

RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

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Arrest all scamsters, confiscate their properties !
Confiscate Black Money stashed away in
foreign banks !

Epanad the Lokpal bill to elect Lokpal at center
and Lokayuktas in states with the right to recall !

Link
struggle
against
corruption
to struggle
against
the ruling
system
which
breeds it !



DEVELOP STRUGGLE AGAINST CORRUPTION TO STRUGGLE AGAINST RULING SYSTEM

THE LATEST developments, on 26th August, in Lok Sabha including the speech of the prime minister in waiting, Rahul Gandhi, the *one step ahead, two steps backwards* approach of the UPA government and the games played by the opposition parties, mainly BJP, exposes the reactionary politics played by all of them which made corruption unprecedentedly rampant in the country, made all the corrective agencies including the Supreme Court also corrupt and the constitution of Lokpal and Lokayuktas impossible for 42 years. All the parliamentary parties, in spite of their apparent contradictions, are united in repeating day in and day out that the parliament is supreme and nothing should be done harming it. But they refuse to recognize that a movement like that of Anna Hazare, who, like any others belonging to the civil society groups (CSGs) and NGOs, is as firm a defender of the present ruling system as any of these MPs, came up and is getting so much mass support because corruption is affecting their daily life and is the most dangerous threat to the survival of whatever democracy is still surviving in the country.

Yes, can a Lokpal prevent corruption, as even Rahul Gandhis are asking today? Absolutely not, as the degeneration of the whole ruling system reveals. Then, can a constitutional authority like the Election Commission stop it? Such a claim amounts to sanctifying an institution which is presiding over an election system which helps the most corrupt and criminal elements to occupy most of the seats using caste, communal, currency and liquor power. While even a Lokpal or Janlokpal is not going to create any wonders, as the 64 years of experience shows, the stark fact staring at is that even for installing it the corrupt ruling system is not prepared for. The present wrangles in the parliament clearly prove it.

If in the post 1947 period, in the background of promises during the independence struggle and as imperialists themselves were advocating some amount of welfare policies to resist the communist advances, from 1970s especially after the 'neo-liberal' policies were imposed, all of them are taken away and not only the surplus value, an extra surplus is looted through corruption and price rise. In this situation the existing ruling system including all its instruments including judiciary are made corrupt. So however much people agitate the central and state governments are not ready to reverse their policies or to create any new irritation like Lokpals.

The anti-corruption movement, whether it fizzles out or any compromises are worked out, prove that there is no scope for any reformist illusions like the ones spread by

the revisionists and CSGs and NGOs. The ruling system will go on becoming corrupt and anti-people. Only by overthrowing the ruling system which breeds corruption and price rise and promote the most inhuman values a basic change can take place. As the revolutionary left and democratic forces had taken lessons from the past, while recognizing the class character of Anna like forces and the limitations of these struggles, they could join with the masses who had come out on the streets wherever they had mass support and could try to give a radical orientation to the students and youth. While the rightist forces led by RSS Parivar will try to reap benefits out of the debacle of the Congress and the UPA, and the CPI(M)-led LF will be satisfied with forging a 'third front', it is the task of the revolutionary forces to launch continuous campaigns and agitations against corruption, price rise and the whole 'neo-liberal' policies and to build a people's alternative to the ruling system. The politicization that has taken place against the corrupt ruling system during this movement, however limited it may be, should be utilized fully. ●

FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION AND PRICE RISE

THE meeting of the Democratic People's Forum (DPF) held on 20th August 2011 at New Delhi welcome the large number of people taking to the streets against corruption all over the country. It reflects the extent of anger and opposition on the part of the broad masses of people against corruption in all fields which is making their life miserable. The DPF calls upon the people to organise themselves and advance the struggle against corruption which has become more rampant after the imposition of globalisation and "neo-liberal" policies. The DPF calls upon the people to link the struggle against corruption to the struggle against these very same policies and carry it forward. ●

CPI(ML)

CPI(ML) (Central Organ Janshakti)

Marxist-Leninist Committee, Andhra Pradesh

New Socialist Movement

Bahujan Vam Manch

PCC, CPI(ML)

Jan Paksh

Nav Janvadi Lok Manch

Chhattisgarh Mukti Morch (Mazdoor Karyakarta Samiti)

INTENSIFY ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT

EVEN ON the tenth day of Anna Hazare's fast, whether the UPA government is going to accept the main contents and modalities proposed by the Anna team in Janlokalpal bill is uncertain. Neither the government nor the opposition parties are serious on the question of establishing a Constitutional instrument like Lokpal at centre and Lokayuktas in the states. It is proved by what happened to this during the last 42 years. While all of them talk about the supremacy of the parliament, why it failed so far to address the growing corruption in all walks of life by putting forward any effective instrument to deal with it is not answered. The way consecutive governments have treated this question shows that they are afraid of any institution outside their direct control to handle corruption.

The Anna team represents 'civil society groups', and is reformist in character. But, the positive aspect of the 'Janlokalpal' movement is that it provided an opportunity for large sections of students, youth and middle classes along with other sections to express their growing anger against corruption by participating in the mass upsurge witnessed in Delhi and other areas. In a way it is politicizing the masses. It has taught them to speak against corruption, price rise and problems linked to them. It is because of it the CPI(ML) and other revolutionary left and democratic forces had welcomed it and called on their cadres to join the masses and try to turn this movement against corruption to a movement against the very ruling system which breeds corruption, as part of the movement against corruption and price rise waged under their own independent initiative.

The past experience shows that even if 'effective' Lokpal and Lokayuktas are put in to position the ruling system can find ways to subvert them. Already the directive principles of the Constitution and all existing laws are subverted daily to make the system increasingly reactionary. So, even if a Janlokalpal bill as proposed by Anna is enacted, its fate also will not be basically different under the reactionary ruling system. On the other hand, there is also the possibility of the struggle fizzling out without achieving any tangible results as happened in April. In the absence of a genuine left alternative to the UPA government there is a possibility of the rightist forces taking benefit out of such movements also. The way to combat these negative factors is by pursuing the path of left assertion in all fields.

But, it cannot be done by treating the movement led by Anna as the main enemy or as if it is blocking the march of the 'red army' from Dantewada to capture Redfort. Or, by complaining that it is blocking the media attention away from their struggles, or the 'Messianism' of Anna is threatening the great democracy flourishing in the country. Or, by repeating that the corporate media is having its own agenda, as a new discovery. Some how or other, all these are a repetition of the frustrated expressions of the petti-bourgeois elements who had no complaint when the CPI(Maoist) supported TMC in Bengal elections in the name of opposing the CPI(M), instead of joining the effort to build a people's initiative against both.

That the struggle against corruption in a country which is under neo-colonial plunder and crony capitalism, the struggle against all other manifestations of the so-called neo-liberal policies, cannot achieve complete victory without overthrowing the existing ruling system is becoming clearer day by day. The

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challenge confronting the revolutionary classes and sections is how to carry forward this struggle. It is in relation to it all spontaneous and other struggles breaking out in the society should be approached. In a class divided society all these struggles are different manifestations of class

struggle. Grasping this fact the revolutionary forces with firm class positions and continuous efforts to assert its own independent initiative should join the masses in all these movements and try to link them with the struggles led by them in various fields. In this way even if some of these struggles are suppressed the revolutionary forces can prevent the participants from getting frustrated and maintain continuity of the movement. So, irrespective of what happens to the Anna movement let us carry forward the struggle against corruption and price rise, linking it with the struggle to overthrow the ruling system. ●

FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS

THE PANIC and bloodbath on the international stock and currency markets during the second week of August, 2011 following the downgrading of American “credit rating” by Standard & Poor’s from ‘AAA’ to ‘AA+’ were not unexpected. Though the immediate political reason behind this extraordinary downgrade of the US by a credit rating agency has been the dissatisfaction among a section of the neoconservative American financial oligarchs with the extent of the cuts to medicare and other entitlement programs announced in the agreement between the Obama administration and Congress, the objective factors that led to it are linked up with the whole course of transformation of the neocolonial world order led by US, and the present situation in many respects is reminiscent of the historic crisis of the 1970s when the Bretton Woods system collapsed following the withdrawal of the gold backing of dollar. Underlying the turmoil in world currency, capital and commodity markets that followed the downgrade is the long drawn out and irreversible decline in the economic power of the United States, which has been playing the key role in maintaining the imperialist system through its political, economic and military prowess.

Ever since the crisis of the 1970s, led by USA, imperialism has been promoting the most parasitic form of wealth accumulation through what is called ‘financialisation’ the essence of which has been a deindustrialization and casualisation of labour coupled

with the outsourcing of work to cheap labour economies, a process that assumed its most heinous form in the sub-prime crisis in 2008. In the process, America transformed itself into an economy not based on production, but on money-spinning financial speculation and import-induced consumption. This necessitated large-scale imports leading to unmanageable levels of deficits in balance of payments and mounting debt. Meanwhile the pumping of trillions of dollars into global currency markets and money circulation channels coupled with the issuing of bonds for meeting neocolonial needs that forced governments and central banks the world over to hold them as their foreign reserves masked a deepening contradiction never occurred in the entire history of imperialism that is related to the dollar, the currency of the of world’s most indebted nation acting as the ‘numeraire’ of international transactions. At present, the status of dollar as the international reserve currency is not based on its economic strength but as “the one among poor choices” in the absence of a credible alternative.

The present crisis is a clear manifestation of the fact that the neocolonial monetary order based on dollar is in an advanced state of disintegration. American foreign debt is moving towards the staggering figure of \$16 trillion while its nominal GDP today hovers around \$ 15 trillion. At these unsustainable levels of debt and rising interest burdens, no body believes that America will be capable of repaying them. Other imperialist powers including China and comprador regimes like India who have their stakes in the present neocolonial order are compelled to hold this US debt in the form dollar and American treasury bonds. For instance, China alone holds around \$ 2 trillion worth of such treasury bonds while India is keeping almost Rs.16 lakh crores worth of US bonds as reserves. Meanwhile speculative attacks on the fast depreciating dollar is reflected in the recurrence of “gold fever” at periodic intervals compelling central bankers and governments as well as private agencies to turn to gold as the last resort. There is no set of economic policies that can resolve this crisis within the system. Only a political alternative under the leadership of the working class and oppressed peoples can resolve it. ●

From First to Ninth Congress

Nine Decades of the Communist Movement In India

(In English and Hindi)

K.N. Ramachandran

Contribution : Rs. 25

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US-LED NATO TAKES OVER LIBYA

THE LATEST REPORTS indicate the fall of Tripoli, the stronghold of Quadhafi, to the NATO supported TNC rebel front dominated by Islamic fundamentalists. When the uprising against the 42 year old dictatorship of Quadhafi broke out in the wake of the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, it was supported by all the progressive forces including us, because, in spite of his benevolence of implementing welfare policies using the petrodollars and his strident anti-US stand during the early year, his family rule over the country divided among nearly 140 tribes was corrupt and dictatorial. But unlike the masses coming to the forefront as in Tunisia and Egypt, here the TNC leaders were trained in western capitals or fundamentalists who hated Quadhafi's liberal approach to religious rigidity. Though they could get an amount of mass support, especially in the oil-rich western regions, which deceived the international opinion making in the beginning, when they approached US for support and under the pretext of the UN Security Council Resolution no 1973 US with its NATO allies started bombing Libyan cities and all the strong holds of Quadhafi, it became clear unlike what happened in Tunisia and Egypt, what is happening in Libya was another exercise to grab the rich oil wealth of this country by installing another puppet government as in Iraq and Afghanistan.

But though the US and its allies had boasted of the overthrow of Quadhafi in days it did not happen and now it is after more than six months of brutal bombing by the most advanced bombers the rebel forces could enter Tripoli. Quadhafi could continue the resistance with the support of his loyal forces and using the contradiction among the numerous tribes. He is still not captured and the resistance in the pockets of his influence may continue for a long time. So, even after the faction ridden TNC takes over, the situation in Libya will be worse than that of Iraq, with the atrocities against the people continuing in a more brutal form. Though Quadhafi had close relations with Soviet Union and had taken strident anti-US positions then, the US and its allies had good relations with him after disintegration of the Soviet Union for establishing access to its rich petroleum resources. Their anti-Quadhafi stance in the name of democracy is yet another hoax to cheat public opinion.

By installing a puppet regime in Tripoli, the US and its allies will get 'preferential' rights, which in practice mean monopoly rights, over the Libyan oil. Secondly they and their MNCs can grab the lucrative contracts for rebuilding the cities which were devastated by their own bombers. Thirdly, the European Union countries can now compel the puppet regime to drastically control migration to them from and through Libya. During these days of severe economic recession the domination over Libya is going to be a partial relief to the besieged economies of these imperialist countries.

Talpiece: During these months of barbarous bombings of Libya, both Russia and China who had 'strategic relations' with it kept 'strategic silence' about this aggression, if a word in common use among the imperialist rulers of these countries can be borrowed. The inter-imperialist contradictions even if it is sharp in capital-market fields and technology sector, take such a mellowed form when it comes to resisting aggressions by the US led forces in the neo-colonial phase. ●

INTENSIFY EFFORTS TO MAKE NINTH CONGRESS A GREAT SUCCESS

THE MASS UPSURGE that has broken out all over the country in the context of Anna Hazare teams' attempt to get their 'Janlokal' bill passed by the parliament and the fast undertaken by him reflects the extent of the anger of the people against the corrupt ruling system which has devastated their lives. That the mobilizations are predominantly of the middle classes and of the students and youth, that the involvement of the toiling sections and oppressed masses is not very significant so far, and that the Anna team is going to arrive at a compromise and withdraw the movement do not in any way minimize the significance of this upsurge. That nearly more than three decades after the JP movement such an upsurge at all India level could take place shows the possibility for the outbreak of greater mass uprisings if there is an all India Party organization and class/ mass movements to lead them. When the Party is

convening the Ninth Congress with the perspective of capturing political power through a countrywide people's uprising under the leadership of the working class, the mass upsurge which has taken place against corruption, in spite of all its limitations, and the upsurges that took place in Nepal and in this year in Tunisia, Egypt and a number of North African and West Asian countries provides a positive background to it. These

developments have provided a fillip to the progress of the preparations for the Party Congress taking place in all the states where the Party is active.

According to the decision of the Central Committee the draft documents are put in our website and hard copies are given to left organizations, left intellectuals and to Party friends and sympathizers. We once again appeal to all of them to respond by sending their criticisms, observations and suggestions so that the discussion on these documents, especially on the Party Program, is broadened. Besides, as we had stated earlier, we have initiated a debate on the *ideological challenges confronting the international communist movement* by publishing a paper for discussion in *The Marxist-Leninist*. We appeal to all left forces to participate in this discussion which will be continued through the pages of it and if necessary through seminars etc.

We recognize that after a long period of setbacks and stagnation faced by the ICM and the Indian communist movement, an objective situation is emerging at both international and national level which is favorable for advancing the revolutionary movement. For effectively utilizing this objective situation in order to carry forward the revolutionary movement challenging the imperialist forces and their lackeys of all shades, we have to throw away the erroneous concepts and standpoints, have to uphold the basic Marxist-Leninist positions and have to develop both revolutionary theory and practice overcoming all past weaknesses and according to the concrete conditions of today.

This is the call of the Ninth Congress of the CPI(ML). It is the appeal of the Central Committee to all revolutionary forces to put forward their criticisms and suggestions to formulate the Party line more effectively and to carry forward the Party reorganization in a faster and better way. ●

FROM 8TH PARTY CONGRESS OF THE CPI(ML) IN 1970 TO 9TH CONGRESS IN 2011 AN OVER-VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS

1970 May : First (or Eighth) Congress of the CPI(ML) at Kolkata. It evaluated character of Indian state and Indian society as semi-colonial and semi-feudal and Path of Revolution as the '*Chinese Path*', *the path of people's war*. It adopted the 'line of annihilation of the class enemy' as the beginning of guerrilla struggle. It adopted the Party Programme, Constitution, Political Organizational Report and the Political Resolution which paved the basis for this orientation. Though it elected a Central Committee and Polit Bureau with com. Charu Majumdar as General Secretary, they did not function.

