

RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

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*No To Reformism, No To Anarchism
March Towards People's Democratic Revolution
Make Ninth Congress of CPI(ML) a Great Success*



Seventh Karnataka State Conference Rally

CENTRAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR DEVASTATION OF MANIPUR PEOPLE'S LIFE

A **NOTHER** 'economic blockade', this time by 'Sadar Hills District Demand Committee', has further devastated people's life in this state when they had hardly come out of the grievous effects of a very long blockade by the Naga organizations. As a result the prices of all essential commodities have more than doubled compared to even other states of the Northeast. Imphal looks like a city which has recently experienced a severe earthquake, with dilapidated roads, power cuts and lack of civil amenities. Condition of the rural areas is worse. Though the blockade and consequent stoppage of truck and bus services to this state without a railway connection is continuing for weeks, neither the state government nor the central government which has deployed large military and para-military forces have taken any serious action to initiate talks to end the blockade or to protect the traffic through the National Highway. On the contrary the state government is sleeping and the central government is refusing to act, violating the assurances given to Manipur during its merger with Indian Union.

The Indian government is entirely responsible for this situation. It continued the 'divide and rule' policies of the British colonialists more ruthlessly in the whole Northeast region, dividing all ethnic, tribal, sub-national, national and religious sections. It refused to settle the existing problems and those which had newly emerged due to its policies, politically and to achieve unity based on the principle right of self determination of the people. From the beginning it was trying to impose its will by deploying military. It has only worsened the situation. Deployment of military and paramilitary forces in large numbers, imposition of draconian AFSPA, and the divisive acts of RAW have accentuated the problems in the region. Meanwhile the state government, the bureaucracy and the political parties in power as well as in opposition became increasingly corrupt, insensitive to the concrete problems of the region and the people. The military suppression worsened the contradictions. Instead of curbing the insurgency, it has only spread it to unprecedented levels. It is in this situation, extremely pained by the atrocities of the military forces leading to the massacre of eleven innocent people in the streets of Imphal by the Assam Rifles in 2000, Irom Sharmila started her fast on 2nd November which is going to reach its twelfth year on this 2nd November, demanding the withdrawal of AFSPA.

During the last decade as the demand for the withdrawal of AFSPA and the military intensified, the central government has enacted many dramas including the visit

of prime minister, Manmohan Singh. But none of them could address the problems of the state or helped to improve the situation. Rather the situation has only worsened. In this situation, the CPI(ML) declares firm solidarity with com. Sharmila who is continuing her fast in spite of various efforts by the state and a section of the media to distort and weaken her struggle, demands the immediate removal of military from Manipur and repeal of AFSPA and all other black acts. It also demands that a political process to settle the problems in Manipur involving the Meitei, Naga and Kurki peoples should be urgently initiated to achieve their unity based on the right of self-determination. It also demands that the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act (MLR and LRA) of 1960 should be withdrawn as it subverts the unity of Manipur and prevents land rights to those residing in the hill areas. The CPI(ML) also demand immediate action by the central and state governments to ensure the supply of essential commodities and removal of all obstacles to traffic through the National Highways to the state

The Central Committee of the CPI(ML) has already called for a countrywide campaign from 1st October to 2ND November in solidarity with the struggle of Irom Sharmila and demanding the immediate withdrawal of military and AFSPA. The state committee of CPI(ML) has launched a month long campaign to spread the message of the anti-British, anti-feudal struggles of Janneta Hijam Irawat. It will be culminating with a mass rally on 30th September on Thau grounds in which the CPI(ML) will declare its resolve to intensify the mass movement against the anti-people policies of the central and state governments. It appeals for the unity of all progressive, democratic and secular forces to unite for achieving the rights of the people of Manipur. ●

29 September 2011

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General Secretary, CPI(ML)

Breaking The Shackles

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MAKE NINTH CONGRESS OF CPI(ML) A HISTORIC STEP FORWARD

THE Ninth Party Congress of the CPI(ML) is held at Bhubaneswar from 8th to 12th November, starting with a big rally and public meeting on 7th, at an important juncture. Internationally, the imperialist system, especially US imperialism, is confronting yet another unprecedented crisis of finance capital. All the imperialist economies of North America and Europe are reeling under it, with both Dollar and Euro in crisis. As the imperialists are trying to bail out the banks and monopolies responsible for creating it, by cutting down all welfare measures, millions of workers, students and other sections of people are on the roads in all imperialist countries in an unprecedented show of strength.

The US led imperialists are trying to transfer the burden of this crisis as in the past to the back of the oppressed peoples and nations intensifying neo-liberal policies including naked military aggressions in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and elsewhere. For this, the decade long 'war on terror' is continued to be utilized. But past events have proved that the US itself is the biggest terrorist force and its CIA and state department are the main sources of terrorism. Against the aggression, plunder and bullying of US led forces and imposition of tyrants like Ben Ali and Mubarek over them, People of Tunisia, Egypt and so many countries have come out in the streets. These uprisings are continuing in numerous countries. The imperialists and their lackeys all over the world are facing serious challenges. The condition is becoming increasingly favorable for the Communist forces to mobilize the masses for revolution.

