold in the economic, political and social fields ensuring their vote banks. So even when they themselves are responsible for creating a division of AP, lot of drama shall be staged, as all areas in AP are now witnessing, by them. It may continue in new forms demanding special status for Hyderabad as a union territory, like Chandigarh. These are new games to divide the people.

Let us welcome Telangana, another state, with the basic understanding that its formation is not going to solve basic problems of the vast majority of the oppressed masses. Their condition will only get worsen so long as the steam roller of neo-liberal raj is moving faster crushing them down irrespective of the division of India into any number of states. ●

No to Reformism, No To Anarchism, March to Revolution

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

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International Situation and Our Tasks

Character of Indian State

The Principal Contradiction

Path of Indian Revolution

Contribution : Rs. 25

Umakant

R-8, Pratap Market

Jangpura-B

New Delhi - 110014

All India Campaign Against Price-Rise

Odisha: State-wide Campaign Against Price-Rise

BASED on the call of Central Committee of CPI(ML) wall writing was done in Khurda and in Bhadrak districts for the success of the 11 December All India Protest Day with the slogan “Bring down prices or face peoples fury”. Postering and distribution of handbills was organized in more than 11 districts. There was very good response from the people to this movement against price rise.

Rally and demonstration against price rise at Bhubaneswar

AS PART OF the nation-wide protest against unprecedented rise in prices of essential commodities, the Odisha state committee of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) took out a rally and staged a militant demonstration before Reliance Fresh Outlet at IRC Village, Bhubaneswar. On 11th Dec morning 10 o’ clock a massive rally with colourful banners and placards starting from CPI(ML) Odisha state office Inquilab Bhawan shouting slogans, “Bring down prices, or face peoples fury”, “Stop Future trading”, “Bring down prices of food or people will be compelled to capture godowns of hoarders”, “Scrap LPG”, “Do not allow Corporate Companies and MNCs to enter trade of foods, agriculture and essential items”, “Do



not allow Corporates in retail trading”, “provide proper price to peasants,” reached at Reliance Fresh Outlet of IRC Village and gheraoed the whole Shopping Mall, closed all gates and doors of the mall shouting slogans. The demonstration continued upto two o’clock. No one was allowed inside or to go out. So about four hours their service was completely paralysed by the agitators. Before the Reliance Fresh the effigy of Navin Patnaik was burnt. In front of the main gate of Reliance Fresh a protest meeting was held presided by CPI(ML) state committee member com. Advocate Rebati Ballav Mohanty. In the protest meeting Party State committee secretary com. Sivaram, trade union leader com. Jaydev Nayak, Patitapaban Behera, Leader of Muktikamee Mahila Sangathan Pramila Behera, State Unit Secretary of RYFI com Raghunath Dhal, Basti Surakshya Mancha leader Gopinath Nayak in their speeches warned the state and central governments. and the corporate companies and MNCs who are responsible for price rise to reverse the policy immediately and to take immediate steps to check price rise. They will compel to loot your godowns. They appealed to the people come and join the militant mass struggle against the price rise. The leaders declared that this is beginning of the movement against price rise. If the govt do not bring down prices the people will be force to the capture the godowns and the govt will be responsible for it. A memorandum send to Governor.

Rally and effigy Burning at Bhadrak

AT ERADA of Bhadrak Dist a rally shouting slogans against price-rise reached at Market Square, where a demonstration continued for 3 hours. Then effigies of Navin Patnaik and Manmohan Singh were burnt. A protest meeting was held presided by Bhadrak Dist. Committee Secretary Com. Susant Jena. The rally was led by com Indumati Mallick, Kailash Jena, Kanaklata Jena etc. Hundreds of people participated in the rally and demonstration.

Raj Bhavan March in Kerala

AS PER THE call by the Central Committee of CPI (ML) to organize Raj Bhavan marches on December 11, 2009 in protest against the sky-rocketing prices of food and essential items, hundreds of comrades under the banner

of Kerala State Committee of CPI (ML) marched to the Raj Bhavan challenging the barricades erected by the police. The march was the culmination of a long drawn out process of a state-wide campaign with the slogan, “Bring Down Prices, Or face the fury of the People”, as proposed by the Party Central Committee. As a prelude to the march on December 11, most of the District Committees had a hectic poster campaign highlighting the basic slogan of the struggle. Apart from thousands of hand bills, tens of thousands of leaflets based on the notice matter indicating the causes and consequences of the price rise prepared by the Central Committee were also distributed among the common people. The District Committees also organized vehicle jathas calling upon the toiling masses to come forward in protesting against the price rise which is the direct outcome of the neocolonial policies pursued by the Central and State governments especially since the advent of neoliberalism in the 1990s.

The march having State Committee’s banner and Central Committee slogans inscribed on it ahead with red flags and placards began exactly at 11 AM from Pulimoodu junction at the southern end of the State Secretariat and ended in front of the Raj Bhavan some two kilometers away at Kawadiar. The police attempt to confine the comrades who were sitting on the road at the time of inauguration to one side of it was effectively resisted and the police force was compelled to withdraw. The march was inaugurated by Com. P.J. James, Central Committee Member of CPI (ML). In his brief speech, Com. James pointed out the unleashing of speculative forces by Manmohan government which is followed by various state governments as the immediate cause for the galloping in the prices of food and essential items. Accordingly, even in Kerala whose PDS had come into being as a result of heroic struggles by communists and progressive forces since the forties and fifties is being dismantled and forward traders, hoarders and black marketers are controlling the entire market of food following the freezing of Essential Commodities Act and enactment of Forward Markets Act by the Manmohan government at the centre. The pseudo Left which rules the state is hand in



glove with the speculative anti social elements who create artificial price rise in the state. The Raj Bhavan march should be part of a wider and serious struggle on the part of all toiling and poor people against the anti-people ruling system including the capture of godowns where food and essential items are hoarded by speculative forces with the connivance of the government. The anti- price campaign and struggles by the Party should be capable of arousing the masses to shoulder this task- he concluded. State Executive Committee Members, comrades, P.N. Provint, T.C. Subrahmanyam, Rajesh Appat, and State Committee member Com. K.S.Sindhu addressed the marchers. ●

Karnataka: Successful Raj Bhavan March at Bangalore

As part of the countrywide campaign against price rise called by the CC of CPI(ML), the Karnataka state committee organised a statewide propaganda campaign followed by the Raj Bhavan march at Bangalore in which hundreds of comrades participated. As the militant march was stopped at Basaveswar circle, people sat down on the road and a dharna was organised while five member delegation handed over a memorandum to the central government demanding the reversal of the reactionary policies which have led to the unprecedented price rise.





Com. B. Rudrayya, secretary of the state committee, comrades Basavalingappa and D.H. Poojar, CC members and comrades Nirvanappa, H.N. Badigera and K.B. Gonal (state committee members) addressed the big gathering of people who joined the dharna. The speakers protested against rampant price rise and demanded that the central and state governments should bring down prices of food grains and other essential commodities. The participants raised slogans against the central and state governments for their failure to bring down prices. ●

Tamil Nadu: Demonstration at Chennai and Other Places

ON DECEMBER 11th a demonstration was organized at Chennai in front of collectorate as permission was denied for Raj Bhavan March. Comrade Gajendra Kumar, district secretary of the Party led the demonstration. State secretary com. PT Shanmuga Sundaram and comrades Sundaram and Kaalan Durai addressed the dharna against unprecedented price rise. They explained the causes and effects of price rise in India. Manmohan Singh Government implementing the American imperialist agenda. They charged that the central and state governments are implementing the imperialist economic terrorism which will cause food riot. They demanded that the government should bring down the prices, or otherwise face the peoples fury.



Demonstrations were also held at different district headquarters. At Kanya kumari com CM Paulraj led demonstration numbering more than hundred people at Villvankodu taluk office. At Coimbatore com. N Shanmugasundaram, district sec. led dharna of hundreds of people at Red Cross Circle. At Madurai com. D Arumugam district sec. led demonstration before Peraiyur taluk post office. At Dindigul com. Arockiam district sec led the dharna in front of Taluk Post Office. For a weak propaganda campaign was organized at different places with posters and handbills. ●

UP: Dharna at Unnao

A WELL attended dharna of comrades from Unnao and Hardoi districts was organised on 11th December before Unnao district magistrate office against the unprecedented price rise which is making life miserable for the people. Com. Mona Sur (state secretary of the Party), comrades Satpal, Babulal, Ramraj and Vijayshankar addressed the dharna demanding the withdrawal of government policies permitting hoarding and black-marketing of the essential commodities. Preceding the dharna a campaign was organised for mobilising people against price rise. ●

Rajasthan: Dharna at Ganganagar

ON THE CALL of CPI(ML) a dharna was organised before Ganganagar district collectorate addressed by com. Mahesh, state secretary. He called on the people to join the campaign to compel the government to reverse its policies. Comrades from Ganganagar and Hanumangarh districts participated in the dharna. ●

Delhi: Anti-Price Rise Dharna

THE Delhi state committee of the Party organised a dharna at Jantar Mantar on 11th December. Com. Prempati, Nandlal, Shyamlal, Umakant and others address the dharna.

Due to imposition of code of conduct for local bodies elections in MP and Chhattisgarh and for Vidhan Sabha elections in Jharkhand, the campaign against price-rise and the protest programmes on December 11 are postponed to December 29 in these states. Already anti-price rise campaign is stated in MP and Chhattisgarh, while it is made one of the focal point of campaign in election campaign in Jharkhand by party committees. Similarly, anti-price rise campaign is launched at Ludhiana, Barnala and Sangrur districts of Punjab. But the December 11 programme could not be organised at Ludhiana as a result of curfew imposed following communal clashes. Protest marches were organised at Barnala and Sangrur on 11th Decemeber. ●

Intensify Ideological Struggle Against Alien Trends: Establish the Revolutionary Line of CPI(ML)

K.N. Ramachandran

“**A SPECTRE** is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police spies”: Marx and Engels had started the *Manifesto of Communist Party* with these words. Today, once again, the *spectre of Communism*, in the form of *Naxalites* (the pet word given by the monopoly media to the Communist Revolutionaries) is greatly disturbing the sleep of Manmohan Singh to Chidambaram, of the RSS Parivar and CPI(M) Parivar alike. All of them have joined hands to exorcise this spectre through militarisation of the state machinery and launching state terror, deploying ‘cobras’ like commandos, *Salwa Judum* like operations, military and air force units and even *drones*. While unleashing operations like *Operation Green Hunt* against the banned CPI(Maoist), consciously confusing the word *Naxalites* with ‘Maoists’, using both the words synonymously, the IMF nominated prime minister Manmohan Singh goes on repeating that “Naxalism is the main danger before the country”.

Why, it is not the unprecedented price rise, which is affecting tens of millions of families, the ever-intensifying corruption and mafia raj, or the communal fascists indulging in *Malegaon* like terrorist acts are not the main danger, but the Naxalites are the main danger to him? Because it is they who are creating obstacles to the dream of his government to launch hundreds of SEZs (foreign enclaves within the country), to construct hundreds of MNCs-corporates projects displacing millions of families of adivasis and other oppressed sections, to spread the MNC-Corporate farming, etc. as desired by his imperialist masters. So he has to destroy them somehow or other.

The numerous intelligence agencies under his command and of the super-imperialist US must have given him any number of reports that in all these people’s movements the ‘Maoists’ are hardly involved, while in most places the ‘Naxalites’ are involved. Even though the level of understanding of political matters by this IMF nominee is very low, at least the old bureaucrats in the prime minister office must have told him that Naxalbari uprising was a revolt of tens of thousands of landless-poor adivasis, dalits and other oppressed sections with “land to the tiller” slogan. Abandoning the ‘line of annihilation’ pursued under the influence of left adventurist line dominating the CPC in the fall of 1960s, the Naxalites are now upholding the mass line that “revolution is the festival of the masses”, not the handiwork of few heroes, while the ‘Maoists’ are dogmatically pursuing the Lin Biaoist line, the sectarian, anarchist path of individual annihilation.

It is not that Manmohan or Chidambaram or others like them are not aware of this fact. They also very well know that instead of the 250 districts supposed to have ‘Maoist’ influence, as they and the media repeat, this group has present presence of any significance in hardly 20 to 25 districts. It is also known to them

perfectly that though the Maoists also claim their origin from the Naxalbari uprising, they have nothing to do with it now either in theory or practice. Still both these words are used synonymously by the rulers as well as the media, along with the CPI(M) like social democrats in order to indulge in wanton militarisation of the state apparatus and suppression against the people’s movements and the main stream of Naxalites who pursue mass line, raising the *bogey of Maoism*. When the ruling reactionary forces and social democrats are confusing the people in this manner, it is necessary for the Communist Revolutionary forces to expose this game ideologically and politically.

Ideologically Expose the ‘Maoists’

The basic documents of the CPI(Maoist) as well as the statement of its spokespersons expose the sectarian, anarchist character of the line it pursues including the line of individual annihilation, killing or maiming ordinary people alleging them as police informers, destruction of schools, hospitals and other public utility buildings in the name of they being used to shelter the police forces, obstructing construction of roads, railways and other communication links alleging that they will be utilised to facilitate suppression, exploding bombs killing civilians, attacking passenger trains, etc. Though it, including the three organisations merged to form it are calling for election boycott during last three

decades, instead of organising any effective mass campaign in the areas it is functioning, it is always trying to impose its dictates through attacks on people who go for voting, attacks on polling staff and security forces, damaging polling booths, etc. At the same time, from the beginning both the PWG and MCC have practiced the line of supporting ruling class party candidates in opportunist manner. It is still pursued by the CPI(Maoist) as it was very evident in some areas in present Jharkhand elections. In spite of repeatedly pointing it out, it has not made any effort to rectify it, if it is opposed to this practice. This opportunist line is pursued in more rabid forms in West Bengal where its spokesperson is proudly announcing its support to Trinmool Congress, a ruling class party, in the struggle against the CPI(M)-led LF rule. It has no line of developing an independent revolutionary alternative based on worker-peasant alliance.