1971 : The first split takes place with com. Satya Narayan Singh, PB member leaving with many of the members of the CC, rejecting the annihilation line and adopting the mass line. But SNS fails to put forward an alternative line.

1972 : Comrade Charu Majumdar became a martyr in Lalbazar police headquarters, Kolkata on 28 July. The Party disintegrates into many groups under severe state suppression in which thousands of comrades including the CC members and other top leaders became martyrs and tens of thousands face torture and imprisonment leading to the sections of party members losing contacts. Still the resistance to the ruling system was continued, and soon the process of ideological discussions, efforts of unity and reorganization of the Communist Revolutionary groups start, at the initiative of many sections of communist revolutionaries.

1979 October : The Central Reorganization Committee-CPI(ML) was formed with the merger of Kerala state committee of CPI(ML) and a section of COC-CPI(ML) from AP, denouncing the capitalist roaders who had usurped power in China and their '*Theory of Three Worlds*', along with the opportunist line taken by Enver Hoxha.

1982 January : *First All India Conference* of CRC-CPI(ML) held at Thane district of Maharashtra. It initiates international contacts with fraternal parties and decides to take up a concrete study of the Indian situation under the neo-colonization started during the post- Second World War years. It rejected the annihilation line based on the evaluation '*Spring Thunder*' and adopts the path of revolutionary mass line.

1984 : The *All India Study Camp* to discuss the study: *India : Development or Deprivation* prepared under the COC guidance which tried to explain the process of neo-colonization taking place. Sharp differences surface on the approach towards neo-colonization.

1985 : *All India Plenum* at West Medinipur, West Bengal in which different approaches towards analyzing the neo-colonization process surfaces. Different trends came up within the organization. The Plenum decided to quit the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM).

1987 : CRC-CPI(ML) formally splits as a section analyzing the PDR in India

as an ensemble of PDRs of all nationalities goes out. This section dissolved itself in 1989. The CRC- CPI(ML) is reorganized as CPI(ML) Red Flag.

1988 : The *All India Special Conference* held in Kozhikode district, Kerala, elects a new COC and starts the central organ *Red Star Platform for Communist Revolutionaries* in place of *Mass Line*, which was being published from 1973.

1989 : *All India Plenum* in Bilaspur, Chhattisgarh (then MP) adopts the political and organizational reorganization fighting sectarianism. Calls for building of a platform of the CR organizations.

1991: *Second All India Conference* held in Kottayam district, Kerala, evaluates the developments after the First Conference in 1982 and decides to intensify party building and to launch class and mass organizations.

1993 : *All India Plenum* adopts a document on Organizational and Tactical line along with approach papers for building class and mass organizations, including an approach paper on the nationality question in India in the neo-colonial situation.

1994 : *Third All India Conference* at Kozhikode, Kerala, which calls for all out efforts to fight sectarianism and initiates efforts for issue based united front of CR forces which later materialized as a forum of six organizations in 1995.

1997 : Comrade Souren Bose joins the organization. The *Fourth All India Conference* held at Kozhikode, Kerala. It adopts the document '*On International Developments and Tasks of Marxist-Leninist forces*' based on the analysis of neo-colonial developments and calls for the unity of the ML forces at international level.

1999 : *All India Enlarged Meeting* of the CC at Bhopal which calls for a rectification campaign from top to bottom against the sectarian influences obstructing the Bolshevik style party building and decides to utilize the parliamentary forms of struggles to develop class struggle by participating in the elections in a revolutionary way.

2000 : *Fifth All India Conference* at Raichur, Karnataka. It adopts a new Party Programme based on neo-colonial understanding, rejecting the semi-colonial, semi – feudal evaluation of India state and society and the path of protracted people's war. It calls for intensification of the Party reorganization work.

2003 : *Sixth All India Conference* held at Bangalore, Karnataka. It adopts the unity resolution with COI(ML) and CPI(ML) Unity Initiative even with

differences with the understanding of continuing inner organization struggle to resolve the ideological-political differences.

2005 January : *Vijayawada Unity Conference* in which CPI(ML) Red Flag and CPI (ML) Class Struggle formed by the merger of COI(ML) and CPI(ML) Unity Initiative takes place based on Outline Party Programme, Constitution and Unity Resolution. It opens up possibilities for all India level development of the organization and possibility for reorganization of the CR organizations.

2009 January : But the sectarian approach of the erstwhile COI(ML) and CPI(ML) Unity Initiative sections towards ideological struggle to resolve the differences, towards taking initiative for the unity of the ML forces at international level, and towards Bolshevik style party building and building of class/mass organizations at all India level leads to separation, and CPI(ML) CC is reorganized to intensify the activities at all India level.

2009 November : *All India Special Conference* at Bhopal. It adopts four documents: *The International Situation and our tasks, On Character of Indian State, On Principal Contradiction and Path of Revolution.* It has created conditions for all round development of the Party and class and mass organizations at all India Level. The ideological –political line based on the concrete analysis of the international and national level has created conditions for taking initiative along with other revolutionary parties in the founding of ICOR, in expanding the presence of the Party to almost all major states and in building all class and mass organizations at all India level, along with the development of numerous struggles in various fronts, including many all India campaigns.

2011 November : Ninth Congress of the Party at Bhubaneswar, Orissa, from 7th November 2011. ●

The Marxist-Leninist

September 2011

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NINTH CONGRESS PREPARATIONS ADVANCE

THE preparations for the successful holding of the Ninth Party Congress are advancing well according to the reports received from all the states and from the Party Centre. The Central Committee of the Party met on 23 to 25 July at Delhi and finalized the four draft documents, The Party Programme, Amendments to the Constitution, Political Organizational Report and Political Resolution. The draft documents were sent to the SCs/SOCs by 1st July for immediate translation and distribution to all Party members/ candidate members by 15th August in the languages understood by them. The conferences at Branch and local committee levels are completed by 31st July as per the decision of the CC meeting of May. The area conferences are held with all the Party members/candidate members under it, including the members of Branches and Local committees, attending it. They can be convened only after the translated documents are made available to them. Thus all the SCs/ SOC have to complete the translation of the documents and make them available to the Party members/candidate members soon so that the area conferences can be completed by 15 September. Meanwhile in the states where State Organising Committees are formed or already functioning, the state level conferences are started in September itself, with all the Party members/candidate members attending them.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE FORMED AT BHUBBANESWAR

AT A LARGELY attended meeting held in the Party office, Inquilab Bhavan, at Bhubaneswar the Reception Committee for holding the Ninth Congress successfully was organized on 31st July. Besides, leading Party activists and leaders of the class and mass organisations, left intellectuals, writers and left and democratic individuals participated in the meeting presided by com. Biswa Priya

Kanungo. Many left and democratic forces, intellectuals and activists of people's resistance movements against displacement, though could not attend the meeting due other engagements had extended support to the convening of the Party Congress.

Com. Sivaram, state secretary of the Party, while welcoming all those attending the meeting, pointed out that it is the first time a Communist Party Congress is held in Orissa, and we should make it a resounding success. Addressing the meeting, the general secretary of the Party, com. KN Ramachandran explained the great significance of the Party Congress being held from 7th November. The Congress is held 41 years after the first congress of the CPI(ML) or the eighth congress of the communist movement of 1970 at a stage we could make significant advances in evaluating the Imperialist System in its Neo-colonial Phase, in developing the understanding on the theory and practice of revolution in the present situation, rejecting the erroneous 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal, people's war' line. Besides, the Party has dared to take up the question of developing the conceptual and practical aspects of developing proletarian democracy, establishing the leading role of proletarian internationalism and the question of developing a revolutionary alternative to the 'development perspective' of imperialist system which is leading the world to an ecological catastrophe and devastating the life of the masses. Delegates from 19 states shall be participating, besides a large number of observers from different walks of life, who are party friends or representing the revolutionary left and democratic trends, besides a number of fraternal delegations. Comrade requested all the progressive, patriotic and democratic forces to actively involved in making the Congress a great success.

Com. Sivaram proposed the names of the Reception Committee members and a 91-member committee was formed with advocate Bhagban Sahu of Berhampore as chairman and advocate Biswa Priya Kanungo, com. Srimanta Mohanty, progressive writer com. Brajanath Rath, com. Dhruva Rana, com. Prafulla Samanta, Dhruv Rana, Vijay Lama, Radharani and Hennarani Barick as vice-chairpersons. A 11 member executive committee was formed with com. Sivaram as convenor. Different sub-committees were formed with comrades Jaidev Naik, Prameela, Indumati, Sabyasachi Mahapatro and advocate Rewati Ballabh Mohanty as their convenors.

Comrades from all walks of life who had attended the meeting spoke in support of the decisions taken and expressing their preparedness to work for making the Congress a big success. The meeting concluded in a jubilant mood amidst shouting of revolutionary slogans.

FOUR SEMINARS AS PART OF PARTY CONGRESS

THE CC HAS called on the SCs to organize a number of seminars on the various issues taken up by the Party Congress as part of the campaign. As part of it the Reception Committee has decided to organize a seminar against displacement in the name of corporate-MNC projects as at Kalinganagar, Posco etc on 4th November with the participation of leaders of the resistance movements and Party leaders. The Central Committee has already decided to hold three seminars on 8th, 10th and 11th November during the Congress, first on the Great Significance

of Founding of the ICOR and the Ideological Challenges Confronting the International Communist Movement, Publication of the study on Imperialism in its Neo-colonial Phase and a seminar on the issue, and a seminar on Communist Approach to Dalit, Adivasi, Women and Minorities Question. Papers on these questions are called for which shall be presented in these seminars and published.

CC DECIDES TO EXPAND SCOPE OF DISCUSSION ON DOCUMENTS

THE CC MEETING has decided to expand the scope of discussion on the draft documents on Party Programme, Amendments to Party Constitution, Political Organizational Report and Political Resolution. Within the Party organization, all members/candidate members have the right to send their amendments to the draft documents directly to the Party Centre up to 31st October. Then they have the right to present amendments to all draft documents in the Congress process starting from the area conference level.

Besides the Party sympathisers, friends, revolutionary left and democratic organizations and left intellectuals to whom the draft documents are given as soon as they are printed by 10th August can send their critic of the documents which shall be published in September, October and November issues of Red Star in English and Hindi. They can also send amendments to these draft documents direct to the Party Centre up to 31st October, which shall be treated in the same way as the amendments from the Party comrades/candidate members, except for the right to vote on them. This is a bold attempt to broaden the discussions on draft documents outside the Party also

In this context we are reproducing the introduction published along with the Draft Documents are reproduced at the end of this report.

INTRODUCTION TO DRAFT DOCUMENTS FOR NINTH CONGRESS

IT IS AFTER a gap of 41 years the Ninth Party Congress is convened from 7th to 12th November at Bhubaneswar, Orissa. The First Congress of the Communist Party of India was held in 1943. Till its 6th Congress the Party remained united in spite of serious inner party struggles. After the first split in 1964, the CPI(M) was born and the Seventh Congress was held in the same year. In continuation to fierce inner party struggle and Naxalbari uprising in 1967, the second split took place and CPI(ML) was born in 1969. It was followed by the convening of the First Congress of the CPI (ML) in 1970, which was the Eighth Congress of the Communist movement. It is in continuation to this history, upholding the history of the nine decades of Communist activities in the country from the time of the formation of the first communist groups, the Ninth Congress is convened by the Central Committee.

The Congress shall discuss and decide on the four draft documents: **1. The Party Programme; 2. Amendments to the Party Constitution which was adopted by the 2005 Vijayawada Unity Conference; 3. The Political Organizational Report; and 4. The Political Resolution.** These draft documents finalized by the Central Committee are published on 1st August for discussion by all Party members and candidate members from the level of the Area Conferences which shall be started from 15th August. All State Committees/ State Organizing Committees should ensure that the draft documents are received by all Party members and candidate members in their own mother tongue or language understood by them before the Area Conferences are convened.

The CC has decided to broad base the discussion on these draft documents by allowing all Party members and candidate members the right to send any amendments to these draft documents from the time they receive them direct to

the Party Office at New Delhi by email or by post, noting the name and the Party committee to which she/he belongs in English or Hindi till 31st October.

The CC in continuation to the practice started from the time of the All India Special Conference at Bhopal in 2009 has decided to make these draft documents available to Party sympathizers, friends, leaderships of revolutionary left organizations, left intellectuals and all fraternal parties/ organizations as soon as possible and they can also, if they desire, send their amendments to the Party Office before 31st October. Any amendments sent by them shall be treated at par with the amendments from the Party members except that they will have no right to present them and vote on them in the Party Congress.

The CC has also decided that any criticisms, suggestions and comments sent till 20th October shall be published in Red Star, the central organ of the Party in its September, October and November issues. These criticisms, suggestion and comments may be sent, preferably by email, as early as possible.

It is also decided that Party sympathizers, friends, leaders of revolutionary left organizations and left intellectuals shall be invited as observers to attend the state conferences and Party Congress. They shall have all rights of the delegates except to move amendments and the right to vote. The fraternal delegates attending the Party Congress also shall have all rights including the right to participate in the discussion except the right to vote.

The CC hopes to make the discussion on all these documents as broad based as possible so that the democratic style of discussion can be developed in a healthy atmosphere, making the Party Congress a significant step forward in the reorganization and building of the Party at all India level. ●

THE CC has decided to publish a Paper on Ideological Challenges Confronting the International Communist Movement in its theoretical journal *The Marxist-Leninist*, September issue and an open discussion will be initiated on it. The journal will be available in the website: www.cpiml.in also and all are requested to participate in the debate. The imperialists and their lackeys including the comprador intellectuals are even now targeting the communist movement for heinous attacks projecting the right and left deviations and the short comings in the practice of socialism in the socialist countries. So it is the task of the Marxist-Leninist forces to reiterate the basic Marxist positions and launch a vigorous campaign to defend them, developing them according to the concrete conditions of today. We do not intend to come to conclusions hastily on the questions raised in this Paper. At the same, as the issues raised are of fundamental importance, a broadest possible discussion involving all sections who profess Marxist positions and even its critics is required. We hope the Marxist-Leninist forces and the critics of Marxist theory and practice shall come forward to take active part in the discussion and to put forward their views without any restraint. In this connection we are reproducing below the introduction to the September issue of *The Marxist-Leninist*.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MARXIST-LENINIST

THE PRESENT issue of *The Marxist-Leninist* is published when the whole Party organization is engaged in the very important task of completing the process of convening the Ninth Congress from 7th November. In the All India Special Conference of the Party, CPI (ML), held from 7th to 12th November, 2009, at Bhopal, which adopted four important documents : International Situation and our Tasks, On Character of Indian State, The

DISCUSSION ON IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGES CONFRONTING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Principal Contradiction and Path of Revolution, the ground work for convening the Party Congress and its formal announcement were made. It is in continuation of these documents, which themselves were products of the efforts made from the 1982 First All India Conference to develop the ideological political line, the four draft documents: The Party Programme, Amendments to Party Constitution, The Political Resolution and The Political Organizational Report, are finalized by the Central Committee and already distributed for discussion at all levels.

Though the inner party struggle in CPI(M) against the 'centrist' line taken by the leadership, followed by the Naxalbari Uprising, formation of the CPI(ML) in 1969 and its First or Eighth Congress in 1970 had created lot of inspiration among the Communist Revolutionaries all over the country, the left adventurist line it took isolated it from the masses, and under severe state suppression it disintegrated soon to many groups. Though the unity of the CR forces or the reorganization of the CPI(ML) was taken up later by different trends at a number of times, they could not make any break through as all these attempts failed to address the cardinal issues before the communist movement in the context of the severe setbacks suffered by it both at international and national levels. This problem became more serious when the capitalist roaders usurped power in China and as the Albanian leadership degenerated to opportunist positions. There was extreme confusion among the Marxist-Leninist forces in evaluating the concrete situation and in developing the revolutionary line and practice according to the demands of the new situation. In this situation, almost all of these splintered groups continued to basically uphold the 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal' analysis and 'people's war line' of the 1970 Congress. Meanwhile, sections among them started deviating to rightist positions while some others dogmatically pursued the sectarian positions.