Similar or worse is the situation in our country. The UPA government and its prime minister have proved themselves the worst imperialist agents. Under it, prices of essential commodities and services have sky-rocketed and corruption and under employment have become rampant. The wealth of the people including the natural resources like mines, water and land are plundered by vested interests, who have accumulated fabulous wealth. This degeneration of the socio-economic spheres and of the political system has led to degeneration of all political parties from Congress and BJP, ruling at centre and in the states. The people are angry and want a change as reflected in the massive mobilization during the anti corruption movement.

Only the communist forces can take up this challenge of leading the struggle for a social change as proved in the past all over the world. But the so-called mainstream communist parties led by CPI(M) under Left Front have betrayed the communist cause by pursuing the neo liberal policies and alienating from the people as in West Bengal after 34 years of continuous rule and in Kerala. In spite of it, their political line is limited to launching a 'third front' with a section of reactionary parties, while continuing the hated neo liberal policies. On the other hand, the CPI (Maoist) has proved itself as a rightist force by extending support to TMC in Bengal and collecting funds from corporate forces like ESSAR who are plundering the natural wealth.

It is in this situation, rectifying the left adventurist mistakes of the Program and Path of Revolution of the Eighth Congress of 1970, putting forward an analysis of the new world situation when US led imperialist forces have transformed their earlier colonial policies to neo colonial forms to plunder the world people, the CPI(ML) is organizing its Ninth Congress after 41 years.

While advancing to this Congress, the Party has succeeded to play a major

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role to organize the *International Coordination of the Revolutionary Parties and Organizations*(ICOR) uniting the revolutionary parties from 35 countries. It is putting forward a study of *Imperialism in the neo-colonial phase* and has initiated a discussion on the ideological problems confronting the international communist movement. Delegates from 19 states and a number of fraternal delegations from inside and outside the country are participating in the Congress.

It shall reformulate the Party Program for the democratic revolution and develop the Path of Revolution based on it which calls for throwing out the present big-capitalist-big landlord ruling system which is serving imperialism through a countrywide massive people's uprising, and establishing a people's democratic state advancing to socialism. The Program emphasizes on implementing a development perspective satisfying all basic needs of the masses, basically opposed to present imperialist 'development' policies which devastate the human race and nature. The process of discussion of the draft documents and electing new committees from village level up to state level are completed in all the states. The countrywide propaganda and preparation for the Party Congress have reached its zenith. The CPI(ML) Central Committee has appealed to all progressive, democratic forces and all genuine left sections to actively cooperate and help to make the Ninth Congress a historic step forward. Let us march forward to make the 9th Congress a historic step forward. ●

GADDAFI'S KILLING: YET ANOTHER ACT OF IMPERIALIST BARBARITY

THE carpet bombing of all urban areas of Libya killing thousands of people and devastating most of Tripoli and other urban areas by the US led NATO forces has now led to the brutal killing of Gaddafi, reminding us of the fake trial and murder of Saddam Hussain. Thus time Obama and NATO leaders did not go even for the fig leaf of a mock trial after Gaddafi was captured.

In oil rich Libya, 42 years ago Gaddafi as a young military officer had led a revolt which threw out the rule of the feudal lords, nationalized the oil resources, implemented many welfare policies, established close relations with Soviet Union and China, and turned it almost in to a modern country, in spite of its tribal divisions. But, meanwhile, his refusal to bring out the democratization of the polity had

transformed him in to a despot amassing huge riches and imposing his family's dictatorship over the country. Still, unlike Ben Ali of Tunisia and Mubarak of Egypt who were overthrown in recent people's uprisings, Gaddafi was not a lackey of US led imperialist forces. Though he compromised with US after the disintegration of Soviet Union with which he had long association, he continued to have 'strategic relation' with both Russia and China and he did not allow the US led imperialists' control over the oil wealth.

But, in spite of the welfare policies, the running of the country dictatorially by his family had turned vast sections of people in this country which is still divided based on tribal loyalties in to hating his regime. So, when the wind of democracy started sweeping across the North African countries recently people started revolting in Libya also. But the imperialists, especially the US imperialists, had their own heinous plans to turn these revolts in to opportunities for imposing their hegemony over the oil wealth in these countries and domination of strategic Mediterranean region. So, using UN again as a tool, a resolution was passed with the silent collaboration of both Russia and China, and the US led NATO forces launched the heinous aggression in the name of 'helping the democratic wave', assisting its puppet forces to capture power and to brutally eliminate Gaddafi even without going through a mock trial.