Like ULFA in Assam, the LTTE in its area of influence and other extremist groups practicing 'armed actions' as their only form of struggle, the CPI(Maoist) is also not allowing any trade union activities or mobilisation of the masses for their rights by the democratic forces. Neither it does not take up the mobilisation and politicisation of masses, nor does it allow others to do it. As a result, in spite of what is written repeatedly by those 'intellectual' supporter of 'Maoists', by the media, the propaganda by the TV channels, NGOs, etc., in the so-called areas of 'Maoist' influence the living condition of the *adivasi* people are not better in any manner. Instead it has become worse as they are subjected to harassment, torture and attacks by the police, para-military and commando forces deployed in these areas in large numbers. Like the military deployed in Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast, these state forces enjoy their deployment in wanton attacks on *adivasi* people including raping of women. Contrary to what is

reported by some 'intellectuals' and media reporters, the ordinary people are caught between the frying pan and the fire. That is why Prof. KV Ramana Reddy, Dr. Balagopal, Adv. Kannabiran like individuals, who had supported the erstwhile PWG, changed their approach and criticised its anarchist activities. That is why even after the almost wiping out of the PWG dalams from AP nobody is weeping for them. Friends like Varavara Rao and Gaddar are reduced to just fellow travellers of the Telengana state demand and have nothing much to do as they still fail to understand what is the meaning of Lenin's statement: "revolution is the festival of the masses", and of Mao's: "people, people alone are the creators of history".

The roving guerrilla bands and the theory of "heroes make history" practiced by the 'Maoists' have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism and Mao's teachings. Like the anarchists of Marx's time, the *Narodniks* of Lenin's time, the Chang Kuotao and other sectarians against whom Mao fought, the 'left' adventurist line came up within the Naxalite movement by the time of 1969 Congress of the CPC when Lin Biaoist line came to dominance in it. Advocating 'imperialism is on the verge of total collapse' it had called for a last push to bury it, ultimately dragging the whole movement to adventurism. While it helped the re-emergence of the capitalist roaders in the CPC and their usurpation of power later in China, it led to the severe setbacks and splintering suffered by the Communist Revolutionary forces who had emerged in India and in large number of other countries through the practice of adventurist line, cutting themselves away from organised classes and mass forces. While vast majority of the CR forces have self-critically evaluated this deviation and rectified it, adopting the mass line, the PWG and MCC continued to pursue it and CPI(Maoist) formed in 2004 through their merger is the best or worst example of Lin Biaoism in practice. Calling themselves 'Maoists' they are bringing bad name to the great revolutionary contributions of Mao Tsetung.

The so-called 'Maoism', which is nothing but a total negation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the revolutionary philosophy of the international communist movement, was put forward as a concept by the Communist Party of Peru (Shining Path) led by Gonsalo. He advocated *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Gonsalo's Thought* as the philosophy of Communist Party of Peru (CPP) and tried to mechanically copy some aspects of the military writings of Mao, which was put in to practice in the concrete conditions of China, leading to tragic results. The RCP, USA which is cut away from the working class, keeping itself away from the mobilisation and politicisation of the working class to make it a *class for itself* capable of leading the socialist revolution in US by one-sidedly repeating *cliches* like *create public opinion*, *capture political power* like concepts, became its chief advocate, transforming the *Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* (RIM) formed in 1984 as its chief propagandist. Later the Communist Party of Philippines and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) also advocated it. Out of these only the CPN(Maoist) could escape from the fate suffered by other 'Maoist' organisations of getting almost wiped out, by basically transforming its practice to mass line, though it is still clinging to the earlier mechanical concepts at least in words.

The PWG of AP which was pursuing some forms of mass line to a certain extent when com. Kondappalli Sitaramaiah was in leadership, abandoned even them and joined with the outright dogmatic MCC to form the CPI(Maoist) which is pursuing an outrightly militarist line under Muppala Laxman Rao (Ganapati), is not ready to draw any lessons from what happened to the Naxalbari movement in late 1960s and early 1970s and what happened to the 'Maoists' internationally as a result of pursuing the sectarian Lin Biaoist line. Besides it is not concerned with the basic reasons for the grave setbacks suffered by the ICM compared to its position of great strength five decades back as a result of its failure to take

into cognizance imperialism led by US imperialism changing its colonial forms of plunder to neo-colonial forms of plunder. As a result, the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) is reduced to anarchist positions doing immense harm to the communist movement in the country. The right opportunist, social democratic CPI and CPI(M) like forces and anarchist CPI(Maoist) are in effect acting like two side of the same coin, ultimately serving the ruling class interests. So it is the task of the Communist Revolutionary forces to continue the uncompromising ideological struggle to expose both these deviations and to win over the cadres and followers of them to the revolutionary ranks.

Failure to Ideologically Expose and Oppose ‘Maoists’ Helps the Ruling System

The CPI(ML) has condemned the banning of CPI(Maoist) and unleashing of police-para military-commando forces including units of military and air force, spreading state terror to more and more areas, in the name of suppressing the ‘Maoist’ forces. It is nothing but a tactic of the reactionary ruling system to brutally suppress the people’s movements getting strengthened against the ever-intensifying neo-liberal policies by using the ‘Maoist’ bogey. The CPI(ML) is of the firm view that the CPI(Maoist) should be ideologically exposed and politically opposed, not militarily suppressed as the central and state governments are trying to do. The new initiative taken by the UPA government at centre and the state governments to intensify the ruthless suppressive policies in the so-called ‘Maoist infested areas’ in particular and all over the country in general should be opposed by all the democratic forces.

As the same time, the arch-reactionary political moves of the central and state governments and the monopoly media to confuse the people by synonymously using Naxalites and Maoists as if both means the same in today’s context calls for a bitter struggle to expose it as even a writer in the *Economic and Political Weekly* is stating that Naxalite is a popular name of Maoists! As the present Naxalite groups or parties as well as the Maoists, both, claim to uphold Naxalbari uprising as their point of departure from revisionist CPI and neo-revisionist CPI(M), both can be called *Naxalites*, the word popularised by the state as well as monopoly media to call the communist revolutionaries. But during the last 42 years after Naxalbari uprising so many important developments have taken place that all the earlier concepts and nomenclatures call for re-definition in the present concrete context.

The first question to be settled is that in spite of the adventurist undertones in some parts of Charu Majumdar’s *Eight Documents* of the 1965-68 period, he as well as the CR forces who waged inner-party struggle against CPI(M) leadership had called for mass upsurges against the reactionary state, upholding the concept of agrarian revolution. In essence Naxalbari uprising took place on these lines under the banner of *All India Kisan Sabha* involving tens of thousands of landless and poor peasantry. The call of the CR forces at that time was to build Naxalbaris all over India. The Sreekakulam struggle, Mushahari, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Debra-Gobiballabhpur like uprisings involving millions of people were in the line of Naxalbari uprising. Besides thousands of students and youth also enthusiastically joined the movement creating conditions for a mass upsurge. The movement against the visit of McNamara, the former US ambassador to Vietnam who became World Bank chief, to Kolkata symbolised this mood.

But in 1966 Lin Biao’s “*Long Live the Victory of Protracted People’s War*” was published which called for universal application of *Chinese Path*. In 1969, in the Lin Biao’s report to the 9th Congress of the CPC, the concept of a new era of *total collapse of imperialism* was also put forward. *Mao’s Quotations* was

published along with the concept that *the more you read, the more foolish you become*. The *Cultural Revolution* was sought to be explained more as an adventurist putsch than a mighty mass movement. Though all these concepts went against the basic teachings of Mao and the experience of the Chinese revolution, as Lin Biao was dominating the CPC then everything was taken at international level as Mao’s positions. Very little about the internal struggle going on within the CPC and in China came out, or whatever things came out were rejected as imperialist propaganda. Very soon the CPI(ML) came under the sway of the Lin Biaoist adventurist line, leading to the ‘line of annihilation’ and the sectarian formulations in the 1970 Party Congress documents. Even the CR groups who opposed Charu Majumdar’s sectarian positions did not oppose the source of these, the formulations coming out from the CPC then. As a result, the CPI(ML) movement suffered severe setback, splintering to many groups. The same was the fate of other CR groups also.

From early 1970s there were numerous efforts for polarisation of these groups. One section including the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), the CPI(ML) People’s War and the CPI(ML) Party Unity, while having differences on certain details, basically continued the sectarian line that led to the disintegration of the CR forces. They united in to CPI(Maoist) in 2004 upholding ‘Maoism as the Marxism-Leninism of the present era’ and are calling themselves the ‘Maoists’. In spite of the still continuing disunity, all other Naxalite groups have condemned the line of annihilation and have adopted the mass line including formation of class and mass organisations to mobilise the masses for revolution. Thus there are two distinct trends today, differing with each other, the Naxalite and Maoists. This is a fact known to all those who have even a superficial understanding about this movement.

The government with full facts and figures available with it is fully aware of these facts. So is the condition of the monopoly media. Still they use the two words synonymously, confuse the people and declare that 'Naxalism is the main danger' while pursuing the suppressive steps against the people's movements. It is nothing but pernicious attempt to suppress the revolutionary movement and mass struggles using 'Maoist bogey'. The monopoly media is hands in glove with it in this.

So when CPI(ML) while holding the *All India Special Conference* at Bhopal last month had raised the slogan *Naxalbari Zindabad* and *March Forward along the Path of Telengana and Naxalbari*, the state government led by BJP and the RSS Parivar had tried to threaten the organisers for raising Naxalbari slogans which they depicted as 'Maoist'. A section of media also joined hands with them. CPI(ML) firmly declares that it shall persist in raising Naxalbari slogan in the all out effort to develop mass upsurges and mass insurrections based on the line of the *Path of Indian Revolution* adopted by the Bhopal Conference. While doing this, it is repeatedly pointed out that the revolutionary mass line pursued by CPI(ML) should be seen as basically different from the anarchist line of CPI(Maoist).

Ideologically and Politically Defeat the 'Maoist' Line

Establish the Revolutionary Line of CPI(ML)

The revolutionary Communist movement is facing the challenge of establishing its line in all fields and rebuilding the Party by uncompromisingly fighting against all alien trends. Within the broad *Naxalbari trend* which emerged in 1967 in the course of the struggle against the leaderships of revisionist CPI and neo-revisionist CPI(M), an

intensive polarisation is taking place now. The CPI(ML) Liberation and some fringe groups in West Bengal and Kerala under the banner of 'left confederation' have become or becoming part of the CPI(M)-led Front opting themselves out of the communist revolutionary camp. Some other fringe sections as in W. Bengal have joined hands with Trinmul Congress like ruling class parties in the name of opposing the CPI(M)-led Left Front rule. Some leading cadres of the Naxalbari movement have degenerated to outright ruling class positions even while clinging to the popularity they had gained as part of the communist revolutionaries. All of them are trying to confuse the masses justifying their degeneration.

As far as CPI(Maoist) is concerned, it is basically pursuing the Lin Biaoist line that had emerged in the CPC while the Cultural Revolution was launched against the capitalist roaders, and came to dominance during the 9th Congress of the CPC, under the signboard of 'Maoism'. Distorting the experience of the Chinese revolution, it is trying to mechanically copy some aspects of the so-called protracted people's war pursued there with guerrilla war as the main form of struggle based on an erroneous evaluation of present Indian state and society as 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal'. It refuses to recognise the momentous changes that have taken place as a result of transformation of the forms of the imperialist plunder from colonial to neo-colonial in the post-World War II decades, causing the grave setbacks to the ICM. As a result, even while indulging in anarchist actions alienating itself and defaming communist movement, it remains ideologically primitive and politically bankrupt. It refuse to accept the continuing changes taking place in the agrarian sector from semi-feudal conditions to that of feudal remnants as a result of the entry of imperialist capital and corporate forces from the time of *green revolution*. The CPI(ML) New Democracy and some other groups at state level repeat the very same protracted people's war line of the 'Maoists' based on the 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal' analysis and are in effect getting reduced to *B teams* of the 'Maoists', but bereft of any practice of their own.

The extensive propaganda provided to the 'Maoists' by the state and the media, especially the TV channels, and the support extended to them by NGOs, exaggerating their strength have misled some petti-bourgeois elements, intellectuals, etc. to jump into their bandwagon. They are also contributing to confusing the 'Maoists' as the Naxalites.

In this situation, it is the responsibility of the CPI(ML) committees at all levels to intensify the ideological struggle to expose and oppose the 'Maoists' and all other alien trends, to establish the Path of Indian Revolution put forward by the Bhopal conference based on the analysis of India as a country under neo-colonial domination, to practice it according to concrete conditions and to further develop it based on this practice. ●

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4. **The Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party**

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

Approach Towards Agrarian Programme

[Paper for discussion in the 13-14 February meeting of the activists in the peasant movement to be held at Nagpur in order to organise an all India organisation of the landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers — RS]

Neo-colonial Agrarian Situation

BEGINNING with the Permanent Settlement of 1793, the various changes brought about in the agricultural sector by British rulers during the colonial period were mainly aimed at winning over the feudal forces, the landlords, money lenders and traders associated with agriculture as their political allies on the one hand, and for furthering imperialist exploitation on the other. While the Zamindari system enabled them to win over the feudal forces, the Ryotwari system was convenient for commercializing and converting Indian agriculture as an appendage to the sprawling British industries. In spite of the superficial changes in old land relations imposed by colonialists and the monetary relations that took place as a result of the export oriented cash crop cultivation which converted India as a source of agricultural raw materials and natural resources during the colonial period, semi-feudal and pre-capitalist relations continued its dominance through out the length and breadth of the country.