It was in the course of the ideological-political struggle against these positions, a section of the CPI(ML) took initiative from 1977 to intensify the struggle against the Soviet revisionist line, to oppose the capitalist roaders who had usurped power in China and the opportunist line taken by the Albanian leadership, to initiate a concrete analysis of the post-Second World War situation at international and national level and to evolve the theoretical positions and revolutionary practice accordingly. The documents adopted in the Bhopal Conference and the positions put forward basically on those lines in the present draft documents are the results of these efforts during more than three decades after that.

That the correctness of the ideological political line determines every thing is a Marxist-Leninist teaching which is generally upheld by all. That the international communist movement is confronting a severe setback today compared to the great heights it had reached by the 1950s is also an objective reality which nobody can deny. It is also a fact that in spite of it, in spite of these setbacks the objective condition is maturing internationally for the revolutionary seizure of political power by the working class and other revolutionary classes.

But, though it is repeatedly proved that it is the incapability to develop the ideological political line according to present conditions and the consequent domination of alien tendencies which have led to the degeneration of the former socialist countries and of the Marxist-Leninist parties to revisionist positions, most of the CR organizations are sticking to dogmatic positions and rejecting the need for a 'concrete analysis of the concrete situation' for developing the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Most of them are afraid of taking up a discussion of the rapid changes made by the imperialists in their forms of exploitation and domination, the consequences of these in the relations of production and internal contradictions, the reasons for the degeneration of the former socialist countries and the need to develop the revolutionary theory according to present situation. The importance of the studies taken up by our organization on these questions should be seen in this background.

The studies on the transformation of colonial forms of plunder and domination to neo-colonial forms by the US led imperialist camp in the post-SWW decades called for an analysis of the present character of the Indian state and the changes it has made in the society. It is based on it the present Party Programme and the Path of Revolution are formulated. To deepen this study an empirical analysis of Imperialism in its neo-colonial phase was taken up, which shall be published during the Ninth Congress.

Along with this the Central Committee had also called for an analysis of the Ideological Challenges Confronting the ICM. But in the course of discussion in the CC it was decided that such a study cannot be treated similar to taking decision on any draft document or like releasing the empirical study on Neo-colonialism and its impact. As it involves an evaluation of the experience of the ICM from the time of publication of The Communist Manifesto itself, it should not be restricted to our organization alone. Similarly it cannot be taken up and concluded as a part of the discussion of the documents for this Party Congress.

So instead of restricting its discussion to the period of discussion during the Party Congress, the CC decided to publish it in The Marxist-Leninist and website and open it for the broadest possible discussion among all sections before making any summing up and arriving at conclusions at a later period. So the paper: Ideological Challenges Confronting the ICM is published in this issue of The Marxist-Leninist and is also presented in the website for comments, critics and articles on it by all those who are interested. All contributions received shall be published in the coming issues of this publication. As decided by the CC all the contributions received up to 15th August on it are published along with it.

The CC appeals to all Marxist-Leninist forces and friends and sympathizers of the movement and even opponents of the movement to come forward to send their contributions to deepen the discussion on these cardinal issues confronting the future of the World Proletarian Socialist Movement. ●

Varga Porattam (Tamil Political Monthly)

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Chennai - 600 078

Marxwadi-Leninwadi (kannada Monthly)

No. - 21, 1st Main, 2nd Cross, Hanumanathpuram,
Shrirampuram, Banglore, Karnataka - 560021

Sakhav Organ of Kerala State Committee of CPI(ML)

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

Red Star (Punjabi Bi- Monthly)

Com. Ramesh Gautam
House No. - 5452; Street No. - 13; Basant Nagar
New Shimala Puri; Ludhiana (Punjab)

UTTARAN (Bengali Political Monthly)

Sankar Das
257, Nandan Kanan South, Rahara
Kolkata, West Bengal - 700 118

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ALL INDIA ANTI-NUCLEAR CONVENTION

AN ALL INDIA Anti-Nuclear Convention was held in New Delhi on 10th August from 10:30 am to 4:30 pm, at the Speaker's Hall in the Constitution Club. Activists from various states of India including from Maharashtra, MP, Karnataka, Haryana, Punjab and Delhi attended. The convention focussed attention on three slogans:

1. Stop construction of all new nuclear power plants;
2. Shut down all existing nuclear power plants; and
3. Implement universal nuclear disarmament.

A fourth slogan "Immediately stop all uranium mining" was also added consequent upon the discussions in the convention.

The convention was attended by persons from Maharashtra, MP, Delhi, Haryana, Punjab, Karnataka, etc. Most of the people attending were those actually involved in struggles against nuclear plants.

The convention, presided over by Com. Sanjay Singhvi, Gen. Secretary, TUCI was inaugurated by Com. K. N. Ramachandran, General Secretary, CPI (ML). In his inaugural speech he pointed out that nuclear power was being foisted upon the neo-colonial countries by imperialism only to assuage its own crisis. Coms. Pravin Gavankar and Mansoor Solkar of the Janhit Sewa Samiti and the Machhimar Kriti Samiti told of their experiences in the struggle in Jaitapur. Com. Rajkumar and Com. Dube of the Chutka Parmanu Sangharsh Samiti addressed the convention on the struggles against the proposed nuclear power plant in Chutka. They raised very pertinent points about the inflated projected per capita consumption of energy by the Government. A discussion also ensued on the meaning of development. Coms. Adwait Pednekar and Achin Vanaik provided expert inputs on various issues and Coms. Arun Velaskar, Madhu Mohite and Ramesh Gautam, also stated their views.

The convention ended with a resolution being passed resolving to build up an All India Democratic Anti-nuclear Movement. However, to enable other organisations also to come together, only an Organising Committee was formed and charged with contacting other organisations all over India which accept the four basic slogans.

RESOLUTION

THE SERIOUSNESS of the meltdown at Fukushima nuclear plant in Japan following the earth quake and tsunami, however hard the corporate media and the nuclear establishment is trying to play it down, is becoming

common knowledge day by day. After *Three Mile Island* and *Chernobyl*, it has exposed the catastrophic nature of nuclear power plants at the present level of nuclear technology and problems related to nuclear waste disposal. In spite of this, the government is going ahead with the proposed Jaitapur nuclear power plant, even when the people of the whole region, especially the farmers who are displaced and the fisher people are waging relentless struggles against it. Besides, new nuclear plants are proposed in AP, MP, West Bengal, UP, Haryana and Rajasthan besides expanding existing plants. New mines are planned in AP and Karnataka. Wherever new plants are proposed the peasantry and people are in revolt against them, opposing their displacement. While it is a serious problem, apart from displacement, the danger posed by the proposed nuclear power plants and the existing nuclear plants is a matter of great importance which should be taken up at national level in the context of the international campaign developing against the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster on 26th April an International Anti-Nuclear Day was observed with the following three slogans: 1. *Stop construction of all new nuclear power plants;* 2. *Shut down all existing nuclear power plants;* 3. *Implement universal nuclear disarmament.* As a part of the last slogan we must particularly try and see that we can appeal to the people of the Indian sub-continent to make sure that this part of the world is liberated from the onerous burden of nuclear arms. In countries like Germany a number of existing plants are being closed down and the remaining are also in the process of being closed down. Internationally the campaign is gaining strength with none of the so-called developed countries taking up construction of any new nuclear plants. At the same time they are trying to export their outdated nuclear power plants to countries like India.

Uranium mining is also starting up in a secretive and unsafe manner in various parts of India. It is therefore necessary to also add the slogan to the above three, namely, "*Immediately stop all mining of uranium*".

In this situation, it is a matter of paramount importance for all the progressive forces concerned with the future of humanity to get together and to wage a relentless campaign to be followed by a countrywide struggle to force the government to implement the above three slogans, developing the present struggles going on at all places where new nuclear plants are proposed to resist the displacement from their agricultural land to a comprehensive struggle against the very concept of going for nuclear energy at the present level of development of the nuclear

technology. Such a campaign should take up the question of the security of the existing nuclear power plants and the question of universal nuclear disarmament also.

Many initiatives have already been taken for co-ordinating the movements against the various nuclear plants coming up all over India. NAAM and the Anti-Nuclear Struggle's Solidarity Forum and others can be cited as examples of such initiatives. However, in the context of the recent international movement against nuclear power per se and in the context of the growing consciousness in our country also, there is a need to renew our efforts on the basis of the above three slogans.

This convention therefore resolves to take up the task to build up an anti-nuclear movement in the country based broadly upon the above mentioned slogans. We recognize that we are only at the stage of building up this initiative and will take up the task contacting other like-minded groups and organizations with whom we will endeavour to work in co-operation and harmony. To this end we are forming an Organising Committee for this movement which will take up this task of bringing together various groups all over India to build up an anti-nuclear movement based upon the above slogans. ●

ODISHA: CAMPAIGN AGAINST CORRUPTION AND PRICE-RISE

THE CPI(ML) had given call for a countrywide campaign and agitation against corruption and price rise from 9th to 15th August 2011. Accordingly CPI(ML) Odisha State Committee planned to make this campaign a big success statewide. District Committees to Branch Committees organized this campaign. Khurda District Committee of the party held a week long Padayatra.

On 10th Aug Chandraseksharapur Branch Committee of the party started a Padayatra from Niladri area. Party branch committee members and supporters all having placards, flags in their hand with marched from Mangala Mandir and reached Damana Square via Sailashree Vihar, distributing



hundreds of leaflets and shouting slogans. Street corner meeting were organized and at Damana Square culminating with public meeting. Similar padatratras were organized till 15th August by other Branch committees also.

On 15th August a massive Rally led by Khurda District Committee started from party office Inquilab Bhawan and reached in front of Vishal Mega Mart via IRC Village hospital, IRC Village reliance fresh, Nayapalli Police Station where a public meeting was organised.

On 20th July Puri District Organising Committee organised a demonstration in front of Collectors office. Colourful rally started from Gundicha Mandir reached collectorate via Hospital Square, Main Market, Jagannath temple and Grand Road. Before collectorate a public meeting was organised presided by District Committee member Com. Batakrushna Sahu. A 10-point charter of demands including stop forcible land acquisition for Posco, no land for Vedanta University in Puri Dist., confiscate all the properties of corrupts officers and leaders, bring back the black money kept in foreign banks, confiscate and distribute among the poor people all property and money of temples, mosques, Girjas and of so-called Babas and matts, bring down prices of all essential commodities, provide compensation to all the farmers, share croppers who lost their crops due to uncertain rain, provide BPL card to all poor families, stop slum demolition in Puri town, provide proper and adequate amount of PDS materials at subsidised prices, Implement land reform in Puri district, engage necessary numbers of teachers and doctors, stop commercialisation and privatizations of education and healthcare etc.

DOMESTIC WOMEN WORKERS GHERAO DCP OFFICE

HUNDREDS of members of Domestic Women Workers Union (TUCI) gheraoed Bhubaneswar Deputy Commissioner of Police office on 8th August 2011 demanding Crime Branch Enquiry about murder of 32 years old maid Janani Pradhan, accusing the police has been shielding suspected person who is involved in her murder and seeking justice for the bereaved family. A memorandum with 5 charter of demands including crime branch enquiry



of this murder case, post mortem report by the board of doctors, Rs.5 lakhs compensation to her family members and her two children's care and study expenditure, immediate arrest of Prakash Mohapatra, the murderer etc. submitted to DCP and he was compelled to register Case No. 55/2011 against Mohapatra. DCP assured to fulfill all their demands. This demonstration and discussion were led by leaders of AIRWO committee.

PROTEST AGAINST ANNA ARREST

CPI(ML) Odisha State Committee organised a demonstration against Anna Hazare's arrest on 16th August 2011 . Around hundred people took out rally from Party state office *Inquilab Bhawan* and reached at Jayadev Vihar Square. There demonstrators burned the effigy of Manmohan Singh. Public meeting was presided by Khurda Dist Committee member Com. Santosh Das. Com. Sivaram, State secretary CPI(ML) in his speech condemned arrest of Anna Hazare and demanded scrapping Section 19 of the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988. He also demanded that Lokpal should be elected by the whole people and subject to recall, Lokpal should have the power to punish including to recover fines. He appealed to the left, democratic, progressive and patriotic forces to come to street against corruption and to overthrow the root cause of corruption the present ruling system.

REPEAL NATIONAL LAND ACQUISITION, REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT BILL-2011

ON 20TH AUGUST a Convention on National Land acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill-2011 was organised by Lok Samakhya at Lohiya Academy Bhubaneswar. Participating this convention CPI(ML) State Secretary Com. Sivaram , rejected the new bill for land acquisition for private companies and MNCs and placed some demands and recommendations like Annul Land acquisition Act 1984, reject the new bill for land acquisition which is trying to create new illusions, ban Industrial and commercial use of agricultural land, capture lands from industrialists whose industries are closed. New industries only on land of closed industries and non agricultural land. Not only land owners, but all the affected people should have final say in all decisions of 'public purpose', Decrease land ceiling, implement land reform act, Distribute land among landless poor, dalit and adivasis.

He also pointed out that it is because of the strong peoples resistance movement against displacement and land grabbing since last two decades govt. is compelled to bring new laws. But this is not a new law at all this is to confuse and any how capture land from farmers, dalits and adivasis. This bill is completely anti people. We have to fight against this bill. Lok Samakhya leader Ashok Nanda called this meeting and various political parties including CPI, CPM and mass movements of Orissa participated in

this convention. Jal Surakshya Mancha leader Chita Mohanty presided and leader of Lok Shakti Abhiyan, Prafulla Samantara, Prof Chita Behera and many others participated in discussion. All the participants in the discussion were unanimous in their opposition to this anti people bill. ●

KARNATAKA: PROTEST AGAINST CORRUPTION



ON 17TH AUGUST CPI(ML) Karnataka State Committee organized mass dharna at Raichur, Koppal, Chikkamagalor, Kodagu and other places of Karnataka with following slogans 1) Release Anna Hajare, 2) Arrest All scamsters, 3) Remove corrupt Governments, 4) Arrest Yeddiyurappa and mining mafia Reddy Brothers. ●

DPF CALLS FOR ALL INDIA MOVEMENT AGAINST CORRUPTION AND PRICE RISE

THE MEETING of the Democratic People's Forum held at New Delhi on 20th August after discussing the national situation and the intensification of people's misery as a result of corruption and price rise, has called for an all India campaign against corruption and price rise. Regional rampant Conventions shall be convened at Mumbai on 17th, at Chennai on 24th September, at Delhi on 23rd October and on a date to be decided later at Kolkata against corruption and price rise. Representatives of CPI(ML), CPI(ML) (Central organ Janasakthi), MLC(AP), BVM and Janapaksh participated while NSM(Gujarat) could not participate due to some technical problems and PCC-CPI(ML), Chathisgarh Mukthi Morcha(MKS) and Navjanavadi Lok Manch(Jharkhand) had informed their readiness to be constituents of DPF. A representative of the MLG (W.Bengal) participated in the deliberations as an

observer. The meeting decided to continue discussions with other like-minded organizations and expand DPF by the time of its next meeting by the end of November.

The participants discussed the approach to be taken towards the ongoing anti-corruption movement led by the Anna Hazare team. There was unanimity of opinion about the limitations of this agitation and the possibility of it getting terminated based on a compromise. All the participants had agreement that as corruption is an integral part of the ruling system, it cannot be effectively struggled against without linking it with the struggle against the ruling system itself. At the same time the meeting noted that the participation of large number of people including students and youth reflects the growing anger among the people against corruption as a positive development, and we should join with the masses and try to develop the struggle against corruption to a higher stage. Based on this approach a statement signed by the nine constituents of DPF was adopted. ●

ALL INDIA REVOLUTIONARY CULTURAL FORUM REGIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HINDI REGION FORMED

THE MEETING of progressive writers, poets and cultural activists held at Lucknow on 30-31 July on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the formation of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) and the birth day anniversary of Munshi Premchand discussed the *Approach Paper on Building Revolutionary Cultural Movement* and decided to form the *All India Revolutionary Cultural Forum* (AIRCF) in order to intensify the revolutionary cultural offensive against the onslaught of imperialist culture, still persisting influence of feudal culture, caste system and religious fundamentalism with the perspective of a people's democratic and socialist culture. This meeting held in



continuation to the meeting of the cultural activists, writers and poets from different states held at Kolkata on 28-29 April formed a Regional Committee of AIRCF for the Hindi and Urdu speaking areas with comrades Alope Srivastav (Rajasthan), Umakant (Delhi), Samar Sengupta (MP), Tuhin Deb (Chathisgarh), Aravind Avinash and Neeraj (Jharkhand), Dr. Brij Bihari and Suresh Panjam (UP), with com. Tuhin Deb as coordinator.

On 30th July, on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Munshi Premchand a seminar on the challenges facing the cultural movement in the context of neo-colonial offensive by imperialists and the comprador ruling system recollecting the contributions of Premchandji who was the inspiring force behind the formation of the PWA which played an important role in the cultural and social offensive that took place during the independence struggle. In the evening the Vimarsh Sanskritik Samajik Seva Samiti of Jabalpur presented a Hindi translation of the Bengali drama *Keno Na Manush* by Amal Roy.

The two day meeting and the discussion on the Approach Paper have created a positive atmosphere to carry forward the revolutionary cultural movement in the Hindi/Urdu region, and the next meeting of the Regional Committee at Raipur on 15-16 October will chalk out concrete program of activities including publication of a cultural journal in Hindi. ●

AIRSO CALLS FOR ALL INDIA CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRIVATISATION AND COMMERCIALIZATION OF EDUCATION

THE All India Revolutionary Students Organization (AIRSO) has decided to launch a protracted campaign followed by agitations at all India level based on the slogans: **Stop privatization and elitisation of education; Education is every body's right, not a commodity; and Equal education for all** from 1st September.

The Central Executive Committee of the AIRSO which held its meeting at New Delhi on 14th August has called for vigorous campaign based on these slogans with posters, wall writing and distribution of pamphlets. Campus meetings, seminars, street dramas etc should be used for the campaign. The committee decided to bring out next issue of, *Inquilab, the organ of AIRSO* focusing on this campaign. All AIRSO committees are requested to send reports and articles related to the significance of this campaign. It was also decided that the AIRSO membership campaign should be completed by 30th September. ●

ONE newspaper has called the UPA government 'corrupt, repressive and stupid'. "Instead of honestly dealing with the issues raised by the successive corruption scandals, the UPA government chose to cover them up. When that became unsustainable, it resorted to slurs and dirty tricks, and incrementally raised the level of repression to smother voices demanding accountability and corrective institutional measures" (*The Hindu*, 17th August).

Even though it is very well known to all that the best of Lokpals under the existing ruling system cannot do much to eradicate corruption which is an inherent part of it, the UPA government and its Congress managers insisted to make an absolutely toothless Lokpal, in spite of growing people's demand for effective action against corruption and those who perpetuate it. When Anna Hazare and the vast masses of people who are extremely angry against corruption want to protest, stooping down to most heinous methods, it tried to crush the opposing views. If one of the reasons for the growth of fascistic tendencies is intolerance, the UPA government has already exhibited that to a considerable extent. Once it had led to imposition of internal emergency in the 1970s by Indira Gandhi government. Now a similar or more serious threat of its repetition has emerged.

When the imperialist globalization policies were introduced in the 1991 budget speech by then finance minister Manmohan Singh, one of the reasons pointed out for it was that it will lead to the elimination of the 'license raj' which was obstructing the growth rate and breeding corruption. It was claimed that if privatization and liberalization are implemented both these problems will be solved. During the last two decades under these 'neo-liberal policies' though it is claimed that the growth rate has gone up, what really happened is the unlicensed looting of the people's wealth by a

INDIAN SCENE : RULING CLASS POLITICS IN TURMOIL

Observer

small section of MNCs, corporate houses and mafias of all sorts, with some of them emerging as front runners among the richest in the world. The bureaucracy and the ruling political class allowed the corrupt practices to grow in all fields unhindered.

As the national wealth which should have gone to the people, the agricultural land of the peasantry and the labour of the toiling masses were allowed to be plundered in this manner, the real earnings of the people went down, and the prices and rates of essential commodities and services went up unprecedentedly. The cutting down or abolition of all welfare programs earned through bitter struggles worsened the situation. Even some of the bourgeois intellectuals are compelled to speak about "corruption and moral turpitude engulfing the nation". The people are becoming increasingly angry as they are finding that all the ruling parties, at the center as well as in the states, are joining hands with and promoting the wealthy and immensely greedy sections. It is in this situation the call by the 'civil society' groups led by Anna Hazare received such a countrywide response to their call against corruption.

The Congress led UPA government which came to power for a second term in 2009 has broken all previous records of corruption. "Though corruption is a primitive parasite that existed from time immemorial it has mutated with the change in the mode of production. With the advent of capitalism and the fullest development of money as a means of circulation and exchange, corruption has become an integral part of all transactions. Whether you need an admission in a school, whether you need a job, may be a ticket in a cricket match or may be a good treatment in a hospital or a quick transmission of your official file or buy an apartment or seek a license for a 2G Spectrum, someone is there to oblige you for an extra consideration. As long as private property exists and money can be exchanged for another commodity or service, corrupt practice will survive" (*Mukul Sinha*, *Red Star*, August).

As it has spread to and influences all sectors under the neo-liberal raj, even when the struggles to oppose it are important, they shall remain partial, and for eradication of corruption the struggle has to be developed in to one that is capable of overthrowing the ruling system which breeds corruption.

The opposition parties who attack the government for corruption charges do not give importance to this fact even when they are talking about fighting it. This is because none of them have any basic differences on the neo-liberal policies imposed by the central and state governments alike. It is clear from the practice of these parties, especially the BJP, wherever they were or are in power. For example it was only when all the tactics to save the Yeddiyurappa government in Karnataka failed, he has resigned. But as the Lokayukta of the state, based on whose report Yeddiyurappa had to resign, said still no actions are taken to prosecute all those who are named by him. It will be a very long process, in the course of which the culprits are allowed to escape quite often.

Even when all the opposition parties from BJP to CPI(M) cornered and

attacked the government for meting out such a undemocratic act of trying to suppress dissent and almost impeached the prime minister for it, on the question of the Lokpal bill all of them are united with Congress in the name of protecting the supremacy of the parliament. None of them have any proposal for making any institutional arrangement for effective action against corruption.

In spite of this duplicity of the opposition parties, the present developments have cornered the Congress and the UPA led by it. When hundreds of thousands of people are rallying all over the country in support of the movement against corruption, it is left clueless how to tackle it. On the one hand it is a very positive development as far as the forces who want to radicalize the society, who want to bring about revolutionary changes are concerned as the anti-corruption movement has brought vast sections of youth and students and the middle classes to the streets to raise such a serious political question like corruption. On the other hand It has provided opportunity for the opposition parties to utilize it to gain upper hand in the forthcoming UP state elections and next Lok Sabha elections which may take place sooner than it is due, if the present situation continues.

Almost a similar situation had emerged in the 1970s, when the *Sampoorna Kranthi* movement led by Jayprakash Narayan had rattled the Indira Gandhi government leading it to declare emergency. At that time the left forces as a whole miserably failed to utilize the situation created by the turmoil faced by the ruling class politics. Utilizing that situation the rightist forces succeeded to capture the space lost by the Congress. The CPI dubbed JP as a fascist and faithfully supported Congress. The CPI(M), true to its centrist line, refused to support the mass upsurge taking place under the JP movement and even did not take lead in the anti-emergency movement in the name of 'saving the party', which was severely criticized by Sundarayya while resigning from its secretaryship.

Though Charu Majumdar in his last article, mentioning the setbacks suffered by the CPI(ML), had called for preparing the party to take lead in the coming mass upsurges, as it had splintered by the time of his martyrdom and had not abandoned its sectarian positions, in the main it could not play any significant role when the mass upsurges did take place from 1974. The socialists by that time had lost whatever leftist positions they had and were leaning towards the rightist forces. It was in this situation the RSS, the BJP led by it and other rightist forces could take advantage of the movement and increase their strength to become the alternative to Congress at the all India level.

The present situation, perhaps, is more serious than it was in the 1970s. Already numerous people's struggles have broken out at a number of places against displacement from the agricultural land, SEZs and other neo-liberal policies, in which millions of people have come out against both central and state governments. Their anger against the neo-liberal policies, their reactionary consequences, the way in which privatization and liberalization are devastating their lives, the price rise and rampant corruption, is intensifying day by day. This anger was reflected in the outcome of the recent assembly elections also.

When the price rise is severely affecting vast majority, when even the middle class people cannot afford to send their children for higher education or get a satisfactory medical care, vast majority are seeking ways to express their anger. None of the ruling class parties, regional parties, caste/communal parties are ready to address these questions, except for some formal protest actions occasionally taken up, as they themselves are implementing these policies whenever they get an opportunity to come to power or share power. As far as the 'official' left parties and their left front are concerned, they have proved through their 34 years rule in Bengal and many years rule in Kerala and Tripura

that they are not behind any other parties in implementing the neo-liberal policies under the banner of Constitutional restraints. And the Maoists, oblivious of the people's miseries are satisfied with their squad politics of anarchism. As far as the revolutionary left forces are concerned, they are not yet strong enough to launch countrywide movements and to become an alternative to the ruling class and reformist political forces.

In this situation, it is natural that the NGOs and the 'civil society groups' have occupied the space to a great extent in opposing the consequences of the neo-liberal policies, the ecological destruction, atrocities against dalits, adivasis, women and other oppressed sections and corruption like issues. There is no gainsaying in denying this fact even when we criticize them for their ideological positions and many of them receiving funding from international agencies or religious institutions or corporate houses or government sources. Hundreds of thousands of them working all over the country are taking up numerous issues, mobilizing the people in them and launching even mass movements on certain occasions. At the time of elections, even after all their rhetoric against the government policies, they keep away from them leaving the field to the very same political parties against whom they had talked till then. In this way they are functioning directly or indirectly as very good *safety valves* for the ruling system along with the religious and caste organizations and institutions.

The present anti-corruption movement launched by the 'civil society groups' under Anna Hazare's leadership should be seen in this context. Though the seriousness of the rampant corruption in all fields and the necessity for institutional steps to confront this question was being discussed at different levels including in the parliament, it took a concrete form only after the hunger strike by

Anna Hazare in April. Though the central government agreed to form a joint committee and bring a bill in parliament for an effective Lokpal, within days it back tracked and the result is known to all. The UPA government is continuing the cover up game to protect the scamsters. It is arrogantly insisting that only the parliament has the sole right to make and adopt such a law.

So it is against a broad discussion on the question of Lokpals and Lokayuktas with more powers to prosecute the guilty. Though the bill proposed by Anna team is not differing on basics from what is in the government bill, but only on questions like including the prime minister and judiciary under its purview, the UPA government arrogantly refuses to carry forward the discussions it itself had initiated. Like an afterthought it also started arguing that any compromise with civil society groups or other external forces is tantamount to compromising the supreme authority of the parliament in order to carry the opposition parties with it. It is in this situation the August 16 hunger strike was announced which has attracted support from all sections of people, even beyond the expectations of all. *(Written on 17th August)* ●

ON GIVING TEETH TO REVOLUTION AGAINST TOOTHLESS BILLS

A NNA Hazare's struggle continues to hot up as intellectuals struggle to come to terms with it. This is not how the revolution was supposed to be led – it would be led by beautiful young men and women looking like Chinese woodcuts wearing army fatigues and putting their fists up in salute while their AK-47s peeked from behind them.

Recently the NCPRI (National Campaign for People's Right to Information) led by Aruna Roy and joined by other imposing personalities like Justice AP Shah also criticised Anna for being undemocratic and dictatorial. Now the draft is in front of Parliament, the argument went, and therefore, no one has the right to impose her or his own draft upon Parliament. At best, one's draft may be considered by Parliament along with all the others. To insist that a particular draft alone must be "passed" would not be democratic. In fact, this demand itself is dictatorial. The distinguished persons making this argument also put forward a "third" draft for the Lokpal bill.

There is no doubt that this argument is impeccable. Parliament is supreme. If parliament does not have the freedom to debate and decide, by majority, the very basis of our Parliamentary democracy must crumble. What may emerge may be

Anna's bill, or the Government's or a veritable incomprehensible compromise between the two, or something quite different, the argument goes. Whatever emerges, by definition, is the most democratic, in this Parliamentary system.

But must we confine our thinking only to this Parliamentary system? What if Parliament is itself corrupt? What if Parliament must be defeated?

Today we have a Parliament where more than 50% of the members are, admittedly, crorepatists. Parliament has not been able to pass the Lokpal bill for over four decades. Parliament has not been able to stop the marauding of the land mafia and the mining mafia. Is there any basis for thinking that Parliament can solve the question of corruption? In short what if Parliament is itself corrupt? Or even the root of all corruption?

In this framework, the argument that Parliament is supreme and must be allowed to deliberate without any external pressure, breaks down. This is, however, the only scenario in which this argument can be resisted.

Either we accept today's Parliamentary system or we do not. If we accept today's Parliamentary system, then we must allow Parliament to deliberate on the Lokpal bill and accept the result of such deliberations. If we do not accept today's Parliamentary system – then we must face the fact that there is no question of Parliament passing the Lokpal bill in the first place.

This is where Team Anna has to take a stand. Lakhs have come onto the streets not to fight over words or the finer nuances of the Lokpal bill. People know that corruption is rampant. They want corruption to end. They may not know about the doctrine of separation of powers under our Constitution, which calls for the "independence" of the judiciary. They do know that they no more get justice from the courts which favour the rich and the powerful. They may not know how to deny the absolute need for executive fiat. They do know that every arm of the executive from the police to the military, from the municipality to the collector's office has made corruption into an all-pervading industry, a national pastime, a sport – a disgrace. The protestors are not concerned about maintaining the facade of the supremacy of Parliament – they want a guarantee that corruption will be halted.

Team Anna has to also come to this realisation. There is no strategy in issuing ultimatums to Parliament to pass such and such draft alone. If Parliament were to accept this, it would be tantamount to accepting its own uselessness.

The question now becomes, therefore, where will team Anna go? Are they looking for a compromise or are they looking for a thorough-going change – a revolution?

Why reach a compromise with a Parliament which has lost the right to rule? Why ask for a Janlokal bill to be passed in this very same Parliament which one cannot trust to pass it? If Anna's bill is passed, without even a comma being changed, is he willing to allow a Parliament to remain functioning on all other questions, which he was unwilling to trust with passing this bill? Surely, this is not the will of the people. The people everywhere are fighting for an uncompromising and thorough-going struggle. They do not want to come out onto the streets again, in a few months time to fight for the next issue – Anna Hazare has already undertaken 14 fasts against the Government.

Compromises are always offered to mass movements all over the world. Days before he fell the King of Nepal had offered a compromise to the agitators offering the reinstatement of Parliament and even allowing them to discuss a new Constitution. Just before he fell, Ben Ali of Tunisia had offered a compromise to the agitators offering to hold elections, as did Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. In all cases, the agitators resisted these compromises.

At the same time, we have to see that neither Nepal, nor Tunisia nor Egypt have been able to complete their unfinished revolutions – not even to the stage of ushering in democracy. That is because the movements there were unable to totally demolish the existing state and societal systems there and usher in something new. Such a vision was itself lacking with the leadership of those

movements, leave alone a plan for building such a new society.