The transformation from old colonialism to neocolonialism and the consequent transfer of power in 1947 to comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-land lord classes opened the country up for penetration of imperialist finance capital from all imperialist countries led by US imperialism. As a result, many changes in agrarian relations took place without basically altering the landlord system. The abolition of Zamindari system and fixing of land ceilings in different states did not lead to implementation of 'land to the tiller' slogan. The land ceiling proposed was flouted in practice through various methods allowing the landlords to own huge land holding's far above the ceiling. Even in states like Kerala and West Bengal where land reforms were implemented under CPI and CPI (M)-led governments, it was the intermediaries and the newly emerged land lord class who got the benefits. The neocolonial intention of such land reforms was the super-imposition of capitalist relations suited for facilitating the entry of imperialist capital and market on a large scale. The document *On the Character of the Indian State* adopted at the All India Special Conference of CPI (ML) aptly remarks: "In the agricultural sector along with the reforms like ceiling acts from above creating a new landlord class, green revolution, white revolution, introduction of modern inputs, increasing cash crop cultivation, corporate farming, etc., were initiated, increasing the agricultural production and transforming the old semi-feudal, pre-capitalist production relations to a significant extent. Compared to the colonial phase, in the neocolonial phase imperialism is no longer trying to protect the old agrarian structure. As a result, feudalism is no longer the social base of imperialism." Thus instead of the old feudal lords, new land lord class who combined pre-capitalist and capitalist methods of exploitation were effective vehicles for implementing the imperialist sponsored 'green revolution' in various parts of the country beginning with Punjab and Haryana. In these areas, feudal relations were transformed and agricultural production took a capitalist form. While introducing capitalist mode of production and creating conditions for the entry of modern technology and

agricultural inputs, the 'green revolution' paved the way for overall land concentrations with about 60% land held by the landlords constituting less than 10% of population linked to agriculture. This neocolonial onslaught in agriculture intensified the unevenness in agrarian sector and contradictions in the countryside. Vast majority of the peasants, the real tillers including the adivasis, dalits and oppressed sections continued to remain landless. Together with the emergence of the new class of capitalist farmers, big sections of poor and landless peasants have been transformed in to agricultural labourers, a phenomenon that got strengthened in direct proportion to the intensification of neo-colonisation and penetration of imperialist and corporate capital in agriculture.

The advent of imperialist globalization since the beginning of 1990s has further sharpened all these contradictions in the agrarian sector. Corporatisation of agriculture and corporate land grabbing in the name of various neocolonial projects such as SEZs, townships and agribusinesses by MNCs and speculative giants have intensified land concentration through out the country leading to further destitution and pauperization of the landless poor peasants and agricultural workers who constitute the real peasantry and their further displacement from land. Even erstwhile land ceiling acts are repealed to facilitate the land grab by speculative finance. That is, in addition to the already existing reactionary land relations that denied land to the real tillers, the ever-intensifying land grab by speculative finance capital in both urban and rural areas has led to an unprecedented land concentration in the hands of parasitic classes. Corporate and contract farming led by agri-business companies are mounting. Along with the land question, imperialist and corporate market control over agricultural inputs and output through various price and exim policies is also

threatening to peasants. WTO dictated agricultural policies including anti-peasant import, credit and pricing policies coupled with the curtailment of state support programs such as subsidies and public procurements have led to mass suicides of peasants throughout the country. Due to the liberalization in agriculture, apart from the devastation of tens of millions of poor peasants, the middle peasants and even a section of the rich peasants are also in crisis.

Peasant Problem and Class Line of Peasantry

In this context, it is essential to define as to what constitute the peasant problem from a class perspective. By peasant question, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, had always meant the problem of the class of real tillers of soil who constitute the vast majority of population in the countryside. In the specific context of India, the *Path of Indian Revolution* adopted at the All India Special Conference of CPI (ML) opines:-

“This class the real tillers of the land constitute majority of the population comprising 50 to 60% in different areas according to concrete conditions, and include the adivasis, dalits and most backward and oppressed sections of society. They include the poor peasants, share croppers in areas where semi-feudal relations still persist, those who have taken land for tilling under lease, agricultural workers who include large numbers of migrant workers and those who are engaged in a variety of unorganized sectors, handicraftsmen, peddlers, etc.

“As Mao Tsetung stated *the peasant problem is essentially their problem*. So when peasantry is mentioned in general it constitutes these sections, not the middle peasants and rich peasants as understood not only by CPI (M), but also increasingly by many of the so called revolutionary sections, even ‘Maoists’. Agrarian revolution with

land to the tiller slogan means creating conditions to revolutionize the agrarian relations by making this class the owner of the agricultural land, as a first step towards cooperative and collective farming.”

Therefore, in essence, resolution of the peasant question implies serving the class interests of landless poor peasants and agricultural workers by putting an end to the domination of imperialist-comprador capital and landlord class along with other parasitic sections like usurers, speculators and big traders in the agrarian sector. During the colonial period too, revolutionary transformation of land relations in favour of the actual tillers of the soil had been the perspective held by the Communist Party which implied abolition of feudal and semi-feudal and all pre-capitalist relations and protection of the class interests of landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers through revolutionary land reforms. The Telengana and Tebhaga movements as well as numerous other revolutionary peasant struggles across the country aroused the peasant masses and oppressed sections including adivasis and dalits to challenge the feudal system continuing in different forms for centuries. These heroic struggles could not reach their revolutionary goal as the revisionist CPI leadership earlier and the neo-revisionist CPI (M) leadership later embraced class collaborationist positions and failed to play the role of revolutionary vanguard of Indian proletariat.

The great Naxalbari movement, which once again brought democratic revolution back to the agenda of the toiling masses, emphasized the leadership role of landless poor peasants over the agrarian movement. As a result, land to the tiller slogan once again reverberated across the country. However, this revolutionary upsurge soon got blocked and suffered severe setbacks as a result of the sectarian tendency that dominated the movement. As a result, the CPI (ML) movement could not mobilise the landless and poor peasants including the agricultural workers in a mighty agrarian movement based on an agrarian program.

Thus the degeneration of the revisionists and neo-revisionists to social democrats and apologists of neo-colonialism on the one hand, and the persistence of anarchist and left sectarian positions following Naxalbari on the other, utterly failed to put forward the class line of landless poor peasants and agricultural workers. As a consequence of both reformism and anarchism, the struggle for revolutionary land reforms and ‘land to the tiller’ slogan were pushed aside. Under the influence of reformism, struggles in the agrarian front were mostly focused to get the cost of inputs cut down and to achieve remunerative prices for agricultural produces. From the early 1980s onward contradictions arising from neo-colonisation became manifested mainly in the form of several struggles led by the new agricultural bourgeois sections and rich peasants especially against the agricultural pricing policies of the state. On the other hand, even before building up a revolutionary peasant movement with a correct class line and mobilising the peasantry for land struggles, illusions of ‘protracted people’s war’ are being put forward by left sectarians without evaluating the concrete situation in the neocolonial phase. In brief, both the right opportunist and left sectarian trends in the Communist movement were relegating the class line of the landless poor peasants and agricultural workers to the background by succumbing to either legalism or adventurism. Together with this, to contain the prairie fire of Naxalbari, since the 1970s, using various hues of NGOism, post-modernism and identity politics, both imperialism and comprador Indian State unleashed a de-politicization and de-ideologisation drive in the rural sector which contributed to the emergence of a non-class trend regarding the agrarian question.

Organizing the Peasantry and Developing Agrarian Struggles

This critical situation can be overcome only by arousing the landless poor

peasants and agricultural workers who constitute more than half of Indian population, firmly upholding the class line of the peasantry, the real tillers of soil, thereby serving their class interests. Various sections of the peasantry including the adivasis, dalits and other most oppressed sections who are presently influenced and led to reformist illusions by NGOs, subaltern theorists, casteist and communal forces can be won over to the mainstream of revolutionary agrarian movement only if the Communist Party takes initiative for mobilising them for changing the land relations based on land to the tiller approach. Revolutionary forces should come to the leadership of these struggles by evolving appropriate organizational forms depending on the concrete conditions in different parts of the country. In this context, the *Path of Indian Revolution* says: “The task before the Party are: Firstly, firmly uphold the class line of the agricultural workers, landless and poor peasants, the revolutionary peasantry, consisting of adivasis, dalits and other most oppressed sections. Secondly, build up agricultural workers and landless, poor peasant organisations with their specific program upholding the path of agrarian revolution as the path forward. Build up these organizations at the state level and co-ordinate them at all India level. In line with the agrarian revolutionary program, form *land struggle committees* starting from village level with the initiative of both agricultural workers and landless, poor peasant organisation to launch militant struggles with land to the tiller slogan.”

So the primary task before the Party is to mobilize the tens of millions of land less poor peasants and agricultural workers under their respective organizations based on the principle of land to the tiller. Adivasis, dalits and similar oppressed sections, who also belong to this class and who are mostly unorganised or organised under casteist, chauvinist, communal and other non-class organisations in many areas are to be mobilized so as to bring them to the main stream of agrarian struggle for land and livelihood. Wherever necessary they are to be mobilized through separate organisations taking in to consideration their specific demands and characteristics. All of them should be organised at state level and coordinated at national level under appropriate organizations with an immediate program of urgent demands and basic program of agrarian revolution.

These organizational initiatives should be followed by launching of the agrarian revolutionary struggle which must be done in two phases. First phase comprises of organising the poor and landless peasant organisation and agricultural worker’s organisation with agrarian revolutionary programme of revolutionising land relations along with immediate slogans. Mobilise them initially based on immediate slogans and struggles to realise them. Then proceed to campaign for the urgent distribution of land declared surplus under ceiling laws, government land lying vacant, forest land lying fallow, land used for bio-fuel cultivation and farm lands whose lease period is over, land illegally occupied by plantations, farm owners, real estate builders, land mafia, etc. to the poor and landless farmers and agricultural workers. Land Struggle Committees can be formed by combining both poor and landless peasant organization and agricultural workers organizations in rural areas. In urban and suburban centres where there are tens of millions of families without minimum housing or shelter, House Right Committees are to be formed mobilizing them. Struggles are to be developed pinpointing the areas to be distributed and then to occupation of those lands, distributing them to the landless and homeless under the leadership of these Committees. Though volunteer squads may be formed under these committees to help the land occupation, vigorous campaigning and mobilisation of the masses in ever-larger numbers should be the main weapons to be utilised in this period.

The main tasks during this first phase is to bring back revolutionary land

struggles abandoned by the reformist and sectarian trends to the agenda and prepare the poor and landless peasants and agricultural workers for them. How much time will be taken to advance from campaigning to land occupation in different areas will depend upon the concrete conditions in each area and on the extent of subjective preparations including the strength of the committees. By taking the Telengana-Naxalbari line to the most oppressed adivasis, dalits and other oppressed sections, campaigning for distribution of above mentioned government and forest lands to the landless, and proceeding to the capture of land, a revolutionary atmosphere can be created among the masses to proceed towards the second phase.

The *second phase* starts with putting forward the agrarian programme to revolutionise the land relations. According to concrete conditions in different areas a ceiling for land required by a family entirely depending an agriculture, land sufficient for such a family to cultivate and subsist on should be declared, for example like 5 acres of irrigated land or 10 acres of un-irrigated land for a family of five. For those families major source of income is non-agricultural, ceiling of land for housing and place of profession or business should be declared. Land required for community purposes also should be decided. Land records for each Panchayat/ Municipality should be prepared by the *land struggle committee* of the area concerned. Surplus land should be declared and poor and landless peasant and agricultural labourers should be mobilised for campaigning and then taking over the land, starting with that possessed by big landlords, land mafias, corporate houses, MNCs, etc. In urban and suburban areas where *housing right committees* are functioning, based on a general principle and according to conditions in each area, an urban land ceiling should be declared, surplus lands, buildings, flat, etc. should be found

out and the land records should be announced to facilitate campaigns and then struggles to occupy these areas.

The Party state committees under the guidance of the CC should select areas where our party organisation is fairly strong, where poor and landless peasants organisation and agricultural worker's organisation have started functioning and deploy cadres from outside also to initiate the land struggle. Social and political condition of the area, class divisions, and class contradictions should be studied and the first and second phases of the struggle should be planned and slogans should be formulated after discussion in the party committees and in the peasant and agricultural workers organisations. Land struggle committees should be strengthened by including representatives of trade unions and class/mass organisations working in the respective areas. Conditions for land capture should be prepared and land occupation and distribution should be started under the Panchayat level *land struggle committees*, which are the united fronts at the Panchayat level led by the Party committees.

While launching the campaigns, forming the *land struggle committees* and starting the phase one and phase two struggles, the following points should be given importance by the party committees. Always ensure the class line of the agricultural workers and landless and poor peasants in the committees. Always persist in investigation and study of concrete conditions in the area and class analysis, whenever questions come up consult with the people. Win over the support of the middle peasants and other progressive sections in the area for the struggle. Ensure the active involvement of trade unions and cadres of mass organisations led by the party in the campaigns and land struggle committees. Ensure the involvement of women in ever-larger numbers and while land is distributed women should be given equal rights. Build up volunteers squads under the

land struggle committees and guided by party committees. Destroy the authority of the big landlords and other enemy classes in the village by effectively utilising the elections, winning over the three-tier Panchayat bodies, co-operative societies, etc. in the area under the control of the land struggle committees. Do not confuse contradictions among the people with contradiction with enemy, and always handle contradiction among the people non-antagonistically, in a healthy manner. Vigorously try to expand the area of land struggles continuously. While the struggle for the land is the fundamental one and it should be carried forward vigorously, the land struggle committees at different level should handle and resolve struggle for higher wages, against usury, cancellation of the loans from landlords and merchants, struggle for the reduction of rents, struggle against forced/bonded labour, struggle of the adivasi people against forest contractors, against women's oppression, against casteist oppression, against communal divide, etc. also winning over more and more sections of the oppressed classes to the agrarian movement. All these tasks are to be taken up with the perspective of mobilizing the revolutionary peasantry for agrarian revolution whose principal objective is wiping out all forms of landlordism including all feudal remnants and pre-capitalist relations in land.

Under imperialist globalization, which is the latest phase of neo-colonisation, land question has become the central issue more than ever. As a result of the direct entry of speculative finance, MNCs and corporates in to agrarian sector, millions of acres of agricultural land are diverted for lucrative *bio-fuel* production, while millions of acres are being snatched away from the peasantry for SEZs, industrial centres, townships, real estates, infrastructure development, etc. with land concentration becoming a more serious issue than ever. Ever-increasing land concentration in the hands of MNCs, corporates, landlords, real estate builders and land mafia has displaced millions of peasants and agricultural workers from agricultural land, flouting even existing land ceiling laws. Besides, tens of millions of families in the urban and suburban areas are deprived of even nominal housing when there is an unprecedented concentration in urban property such that majority of the toiling masses in urban centres are compelled to flock together in slums while less than 10% of the rich and super-rich own large chunks of urban property, multi-crore flats and bungalows. Thus, imperialist globalization has worsened the already existing disparity in the ownership of land in the country. As a result, the struggle of the landless, poor peasants and agricultural workers, the real tillers, for land, and the struggle of those displaced people whose lands are snatched away for neo-colonial projects such as SEZs, real estates, townships and industrial centres, for housing have become the central issue nowadays. Therefore, the land struggles with land to the tiller slogan and the struggle for housing rights should be expanded to include the resistance against usurpation of agricultural land for SEZs, townships, and real estates.