That is what Team Anna has to face. Today, even the most corrupt of the corrupt are coming out in the streets in support of Anna. Sanjay Nirupam, MP from North Mumbai was in the papers sporting a topi saying "Main Anna Hazare". The Builders Association, made up of the most prominent members of the land mafia in Mumbai held a morcha in support of Anna Hazare. Unless they can have the vision to smash this state structure which is mired in corruption, and a vision and plan to build up a new state and society where corruption will be eradicated, this whole episode is headed only to a sordid compromise – nay betrayal! If that happens, it will be just another scene in the long-playing tamasha of corruption. ●

Sanjay Singhvi

ISRAEL ONLY KNOWS WAR AND KILLING STAND WITH PALESTINE AND EGYPT AGAINST ISRAELI AGGRESSION

IN FACE OF the world's increasing support for the intended legitimate and legal demand of Palestine to be recognised as an independent UN member state; in face of the success of the peaceful Egyptian revolution in making profound changes to liberate Egypt from foreign dictates in order to defend Egypt's security and rights; and in face of Israel's failure to offer a decent life for Jews and Arabs under its authority, Israel returns, in breach of international law and international agreements, to an aggressive military policy of indiscriminately bombing civilians in Gaza, of killing Egyptian soldiers, and threatening — with US support — to occupy the Egyptian land of Sinai or part of it.

It is evident that Israel, with the complicity of the US, wants to use the attack in Eilat, even before any investigation has been conducted, as pretext to turn attention away from the Palestinian project of becoming a member state of the UN, to threaten the Egyptian revolution, and to turn international public opinion away from the ascending Arab revolution towards an Arab-Israeli conflict.

We condemn Israeli aggression. We support the people of Gaza against Israeli attacks. We support Palestinians in their struggles for their rights. We condemn Israeli attempts to prevent Egyptians from deepening their revolution to build an independent, democratic and developed new Egypt by waging war against it. ●

*Statement by Members of the Brussels Tribunal
Executive Committee*

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A VIEW ON ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT

WHAT LIES behind the sudden upsurge and growing strength of the anti-corruption campaign in India? Here is a hypothesis worth considering: this anti-corruption movement is the political expression of the growing economic power of the middle class. One of the main beneficiaries of the quasi neoliberal economic reforms of the past three decades has been a group which we can call the middle income group (the middle class, in popular parlance). Steady and high growth for two and a half decades has caused their incomes and wealth to rise substantially; in short, their economic power has increased. The anti-corruption movement is the political expression of this phenomenon. It is an attempt by this rising middle class to assert their power in the political domain, to push the State to provide services that they need. In a figurative sense, one could probably sum up the primary thrust of the movement as follows: the middle class has bought the cars, and now it wants the roads to drive the cars on. And they will push the State to build the roads. So far so good.

But there is a vast section of the population which has been more or less completely bypassed by the economic reforms. This is the working class of the country, what the late Arjun Sengupta had termed the poor and vulnerable. The slogans of the campaign have, so far, not moved to issues that concern this group, the working class, the poor, the vast majority of whom inhabit the informal sector. Their conditions of work and livelihood are marked by extreme precariousness and uncertainty. They work for very low wages, often under dangerous and unhygienic conditions. They do not, usually, have collective bargaining rights, and their employers do not provide any job security or social security. If the anti-corruption movement mimics the

neoliberal growth process and bypasses the concerns of this section, the vast informal working population, then it will be ineffectual. Only if issues that concern the daily lives of this vast majority of informal sector workers are incorporated into the anti-corruption movement, is there any chance for the movement to become a peoples' movement.

For, in the ultimate analysis, corruption is a means of siphoning off "extra" surplus from the working people. By whom? By state employees, politicians, criminals and bureaucrats. It is "extra" because the primary surplus would have already been extracted when the worker sold his labour power to the person she works for, or sold his product to the middleman (if she is a petty producer). The income of her employer already contains the surplus extracted from her labour. Within a corrupt system, now she has to pay even more from her paltry income for services that the State (using her tax revenues) needs to provide to her and her family members. That is why it is extra; it is surplus over and above the surplus that has already been extracted. To be concrete, think of a poverty stricken family which has to pay a bribe to get a BPL card, or a peasant who has to pay a bribe in a state hospital for the doctor to take a look at his ailing daughter, or has to pay a bribe to a SBI official to get his loan application reviewed. Or, think of the panwallah (or rickshawalla, or thelawalla), in short the petty producer, who has to regularly pay bribes, out of his measly income, to the local police and municipal authorities and the musclemen of the local politician.

So, what are the issues that could radicalize the anti-corruption movement? Regular employment contracts for informal sector workers with collective bargaining rights, affordable housing and public transportation, health care centers which the poor can access, schools for their kids (with mid-day meals or other such provision), employment guarantee schemes for the rural and urban poor, no forcible land acquisition for corporate sector projects, a Public Distribution System that works, RTI to make state employees accountable, and similar issues. In short, to press for the creation of the rudiments of a welfare state that is responsive to the needs of the working people.

Middle class participants in this movement have often raised a valid point: the rich have no real stakes in the anti-corruption movement. The rich are not bothered too much about corruption, they can buy their way through the system. If at all, corruption is minor irritant. For a middle class person, the stakes are higher, the loss much more real. That is true. But it is a hundred fold more important to the poor. The middle class participants have so far only looked to the rich for comparison; now, they need to look towards the poor.

The same point that the middle class participant raises about the rich can be turned into a point for him to think about. The middle class household can send her kids to a school which functions like a school; the informal sector worker or the small peasant cannot. Middle class can at least buy health-care services from the private nursing homes; the poor worker cannot. If the state hospitals do not function, the worker has nowhere else to turn to during medical emergency. For the poor, in short, all the services that even a rudimentary welfare State would provide are far more costly, often impossibly so, for her to purchase in the market. If a political force can re-orient the raging anti-corruption campaign and bring the concerns of the working poor to the front and center, then the campaign has the potential to develop into an important political movement. Adopting the surplus viewpoint would be helpful in radicalizing movement. ●

Dipankar Roy

ICMLPO RESOLUTION No 1

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CRISIS AND THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

1) We are currently going through the deepest world economic and financial crisis in the history of capitalism. It started in the USA, the hegemonic power of the imperialist system.

Since the beginning of the crisis the propagandists of the system have tried to play down the depth and dimension of the world economic and financial crisis. While some bourgeois economists and governments are spreading calculated optimism and speaking again of a “resumption of the process of economic recovery”, even outstanding representatives of finance capital like Strauss-Kahn, head of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), urgently warn to have no illusions concerning the overcoming of the crisis.

2) The crisis was enormously intensified by the financial crisis that broke out in September 2008. Bourgeois economists and politicians declared the whole crisis was merely a financial crisis based on the greed of some irresponsible bankers and brokers who had overreached themselves with their speculation. This is a blatant lie. In reality the crisis is nothing but an expression of a crisis of relative overproduction, and also a consequence of the tendency of the monopoly capitalist rate of profit to fall. Its root cause is the contradiction existing between the social character of production and the private appropriation of produced goods and wealth, which is the fundamental contradiction of the ruling capitalist-imperialist mode of production.

3) The Bush Government sought a way out by producing a budget deficit and higher state debts in order to avoid the collapse of the big banks and monopolies. This led to the issuing of government bonds and US dollars on a huge scale. The imperialist G 8 countries took similar measures. With the G 20 summit meetings the governments of the big imperialist powers and international finance capital carried out an unprecedented crisis management. Until May 2010, approximately 27 trillion US dollars were spent all over the world to save international financial institutions, banks and monopolies, to initiate national stimulus programs and dampen the effects of the crisis for the masses. This is almost one half the worldwide annual gross national product of 2007. This was done because they were afraid that their entire financial system would fold up like a house of cards, and also because they are in panic in regard to a revolutionization of the masses.

The international crisis management has meanwhile gotten into a crisis itself with the so called “euro crisis” and has revealed the growing danger of state bankruptcies.

Since the Greek crisis they went over to direct austerity programs in order to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the masses: wage cuts, dismissals in the public sector, cuts of pensions, restriction of healthcare, unemployment and social assistance as well as increase of value-added taxes, etc.

4) China is trying to cope with the crisis with the help of an injection of public funds even higher than those of the United States and Europe. It invested almost 1.3 trillion US dollars in order to stimulate consumption because of the collapse of its exports. That is the reason why China took the serious risk of inflation and inflated prices for its assets, particularly in the real estate sector.

5) In 2009, the countries dependent on and oppressed by imperialism felt the impact of the burdens of the crisis being shifted onto people’s backs by the imperialist countries through the reduction of their exports (total world trade decreased 12% in 2009), the producer prices for their products were pushed down, and the remittances of their citizens working abroad went down drastically. In many cases the IMF demanded the reduction of public spending and wage cuts to ensure the payment of foreign debts. The dependent and oppressed countries will continue to be affected, mainly because of the declining consumption of the masses and, for example, Chinese competition, limiting the relative recovery that some of these countries have.

6) We are living in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The crisis has sharpened all contradictions developing in the world today. Because of the law of uneven development of the capitalist countries not all imperialist countries will come out of the crisis unharmed.

Important changes of their relative strengths are taking place.

US imperialism is weakened. China and the European imperialist countries are taking advantage of this to increase their influence. Russia also has stepped up its international activities. The BRIC states (Brazil, Russia, India and China) are playing an increasing role in international politics. China has penetrated deeply into Africa. Competing with the USA

and Europe, China is advancing in Africa also militarily for example. Chinese investments in Latin America amount to 50 billion US dollars.

7) In the imperialist countries there is an erosion of the mass base of bourgeois parties connected with open or latent government crises. With the promotion of fascist and racist forces, like the Tea Party movement in the USA or forces in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and other countries, the bourgeoisie is preparing for an intensification of the class struggle. At the same time measures of the fascistization of the state apparatus are intensified. Since the transition to the open shifting of the burdens of the crisis onto the backs of the masses, big fights, strikes, demonstrations, etc. are developing which are connected with a loss of trust in bourgeois parties and the bourgeois parliament.

8) An upswing of struggles of the working class and peoples, of the poor peasantry, indigenous peoples and students has developed in Latin America. Big popular rebellions with advanced organizational forms have overthrown pro-imperialist and oligarchic governments in several countries or have severely hit them, and reactionary coups d'états have failed. The working class developed struggles for higher wages and against the attempts to shift the burdens of the crisis onto their backs. The upswing of the struggle of the peoples and the emergence of anti-US governments of different types, the increasing penetration of European, Russian and Chinese imperialists that are competing with one another, also the advance of Brazil as an economic power, have relatively weakened US imperialism. However, it is still the main strategic enemy of Latin America; it mobilized the Fourth Fleet, installed seven military bases in Colombia, occupied Haiti under the pretence of the earthquake in Haiti, promoted the coup d'état in Honduras and new military agreements with Peru.

9) The United States and its allies keep occupying Iraq where they could not stop the resistance of the people. They continue the occupation of Afghanistan. They reinforced their troops there and it becomes more and more difficult for them to control the situation. They must recognize that they are losing the war. Simultaneously US imperialism is increasing its arms production by more than 100 percent in order to solve its crisis through imperialist wars. The UN Security Council has adopted measures threatening Iran. The Palestinian people are resisting heroically the oppression through Israel that is supported by the USA. This resistance is broadly supported by the peoples.

10) Africa, a continent bled dry economically, is not only suffering from the loss of jobs and incomes but also of human lives caused by the tremendous destitution as a result of the world economic and financial crisis. The oppressed peoples of Africa need a new quality of

resistance in order to be able to fight against imperialist plunder and disorganization. This be the result of the reconstruction of revolutionary centres, of the accelerated building of Marxist-Leninist parties, and, at the same time, of the reinforced cooperation of revolutionary forces from other regions of the world.

11) In Asia, the workers and other toiling masses are fighting to defend their livelihoods and democratic rights and liberties against the intensified exploitation and oppression imposed on them as a result of the attempt of the imperialists to pass the burden of the crisis onto their shoulders. The rising militancy of the masses has opened up excellent opportunities for proletarian parties to establish the broadest and militant links with the masses, strengthen themselves and intensify the revolutionary mass struggles, including in some cases the revolutionary armed liberation struggle.

12) The world economic crisis has severely hit the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations and this will continue. In the USA alone, 7 million jobs have been lost officially. It is calculated that officially there are 212 million unemployed people in the world. People are suffering from hunger, lack of housing, water, education, etc. on a mass scale. Women and children are particularly affected and without protection.

The world economic and financial crisis aggravates the aggressiveness of the imperialist countries in the struggle over a re-division of the spheres of influence and markets, whereby the factors for triggering a war are growing. But also the struggle of the exploited and oppressed is growing against their exploiters and oppressors. The winds of revolutionary change are blowing around the world. In the present situation it is important to intensify international solidarity with the workers' struggles, to unfold international solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, against imperialist interventionism, against the oppression of peoples and their revolutionary leaders. The international revolutionary and working-class movement must get prepared for rapid changes of the political situation which make it possible that the eruptions of the masses turn into real revolutionary developments.

13) The working class and the peoples are developing struggles to prevent that the crisis is shifted onto their backs. The ruling circles are afraid of revolutionary ferment. Partial gains can be reached. But we know that the only way to achieve that the working class and the peoples do not pay for the crisis is this: that Marxist-Leninist parties, summarizing the experiences of the class struggles of their respective countries, can lead the struggles of the peoples towards revolutions – be they democratic, agrarian-revolutionary, anti-imperialist, new-democratic or socialist – putting an end to this system. This requires the building

and strengthening of revolutionary parties of the proletariat that are strongly linked with the masses and practice proletarian internationalism. Capitalism does not fall by itself. We must therefore increase our efforts on the international level to extend and strengthen the subjective forces of the revolution.

It is necessary to debate various reformist and revisionist theses, like those also held by some representatives of the so-called "Socialism of the 21st Century" who say that it is possible to establish socialism without destroying the bourgeois state. There is no socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat. ●

ICMLPO RESOLUTION No 2

THE ENVIRONMENTAL QUESTION AND TASKS OF MARXIST-LENINISTS

1. The environmental question has become a subject of grave concern for all of humanity because of the danger of the irreversible damage caused to Mother Earth by the imperialist powers in realizing their greed for profit. The International Conference stated that there have been shortcomings of the Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement in the environmental issue.

Imperialist monopolist forces go to every extent to plunder the natural resources as they know no other morality except sheer greed for profit at any cost.

International Newsletter No. 39 March 2011 Imperialist monopolist forces go to every extent to plunder the natural resources as they know no other morality except sheer greed for profit at any cost.

2. The ozone layer has already been seriously damaged because of the poisonous emissions of the industries in the advanced highly industrialized countries like the USA, Japan, Germany, Canada, Britain and France. Countries like China, India, Russia and Brazil are following. A greenhouse effect developed that ushered in a climate catastrophe that endangers the foundations of life.

3. The establishment of contaminating industries such as cellulose mills, open pit mining using cyanide that contaminates the water for many years, indiscriminate deforestation are all justified by the urgent greed for profit for the monopolies. Toxic insecticides are used for intensive agriculture, as the monoculture of forests and soy beans. The results are floods, the spreading of deserts, evaporation of lakes, more rapid thawing of the ice caps, industrial contamination of rivers, etc. The imperialists get rid of their problems by exporting their contaminating factories to the oppressed countries. All of this affects human beings in general and especially the working class, for example, with the increase of respiratory illnesses.

4. Practice showed that the meetings held in Kyoto and Copenhagen, which the imperialist countries claimed to be meetings serving the struggle against environmental destruction, were actually a deceit aimed at pacifying the masses. It is cynical to allow the rich countries to further

destroy the world climate through the purchase of pollution rights. So it is the responsibility of the Marxist-Leninist parties to take up the issue globally and to build up resistance against the imperialist schemes to destroy the environment. It is necessary to unite the class struggle with the battle against the devastation of the environment, knowing that only destroying the imperialist capitalist system

and replacing it with a new society will be the definitive solution to this problem.

5. Our parties have to lead and spearhead these struggles in each country and take part in meetings like the one held in Cochabamba in 2010 in defense of the water and land of the indigenous peoples. They have to show solidarity with all the struggles that are developing throughout the world against environmental pollution, for example the struggles against nuclear power plants and nuclear waste in the whole world, the contamination of the Uruguay River in South America by the paper paste mill Botnia, against the Bhopal poisonous gas leak in 1984, the explosions in Magurchara and Tengratila (Bangladesh) in 2002, the 2010 BP oil spill catastrophe in the Gulf of Mexico and the continuous bombing by the United States and its allies in Iraq and Afghanistan and other wars of aggression against the oppressed peoples.

6. Our parties must work together as well as their forces allow to combine all of these single struggles into an international resistance front to save the environment from greed for profit. The working class must take on its leading role and, at the same time, work together openly with all serious environmentalists. The solution of the environmental question lies in the reestablishment of the unity of humankind and nature through socialism/communism where not profits, but the interests of humanity are the centre of interest.

7. The International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations appeals to all parties and organizations to observe the international day of struggle to save the natural environment on December 4th as a day of militant protest on the basis outlined above. ●

ICMLPO RESOLUTION No 3

THE SO-CALLED WAR ON "TERROR" AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SMEAR CAMPAIGN OF "TERRORISM" AND AGAINST FASCISM

1) "War against international terrorism!" This is the present battle cry of the imperialists and the bourgeoisie of all countries. By this, imperialism, led by US imperialism, send their armies into "foreign deployments", to wars of occupation in pursuit of maximum profit. "War against terrorism!" this is the present battle cry of the bourgeoisie of all countries, when they are rigorously curtailing the democratic rights of the working people, oppressing any radical opposition, even with armed violence, and promoting fascistization in the country.

2) What they are labelling as "terrorism" is in reality every kind of radical politics which calls capitalism into question, every uprising against imperialism, every struggle for liberation against the imperialist politics of occupation, every striving for independence. The ongoing wars of occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan are examples for the so-called "war on terrorism". The imperialist propaganda machinery is consciously spreading lies to justify wars and win the support of the own population. Thus the US imperialists consciously sold the lie as "secure information" that Iraq under Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. For the US imperialists and their allies it was actually just about securing the Iraqi crude oil.

3) The attack on the World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York with 3,000 deaths on September 11, 2001, was utilized by US imperialism to launch "*a war against all those who seek to export terror, and a war against those governments that support or shelter them*" (George W. Bush, speech on 11 October 2001). It was followed by a war of punishment and occupation against Afghanistan. Besides, Al Qaida and the Taliban are organizations which were originally built up by the US imperialists themselves.

4) It is not a question of fighting terrorism in the name of democracy and freedom etc. as alleged, but of naked imperialist interests in the striving of the great powers for maximum profit and world domination. It is about securing the routes of transport of the mineral oil and gas of Middle Asia, it is about military bases in Central Asia and spheres of influence and resources.

5) Also under the Obama administration nothing has changed fundamentally. US troops of some 300,000 soldiers and mercenaries are still deployed in the war against Afghanistan, Pakistan and occupied Iraq. Bush established the prison camp at Guantanamo and Obama keeps it in operation. In his keynote speech to the Islamic world US President Obama categorically demanded from the

oppressed masses, whether in Iraq, in Palestine, in Afghanistan or other places, to refrain from every use of violence, because "... *America can never tolerate violence by extremists.*" With this every struggle against occupation is slandered as terrorism.

6) Against the occupation by the imperialists the oppressed peoples are waging many forms of resistance including armed struggle against the biggest military machineries in the world. The war against the imperialist occupying powers and their domestic supporting lackeys is justified.

7) The true terrorists are the imperialists! Terrorist – that is what the imperialist and reactionary states are, domestically as well as abroad. Externally this terrorism manifests itself in the form of the direct military intervention and wars of occupation as well as criminal intervention. Thus on 28 June 2009 the democratically elected president of Honduras, Manuel Zelaya, was deported to the neighbouring country Costa Rica, with the obvious approval and support of US imperialism. Under president Obama the installation of 7 more military bases in Colombia for the air force, army and navy has been concluded on the basis of the Plan Colombia, and there is increased military intervention in Yemen. In the Philippines, the US imperialists maintain a contingent of special forces of 800 soldiers and have recently deployed 3,000 troops for joint military exercises with the Philippine government forces which can be used for "direct intervention". Israel, supported mainly by US imperialism, occupies Palestine and terrorizes the population.

8) When it is about crimes and wars against the peoples the imperialists are united! The anti-terror coalition means nothing else, intended to guarantee a cooperation against the so-called "terrorism" internally as well as externally.

9) Internally this policy is expressed in fascistization. As an ideological lever a racially coloured anti-Islamic smear campaign is demagogically being launched and used as manipulation of public opinion to prepare the peoples for wars on other peoples and cultures. It is the task of the Marxist-Leninists mainly in the Western countries to fight against this demagogic anti-Islamic smear campaign.

10) In order to stop the worldwide trend to the left an unprecedented anticommunist campaign has been launched under the banner of the struggle against the so-called "Maoism" or "Stalinism". Initiated by a corresponding directive of the EU Council of Ministers, it was redefined in

2006 that the root of terrorism is communism. It is noteworthy that the revisionists were not included in this smear campaign. Here the real enemy of the antiterrorist campaign becomes evident – the revolutionary working-class movement and the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations of the world.

11) By spreading fear and panic mongering against the so-called “terrorism” the internal fascistization is being implemented. It is the bourgeois state with its gang of bourgeois politicians calling themselves democratic that is the active agent of the internal fascistization. It is the bourgeois parliaments that are tightening the police laws, passing laws of censorship, curtailing the democratic rights, continuously passing and intensifying racist laws against migrants and refugees. It is the bourgeois state that is actively creating free space for open fascists. The openly fascist-acting organizations are groups even partly “steered by the state” which are manipulated and used for certain goals of the state. Thus, the so-called “Ergenekon” trials in Turkey revealed how openly fascist civilian groups, parts of the army, the police and the judiciary have worked together in secret operations steered by the International Newsletter No. 39 March 2011 state. So, for instance, in Germany, in connection with the last state motion for banning the fascist NPD, it became known that 1/3 of the leading level in this party are agents of the secret service.

12) The state itself is actively promoting fascism. The reactionary bourgeois democracy and fascism are two forms of one and the same class dictatorship: the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. When the bourgeoisie realizes that its class dictatorship is in real danger, for instance through the proletarian revolution, it will not wait one second to drop the democratic mask of its class dictatorship and go over to fascism, except that the proletariat can prevent this development by a broad anti-fascist united front or by proletarian revolution. In that respect the steps towards fascistization being taken today by the reactionary bourgeois democracies are, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, nothing else but preparations for future, sharper situations of class struggle. The communist parties, organizations and revolutionaries have to be vigilant and continuously be prepared for possible attacks of the class enemy. The struggle against legalism and against the playing down of the enemy as well as the strengthening of the fighting morale and the tempering of the comrades for sharper class conflicts must be an integral part of our practical political work.

13) We have to “stop the beginnings”, struggle militantly against the openly acting fascist groups and above all against every attack by the state on our democratic rights and liberties as well as against the internal measures of fascistization of the state. We have to struggle against every form of criminalization of communists, revolutionaries and liberation struggles and their being slandered as

“terrorists,” and oppose international solidarity and proletarian internationalism to this smear campaign and division.

14) We, the Tenth International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations, declare to oppose actively the occupation, imperialist wars and fascism in the countries. We declare our solidarity with the liberation movements of this world and support in particular the peoples of Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Philippines, Colombia and Palestine in their struggles for national sovereignty and self-determination.

Down with the imperialist warmongering!

Down with imperialism! Capital is behind fascism – let us fight it internationally!

Long live the international solidarity! ●

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE 10TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ICMLPO

Delegations of the following 19 parties and organizations from 16 countries attended the 10th *International Conference of Marxist Leninist Parties and Organizations*.

1. Argentina: Partido Comunista Revolucionario
2. Bangladesh: Communist Party of Bangladesh
3. Bolivia: Partido Comunista (Marxista-Leninista-Maoista) de Bolivia
4. Congo, DR: Revolutionary Organization from D.R. of Congo R.O.C.
5. Dominican Republic: Partido Comunista (Marxista-Leninista)
6. France: Organisation Communiste Marxiste-Leniniste - Voie proletarienne
7. Germany: Marxist-Leninist Party
8. India: Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) PCC
9. India: Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
10. Iran: Toilers' Party of Iran (Ranjbaran)
11. Luxembourg: Communist Organization Luxembourg
12. Nepal: Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)
13. Netherlands: Groep van Marxisten-Leninisten/Rode Morgen
14. Panama: Partido Comunista (Marxista-Leninista)
15. Philippines: Communist Party of the Philippines
16. Türkiye: Bolsevik Partisi (Kuzey Kurdistan-Türkiye)
17. Türkiye: Türkiye Komünist Partisi/Marksist-Leninist
18. Uruguay: Partido Comunista Revolucionario
19. USA: Revolutionary Organization of Labor

further organizations were involved in the preparations, but couldn't take part directly because of illness, problems with the visas or other problems. ●

“**THE FIRST** observation that I would like to make is this, you will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the state”

“If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you make.

August 11, 1947 address of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, to the members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, to the status of a national covenant

The blood flowing freely on the streets in Karachi is now the authentic proof of failed democracy and disastrous experiment of coalition government in Pakistan. The claims of “reconciliatory politics” of PPP turned out nothing but an attempt to share the booty, in a power sharing formula, but because of the underlying greed, hypocrisy and insatiable hunger for power by all parties in power, the reconciliation turned into antagonism and the sharing turned to snatching. The smiles on the faces of coalition partners turned to grimace and then to frowns and the satisfied grunts turned to angry snarls. Before the ink on the agreements of conciliations and reconciliations had dried, greed and treachery impelled the bloody game on the streets of Karachi with its full force.

The hunting game is on and the hunted are the poor, helpless people of Karachi who have nowhere to hide, nowhere to run and no one to ask for help. The aim of gangsters is establishing turfs and demarking areas of influence. Like wolves urinating in the jungle to draw lines of command

PAKISTAN : THE BLEEDING STREETS

Noreen Haider

which mark the standoff to the intruder so that the other wolves dare not cross or else be ready for fatal combats. Blood must flow to determine leader of the pack. The intruder must be hunted and killed or else the rule of the jungle would be violated. In the jungle there is no sharing and there is no coalition. There is only raw power. There is also no such thing as government in the jungle for it has its own laws, its own dynamics.

So it is now in Karachi, the battle ground of turf wars; the war for determining the leaders of the pack who now have with blood dripping from their jaws are demarking boundaries. The booty is the extortion money, properties, ransom money, drug, gambling, everything. The interior Minister has announced the arrest of terrorists who have killed more than fifty men each, but not even one of them has been produced in courts or his name or face shown to the people for these killers have the patronage of power players in politics.

The most interesting thing is that the recently refurbished constitution, now freshly printed in new paperbacks is lying on the shelves totally incapacitated to provide any “civil”, “basic” or “fundamental” rights to the dying people in the hunting fields of Karachi. Neither did the eighteenth historic constitutional amendment proved potent enough to empower the provincial government in Sindh to sort any of its issues on their own. In fact the cabinet meetings of Sindh Government are being chaired by President of Pakistan in Islamabad; so much for provincial autonomy.

Here it is relevant to mention also that the so called eighteenth amendment was in fact another game of power sharing and determining “turfs”. The process of deliberation on the said amendment was so secretive that the members of the committee were not even allowed to discuss the proceedings in even any of their party forums, let alone with the general public. And so the democratic process of deliberations was completed behind closed doors and the actual amendment passed in the parliament literally within minutes.

As for the implementation Commission and its process, the reality very few people are currently aware of, is that it is a total fallacy that the Federal Government has devolved all the powers, resources, assets, institutions or mega projects to the provincial governments. Nothing could be further from truth. The reality is that most, if not all the institutions and projects of the so called devolved ministries have been given to one or the other Ministry or department existing in the Federal Government. What is more, several new Ministries and departments have been created to transfer the assets, institutions, funds, mega projects, lands and buildings of the so called devolved ministries to them.

According to many leading law experts the concurrent list was never the problem of the common man of Pakistan and it remains to be seen how abolishing it would prove to be a decisive factor in the improved legislation and better service delivery. Accept for USA in the twenty seven countries of the world where there is federal system there are well defined concurrent lists and those have not proved to be a deterrent in good governance. It is a fallacy that because

of the existence of concurrent list the provinces were somehow hampered and incapacitated in delivering to the people. The real issues in the constitution relating to the rights of the people, the discriminatory laws against minorities and women were never made part of the “refurbished” constitution. The trumpeted triumph regarding the restructuring of the constitution is a sham as it does not guarantee the rights of the minorities or women of Pakistan. The vulnerable are still left on the mercy of the extremist element of the society and the discriminatory laws protected by the constitution.

It is the same now in the present spectacle of meetings, more meetings and then some more meetings between various political parties in Karachi. There is no concern for the killing fields and the blood of helpless people being shed on the streets; the real issue under discussion is the share of the bounty from Karachi. The Governor Sindh is sitting in Islamabad representing his party and the President in the President House as a Chairman of his party deciding on ‘formulas of power sharing.’

The underworld of crime is always a part of a big, metropolitan city of the world whether it is New York, Bombay or Karachi but it is amazing how the tug of war between the three political parties in power has enabled the underworld of crime to raise to the streets of Karachi in everybody’s clear view in broad daylight. The criminals are now not even making pretence of shying from any law or hiding. They are running their business with full command and control and with full confidence in their immunity. How did the criminals acquire this level of reassurance is the real question mark?

The worst thing for me is to see how blatantly the “wise people” in the governments are giving out statements like, “CM has taken notice, or it would not be tolerated, or things are getting better, or soon to see results, very calmly”. There is not even pretence of urgency or seriousness in any one of the statements. The Interior Minister of Sindh has even the audacity to crack jokes regarding the situation and is actually seen smiling about it.

What has become of the politics of reconciliation; a bad precedent of dishonest politics where tricks of the game -PPP government is so proud of -include, blatant lies, double dealing, using party members to issue inflammatory statements and then disowning them after fatal damage has been done, back stabbing the coalition partners and never sticking to declared statements. Is this what the leader of the party late Ms Bhutto actually meant by reconciliatory politics? It is however now evident that this strategy has succeeded in drenching Karachi in a blood bath if nothing else.

The Federal Interior Minister Rehman Malik has thrown in the towel stating that there is no solution to Karachi situation immediately. The Sindh government is not even remotely serious or capable of handling any situation with its half dead Chief Minister who is hard of hearing and it is quite unclear whether he even knows what year this is. It is on record that he quoted the population of Karachi as two million recently talking to the media.

In the meanwhile criminal gangs armed to the teeth with modern weaponry are roaming the streets killing for thrill and show of power, demarking turfs, putting properties and vehicles on fire. People are being made to flee from their homes, kidnapped for ransom or being killed later to be found in the form of mutilated and decapitated bodies in sacks.

The honourable “law makers” in Islamabad have failed to make any laws effective enough to bring the terrorists to boot. The Interior Minister has accepted that the law enforcing agencies have arrested some terrorists who have killed more than fifty people each but none of them have been convicted

because of ineffective laws. The overall acquittal rate is astonishing ninety percent. You can actually go on a killing spree and go absolutely scot free in Pakistan. If it is not a real life horror story I don’t what is.

This situation is haunting every conscientious person in Pakistan now. If this is what democracy meant then it is but a miserable, failed system. The people have no interest in knowing which government has the authority to make a law as long as laws are made and implemented which can effectively lead to better governance and the protection of the life and property of people.