Last, but not the least, comes the question of the various plantations and farms owned by MNCs, corporate houses, NRIs and other comprador sections from colonial times onward. Due to well entrenched neo-colonial interests, even the nominal land reforms of post-1947 period completely excluded them from all land ceiling acts. Under neo-liberalism, as even these ceiling acts are repealed and MNCs and corporate houses are allowed free entry to acquire agricultural land in the name of promoting agri-business, there is a proliferation of plantations and farms of different categories. Thus MNCs corporate houses, numerous trusts and mutts floated by vested interests, and religious and casteist organisations and institutions control vast areas under plantations and farms. Now the increasing trend is the large scale use of these lands for non-agricultural money-spinning businesses. Import liberalisation on a massive scale has also created severe crisis in the plantation economy. The burden of this crisis is increasingly

shifted to the shoulders plantation workers by denying their hard earned struggles. Hundreds of thousands of workers are rendered jobless and are forced to commit suicide. Hence demand to throw out MNCs and comprador sections from plantations and confiscation of them along with those floated by religious institutions and mutts should also be put forward as an inalienable part of the revolutionary agrarian program. This situation calls for mobilising these workers to go beyond struggles for economic demands and to the capture of plantations and farms where they are locked out or fragmented. Demands to bring such plantations, farms and estates under workers control should be raised appropriately.

Agrarian Program and New Democratic Revolution

One of the basic tasks of the people's democratic revolution is to mobilize the tens of millions of landless poor peasants and agricultural workers on the basis of a revolutionary agrarian program under the leadership of the proletariat based on worker-peasant alliance for establishing a people's democratic state. It shall distribute all lands belonging to landlords, feudal remnants and all parasitic sections among the real peasantry based on the principle, land to the tiller. Liberating the agrarian sector from the grip of imperialist finance capital and market system is also part of it. It involves unleashing the productive forces in agriculture and its all round development including self-sufficiency in food and agricultural raw materials through revolutionizing agrarian relations. The primary task of this is to mobilise the landless and poor peasants and agricultural workers based on the agrarian program and intensify the agrarian movement under proletarian leadership as required by the concrete neocolonial conditions today. While upholding the spirit of Telegana and Naxalbari, the present day differences in the class contradictions and concrete situation are to be correctly evaluated and taken care of.

The penetration of corporate and finance capital to agriculture in ever larger forms has intensified agrarian contradictions at an unprecedented level. Given the vastness, unevenness and diversities of a country like India, the concrete application of a general program of agrarian movement proposed at the national level will have its regional and state-level variations. That is, the launching of agrarian struggles in different regions of the country will be according to concrete conditions. However, irrespective of such variations, country wide revolutionary agrarian struggles involving hundreds of millions of revolutionary peasantry with land to the tiller slogan under the leadership of the working class is the essential content of struggle during the period of new democratic revolution. Such a struggle directed against all forms of landlordism including feudal remnants shall inevitably turn against the state machinery. And, as the struggles develop to higher levels as was the case with Telengana, it will invariably link itself with the capture of political power under the conscious leadership of the Communist Party.

Based on the above discussion, among other things, the agrarian program should include the following essential ingredients at the national level to be made more comprehensive and concrete with necessary changes at the state level :-

1. Confiscate all lands belonging to the landlords and implement redistribution of land among the peasantry on the basis of land to the tiller.
2. Confiscate the plantations, farms, etc., held by MNCs and corporate houses and bring them under the collective ownership of the working class.
3. Declare ceiling for wet and dry agricultural lands according to concrete conditions of each state and confiscate all lands above this ceiling and distribute them among the peasantry.

4. Declare land ceiling for those whose means of livelihood are not agriculture.

5. Confiscate the lands owned by NRIs, bureaucrats, high income sections, industrialists, traders, etc., and distribute them among the peasantry.

6. Confiscate all lands held by religious and casteist organizations and trusts after fixing a ceiling for lands that can be held by such agencies.

7. Stop conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes.

8. Settle adivasi/tribal question through strict implementation laws for the protection of their land including the establishment of adivasi autonomous councils.

9. Confiscate all agricultural land that is kept fallow.

10. Distribute all surplus lands and government lands except those required as forests and public utilities among peasantry.

11. Abolish all forms of bonded/forced labour and usury.

12. Evolve a scientific land utilization approach encouraging various states to pursue such a policy according to concrete situations.

13. Abolish all anti-peasant import, price, and credit policies. Ensure all agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation, credit, electricity, etc., at subsidized and affordable rates to peasants. Abolish imperialist control over output market and sources of inputs.

The above tasks which form central questions of the revolutionary agrarian program during the period of democratic revolution should be part of a comprehensive national development program based on an appropriate relationship between agriculture, industry and services. This can be achieved only through the victory of relentless agrarian struggles by the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat and the establishment of a people's democratic state. ●

Interim Report of Independent Citizens Fact-finding to Manipur

[The following is the Interim Report of an Independent Citizens Fact-finding Mission to Manipur. This was released in the form of a press release at a press conference at the Press Club, Imphal on November 7, 2009.]

A TEAM of concerned citizens comprising Dr K.S. Subramanian IPS (retd.), formerly of the Manipur-Tripura cadre and currently Visiting Professor, Jamia Millia University, New Delhi, Sumit Chakravartty, Editor, Mainstream, Kavita Srivastava, PUCL National Secretary, and Vasundhara Jairath of the Delhi Solidarity Group is on a fact-finding mission to Manipur from November 5 onwards in the wake of the heightened tensions in the State since July 2009. Shri Prabhaskar Joshi, veteran Hindi journalist and a consistent voice against violation of human rights, who was to join the team on November 6 and had expressed grave concern over the situation in Manipur asking his doctor to allow him this visit, possibly his last to the State, sadly passed away due to a cardiac arrest on the 5th night. We are left shocked and greatly saddened by this sudden loss. His undaunting commitment to justice peace and free speech shall continue to inspire young and old particularly in the field of journalism.

Our Terms of Reference are:

1. Visit and interact with families of those killed in alleged fake encounters.
2. Take account of the number of people killed, arrested, tortured, detained, etc. by forces.
3. Interact with those in jail or those released after detention/arrest.
4. Meet the CM and other officials concerned with the law and order situation.
5. Prepare a narrative and photo documentation of the visit.
6. Compile a comprehensive report of the facts collected with analysis and recommendations and present it to all the stakeholders and national/regional media.

In the last three days in Manipur we have met a cross-section of people here including the Chief Minister, DGP, IG Human Rights and Prisons, members of the civil society, citizens' groups, academics, mediapersons and families of the victims of State violence.

At the meeting with the CM, where the DGP was present, the general situation in the State was reviewed. The DGP confirmed that over 260 people have been killed since January 2009 and asserted that all of them were underground activists. When the committee expressed concern that more than a fourth of the prisoners in Manipur were detained under the NSA and brought up the case of human rights defender Jiten Yumnam, the DGP defended his detention and said he too was connected with the underground. The CM said he was prepared for a second round of talks with those agitating over the July 23 killings, after the first round on October 31, 2009 but several of their demands could never be met.

Regarding the AFSPA, he said the matter rests with the Centre. The team members appealed to the government that in order to prevent further alienation of the citizens from the State, each killing must be properly investigated, the NSA cases reviewed and the family members of the deceased appropriately rehabilitated through a just rehabilitation policy. We also raised the issue of Irom Sharmila's health, accommodation and access in the hospital.

On the November 6 the team was happy to meet Irom Sharmila Chanu, now on the 10th year of her heroic fast against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958. It calls upon the government to provide similar access to other civil society members. Her family members should be permitted to meet her on a regular basis. Being allowed only a limited number of visitors, she expressed her desire to meet, see and speak to more people more often. Her strength and courage in undertaking the longest satyagraha in the world, completely peaceful and non-violent, leaves us in awe of her struggle. Her demand for the repeal of the AFSPA should be actively considered in the light of several official recommendations.

Since Mahashweta Devi was denied permission to meet her the previous day, Sharmila handed over a letter to the team members for the respected Magsaysay Award winner. She further expressed her concern over the number of innocents that were dying everyday in Manipur due to the high degree of violence in the State.

Through our discussions in Imphal, we have come across repeated allegations against the security forces. The team expresses its deep concern over the deteriorating situation and the prevailing climate of impunity in Manipur. It conveys its solidarity with the victims of violence and calls for adequate recompense to the hapless women and children who have lost their husbands/fathers/sons/sole bread-winners and ensure employment opportunities to them.

Many have alleged these killings as fake encounters—as killings of innocents who perished either in custody or otherwise, but without legal sanction. Each of these allegations should be transparently investigated

West Bengal: Independent Revolutionary Left Assertion Needed

THE RESULT of the bye-elections to ten seats in West Bengal assembly held on 7th November is yet another reminder to the CPI(M)-led Left Front government that their almost three and half decades long uninterrupted rule is going to end almost definitely by the time of 2011 assembly poll. Out of these ten seats only Forward Bloc could win the Goalpokhar seat almost as a fluke entirely due to the infighting between Congress and Trinamool Congress there. Everywhere else TMC own seven seats and Congress two seats with overwhelming majority.

In Belgachia (East), fell vacant due to the death of LF minister Subhash Chakraborty, a sure seat, in spite of fielding his widow, CPI(M) lost with a huge margin of 28,630 votes. In Rajgunj in North Bengal, where CPI(M) had won with more than 50,000 majority in 2006 elections, it lost to TMC candidate by 15,000 votes margin. While CPI(M) lost all the five seats it contested, TMC won all the seven seats it contested with huge margin, wresting two seats from CPI(M).

The CPI(M) and the LF leaderships have become so arrogant and insensitive to people's anger that in spite of such telling defeats they are not ready to resort to any self-criticism and to amend the policies which are alienating even the Left Front votes from them fast. They go on repeating that it is the TMC-Maoist conspiracy which is causing their setbacks. They have intensified attacks on the adivasi people's movement against their misrule in Lalgarh area raising hue and cry about the Maoist bogey. But the post-Singur, post-Nandigram electoral debacle of the LF show that it is not the presence of a few armed squads of Maoists in the jungles of West Medinapur, but the people's alienation due to the corrupt, anti-people LF rule that is causing these setbacks to them. Inviting the central forces and commandos to suppress the adivasis of Lalgarh in the name of fighting 'Maoists' bogey had only alienated their own supporters from them. After 2011 debacle, the CPI(M) and other LF parties are going to face a major erosion of their strength.

As far as the TMC is concerned, it is riding on the crest of the anti-LF wave. In this situation, though some of the Congress leaders are unhappy about playing second fiddle to Mamata, and despite CPI(M)'s efforts to create a wedge between Congress and TMC at any cost by compromising to whatever extent with the Congress, it is almost sure that the TMC-Congress alliance will materialise and it shall sweep the 2011 assembly elections benefitted immensely from the growing people's resentment to the LF rule. It will not be due to a pro-TMC-Congress vote, but due to an overwhelmingly anti-LF vote.

In spite of this very clear writing on the wall, and the possible consequences of a TMC-Congress rule, the 'Maoists' enjoying the immense publicity

and the guilty punished. Further, there have been charges of using preventive detention laws to curb citizens' democratic rights to protest and freely express their views. The high degree and frequency of violation of human rights in the State is also cause for alarm. Restoration of peace and order must go hand in hand with the promotion of the rule of law and justice for the sustenance of democracy. The team feels that the consequences of continuing violence would be disastrous and adversely affect peace-building and reconciliation in society.●

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consciously given to them by the monopoly media are utilising their presence in Lalgarh area to support the TMC openly instead of talking about building a left alternative to the LF even once. It is the worst sort of their opportunist, anarchist line in action. Similarly some of the so-called 'Naxalite' veterans are also in TMC's band wagon in order to defeat the Left Front. The SUCI has already promised about continuing in the TMC alliance. All these anarchist and pseudo left forces are working tirelessly for the TMC alliance. At the same time, a few fringe groups and individuals claiming that Left Front is better than the TMC alliance. Both these sections are betraying the left cause immensely.

The role of the revolutionary left in West Bengal in the present situation, however weak it may be, is to tirelessly expose and oppose the CPI(M) and the Left Front rule led by it along with fighting the reactionary TMC-Congress raj, as both are committed to intensify the neo-liberal raj. Intensifying people's miseries, both are unleashing the state terror as evident in Lalgarh, for example, joining hands with each other.

The task of the revolutionary left is to put forward a revolutionary alternative platform before the left masses to win over the genuine communists forces still existing in the ranks of CPI(M), CPI like forces on the one hand, and from other shades of left forces along with the new forces, fighting uncompromisingly against the right opportunist, social democratic line of CPI(M), opportunism of various pseudo left forces taking reformist positions, and against the anarchist line of the 'Maoist'. The CPI(ML) shall persist in this Marxist-Leninist line of independent left assertion with a people's programme, a manifesto with a long term perspective. ●

“American Exceptionalism” in the Obama Era

THE SOVIET-LED alliance ended World War II with the defeat of the fascist Axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan. This “grand alliance” had featured unity of the Stalin and communist party-led Soviet Union with what was becoming the most powerful imperialist country of the time, the USA. Ever since then, the main manifestation of *class collaboration* from within the ranks of communist parties and organizations, as well as socialist and anti-imperialist activists and freedom fighters around the world, has been rapprochement with U.S. imperialism. The main rationale for such rapprochement has been “American Exceptionalism,” the idea that the USA, unlike all previous imperialist powers, was somehow able to avoid the striving for violent domination and oppression of the world’s peoples and could be reasoned and worked with.

The triumph of modern revisionism in the USSR in the late 1950’s and then in China in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s, in particular, featured the opportunist plague of “American Exceptionalism” and the establishment of rapprochement with U.S. imperialism. The demise and dissolution of the Socialist Camp and the undermining of the powerful national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Arabia and Afro-America followed.

With the end of the Vietnam War in the mid 1970’s, “American Exceptionalism” held sway internationally as imperialist globalization took root in the world capitalist economy. And, in all corners of the globe, capitalism, and especially U.S. capitalism, was touted as “a miracle worker.” People just had to be patient. Eventually, they, too, would get the globalization pay-off, was the conventional wisdom of the time.

Only in the new millennium, with the advent of the Regime of George W. Bush and its blatant unilateral wars and occupations of whole countries,

i.e. Bush’s global war of terror, did the fact become undeniable that U.S. imperialism was functioning precisely in accordance with Lenin’s classic teachings on imperialism, with its inevitable striving for violence and war. Indeed, George W. Bush, with the chauvinism, arrogance, brutishness and ignorance of an emperor, conducted a foreign policy of U.S. Empire, with less and less diplomacy and more and more military posturing and firepower.

The eight years of the Bush Regime ended ignominiously with military quagmire in Iraq and Afghanistan, increasing isolation of U.S. imperialism from its erstwhile allies, and, finally, a global capitalist economic crisis which began in the USA. It was in this crisis setting that U.S. imperialism allowed/selected a man of color, a man with charisma and strong mental faculties, to become the helmsman of the U.S. imperialist state. “Obama-mania” was the ultimate product of a two year multi-billion dollar campaign to convince the people of the USA *and* the world that the naked imperialist violence and oppression experienced under George W. Bush was an aberration and that “America” was, and still is, “exceptional.” Indeed, this global deception is working thus far.*

However, the need of international capital to defend and promote illusions about Obama and U.S. imperialism as well as the capitalist system of political economy itself has become even more crucial today in the context of what has already become the most severe world capitalist economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930’s. *For the previous fascination of the vast majority of the world’s peoples with capitalism has been broken.*

All the studies show the prominent, recent efforts by U.S. and international capital and by opportunist forces seeking accommodation with capital, to keep alive bourgeois democratic illusions about the current U.S. imperialist state and the Obama-Biden Administration that is today leading this state and leading the effort to save the capitalist system.

The Nobel recognition of Obama has been praised by “the usual suspects” of international social democracy from United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to former prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa to former winner Mohamed ElBaradei, director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, to last year’s winner, Martti Ahtisaari, a former president of Finland. It also includes U.S. imperialism’s notoriously corrupt puppet in Afghanistan, President Karzai, who hopes it helps lead to “[imperialist] peace and stability in Afghanistan and our region.” (*Boston Globe*, 10-18-09)

Unfortunately, praise for Obama’s selection also came from Fidel Castro. Such bourgeois democratic illusions about (“hopes for”) the Obama Administration on the part of Latin American leftist government leaders help explain why the military coup in Honduras (led by generals trained at the U.S. based School of the Americas) that toppled elected Honduran President Zelaya at the beginning of this past summer has been able to withstand the overwhelming opposition from the increasingly leftist movement across the South American continent for more than four months. *Fortunately*, we are not alone in opposing and exposing Obama’s Nobel Prize. Bruce A. Dixon, managing editor of Black Agenda Report, concludes his outstanding article, “Top Ten Reasons President

To Be A Suitable Boy

Ashok Mitra

[In this analysis (*The Telegraph*, 4 December) of US-China-India relations Ashok Mitra has well explained the US reasons for the differential approach to these two countries. Though he is not going to the extent of analysing the theoretical basis of this differential approach, from all the details he has put forward, it is clear that the US-China relation is the relation between two imperialist powers, while between US and India is the relation between one imperialist super power and a country under neo-colonisation which has qualified as a 'junior partner' of the imperialist system. Even though the Manmohan Singh government wants to act as the US bosses dictate, the people's resistance to its policies and the contradictions among the ruling class parties create obstacles to go much further than what it is doing now. This is the dilemma of a country under neo-colonisation. That is why, unlike China, which has qualified as an imperialist power, Manmohan Singh has to "whine". In this situation, unless the people's struggles against the policies pursued by this 'junior partner' of the imperialist system, especially US imperialism, are not intensified it shall further intensify neo-colonial slavery of the country and it may even get prepared to despatch Indian military to Afghanistan so that "the American boys could go home" — *Red Star*]

POLITICIANS over here — and, along with them, the media — are miffed no end. Why, oh why, is the United States of America so deferential towards China, while India is treated as a kid who is not yet fit to watch adult movies? During his recent visit to China, Barack Obama, for instance, went out of his way to reconfirm the American position that Tibet was an integral part of China. He carefully kept away from the entire range of sensitive issues relating to human rights, and only made a polite suggestion about the desirability of allowing the internet to roam free. The Chinese authorities could even persuade the US president to include in their joint statement a reference to the delicate state of Indo-Pakistan relations and how it impinges on Asian stability: the sly allusion to Kashmir was much too obvious. The US, it seemed, was determined to see no evil in China.

When it is India, it is, New Delhi laments, a different story. Obama may

compliment India on being an emerging world power and an indispensable ally of the US. He may throw a glitzy State dinner for the Indian prime minister. For the present, that, though, is about all. The nuclear deal signed with such fanfare by the previous American administration is yet to be "operationalized", New Delhi continues to be denied certain categories of extremely sensitive "high" technology. India may vote with the nuclear Big Five against Iran; it cannot still gain entry into their exclusive club, it is not yet recognized as a "responsible" nuclear power.

The Americans have their reasons for this differential approach. China's massive holdings of dollars — close to 2300 billion — are almost ten times what India possesses. The Chinese, if they so choose, can unload the whole of this stock in the world financial market and ruin the American economy. True, that is a most remote possibility, since, for its own sake, China would not like to see an economically devastated US, the country where it sends by far the biggest chunk of its exports. At the same time, a crucial segment of US imports are from China; American citizens have fallen in love with low-cost Chinese consumer goods. With no signs of a dip in unemployment, the American nation has to be kept happy with at least a stable cost of

Obama Should Give Back the Nobel Peace Prize," with the following: "The Nobel Peace Prize ... will hang around Obama's neck like a millstone, a token of the vast gulf between the fiction of a progressive black president and the reality of just another imperial CEO minding the same old store."

The new Michael Moore film, "Capitalism: A Love Story." of the award-winning documentary film-maker, has effectively dealt with several important foundations of U.S. imperialist society in the past. This time, in the name of condemning the entire capitalist system in the USA, Moore nonetheless manages to promote bourgeois democratic illusions about Barack Obama, the current chieftain of the main bulwark of world capitalism. Michael Moore *does* pose a fundamental question, however. *Is twenty-first century U.S. capitalism worth saving?* ●

*The Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index (NBI) survey on which countries are most admired (conducted annually since 2005) resulted, in 2009, in the USA topping the list for the first time and jumping from seventh to first place

in one year. Mr. Anholt, in a press release on the survey, stated: "What's really remarkable is that in all my years studying national reputation, I have never seen any country experience such a dramatic change in its standing as we see for the United States in 2009. The results suggest that the new US administration has been well received abroad and the American electorate's decision to vote in President Obama has given the United States the status of the world's most admired country." (*Christian Science Monitor*, 10-6-09).

[*Ray O Light Newsletter*, No.57]

living; imports from China are most helpful in that direction. Of about equal — perhaps even greater — significance is the magnitude of US investments in China, currently ranging at around 80 billion dollars each year (the total flow of foreign direct investment into India is yet to reach the annual rate of even eight billion dollars). Given the wobbly state of the domestic economy, the US administration dearly wishes investments in China to grow further and further. If the American president has to lobby hard on that account with China's leaders and humour them an extra bit, he will do so. China is already a superpower on the basis of its own capabilities and is duly accorded the appropriate consideration.

In about 20 years' time, when the size of the Chinese economy might be as large as that of the US's and its military prowess too expanded equally enormously, India could indeed be greatly needed by the Americans as an indispensable strategic ally to combat Beijing's overbearingness.

That kind of futurology does not constitute a part of the current American agenda. As of now, India can fulfil only a limited purpose. It has impressive manpower and a standing army of more than a million. This manpower would be handy to tackle the Taliban menace in West and South Asia. American involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan has made the electorate increasingly uneasy. The Asian war has to be wound down; the troops have to be brought back home. Washington is keen to see India join a grand concordat with the US and Pakistan against the global terror unleashed by the Taliban. American diplomacy is proceeding on the assumption that *vis-à-vis* India, it is in an advantageous position at the bargaining counter. If India wants to have American endorsement for entry into the charmed circle of "responsible" nuclear powers and free access to reprocessing facilities for spent fuel, it has to pay a price. The

price is general support to American foreign policy, followed up by readiness to send battalions of the Indian army to Afghanistan.

New Delhi is in a bit of a jam. The prime minister has gone on record; in this region, the Taliban do represent global terror as much as the Laskar-e-Toiba does. Going a step further, he has implored the US and its allies not to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan at this juncture. The American riposte can well be — and presumably has been — to ask India to take the logical next step and send its own troops to Afghanistan. The US is in a position to use even another ploy. The Americans have been wanting India and Pakistan to come to a deal on the Kashmir issue. The problem here, in the American view, is more at the Indian end: New Delhi's concern about possible domestic reactions to a settlement over Kashmir which rendered the valley into something less than an "inalienable" part of India. The hint may already have been dropped: bury the hatchet with Pakistan and come to an arrangement over Kashmir, the nuclear deal will be through.

The nuclear deal, Kashmir and Afghanistan thus have turned into interconnected issues. India is dying to be recognized in the comity of nations as a big and as "responsible" a power as China. It can reach that status only if the US acts as its sponsor. The Americans have set a price tag for that sponsorship: India should agree to despatch troops to Afghanistan and, at the same time, reach an accord with Pakistan on Kashmir. A Pakistan-India *entente* which places Kashmir on the back-burner is of crucial importance to the US on two counts: it permits Pakistan's rulers to concentrate on the Taliban, it also lessens Pakistan's sensitivity towards deployment of an Indian army contingent in Afghanistan.

Since the two conditions the US has apparently set are difficult to swallow, India is likely to continue to hem and haw. The prospects, the realization is dawning, are not very hopeful. Played into an awkward corner, our prime minister turned into a piteously self-righteous mood before an American audience: his country may not have as huge an economy as China's, India's gross domestic product growth may not be as remarkable as China's, but it is a free multicultural, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic democracy, it respects all human rights. Thank heaven for little mercies, the prime minister's speech writer did not drag in five thousand years of civilization, Gautam Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi.

A superpower does not whine, nor is it in need of beating its own drum. Anyway, contrary to what is said for form's sake, the Americans are not very particular about human rights where practical issues are involved. They have not bothered about human rights in Latin America in the past, they are not bothering about them in Iraq or Afghanistan either. They are much more interested in what China can do for the American economy at this moment, never mind the human rights business.

Not that New Delhi does not comprehend the nitty-gritty of realpolitik. In their feeble way, Indian authorities have been transmitting messages to the Americans. The directive to profit-making public undertakings to shed 10 per cent of their equity and the compulsory registration of all public sector corporate units in the stock exchanges constitute an open invitation to international — and especially American — finance capital to come and partake of the grand Indian spread. The banking and insurance sectors too have been offered on a platter to external — meaning American — parties. India might even toe, unabashedly, the American line at Copenhagen.

But to qualify as a suitable boy in American eyes, India perhaps has to do much more, and not just in the economic arena. For one, troops must be sent from India to Afghanistan so that American boys could go home. ●

The Political Organisational Report

[Extracts from Political Organisational Report of the Central Committee Adopted by the All India Special Conference Held at Bhopal from November 7 to 12, 2009]

International Situation

1 The present international situation is marked by severe global imperialist crisis, unprecedented in its intensity. It is not a temporary phenomenon, or cannot be resolved soon by bailing out the banks, insurance firms, MNCs, etc. who had indulged in reckless speculation and plunder as even the imperialist and comprador economists and spokespersons admit. The genesis of these crises was explained in the document “On International Developments and Tasks of the Marxist-Leninist Forces” adopted by the 1997 Fourth Conference of CPI(ML) Red Flag as follows: “Though the imperialist countries witnessed a post-World War II boom, it was only a temporary phenomenon. Despite development of science and technology, large scale reconstruction work following the war, giant arms industry etc., this boom could not be maintained. In order to combat the growing challenge from the socialist forces many welfare measures were adopted in the imperialist countries. It involved state intervention in the field of production, services and distribution adopting Keynesian devices. But, including these measures, the great investment boom of 1950s, which had greatly expanded the manufacturing capacity, soon over-fulfilled the demands for machinery, consumer goods etc. and by the end of 1960s the boom began to peter out despite all claims about crisis-free imperialism.”

2 “Marxists evaluate that after the World War I imperialism entered in to a period of irreversible crisis. Lenin in his works developed the idea that capitalism has entered the period of irresolvable general crisis, which is leading to socialist revolution. In a note prepared for the Third International Lenin also tried to make an analysis of the economics and politics behind this crisis. He pointed out many reasons for this crisis, like exhaustion of raw materials, weakening of the industry, fall of currencies, debts, deflation, ‘dislocation’ breaks up of the whole system of world economy etc. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p-451). Along with these, and as a result of them, the emergence of Communist movement and Soviet power was also pointed out by him. After Lenin, Stalin has explained this outlook on capitalist general crisis more clearly. Stalin wrote that “the chronic under-capacity operation of industry, chronic mass unemployment, the interweaving of the industrial crisis with an agricultural crisis, the absence of tendencies towards a more or less serious renewal of fixed capital which usually heralds the approach of a boom etc., etc.” (*Problems of Leninism*, p-459)”

3 “Except for a period of less than two decades following World War II, all these observations of Stalin are proved correct. Even this temporary stability was due to the reconstruction activities following the war and due to the intervention of state in the field of economy, a policy copied from the Soviet experience, as already mentioned. But this in itself did not provide any solution to the general crisis. On the contrary, a study of the later developments of the bourgeois economic order showed that this temporary stability only prolonged the dangerous crisis for the time being.

“In 1971 for the first time in this century the trade accounts of US fell in to deficit. Soon US unilaterally suspended convertibility of dollar into gold, going back from its Brettonwoods promise, soon to be followed by two devaluations of dollar. With the major currencies starting to float in relation to one another, a period of great instability followed with foreign exchange speculators reaping

giant profits and economies of imperialist countries going to tailspin, facing chaos.

“It was as a part of the efforts to save themselves from this growing crisis Britain and US introduced Thatcherism and Reaganomics, which were followed soon by other imperialist countries also. State intervention in economy is now increasingly abandoned. All public sector and government controlled enterprises are being privatised. Welfare measures are cut down. Soon IMF and World Bank started dictating Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in all debtor countries also on these lines.”