The Army generals although thoroughly agitated are still waiting and watching albeit not very patiently. The very fact that they are not interfering is not a permanent situation. Eventually if there is no country left to rule, it would hardly matter which form of governance was actually better and which party should have what share. In order to save the day Pakistan Army will have to step in and take over. But they want to come riding on the wave of popularity borne out of desperation. They are now waiting for the “tipping point”. The army generals do not want to make more “martyrs of democracy” and this time it will be ensured that nobody is able to play innocent victim card. ●

Breaking The Shackles

(Organ of All India Revolutionary Women Organisation, AIRWO)

Hindi and English

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[Dongping Han grew up in China during the Cultural Revolution and now teaches in the US. He is the author of the book *The Unknown Cultural Revolution—Life and Change in a Chinese Village*. Following is an abridged version of the session at the end of a speech he gave in December 2008 at the New York symposium “Rediscovering the Chinese Cultural Revolution: Art and Politics, Lived Experience, Legacies of Liberation,” sponsored by Revolution Books, Set the Record Straight Project and Institute for Public Knowledge-New York University. The full version appeared in the 6 September 2009 issue of *Revolution, voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA*. (revcom.us)]

Question: You went back to China in 1986. When did you and others like you start to see that things were different, that China had become very different than what it had been during the Cultural Revolution?

Dongping Han: I think people realized right away. The land was privatized in China in 1983. Many people tend to think that farmers are stupid and ignorant. But I think the farmers are very intelligent people. Many of them realized the implications of private farming right away. That was why they resisted it very hard in the beginning. And in my village and in other villages I surveyed, the overwhelming majority of people, 90 percent, said the Communist Party no longer cares about poor people. Right away they felt this way. The Communist Party, the cadres, no longer cared about poor people in the countryside. The government investment in rural areas in the countryside dropped from 15 percent in the national budget in 1970s to only 3-4 percent in the '80s. So the Chinese public realized that the Chinese government no longer cared about them by disbanding the communes. But I was in college at the time and I didn't start to think about the issue very hard until 1986.

THE UNKNOWN CULTURAL REVOLUTION: LIFE AND CHANGE IN A CHINESE VILLAGE

Q: Can you explain a little bit more how the Cultural Revolution came to your village?

DH: The Cultural Revolution started slowly. Before the start of the Cultural Revolution, there was a call to start to study Mao's works. The Chinese People's Liberation Army came to the village to read Chairman Mao's works. They held performances in the village. They came to people's home to teach people to read Mao's three classic articles: "Serve the People", "In Memory of Norman Bethune" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". They explained to the villagers what these articles were about. After the PLA soldiers left, many school children, like myself, started to teach villagers about Mao's works as well. When the central government announced the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, high school and middle school students left their schools, and began to write big character posters in the streets. The high school students dragged 20 of their teachers to the marketplace and denounced them publicly and shaved off half their hair in front of a big crowd. I do not think that most people knew what the Cultural Revolution would be like at the beginning.

Many students began to publish newspapers and pamphlets. There were so many pamphlets at the time, criticizing government officials. In the beginning they were mostly written by students. Not long after this, farmers and workers began to write them as well. There was so much information going on at the time. Later on, there was a group of high school and middle school students from my county that travelled all the way to Beijing to see Chairman Mao. When they came back in August 1966, they began to organize into different Red Guard factions. They started to organize mass rallies to criticize the county and commune leaders. All officials were under some kind of popular scrutiny and attack at the time.

Almost everybody, I would say 90 percent of the population, was part of a mass organization.

I was in third grade at that time. Five of my friends and I also organized a Red Guard organization. We designed our Red Guard symbols and began to publish a single page newspaper. We collected enough money to get a hand printer to print our newspaper. In my school there were 13 small newspapers. We would recruit others and write something and go to the marketplace to distribute it to the people. That's how it started. There were big character posters everywhere. The village streets were plastered with big character posters, mostly criticizing village leaders. Before the Cultural Revolution, the village leaders had a lot of power. They normally didn't work in the field and they would eat and drink a lot at the village's expense. And the Cultural Revolution held them to task. That's how it started actually.

In all these activities with the big character posters, all were written by the farmers themselves. And I remember some of the farmers who didn't know how to write. They came to us, they came to the school kids, and we would write it for them. So it was a very mobilizing movement. Everybody in the village was touched by that.

The reason the officials are corrupt today and were not during the Cultural Revolution years is because the masses were really empowered. There was always a mass meeting every night and all the government policies and directives were read to the farmers. And it was required by the government at the time. They were read to the farmers and then the farmers discussed these documents, so everybody knew what was going on and why. The reason why the Chinese people were eager to read and willing to recite Mao's works at the time is because they found what Mao said represented their best interests. And Mao said what they wanted to hear. For example Mao's article "To Serve the People" is only one and a half pages long. But in this short article Mao elaborated on how a communist official should behave. A communist official shouldn't have any self interests. He should work for the people and serve the people. They should care about the poor people and the farmers. They should welcome criticism. If they were not doing something right, they should change it for the sake of the people. This is all something the farmers never heard and they wanted to hear.

Q: Why during that time, during those 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, was there no effort made to purge the Communist Party of the right-wing capitalist roaders?

DH: The Cultural Revolution was not to purge people; it was to educate the people. Many of the capitalist roaders had fought for the revolution and made important contributions to the Chinese revolution. It was an accepted traditional idea that those who fight for the revolution should enjoy the privileges when the revolution succeeded. It was not enough to purge these people. The problem was the old traditional ideas. So the Cultural Revolution was to do away with the traditional ideas and educate the people through mobilizing the farmers and the workers. I think if there was no coup in 1976, I doubt that this government apparatus would have changed by itself. It happened because there was a coup. But I don't think to purge people is a solution either. I remember during the Cultural Revolution there were some high officials in my county who encouraged their own children to work with the farmers and to ask for the most difficult assignments and tasks to build their character. It seemed that these high officials did change with the change of social climate during the Cultural Revolution years. But when the social climate changed, they changed back.

Most people were not aware that there was a coup in 1976. Mao's wife and three other important leaders were arrested. And there was a very extensive purge throughout China. Hundreds of thousands of people who supported the Cultural Revolution were arrested right away. Some people argue that Mao should have killed Deng Xiaoping and a few others to prevent the arrest of the Gang of Four. Maybe he should have, but he did not.

Q: Could you paint a picture comparing what the average daily life was like for you and your family during the Cultural Revolution compared to, on the one hand communism before the Cultural Revolution, and then compared to your family now in capitalist China?

DH: The Cultural Revolution was launched because the Great Leap Forward failed. It failed partly because there was a 100-year natural disaster on the one hand. On the other hand, it failed because communist officials in the villages were not really socialist yet. They ordered farmers to do too much and they themselves didn't want to work hard. There was not enough to eat during the Great Leap Forward because of the natural disasters on the one hand and mismanagement on the other. So the reason I think the Cultural Revolution was launched by Mao was that he realized at the time that the Chinese officials needed to be educated and that the Chinese people needed to be educated through a socialist movement. That's why he mobilized the Chinese farmers to

criticize the officials in the village. And of course, I was too young, I don't remember too much about the Great Leap Forward. But during the Cultural Revolution, I remember very well. I was working in the fields with the farmers and at that time in the rural areas, each village had a production brigade, and each brigade was divided into several production teams. In my village there were eight production teams. Each production team had about 40 families. We elected five production team leaders each year. We had a production team head, a woman leader, an accountant, a cashier, and a store keeper. Before the Cultural Revolution these people were appointed by the village leaders and the village leaders were appointed by the commune leaders. It was not democratically elected. During the Cultural Revolution years, these production team leaders were elected by the farmers.

We worked in the fields together. Everybody came out and worked together. And at the end of the day the cashier would record how many people worked that day. And at the end of the year, when the harvest came in, the village accountant, together with the production team accountant, would develop a distribution plan. Seventy percent of the grain was distributed according to how many people you had in your family. Thirty percent was distributed according to how much you worked in the collective. So if you did not work in the fields, you were still entitled to 70 percent of the grain from the collective. That was the distribution on the production team level. There was also distribution at the production brigade level. The village owned many enterprises. After putting away money for a welfare fund, money to purchase new equipment and so on, the village would distribute its income according to how much you had worked in the collective. The collective also produced vegetables, fruits, peanuts and we also raised pigs. These would be distributed to villagers regularly

according to the same distribution schedule as grain was distributed. We also purchased fish, wine, cigarettes collectively with the money earned by the village enterprises, and this was distributed to each family on important occasions like Chinese New Year and other holidays. We got almost all our supplies from the collective.

After the Cultural Revolution years, I went to college and my two sisters who used to work for the village, found jobs in a state-owned factory in the early '80s. Now the factory has been sold and my two sisters have been unemployed since 1996. My younger sister is still working in the village, as the village cashier now. My village is doing well compared with other villages. Life has changed dramatically in the countryside. I think for most working class people, life has changed for the worse. Even though they may get more money, they have lost benefits like free medical care and free education of the socialist past. They now have to pay for their education. They have to pay for their medical care. Most farmers cannot afford the medical care. If they are sick for a small problem, they just endure the problem. If they are sick for a big problem, they just wait to die. Many of them say they do not want to leave a big debt for their children by going to the hospital. The medical care is very expensive now and it is beyond the reach of most farmers and working class people in urban areas.

Q: Could you talk a little about what the cultural life was like in your village and how that changed?

DH: Before the Cultural Revolution, Chinese performing arts were mostly about talented young men and beautiful ladies, kings, generals and so on. That's what the Chinese traditional plays were about. During the Cultural Revolution, there was a surge of a new kind of art. Every village at the time had a group of farmer artists and they played instruments, sang revolutionary songs, danced

revolutionary dances, and staged revolutionary plays. There was some kind of performance in the village almost every night. These performances became educational tools. Revolutionary ideas spread because of these revolutionary performances. And it was very powerful. But of course today you don't see that any more in the countryside. But if you go to China today, you can still see older people singing the revolutionary songs in parks and public spaces to entertain themselves.

Q: In the movies that we see about China and the Cultural Revolution, there is a representation of people being picked up and tried by popular tribunals and paraded around town, punished. My question is: where does this image come from, did you hear about things like this in China, how widespread was this?

DH: That image was from the Cultural Revolution years. For a few weeks in the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, many Chinese officials were being criticized on the stage. That was very common. I saw it many times. I would say most government officials went through some of that at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. At the same time, I would argue, many of these people deserved some kind of punishment. They had made mistakes in their work. And because of their mistakes, people suffered. People were looking for ways to air their anger. In the villages, the struggle against village leaders was more gentle and peaceful.

These public struggle sessions to deal with officials who committed crimes and made mistakes were different ways of dealing with these people. After they were struggled with for a day or two, they were allowed to go free. They were taught a lesson by the people. In the U.S. people are sent to prison. I still think this public education during the Cultural Revolution was very effective, not only to educate the village officials, but also everybody else. After the session, they were free. So I don't think that was a bad practice. I think it was a very good practice.

Q: What about the situation in China now, particularly the economic crisis and how you think that's working itself out, especially in the rural areas, but more generally?

DH: The Chinese government is faced with a huge challenge today and the Chinese government officials themselves have admitted that on many occasions. Some people estimate that there are 100 incidents involving more than 100 people challenging the government and 300 incidents involving less than 100 challenging the government each day. I read in a document about an incident in Guangdong province where three police officers stopped a car without a license plate and upon further check they found the driver without a driver's license. But the three people came out the car and yelled that the police are harassing people and about 2,000 people came out. They turned the police car upside down and set it on fire. The government is warning the police to be careful because the tension between the people and the government is very high.

And there are a lot of people in the countryside who are very angry with the township government. I was told by a farmer about an incident in a rural township. The party secretary was taking a nap one day. But about 100 farmers, who were angry with the township government's decision to move the market to a different place, went to his bedroom. They actually dragged him by his four limbs into the marketplace and threw him up into the air for a half hour. They didn't hit him. They just toyed with him for a half hour. In the end the government had to remove him from office because he had become an embarrassment for the government. This happened last year. There was another government official who was beaten by the farmers. The villagers wanted him to take a patient to the

hospital. He refused. He said that not everyone could ride in his car. The farmers almost killed him, but the government didn't punish the people who did it. So I think the government realizes how tense its relationship is with the masses.

In the old days, the Chinese government officials came to the village and worked with the farmers. And today they don't do that. They come to the village in big cars, only to get money from farmers and to enforce the one child policy... I think the government has a legitimacy crisis. The Chinese government was able to survive the challenges of the Great Leap Forward posed by unprecedented natural disasters and mismanagement by its officials because of the socialist legitimacy. I don't think it will be able to survive any challenges close to that of the Great Leap Forward.

Q: Could you talk about what happened during the coup in 1976 and also how that whole period was being understood where you were?

DH: I still remember where I was on 9 September 1976. At 4 o'clock that day, I was walking with my friend outside the village when the loudspeaker said there was a very important announcement. And we immediately realized something was wrong. And they said Chairman Mao had passed away. I don't know how I walked home that day. I remember that everybody around me was crying. Finally I reached home. My father cried all the way home from his factory. When my grandpa died he didn't cry. He gathered the family together and he said, today our poor people's sky has fallen and we do not know what life will be like tomorrow. At the time, I thought, in my heart, how could that be possible? We have built the socialist state. How could the poor people's sky fall just because Chairman Mao died?

It turned out that my father was right. When the Gang of Four was arrested, the Chinese government said the people were really happy. That was not true. In my home town many young people really respected Jiang Qing because of an incident that happened in a neighbouring commune. On Chinese New Year in 1975, the village leader played over the loudspeaker a traditional drama which was criticized during the Cultural Revolution. A young man in the village criticized the village leader for playing that over the loudspeaker. But the village leaders accused him of causing trouble in the village. He called the police and the police took him away. While he was in prison, he wrote a letter to Jiang Qing, and in less than five days, Jiang Qing responded to his letter. Jiang Qing ordered that the person be released. And the village leader was dismissed from office. Young people in my area loved Jiang Qing. When the Gang of Four was arrested a few weeks after Mao died, we knew things were going to be different.

Question: You were saying that the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution were the most exciting of your life. Could you give some examples of that spirit that you felt?

DH: The way that I felt at that time was that I had a strong sense of security. I was not alone in this world. My neighbours, my production team leaders, the village leaders would take care of anybody if they needed help.

In 1998, one of my friends who worked with me committed suicide. When I received the news from my village I cried. The reason I cried was because I felt that if the collective had not been disbanded he would not have died; he would not have committed suicide. And this person was about my age. When he was young, he couldn't get up early in the morning. So every morning my production team leader told me to go to wake him up. When I went to wake him up the first time, he answered me, and got up. The second day, he said, I'll get up but he never got up. So I had to drag him up from his bed. The third day his grandmother was very upset that I woke him up every day. She told me that her grandson

needed more sleep. But the production team leader said to me: "Do not mind his grandmother. Wake him up. He needs help." So he came to work with us with my help. He worked every day. He was a very good worker. He was very talented as well. He played the Chinese instrument, the erhu very well and he also painted well. But after the collective was disbanded, nobody went to wake him up anymore. He was able to sleep as much as he wanted. So eventually his wife left him. And by 1996, 1997 he became mentally disturbed. And the last time I saw him was in 1997 when I went back home. I saw him walking naked on the street. He saw me and ran back home. I followed him to his house. I asked him why he walked naked in the streets. He said that life was bad for him. He did not want to live any more. I told him that he had to change his mindset, that he needed to face the challenges. I asked him why he didn't go back to painting if he could not do anything else. I told him that I would be in the village for another 10 days, and I would like to buy a painting from him. He promised that he would do it. But the next day, he came to see me. He said that he could not do it now. He told me that he would do it for me the next year. I told him that it was him that I was interested in not the painting. I wanted to see him stand up and take control of his life. But three months after I left the village, he committed suicide. He hung himself. When I learned of this news from my younger sister, I cried very hard. I felt that if the collective were not disbanded, he did not need to commit suicide. The community was no longer there. Your friends and your neighbours became competitors and strangers to you. The security network had been taken away. For Americans you're used to this kind of competition. But for Chinese farmers who lived under the socialist system before, the change was too dramatic for many people.

Q: The Cultural Revolution sent shock waves around the world. In your village, how much were you aware of

the international situation, the influence this was having internationally?