4. Further intensifying this structural adjustment regime through which *Laissez Faire* was re-introduced replacing the post-war Keynesian approach, the US imperialism clamouring for *New World Order* under its absolute hegemony went ahead to impose *Washington Consensus* in 1990 through IMF without bothering to evolve a consensus among the imperialist countries, or to hold discussion with the ‘developing countries’. The globalisation-liberalisation-privatisation regime of the *Washington Consensus*, which is also called neo-liberalism or market fundamentalism, dictated the following ‘ten commandments’: “fiscal discipline; redirection of public expenditure priorities in order to get high returns; tax reform to lower the marginal rates and broaden the tax base; liberalisation of interest rates; competitive exchange rate; liberalisation of trade; encouragement to free inflow of foreign direct investment; privatisation of public assets, under-takings, facilities, etc.; deregulation in order to abolish barriers to entry and exit of firms whether indigenous or foreign; and guaranteeing secure property

rights”. Subsidies, poverty alleviation schemes and welfare programmes were regarded as wasteful expenditures and they were to be done away with as early as possible. The role of the state in the economy was to be kept as small as possible and the economy was left to be driven by the “magic of the marketplace”. In America, the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, separating investment and commercial banking, was abrogated. Similarly other regulatory mechanisms were discarded. Consequently, the ground was gradually prepared for the present crisis.”

5. All over the world the process of dismantling the public sector was taken up at a maddening speed. All regulatory measures were removed. The IMF-World Bank-WTO trio and the MNCs with the speculative race at the market place started creating havoc. The *Glass-Steagall Act of 1933* introduced to stem the 1930 crisis was abrogated and *hedge funds* were formed and operated. As a result of all these the fundamental contradiction within the capitalist-imperialist system, i.e., the contradiction between socialisation of production and privatisation of means of production further intensified giving rise to the present crisis which is proved more severe than the one of 1930. It is in this context the G-20 Summit at London in the beginning of April 2009 made a pretence of putting a brake on *Laissez Faire*, to bid farewell to the *Washington Consensus*. It talked of replacing market fundamentalism with ‘marketplace innovations’. Its proclamation stated: “to build a stronger, more globally consistent, supervisory and regulatory framework for the future financial sector, which will support sustainable global growth and serve the needs of business and citizens’. Further, ‘We each agree to ensure our domestic regulatory systems are strong. But we also agree to establish the much greater consistency and systematic cooperation between countries, and the framework of internationally agreed high standards that a global financial

system requires. Strengthened regulation and supervision must promote propriety, integrity and transparency; guard against risk across the financial system; dampen rather than amplify the financial and economic cycle; reduce reliance on inappropriately risky sources of financing; and discourage excessive risk-taking. Regulators and supervisors must protect consumers and investors, support market discipline, avoid adverse impacts on other countries, reduce the scope for regulatory arbitrage, support competition and dynamism, and keep pace with innovation in the marketplace”. It was even claimed that efforts shall be made to diminish the role of the dollar as the only international currency. As already shown, these were only gimmicks to hoodwink the masses.

6. But these reforms are not going to solve the terrific consequences of the general crisis of imperialism, which has broken out with unprecedented fury this time. As Lenin pointed out the finance capital took birth with speculative and parasitic character. These characteristics of finance capital have taken most vulgar and predatory forms now, with monopolization reaching unprecedented levels and still intensifying. As a result the crisis of imperialist system goes on intensifying imposing more and more miseries on the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations the world over. The contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations and between capital and labour are intensifying very fast. It is also paving the way for cut throat competition among the imperialist countries and monopoly groups continuously sharpening the contradiction among them.

7. However hard the G-8 and G-20 Summits may try to ‘reform’ imperialism, however hard the imperialists, especially US imperialists, may try to utilise the services of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie controlling the state power in the large number of the neo-colonial countries to transfer the burden to the working class and the masses of these countries along with to the working class of their own countries, however hard the IMF-World Bank-WTO trio and MNCs are utilised for this purpose, the global imperialist meltdown has reached such a serious stage that a speedy recovery is not envisaged even by the most ardent imperialist spokespersons including US president Obama. That the only alternative before the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations is to throw out imperialism, the barbarous world order of plunder and war, is becoming clearer day by day. Not imperialism, socialism is the only alternative before the people. Slogans like “There Is No Alternative” to imperialist globalisation are proved counter revolutionary. In spite of the fact that the International Communist Movement (ICM) has suffered a severe setback with almost all the erstwhile socialist countries degenerating to capitalist path, the contradiction between imperialism and socialist forces continues to exist as one of the fundamental contradictions and the driving force for the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is those who went under the influence of the capitalist roaders in China and the class-collaborationist *Theory of Three Worlds* they had peddled once, it is those who have become apologists or executioners of the policies put forward under the counter revolutionary offensive of imperialism and world reaction, have obliterated the contradiction between imperialism and socialism from their party programmes.

Explaining this point, *A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM*, the 1963 document of CPC, pointed out in the context of analysing the concrete world situation then:

**“What are the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world? Marxist-Leninists consistently hold that they are:
the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp;
the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;**

the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is a contradiction between two fundamentally different social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is undoubtedly very sharp...

The international balance of forces has changed and has become increasingly favourable to socialism and to all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world, and most unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. Nevertheless, the contradictions enumerated above still objectively exist.

These contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are interrelated and influence each other. Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest.

It is inevitable that these contradictions will give rise to popular revolutions, which alone can resolve them.”

8. In the present international situation, as no socialist camp exists this should be replaced by the socialist forces, the revolutionary forces struggling for socialism. So the statement of the *Outline of the Party Programme* adopted by the 2005 Unity Conference is basically correct. It states: “In this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the imperialist system is beset with ever deepening crisis. It has led to sharpening of all the contradictions in the international level, viz.

1. The contradiction between the imperialism and the oppressed nations and people of the world;
2. The contradiction between capital and labour’
3. The contradiction among the imperialist countries and among monopoly groups;
4. The contradiction between imperialism and socialism.”

The following declaration of the 1963 *General Line* document summarizing the evaluation of the 1957 *Moscow Declaration* and 1960 *Moscow Statement* is still a valuable contribution which should be upheld and pursued according to the concrete conditions of today: “Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people’s democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man. This, in our view, is the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage.”

9 In the post-World War II situation when US imperialism came to the leadership of the imperialist camp, it was mainly the growing challenge from the socialist camp and the intensification of national liberation movements which had compelled it to replace the colonial forms of plunder by the neo-colonial forms of plunder, “more pernicious and heinous forms of plunder”. From the 1970s with the intensification of the general crisis of imperialism, in order to shift the burden of this crisis to world proletariat and the oppressed peoples the structural adjustment programmes replacing Keynesian policies with *Laissez Faire policies* were introduced through more ruthless intervention of IMF-World Bank and later WTO along with the MNCs. As the crisis did not disappear, in the favourable situation created with the disintegration of Soviet Union, the *Washington Consensus* of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism on the one hand and direct aggressions in West Asia, deployment of NGOs more extensively,

etc. on the other hand were utilised to transfer the burden to the world people, further intensifying the fundamental contradictions at international level. In the present situation of unprecedented imperialist meltdown, in spite of all false promises at the G-20 Summit of transforming the imperialist system, all the imperialist countries, especially US imperialism, is going to intensify its barbarous predatory methods of plunder and aggression. It is going to intensify the contradiction between capital and labour, between imperialism and oppressed peoples and nations on the one hand and among the imperialist forces and monopoly groups on the other. All these developments are going to bring the contradiction between imperialism and socialist forces to the foreground.

Pledging to continue the ‘war on terror’, using new explanation for it, the Obama administration has intensified the interference in Afghanistan, continue the military presence in Iraq, escalate the anti-Taliban operations ruthlessly in to Pakistan. It is putting into practice the time-tested methods of committing military aggressions, destabilisation and control of more and more countries. For this purpose communalism, religious fundamentalism, racism, etc. are wantonly utilised. Imperialism, especially US imperialism, is challenging and threatening the oppressed peoples and nations in a manner proving that it is still the principal contradiction at the global level. In order to get over the present global crisis, it is multiplying the exploitation and oppression of all toiling sections. In this situation, it is the primary responsibility of our Party to join hands with like-minded Marxist-Leninist forces at international level and develop an active international platform of such forces to develop united struggles against imperialism and world reaction. Our Party is duty bound to carry forward this task as fast as possible. ●

To be continued in February issue

Resolutions Adopted at All India Special Conference

Expose and Oppose the Manmohan Government's Policy of Aligning with US Imperialism on the Climate Question

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

It is in this context that as part of the Manmohan Government's strategic alliance with US Imperialism, the latter has taken the most deplorable position of supporting the US position pertaining to the Kyoto protocol. In the recent UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, while most other countries isolated the Government of India came forward supporting the arrogant American position on the climate question.

Though the Indian environmental minister Jairam Ramesh has come out with a formal denial regarding such an Indian move, well meaning people and concerned sections still believe that India is covertly supporting the US Government in this regard.

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

Repeal ASEAN Agreement

THE free trade agreement with ASEAN countries by the Government of India is yet another neo-liberal move to integrate the economy of India with the global market. This is an integral part of trade liberalisation unleashed by the WTO as the later article of agreement provides. The necessity of a series of regional free trade agreements is aimed at the dismantling of economic boundaries between countries as is often projected in the mainstream media. The real gainers of this agreement will be agri-business MNCs who control a lion's share of agriculture production in the ASEAN countries. At the same time the comprador big bourgeoisie who have a stake-holding in services and the real estate business will also gain from this agreement.

The vast majority of the poor peasants and the toiling people will be the real losers.

The ASEAN free trade agreement is a part and parcel of the trade agreements formed in the interest of the WTO which is a most effective weapon of the imperialist forces in their neo-colonial plunder. This Conference calls upon the toiling masses of India to rise up against the anti-people free trade agreement imposed upon India by the comprador Manmohan Singh Government. ●

Rally Against the Galloping Rise in Prices of Food and Essential Items

AS A RESULT of imperialist globalisation, the state is withdrawing from the public distribution system of food grains and speculative forces are allowed to freely enter the market for food and other essential items. Public procurement of food grains from farmers is progressively abolished and corporate monopolies such as Reliance are allowed to engage in futures trading in food grains leading to a galloping rise in their prices. FCI godowns are closed down and are rented out to speculators for hoarding food grains. Black marketing and hoarding of food grains are rampant. MNCs and corporates are allowed to freely enter even retail trade.

It must be noted that when the average daily income of 80% of our population is around Rs. 20 daily the consequences of this price-rise is fierce. The Indian state which stands for neo-colonial slavery is further opening up the country's markets while continuing with its populist pretensions.

In this situation, this conference urges all democratic forces to unite and develop peoples struggles to compel the Government to take immediate steps to effectively curb the rise in prices of food and essential items. ●

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

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

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

Against the Allowing of Genetically Modified Foods

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

For production such as cotton, it is the American and European companies that have assumed a monopoly position. Even Government companies like Mahyco have become agents of MNCs for the propagation and spread of BT (Biotechnology) Cotton seeds.

Due to the side effects of BT Cotton, the soil is losing its fertility. Due to the unsuitability of these seeds to our environment, production is falling. Cattle have died after eating the leaves and the fodder made from these plants. Hundreds of peasants, having been made bankrupt have committed suicide. Though their memory is still fresh in our minds, the Government has agreed to allow genetically modified brinjals and is considering the same for cabbage, potatoes, etc. The Government is giving MNCs a virtual monopoly to supply these genetically modified seeds.

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

On Lalgarth

WEST BENGAL today is seething with insurgent fury as well as reeling under the attack of state terror. The mass movements of Singur and Nandigram inspired the

people of the state to rebel against the Left Front Government and also exposed completely the ruthlessly repressive nature of the ruling regime. Unfortunately, with no struggling left organisation to spearhead the people's discontent, this was translated into heavy electoral losses for the Left Front and a massive swing in favour of the rightist Trinamool-Congress alliance.

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

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

Against Police Repression on Marxist-Leninists Forces

THE DELEGATES of the All India Special Conference of CPI (ML) in Bhopal protest against police harassment against foreign participants of the conference. Two of our fraternal delegates were forced to present themselves in a police station under the pretext of violation of visa regulations which proved to be wrong. Obviously this was part of a campaign organised by the State Government of Madhya Pradesh to criminalise every movement in favour of Marxism-Leninism and the spirit of the Naxalbari struggle.

We demand an urgent inquiry into the incident and an immediate apology from the state authorities to the two foreign comrades. We resolve that every attempt to intimidate our movement will not only fail but will be used by our organisation for counter-attacks against anti-communism, state terror and every kind of oppression against progressive movements. ●

On Construction Workers

WE DEMAND the immediate implementation of the Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996 and the connected Cess Act, also of 1996. It is shameful that even 13 years after its enactment, the official Annual Report of the Ministry of Labour for 2008-09 admits that boards have been formed in only 17 states in India so far.

Even in these 17 states in only very few of them has the work of registration of the construction workers and collection of cess from the builders started in earnest. As a consequence hundreds of crores of Rupees which rightfully ought to go to the workers are being retained by the builders each month. This loot has been continuing for over 13 years. This shows that the Indian state is not at all serious about implementing even the laws that it itself enacts and will ignore laws when the big bourgeoisie, big landlord nexus requires them to be ignored. We therefore demand that the Act be immediately implemented all over India, with effect from 1996, and that the unpaid amounts of the last 13 years be recovered with interest from the builders. ●

Fight to secure the rights bought with the blood and sacrifice of the working class!

Against SEZs

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

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

Against Nuclear Power Plant at Jaitapur

UNDER the pretext of an energy crisis, the Indian Government has planned many massive thermal energy and nuclear energy projects. Whereas we can easily build up cheap and simple sources of energy like hydro-electric energy, solar energy and others, the Government is, instead, forcing projects upon the people based upon foreign technology and fuel imported by private companies. This is causing double damage to the people, both in terms of economy and the environment. Besides, due to the technology and fuel being foreign, we will lose our energy self-sufficiency and become dependant.