DH: At that time when I was in the village, I really felt we were part of the international revolution. We were young and we were part of a big picture. I remember in 1971 there was a huge drought in our area. The county government held a huge rally in the marketplace. At the rally, government leaders and representatives of farmers and workers said that we were fighting this drought not just for ourselves. We were fighting this in support of the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. imperialism. We were fighting this drought to support oppressed people in Africa and so on. After the rally, everybody in our school wrote a pledge to join the fight against the drought. The school was closed for two weeks. We went back to the village to fight the drought with the villagers for two weeks. Everybody worked very hard. I felt that I was doing something significant to help the revolution. At that time I didn't really understand what it meant. It was standard language. I believed what we were told by the government that we had friends all over the world. After the Cultural Revolution was over, the Chinese elite told us that it was government propaganda. But it was not simply propaganda. I found this out when I studied in Singapore. When Mao died in 1976, China did not have diplomatic relations with Singapore. So the branch bank of Bank of China decided to hold a memorial service for Mao for three days. Ordinary Singaporeans and seaman from all over the world came to show their respect for Mao day and night. The line was so long, the staff at the Bank of China had to extend the memorial service from three days to ten. I realized then that our fight in China was connected with the struggle of oppressed people all over the world.

Q: I want to step back to your experience in the Cultural Revolution. You were able to go to school, you

grew up and became an educated youth in the countryside, and yet there was this political campaign that was going on for 10 years. How did this intersect with you, how much were you continuing to follow it?

Dongping Han: My whole value system was changed very dramatically. Before the Cultural Revolution, my father never allowed me to talk back to him; that's how the Chinese family was. He never allowed me to talk back to him. Whenever there were guests in the house I was never allowed to say a word. But during the Cultural Revolution years that changed. I said, "Chairman Mao said I can talk back to you!" But many people in the U.S. country think that the revolutionary campaign is an interruption of life. No. The revolution did not disrupt most people's lives, particularly in the village. During the day most work continues, and at night people went out to the streets and there was a lot of debate; different groups debate in the streets. My cousin and I went to shops at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution to propagate Mao's ideas. The government-owned shops extended their hours until 10 at night at the time. So we went to the shops to read Mao's teachings and perform the plays, and so on. We loved that.

Maybe I can give you an example to illustrate the change. Before the Cultural Revolution years, people in my area never gave blood to anybody. If you needed a blood transfusion, you went to your family: your wife, your father or your brothers. People thought that if you gave blood to another person, you would lose your own vitality in life. But one day, one of my colleagues was sick and needed a blood transfusion. Most of the factory workers were working in fields harvesting. It was a busy time in the village. Twenty young people who were working in the village went to the hospital. The nurses checked our blood types. I was the only person who qualified to give the blood. I knew at the time any one of the 20 people would give their blood to save my colleague. The village party secretary asked me what to do. I said that we needed to save the patient. They took more than 700 cc from me and after that I couldn't walk and they had to take me home in a wheelbarrow. And the next morning I woke up and my mom and my two aunts were all crying. They actually cried the whole night. They thought I wouldn't be able to get married, nobody would marry me. But life changed, and it wasn't just me. All the people who went to the hospital that day would have happily given blood to that person that day.

Whenever there was a storm, even at midnight people would get up to cover the collective crops. If it snowed we would get up to clean the streets. We did not have bulldozers. Everybody would get out to clean the streets. Another important change in the rural life was that there were almost no crimes during the Cultural Revolution years. For 10 years, we did not have any crime in the village. In my commune of 50,000 people, I did not hear of any serious crime for 10 years. But now, crime has become so common in China.

Q: Could you compare your daily life during the Cultural Revolution to what the daily life would have been like for your grandparents before 1949?

DH: The reason why my father was so supportive of the Communist Party was that he had to work 18 hours a day. He had to pick up the capitalists' night soil and did household chores beside long hours of work in the workshop. When the communists came to power, the workday became eight hours, so my father's life changed for the better under socialism. My father used to believe in Buddhism. After the communists came to power, he no longer believed in any more. On the Chinese New Year, my mom always asked to kowtow to the gods of the family. My father would always tell me not to do it. He was told that he was suffering because he did something wrong in the previous life. He changed his previous life, but his life suddenly changed for the better with the Communist Party in power.

REFLECTING THE DECLINE OF THE U.S. EMPIRE

WALL STREET WINS THE DEBT CEILING AGREEMENT AND WE, THE PEOPLE, LOSE!

ON AUGUST 2, the very last day before the U.S. government would have begun to default on its debts, the Democrats and Republicans (including its tea party members) in the U.S. Congress reached an agreement on a deficit reduction plan, and President Obama immediately signed the bill. They agreed to raise the debt ceiling limit from the \$14.29 trillion reached on that day by as much as \$2.4 trillion in three installments. According to the agreement, Congress cut almost one trillion dollars in spending over the next ten years and has set into motion a “requirement” that will lead to an additional \$1.5 trillion being reduced from the current deficit by late November of this year. Thus, the \$2.4 trillion increase in the debt ceiling limit is matched by about the same amount of *planned* debt reduction.

From the Wall Street bankers and Corporate America there was a sigh of relief. For those of us on *Main Street, the rest of us*, the working class and oppressed nationalities, in particular, there was no relief in sight. In fact, we now have even more reason to worry about the future of our families, our communities, our country and the world’s peoples.

In the original “Shadow-boxing” on the issue of debt reduction and the debt ceiling between the Republicans in Congress, led by Speaker of the House John Boehner, and the Democratic Party, led by President Barack Obama, the Democrats promised to keep Social Security, Medicaid and Medicare off the bargaining table. They promised that the rich would be made to pay more taxes as a major component of any decision on these issues – especially as they have been paying scandalously little taxes since the Bush tax cuts, extended by the Obama-Republican Congressional actions last December.

The truth is, however, that Obama and the Democrats are in league with the Republicans. As the current leaders of “Republicrat” political rule on behalf of

Wall Street, of U.S. monopoly capitalism and imperialism, *Democratic* President Obama and *Republican* House Speaker Boehner were conspiring to impose on the people of the USA a \$4 trillion dollar deficit reduction plan that combined increased tax revenues with cuts in previously sacrosanct social programs including Social Security, Medicaid and Medicare. Such a plan would have been enough to satisfy Standard and Poor (S and P) and keep the major U.S. creditors (holders of IOU’s in U.S. dollars) at bay. The tea party members of the U.S. Congress, in their effort to starve the federal government *and* defend the rich from any tax increases, blew up the Republicrat plan.

The results of the two months of supposedly “ferocious” battle between the twin ruling class parties were ultimately revealed on August 2nd, as follows: 1. In a repeat of last December’s Obama-Republican surprise agreements in Congress – there were no tax increases for the rich at all; 2. The majority of cuts on government spending have been deferred until after the 2012 election but it is crystal clear that the Republicrats intend to keep the massive and obscene War Budget intact and to place the entire burden of the economic crisis on the shoulders of Main Street, especially the U.S. workers and oppressed nationalities; 3. Given the magnitude of the U.S. government debt and the down-to-the-wire timing of the August

Both my father and my mom begged before 1949, and were hungry all the time. Both my grandmothers died in their 30s in 1944, without any medical care. But ever since I could remember, I never felt hungry. I always had enough to eat. My father never bought any toys for me when I was young. I often compare my childhood with my son’s in the U.S. At the time, we had a lot of kids in the neighbourhood to play with and we made toys for ourselves. We played a lot of games ourselves. We worked on the collective farm during the summer, spring and fall. In winter we played popular games in the streets when there was nothing to do in the fields. And I always ask my son which childhood is better. Of course it’s very hard for him to imagine. But I strongly believe that my childhood was much more healthy, much more creative than that of my son who has nothing else but toys and video games. We had community, and we learned how to interact with one another; we learned how to build up leadership skills and

things like that. And my son didn’t have those skills. When I first came to the U.S, I had a class on the Cultural Revolution. And the professor said that Cultural Revolution education was a disaster, and most students in the class agreed with him. In the end, I told the class that I was a product of the Cultural Revolution education. I challenged the whole class to a competition with me to see who is better educated. Nobody was willing to take on the challenge. ●

2nd agreement, *the deficit reduction plan is clearly "too little, too late."* Moody's Investors Service continued the U.S. government's AAA credit rating but officially signaled it was prepared to downgrade it unless more is done to deal with the deficit. S and P actually *downgraded* the U.S. government to AA+, the first time in U.S. history that the USA has lost its AAA status!

Combined with the unraveling of the European Union, the loss of faith in the U.S. Empire's previously "Almighty Dollar" has led to the beginnings of a new rapid slide in stock markets all over the world. And the only reason U.S. treasury securities are still being purchased is because there are hardly any "safe havens" for investment capital anywhere in the world in this period of systemic capitalist collapse.

Meanwhile, an editorial in *Xinhua*, China's state-run newspaper asserted: "China, the largest creditor of the world's sole superpower, has every right now to demand the United States to address its structural debt problems and ensure the safety of China's dollar assets. To cure its addiction to debts, the United States has to reestablish the common sense principle that one should live within its means ..."

In a recent *Wall Street Journal* column, Martin Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Ronald Reagan, echoed the Chinese authorities' sentiments. He asserted: "A falling dollar may be the only major economic change that can accelerate the anemic pace of recovery and prevent a new downturn in U.S. economic activity. The declining dollar has been the key driver of American exports. ... Although exports are only 10% of U.S. GDP, the rise in exports during the past four quarters contributed more than 50% of GDP growth during that period." ("A Falling Dollar Will Mean a Faster U.S. Recovery," *WSJ*, 8-1-11) Feldstein explains that, unlike "Europe's highly

unionized economy," "in the U.S., where only 7% of private workers are unionized, there is now little danger of an inflationary wage-price spiral." (*ibid*) In other words, Feldstein is counting on U.S. workers being too weak and divided to mount a powerful trade union and/or political response to *a rapid devaluation of the dollar and our real wages, worsening standard of living, etc.* (Compare, the powerful anti-government austerity struggles in the streets carried out by the Greek working people throughout this crisis).

In early 2010, we observed: "Barack Obama is well suited for the difficult task of presiding over an orderly march of the U.S. population to impoverishment in the desperate effort of the U.S. monopoly capitalist and imperialist ruling class to save itself and its hegemonic position in the world capitalist system." We continued: "This march to impoverishment, however, is still only in its beginning stages. And the challenge to the U.S. monopoly capitalist and imperialist ruling class and President Obama to lead the masses of working people and oppressed nationalities in the USA to poverty *without* us opting to revolt, *without* us turning to socialist revolution for the way out of our difficulties, will only get more difficult."

The Debt Ceiling Debate and August 2nd Agreement of the Obama-led Republicrats and the Tea Party members of Congress is a new step on the road to *our* ruin. *When will we workers and oppressed nationalities in the USA begin to revolt against the collapsing capitalist system and its rulers on the path to socialist revolution?* ●

Revolutionary Organization of Labor, USA, August 8, 2011

ARREST OF ANNA HAZARE CONDEMNED

Unequivocally condemning the arrest of Anna Hazare and imposition of prohibitory orders in Delhi, the Central Committee of CPI(ML) demanded his immediate release and withdrawal of all prohibitory orders from Delhi areas. In a statement issued on 16th August it called upon the people to expand the struggle against corruption to force the government to arrest all scamsters, confiscate their properties and to confiscation of all amounts stashed away in foreign banks by them. It demanded to expand the Lokpal bill to elect Lokpal at center and Lokayuktas in states with the right to recall and give them all powers to prosecute and punish all against whom charges are put forward by people and found guilty. Link struggle against corruption to struggle against the ruling system which breeds it. Based on this call, the CPI(ML) activists in hundreds organised demonstrations at many places protesting against the arrest of Anna Hazare. They joined with the thousands demonstrating throughout the day all over India in support of the anti-corruption movement with the demands for arrest of all scamsters including the prime minister and corporate giants and for the confiscation of the money stashed away in foreign banks. ●

Anti-Corruption Movement Creates continued from page 35

through the developments taking place around the world and in our country have inspired the whole party organization to carry forward the tasks of taking up the holding of the Party Congress in a revolutionary atmosphere.

Taking this favourable situation in to consideration, all state committees/ state organising committees are called upon to complete the area/district conferences in time so that the state level conferences can be completed by 30th October as already planned. Once again all the party members/candidate members are called upon to energetically forward the tasks of the Party Congress. ●

THE ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT CREATES FAVOURABLE SITUATION

FROM the time the anti-corruption movement by the civil society groups led by Anna Hazare was launched in April we had put forward the view that corruption along with price rise is making life impossible for the vast majority and that any mass movement against it is a welcome thing. At the same time we had pointed out that for this struggle to be carried forward successfully it should be linked to the struggle against the rotten ruling system which breeds corruption. Explaining this question Red Star, August issue published two articles on this question explaining our stand. When the contradiction between the UPA government and Anna team on drafting the bill sharpened and both sides came out with their own bills, we had pointed out that the struggle against corruption is being reduced to the question of a Lokpal or Janlokal now and the struggle has to go beyond it.

In a way the contradiction emerged between the two sections and the arrogant manner in which the UPA government tried to handle the Ramdev struggle and its attempt to browbeat the Anna teams struggle also in the same manner has created a new situation. A mass upsurge of unprecedented proportions has broken out reflecting the pent up feelings of anger of the people against corruption. Youth and students along with the middle classes and an increasing number of workers and the rural masses have started participating in this upsurge making it bigger and wider every day. When this note is prepared on 22nd August it has reached to such a scale that the central government which tried to scoff at it in the beginning is being compelled to come forward with proposals for a more effective Lokpal bill.

This mass upsurge of the broad sections of people shows the extent of people's anger against the rampant corruption and how it has affected their daily life. Along with it the unprecedented price rise and other consequences of the 'neo-liberal' policies are also being raised. Except for a fringe of sectarians and arm-chair revolutionaries who have not understood Marx's evaluation of Paris Commune or Mao's writing on Hunan Uprising, all other revolutionary left and vast democratic sections have come out in support of the mass upsurge. Of course they understand the way it has developed, the class combination of the sections in the fore front and the limitations of this struggle. The possibility of this being compromised at any time if an amicable agreement is arrived at on the contents of the Lokpal bill is also clear. In spite of these, recognizing the fact that it is after a long time such an upsurge at all India level is taking place and the possibilities it has brought up

for a countrywide uprisings once the party and class/mass organizations gain strength at all India level and their political influence is strengthened among the left masses, our Party has called on the party cadres and class/mass organizations to join with the masses who have come out on the streets and try to politicise the masses wherever possible by launching campaigns to lead the upsurge against corruption to struggle against the very ruling system which breeds corruption.

Reports from the states where we have some level of mass base shows that this intervention is creating positive conditions for interacting with the masses and to put forward our position on the approach towards the struggle against corruption and such issues integrally linked to the existing ruling system. It is providing valuable experience on mobilizing such upsurges and the possibilities it create for revolutionary advance. It also provides opportunity to come out of the sectarian influences still haunting the revolutionary movement even after four decades due to petty-bourgeois domination.

As far as CPI(ML) is concerned, after rejecting the 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal, people's war' approach, in the Bhopal Special Conference in November 2009 it has adopted a Path of Revolution' document which calls for Bolshevik style party and class/mass organization building at all India level and preparing the ground for an all India people's uprising for capture of political power. The mass uprisings in a number of Latin American countries in the beginning of this millennium which have led to anti-US governments coming to power in a number of these countries, the mass uprisings in Tunisia followed by the one in Egypt which ended the Mubarak dictatorship and the uprisings in a number of other NORTH African and West Asian countries, and nearer home the mass movement which led to the fall of the 250 years old monarchy in Nepal had already proved the correctness of the orientation given in the Path of Revolution document. Now the massive upsurge at all India level is proving once again that once the Bolshevik style party and class/mass organization building advances and countrywide political campaigns and mass agitations on short term and long term demands are carried forward establishing the prestige of the party among the masses, possibility for such countrywide uprisings uniting the numerous upsurges taking place locally will arise. The correctness of the concrete analysis of the concrete situation put forward, the class analysis made and the revolutionary orientation provided in the Path of Revolution and Party Programme being established ⇒ See page 34

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As part of campaign against corruption, CPI(ML) Karnataka State Committee burned effigy of Manmohan Singh and Yeddiyurappa on 17th August