The catastrophic nuclear bombs burst over Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the terrible nuclear accidents of Three Mile Island and Chernobyl prove that the effects of radiation will continue all over the earth and affect all peoples for

hundreds of thousands of years. In this background, this All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) strongly condemns the thermal energy projects planned in the Konkan region of Maharashtra as well as the Nuclear energy project which is planned as the largest nuclear power plant in the world. This Conference resolves to intensify the struggle against these projects along with the people of the Konkan region. ●

Against Proposed Power Hub at Singrauli

UNDER the pretext of making Singrauli a Power Hub, the M. P. Government is committing atrocities against the adivasis and common people of this region. Big comprador bourgeoisie like Essar, Jindal, Hindalco, JP and Reliance have been invited to the region for the power hub. Thousands of hectares of land of thousands of adivasis in the tehsils of Singrauli, Devsar, Chitrangi, etc. have been forcibly occupied. It is an undeclared SEZ. The serious problem of displacement and livelihood has been forced upon thousands and thousands of Adivasis households. In Singrauli the situation is that those displaced by earlier coal and thermal projects have still not received justice. This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) while condemning this anti-people act of the MP. State Government, pledges its determination to take part in the fight of the people of the region against this act. ●

Against the Sale of Navratnas

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

Repeal Marine Fisheries Regulation Act

THE newly introduced Marine Fisheries Regulation Act, enacted by the Central Government envisages unhindered exploitation of our seas by foreign trawlers and mother ships in both the deep seas and also along the coast. The Act seriously affects not only the millions of traditional fisherman but also those workers associated with modern fishing. As 22 nautical miles of the sea are under the control of the respective State Governments at present, there are many legal barriers for foreign vessels to fish within this limit. Beyond these limits foreign vessels require permission from the Central Government to engage in fishing. As part of imperialist globalisation, the Central Government is liberally issuing licences to foreign vessels for fishing in this sector. Entry of monopolies in the fishing sector has created an enormous crisis in this sector. Presently the fishing sector contributes thousands of crores of rupees

every year to the country's economy and it provides employment to millions of our people. The arrival of foreign fishing vessels has created a situation where those fishermen are forced to leave their natural habitat also. Till the advent of the new law, licences from four Government agencies were required for fishing in the coastal sector, which will now no more be required. This is a surrender to MNCs operating deep sea vessels.

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

Against Land Acquisition and Land Grab in India

UNDER the imperialist neo-liberal policies implemented in India, the corporate houses and MNCs have acquired lakhs of acres of land in the name of industrial development and SEZs / Real Estate, etc.

These policies have created huge land mafias. The state is taking steps to seriously implement neo-liberal policies, forming an acquisition-area board and other such agencies with the direct protection of police and army forces.

After 2005, when the SEZ Act was enacted, land grabbing has become rampant. Every state in different parts of India is making a victim of rural peasants who lose their land and become landless. Having no other skills, they end up as helpers on construction sites. Forced to migrate to the cities, such peasants lose their livelihood and all their fundamental rights including the right to life exist only on paper. This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) resolves to fight alongside all the peasants and progressive forces who are fighting against land acquisition and to guide this movement to the fight against imperialist globalisation. ●

Oppose Government's New Law on Self-Financing Education

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

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

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

Rise Up Against Unemployment and Criminalisation

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

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

It is the solemn duty of progressive and revolutionary forces to regain the youth who are subjected to ever intensifying criminalisation by speculative finance. This can be done only by organising the youth along an anti-imperialist democratic path led by a revolutionary youth movement having a correct perspective. This Conference

appeals to progressive forces to expose the neo-colonial Indian state which props up neo-liberal economic and cultural policies thus driving the youth to criminalisation and urgently appeals for building up a revolutionary democratic youth movement capable of effectively resisting the present degeneration. ●

On Land-grabbing in Jharkhand Under the Supreme Court Judgement

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

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

This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) resolves to oppose this judgement of the Supreme Court and further resolves to organise a massive demonstration of the adivasis from all over the country against this judgement in New Delhi in January 2010. ●

Situation in Bihar

SUCCESSIVE flooding and draught has become definitive of Bihar. In this situation, the people of Bihar are forced to flee their homes and seek employment elsewhere. In various parts of India, they have become unwelcome and are derided as “Biharis”. Such derision is totally unjustified as the people of Bihar have played an important role in the history of the struggle against imperialism and in the working class struggle in India. This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML), while recognising the role played by people from Bihar in the working class struggle in India call upon the Central Government to immediately take special steps to stop the cycles of flooding and draught and to undertake the development of the state which alone will be able to stem the exodus from the state. ●

On Unemployment in Punjab

PUNJAB is the first example of neo-colonisation in India. After the “Green Revolution” political and economic power in Punjab passed into the hands of the big comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes there. Due to this the exploitation of the people was intensified. Now, under imperialist globalisation and the current economic crisis, this exploitation has crossed all limits. The ruling class parties are bent upon selling the Punjab and making the

people there homeless and unemployed due to the heightened exploitation. Today there are 3.5 million graduate unemployed youth in Punjab who are hunting for jobs. This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) calls upon the youth of Punjab to organise and build a massive movement against unemployment by targeting the alliance of the big bourgeoisie and landlord classes and the Government which is their protector. ●

Against the Communalisation of M.P. under the BJP

AFTER coming back to power in MP, the BJP has speeded up the process of communalisation of the state and society here. The Saffron Brigade is bent upon pursuing its agenda in all fields in the state including education and culture. Using various excuses, a virtual war has been unleashed against minorities, especially Muslims in the state. The hooliganism of various constituents of the “Sangh family”, namely the Bajrang Dal, the Hindu Dharma Sena and the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad have crossed all limits in this state. Communal fascist attacks on the toiling masses and the democratic and progressive forces are increasing. This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) calls for building up a massive struggle against growing communal fascism in the state. ●

Condemn the State and Central Government for the Accident at Balco

IN September, in Korba, in the state of Chhattisgarh, hundreds of workers were killed due to the collapse of a chimney being constructed at BALCO for a power plant of Vedanta by Sepco, the Chinese contractor. This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) squarely holds the Central Labour Minister and the State Government responsible for this incident. This is because, in spite of massive protests by the people of Chhattisgarh against it, the Central Government persisted in selling 51% share of BALCO to M/s Sterlite (Vedanta) for a heavily discounted price. This Conference demands an immediate scrapping of the agreement with Sterlite, for declaring BALCO as a public undertaking, for an immediate judicial inquiry into this incident, for stringent punishment against those responsible for this mishap and for alternative jobs and Rs. 10 lakh as compensation for the dependants for those killed.

On Sri Lankan genocide

THIS All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) condemns Rajapakshe, President of Sri Lanka for the killing of thousands of unarmed and innocent Tamil people in Sri Lanka. We also condemn the Manmohan Singh Government which aided and supported the military of Sri Lanka in the killing of the Tamil people there. We appeal to the democratic people all over the world to start a movement to demand that Rajapakshe be tried as a war criminal. ●

'Salwa Judum' in Narayanpatna

[Report of the team who visited Narayanpatna on 23rd November. This statement was released at Bhubaneswar on Nov 25,2009]

A team consisting of the representatives of peoples' organizations that visited Narayanpatna on 23rd November 2009 after the killing of two members of the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS) spearheading the movement for restoration of tribal lands from non tribal land grabbers on 20th November 2009 by para-military police of the state in the pretext of self defence has come across shocking evidences which are unacceptable. The team at the outset would like to state here categorically that the killing of K Singana a top ranking leader of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha along with Andrew Nachika was a well thought out murder executed by the state police with the help of the IRB and CRPF and it was not an act of self defence.

The killing of Singana was preceded by a series of house to house raids in the villages in Narayanpatna area in which the men had been tortured and the women humiliated and sexually abused. The Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha had brought the matter to the notice of the OIC of Narayanpatna P.S who had given them the assurance that the combing operation in search of 'Maoists' was not targeted against them and he would personally supervise and ensure that no member of the Sangh is harassed.

Since the OIC did not keep his words and atrocities continued the Sangh leaders had gone to the PS with the only intention of asking the OIC why he breached the trust and to demand the withdrawal of security forces back to the barrack. The number of people assembled outside the PS was hardly one hundred and some of them carried their conventional weapons which is an accepted tribal habit in the region. The firing started when K.Singana as inside the PS and discussing with the OIC and as soon as he came out of the PS he was targeted and killed. His dead body was then dragged in to the PS.

More than 60 rounds of ammunition fired killing K.Singana and Andrew Nachika and injuring 25 others some of them being critically wounded. Plain cloth policemen and local land lords roaming around jointly and identifying tribal leaders who are tortured by them before they land up in police custody. Those sustained critical bullet injury don't receive any medical attention as there is fear of arrest and torture by the police. Salwa Judum type squads formed and any one visiting the area is tortured and humiliated with the active patronage and support from the local OIC.

Budha Gamang veteran tribal leader of South Orissa and President of Lok Sangram Manch taking part in the funeral of Singana beaten up by police. Com Sivaram of

CPI(ML) and other leaders faced humiliation in the hands of police and Salwa Judum team. Most of local media persons operating from Narayanpatna Police station. Fair reporting is a remote possibility as most reporters are also part of the land grabbing communities.

Repression against members of the democratic mass movement is already at an intensified stage and is going to increase in coming days and there is no sane voice available to protest. The victimized tribals have been left out uncared and isolated. The attack on the peaceful demonstration in which Singana was killed and ongoing raids have been deliberately timed to sabotage the harvest of the tribal farmers. Their agricultural tools have been seized by the police in the name of taking away weapons from them. As a result many people have been unable to harvest their crops while many are not being able to collect already harvested produce. The land grabbers getting reorganized in the form of peace committees with active support of police and ruling party leaders. The police were restless as Narayanpatna had become a litigation free Police station with no cases registered by tribals against any one which happened mostly because tribals had given up liquor and were looking after their own welfare collectively.

The land lords and traders were restless because the organized tribals had taken back their land forcibly occupied by them. The mining company and its potential beneficiaries were restless because the Chhasi Mulia Adivasi Sanghad organized conventions declaring that Mali (bauxite rich mountains) in the area will not be given for mining. The nexus killed K.Singana by making the local police their instrument that in turn made use of the Green Hunt operation. Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh is a democratic mass organization and existed much before, 'Maoists' became an issue in the area. The CM Nabin Patnaik shamelessly sleeping while the opposition is yet to wake up to the call of the tribal peasants crying for justice. ●

Women Fact-Finding Team Expresses Concern Over State's Response and Cordoning Off of Tribals

[We are reproducing below the press statement released at Bhubaneswar on 10 December 2009 by All India Women Fact-Finding Team to Narayanpatna. Team consisted of Sudha Bhardwaj, PUCL Chhattisgarh, Pramila Behera, Muktikami Mahila Sangathan, Odisha, Rumita Kundu, Campaign Against Violence on Women, Odisha, Ramani, Progressive Organisation of Women, Madhumita Dutta and Shweta Narayan, Chennai, Mamata Dash, Delhi, Durga Jha, Chhattisgarh, Kusum Karnik, Pune.]

At 8.30 a.m. on 9 December 2009, eleven of us (nine women and two men including the driver) left Parvatipuram (in Andhra Pradesh) for Narayanpatna (in Koraout district of Orissa) to investigate the incident of police firing on 20 November 2009 and the atrocities on adivasi women in the villages as reported of Bhaliaput, Bikrampur, Basanput and Palaput. The collector of Koraput was informed on 7 December 2009 about the visit by an all-women fact finding team to the area. As we were on our way, we were stopped by police in front of Narayanpatna Police Station. At the police station, we gave a list of names of members in the team with our addresses and mobile-phone numbers; the driver showed his license and car registration and insurance papers. Inside the compound of the thana, there were a large number of persons in civilian clothes; upon asking we were informed that these were special police forces. None of the people in uniform (we assume they were policemen) had any name tags. We asked one policeman how many police were there in this area, and he said more than 2000 police.

We also noticed that around 50 villagers (adivasis) were squatting inside the compound; again upon asking we were told by the policemen that they were members of the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh and have “**surrendered**” to the police.

We wanted to meet the Officer-in-Charge of the thana and although he was sitting in the office we were told that he was busy, and he would only meet us in the evening.

By this time, the crowd of the so-called plain-clothed police was getting restless. We heard people commenting saying: “Ek firing kya ho raha, ab aa rahen hain. Jab hamarey gaon jal rahe the, to kahaan the?” (When our villages were being burnt, where were they? Now they show up after the firing!). Several policemen were also making very hostile remarks.

Meanwhile, a mob of more than 200 persons, **who were visibly not tribals or ordinary villagers**, had already gathered outside the thana gates and several police persons kept on telling us that people here might do anything to our vehicle and to us and they would not be responsible. In this situation, we told them that we would return. But, as we tried to step out of the thana, the mob surrounded us, prevented the vehicle from leaving, smashed the back window. Our driver was cordoned off and was being questioned in a very hostile manner and being threatened. The mob continued to abuse the women team members in extremely foul language and derogatory manner. At this point, one policeman in plain clothes who was taking pictures of our team members on his mobile phone said to the mob, ‘Maro inko!’ (Beat them up!). That is when the 200-plus mob surged ahead. The driver was being slapped repeatedly. Madhumita and 75-year old Kusum Karnik tried to intervene and that is when one man went for Madhumita’s

throat. When she moved to save herself, her jaw was injured. Kusum was hurt too.

Rumita Kundu was verbally abused inside the police station. One man crudely said that all these women had come to sleep with the men there. Mamata Dash was hit on her back, and abused. All this happened right outside the police station premises and in the presence of a large police force! In fact, one of the police man shouted, “all the policemen come inside the police station, let the people do whatever they want to do with them.”

The driver was the one who was assaulted the most; and we did all we could to extricate him and board our vehicle. By this time, the vehicle was broken; the rear windscreen was smashed. With great difficulty, we left the area driving towards Bandhugaon. We were followed by young men on bikes. Somewhere between Bandhugaon Police Station and the village itself, we were stopped by two police men in plainclothes and they took away the driver’s license and papers. As he was enquiring, about 20 people gathered there. We somehow were able to get the driver’s papers back and proceed, some young men on motorcycle followed us and hit the driver from the window. We were completely shaken and traumatized by then.

From there, we proceeded to Kattulpetta. Even before we got to this village, news seemed to have reached them about our visit. A road blockade had already been organized, with a bullock cart blocking the road. The people there, again all non-tribals, pulled out the driver and started assaulting him. They tried to pull down another male colleague of ours, Mr Purnachandra Sahu and tried to beat him up. We intervened, and that’s when Kusum Karnik, the 75-year old activist, was hit on her head, which has left a lump there. We were there for more than 15 minutes. More violence. More damage to the vehicle. More slaps for the driver. They were threatening to burn our vehicle.

By this time, the two plainclothed “policemen” who had taken our names in Bandhugaon reached there and ordered the youth to disperse. We have later come to know that in all these villages, young men have been appointed as special police officers (SPO).

All along our way back right up to the Andhra Pradesh border it seemed evident that the police was in communication with these young men who stopped and man-handled us at all these three points.

We reached Bondapalli, the border village within Andhra Pradesh. Almost in no time, a jeep load of Andhra Pradesh police along with another jeep of heavily armed special force in civilian clothes arrived on the scene. They demanded to know who we were. We were treated more like criminals than victims, and our vehicle was searched. For the third time we gave all our names and other details to the police. Only after Madhumita spoke to the SP of

Vijayanagaram district, we were allowed to go. The police version is that they were acting on confidential information from Orissa police that anti-social elements had entered Andhra.

Our experience with armed youth and police has left us clearly terrified, and has left us with many questions as to how Indian democracy is functioning. We are deeply concerned that if an All India Fact-Finding Team of Women can be treated with such intimidation, violence, and indignity in the very presence of police force, what would be the kind of atrocities committed on tribal people in Narayanpatna who have been completely cordoned off by the police. The whole area seems to be under siege. This particular incident really highlights that the State does not want an independent enquiry into the incident that occurred on 20 November 2009 and the long-standing grievances of the tribals in the area.

OUR CONCERNS

1. The scenario of terror that we witnessed, and were subject to shows the kind of tense situation prevailing in the Narayanpatna area post 20 November 2009 police firings in Narayanpatna.
2. There is no access for people to get in and out of the villages in Narayanpatna, with all routes blocked by police and goon to whom the police do not even try to control.
3. There is no way to get information about what is happening inside, and no means of verifying the very disturbing accounts we are getting about abuses, molestations and violence against adivasi people.
4. The number of plainclothesmen who claimed they were police, and the comfort with which people outside the Narayanpatna police station were interacting with the police, and reacting to one policeman's instruction to beat us up, suggests that there may be some truth to reports that there is a Salwa Judum style Shanthi Samiti in this area as well. This may either be sponsored or working in close complicity with the police and state.
5. If the fact-finding team of prominent women has been treated with such violence, it is clear that there is absolutely no room for dissent inside the villages.
6. All the people who attacked us were non-tribals.

OUR DEMANDS

1. The police officer in-charge of the Narayanpatna Police Station be immediately suspended;
2. The connection between the mob attack at various points and the police be investigated;
3. The SP Koraput should immediately be suspended who seem to be supervising the terror being unleashed on the adivasis and independent teams coming to the area;

4. Independent fact-finding teams should be allowed inside the region to investigate the situation prevailing there;
5. As a first step towards normalizing the situation, the cordoning off of the area should immediately ceased;
6. The Government should constitute a high-level independent enquiry into the police-firing incident at Narayanpatna and the long standing grievances of the tribals in the region. ●

Rail Roko at Bhubaneswar Against Narayanpatna Firing

Against Narayanpatna Police firing and state repression on Mass movements the CPI(ML) and other left democratic organizations gave call for All Odisha Protest Day and South Odisha Bundh on 28th Nov 2009. On that day CPI(ML) Bhubaneswar Committee took out a massive rally and started Rail Roko, first blocking Rajdhani Express from Bhubaneswar to Delhi at 10 o' clock. Then another two trains were also blocked there. Due to this Rail Roko many trains were blocked in the route. Rail roko continued for 2 hours then a joint Rally of marched towards state assembly, and demonstrated there. A protest meeting was held there presided by com. Jayadev Nayak of CPI(ML). Com. Sivaram, state sec. of CPI(ML), com. Kshitish Biswal, state sec. of CPI(ML) Liberation and other leaders of both the organizations criticized the Navin Patnaiks repression policy. In Bhadrak district also at Dola Sahi Bazar a protest Rally and public meeting organized under the leadership of CPI(ML) Bhadrak Dist Committee, Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha, Bhadrak Dist., Jeevan Jeevika Surakshya Samiti and RYFI Bhadrak Unit. Protest meetings were organized at Balasore, Boudh, Dhenkanal, Kendrapada and Puri also by CPI(ML) activists and RYFI units. This Protest day campaign got wide peoples support. ●

Dharna Against Arrest of Mass Movement Activists

Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha (CMAS) of Narayanpatna is a class organization led by CPI(ML), who opposes the anarchist line of the Maoists. But to repress the mass movement the state and police is giving the colour of Maoists to it. Taking the plea in the name of combing operation they are harassing the villagers, arresting the activists of mass movements. On 28th night the police arrested Com Tapan Mishra with the plea that he is a Maoist. He is no way connected to Maoists. He is a mass activists, close supporter of CMAS. He was elected councilor from Atthamallick and in last election he contested as a independent candidate. He along with 75 others were arrested. To release them unconditionally and to stop repression CPI(ML) and other revolutionary left and democratic organizations held a mass Dharana before the state assembly on 4 December. ●

Jharkhand: Vidhan Sabha Elections

THE FIVE PHASE election to the Vidhan Sabha was held from November 27 to December 18 in an atmosphere of state terror and extremely corrupt practices by the ruling class parties. The administration, the police and even the election commission officials were openly favouring the leaders of these parties. The agents of the MNCs and all big corporate houses were deployed to manipulate the election. Though the Congress, BJP and other main ruling class parties have spent fabulous funds and the media openly propagated for them, the polling percentage in the main urban centres like Jamshedpur, Ranchi and Dhanbad was only 30-35%. In spite of the much trumpeted election boycott of the so-called 'Maoists', which was non-existent even in many of their so-called strongholds, the voting percentage in the rural areas was 50 to 65% making the average polling in the state about 55%. The 'Maoist' bogey was conveniently utilised by the administration to spread state terror on the one hand and to make the election as a whole as undemocratic as possible on the other. As far as the 'Maoists' are concerned except for stray actions and few posters their boycott campaign was almost totally negligible. On the contrary, they including the split away groups from CPI(Maoist) indulged in supporting some of the main ruling party candidates. As in the past, they indulged in opportunist practices, never trying to launch a political campaign to justify their boycott.

The Congress-Jharkhand Vikas Manch alliance as well as the BJP-JD(U) alliance, the main contenders of power, while speaking about stability and non-corrupt governance, are really the sources of the instability and ever-increasing corruption in the state. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha of Shibu Soren, fighting all the seats alone, and the RJD-LJP alliance with CPI and CPI(M) were far behind in the campaign. The administration was engaged in creating conditions so that there were very little other options before the people than to vote for one of these or not to vote as many urban voters did. All other democratic forces were terrorised or were sought to be marginalised. Even their nominations were rejected to favour ruling class party candidates.

Though CPI(ML) state committee had decided to field 14 candidates initially, in this atmosphere of state terror and hostile attitude of the administration, finally only seven candidates could be fielded. Even out of them the nomination papers of com. Bandharam Munda from Tamard and com. John Miran Munda from Chaibasa were rejected by the returning officers on flimsy grounds, or telling the lie that all necessary papers and certificates were not received even after certifying while receiving the nomination paper that all necessary papers are received, as in the case of com. John Miran Munda. The rejection of the nomination of com. John was challenged in the High Court. On 6th

December com. John started hunger strike inside Chaibasa district jail, where he has been kept under false charges. On 7th all the 147 prisoners in the jail went on hunger strike in support of him. They continued the hunger strike till 7th afternoon when com. KN Ramachandran and state secretary com. Anjani Kumar went to the jail and informed that the workers of the ACC Cement Factory and people in the area will take up the struggle with the slogan "No John, No Election". From 11 December *Padyatras* were organised by hundreds of workers calling on the people to boycott the elections in protest against rejection of the nomination of com. John.

In Latehar, where com. Pradeep Ganju, secretary of Jharkhand General Mazdoor Union was the candidate, about 3000 people including large number of women participated in the rally for filing the nomination. Squads of workers participated on foot, cycles or two-wheelers in the village level campaign combating the campaign of ruling class party candidates spending crores of rupees. ●

On Violation of Human Rights in Gujarat

THE BJP has captured state power in Gujarat in 1998 and since then the most fascist face of the BJP has been revealed in that state. The BJP has since been showing its true colour of communal fascism. Whereas, on the one hand, it uses secular festivals like the kite-flying festival to project "vibrant Gujarat", on the other hand, its alter-egos, the VHP and the RSS are freely allowed to spread the poison of Hindutva. The State Government has close relations with all the big comprador corporate houses in the state like the Tatas, Birlas, Adanis, Ambanis and other big builders and is seen as being at their beck and call at all times. On the other hand, fake encounter cases against the Muslim community continue unabated. The recent order of the court in the Ishrat Jahan case exposing Gujarat Police Top Brass like Vanjara and Dr. Amin is proof of the Government's direct involvement in fake encounters. This All India Special Conference of the CPI (ML) demands that Narendra Modi should be held personally responsible for the massacre of Muslims in Gujarat and must be sentenced accordingly. ●

On River Water Disputes

THE ruling classes continuously divide the people on the basis of nationality. Such is the basis of the water disputes between Tamil Nadu and Kerala in Mulaiperiyar, between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka in Kaveri and Hogenakkal and between Tamil Nadu and AP in Palave. These water sharing and dam disputes are continuously used by the ruling classes and their media to provoke the people to riot. This All India Special Conference of CPI (ML) calls upon the landless and poor peasants of all the four states to organise and first fight against the loot of the water of our country by imperialist, big MNCs, the comprador corporate houses and the landlord classes. ●

Resolution of Conference of CPI(ML)

Hyderabad Declaration..... *from page 2*

● **This Bill**, maintains Sarva Sikhsha Abhiyan's discriminatory multi-layered school system;

● **This Bill**, permits the government to build and maintain schools of entirely unacceptable, ambiguous and sub-standard norms and standards;

● **This Bill**, continues with inferior quality education for almost three-fourths of the children, particularly girls, disabled and severely disadvantaged categories;

● **This Bill**, misconceives the universally acknowledged concept of disability and fails to provide for norms and standards necessary for integrating disabled children into regular schools and classrooms;

● **This Bill**, undermines the universally accepted pedagogic role of mother tongue in acquiring knowledge and learning languages other than one's mother tongue, including English;

● **This Bill**, discriminates between the children studying in government schools and the private unaided schools in various ways, particularly by providing for deployment of the government school teachers for non-teaching tasks. This is bound to lead to further deterioration of the quality of education in the government schools, making private schools, both aided and un-aided, even more expensive and inaccessible to a wide section of the society. The worst sufferers of such discrimination will be the girls, thereby leading to increased gender disparity;

● **This Bill**, aims at demolishing the government school system under the pretext of providing free education to the weaker sections on 25% of the seats in private schools. On several grounds it is clear that this misconceived provision would not give any benefit whatsoever to the deprived children even in the short term;

● **This Bill**, legitimizes, through the above-named provision of 25% reservation in private schools, the 'free market' policy of school vouchers and Public Private Partnership (PPP);

● **This Bill**, refuses, by not including the financial estimates for implementation of the Bill in the Financial Memorandum, to explicitly accept the full obligations of the Bill and

● **This Bill**, promotes unregulated privatization and commercialization of school education.

The following three cynical objectives of the Central Government can be identified in tabling such a misconceived Bill:

First, abdicating its Constitutional obligation for providing free and compulsory education of equitable quality;

Second, demolishing the government school system, except the schools of specified categories (e.g. Kendriya Vidyalayas, Navodaya Vidyalayas, XI plan's 6,000 model schools and similar elite schools of the State/UT governments); and

Third, increasing the pace of privatization and commercialization of school education.

While rejecting the above Bill outright, we demand that the Central Government must,

i) *replace* the pending Bill with a new Bill drafted in the framework of the Common School System based on Neighborhood Schools in consonance with the basic spirit and principles enshrined in the Constitution;

ii) *review* the 86th Constitutional Amendment Act (2002) with a view to providing a Fundamental Right to free and compulsory education of equitable quality to all children until the age of eighteen years i.e. until class XII without any conditionality whatsoever;

iii) *provide* Constitutional guarantee within the Bill for adequate funding for the entire school system (this is precisely the implication of a Fundamental Right);

iv) *include* in the Bill a provision to completely ban all forms of privatization and commercialization of education, especially Public Private Partnership (PPP), adoption of schools by private agencies and voucher schools; and

v) *hold* public hearings in all district headquarters of the country in a democratic and transparent manner in the process of drafting the new Bill. ●

RYFI Organising Committee Calls for Making All India Conference a Great Success

The Revolutionary Youth Federation of India (RYFI) organising committee has called for making the All India Conference at Bangalore on 30,31 January 2010 a great success. A reception committee is formed at Bangalore with com. Basavalingappa, CC member of the Party as its chairman. Conference will be held at Sri Varadachar Kalakshetra at Seshadripuram (near Bangalore railway station), in which 1500 delegates are expected from all over India. The programme for mobilisation for the rally and public meeting is finalised. ●

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Condemn Government of India's Comprador Role in the Rejuvenation of the Doha round of Talks

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

It was in this context that at the behest of the USA,

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

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

On Black Laws

SINCE colonial times itself, the British imperialists, for stifling the cries of opposition of the Indian people and for removing all opposition to their rule and exploitation, had enacted various Black Laws. After 1947, the comprador rulers of India continued taking the help of various black laws for destroying the democratic aspirations of the people; for denuding personal freedoms, for snatching away the fundamental rights of the people and for continuing the loot and exploitation of the people. During British rule itself, the Rowlatt Act had been utilised to break the determination of the Indian patriots. In like manner, after 1947, the Defence of India Rules, MISA, NSA, TADA, POTA, UAPA and other

Acts like ESMA, Organised Crime Prevention Acts, Special Areas Protection Acts, Armed Forces Special Powers Act, etc. have been used against Communists, workers, toilers, progressive sections, poor people, Adivasis, Dalits, Minorities, etc. In this matter, the State Governments of Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and others have been as bad as the BJP and Congress Governments at the Centre, no matter which party is currently ruling in these states. Bhopal of the CPI (ML) opposes all laws which give unfettered rights to the state and demands their withdrawal. Bhopal Conference calls upon the people of India to build up a struggle against Black Laws and for Democratic Rights. ●

Resolutions adopted by All India Special Conference of CPI(ML)