The US imperialists and their allies beset with the worst ever financial crisis are transferring the burden of it to the working class in their own countries and much more to the people of the neo colonially plundered and oppressed countries. Like the occupation of Iraq and imposing a puppet regime there, repeating the exercise in Libya may help the US led imperialists to ease their burden to some extent. But these heinous acts are going to further expose the barbarity of the imperialist system and to intensify the hatred of the working class in their own countries as well as of the world people.

Along with the anti-imperialist, progressive forces all over the world, we strongly condemn the interference of the US led NATO forces in Libya and the killing of Gaddafi in a brutal manner. We call upon all progressive forces to intensify the struggle to put an end to the imperialist system which impose its hegemony everywhere utilizing all heinous forms of aggression and prevent the democratic struggles of the people to chart their own destiny. ●

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REPEAL AFSPA, WITHDRAW MILITARY FROM J&K, NORTHEAST AND CHHATTISGARH

THE MILITARY is deployed in Jammu and Kashmir and Nagaland for last six decades. Later it was deployed in more areas of Northeast. Along with the deployment of army, the armed forces special powers act (AFSPA) was imposed, militarizing these areas and allowing the armed forces to indulge in any form of oppression on the people. State is imposed with immunity by the forces in uniform and by the central and state intelligence agencies suppressing the masses who are seeking the right of self determination and basic democratic rights. The criminal attacks on women have reached atrocious levels as numerous cases from all these areas especially from J&K and Manipur reveal. Reacting to these atrocities, in Manipur the indefinite fast started by Irom Sharmila from 2nd November, 2000, is still continuing and women demonstrated naked in front of the headquarters of Assam Rifles protesting against the rape and murder of Manorama. In J&K people are going on numerous demonstrations, strikes and upsurges protesting against the military occupation and repression.

The experience of the post- 1947 decades show that military deployment, imposition of AFSPA like black acts and all repressive acts have only worsened the situation in these areas and intensified people's resistance. Instead of learning from these, extending the so called 'war on terror' to 'war on Maoists', the government has imposed 'operation green hunt' like black operations and has proceeded to deploy the military to Chhattisgarh also. It shows a clear sign of intensification of the militarization drive which, if not resisted, shall lead to extending the powers of Indian army to more areas. During the last six decades it is repeatedly proved that the Indian army with its colonial day roots is a reactionary force, whether deployed inside the country or outside. The AFSPA has proved itself as a draconian, reactionary law which is enslaving the people. By imposing this act and army rule, violating whatever federal principles the present Constitution has, the unity of the peoples of India has only weakened.

So, it is the responsibility of all democratic forces in the country to raise their demand to repeal the draconian AFSPA forthwith for which Sharmila is on fast in Imphal for the last 11 years. Along with this the militarization drive of the ruling system should be resisted. The demand for withdrawal of military from J&K, Northeast and Chhattisgarh should be raised with all our might. It is becoming clearer day by day that the present policy of the central government is only destabilizing the country through uneven development and weakening its unity. The real path forward to strengthen national unity is to achieve it based on the right of self determination of all nationalities and ethnic sections through political discussions. Let us raise these demands and expose and resist the autocratic policies of the ruling system. Let us organize a militant countrywide movement for withdrawal of military and its draconian AFSPA forthwith from all affected areas. ●

CONDEMN MANIPUR GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO GIVE PERMISSION TO MEET SHARMILA

THE CPI(ML) severely condemns the denial of permission to meet Irom Sharmila, who is kept under detention for almost last eleven years against all democratic norms, to its general secretary com. K.N. Ramachandran and state secretary com. Shyam Sundar. This fascist act of the government has deeply hurt Ma Taruni, Ma Lamani and Ma Memon of the Sharmila Kanba Lup (Sharmila Support Committee) who had planned to visit her along with them also. Firstly the right to allow visitors are kept by the chief minister in his hands. Secondly raising irrelevant queries or using delaying tactics the permissions are denied. As Sharmila is completing 12 years of her indefinite fast demanding the repeal of AFSPA and the people's support to her struggle the government and vested interests including the army authorities are becoming nervous and using all heinous methods like the vilification campaign they have promoted using a section of the media. Denying permission to visitors, isolating her from her friends and supporters and thus trying to destroy her morale is another method resorted to the government to defeat this popular demand.

The CPI(ML) delegation wanted to meet her to extend solidarity with her struggle and to inform her about the decision of the Central Committee of the Party to organize an all India campaign from 1 Oct to 2 Nov in solidarity with her demand to repeal AFSPA. They also wanted to assure her of the growing people's support to her struggle. We appeal to all progressive forces to develop the struggle in solidarity with Sharmila for repeal of AFSPA at all India level so as to compel the central government to accede to the people's demand. ●

FIGHT AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL STAGNANCY, CREATE ATMOSPHERE OF INTENSIVE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Observer

THE decision taken by the CC of the CPI(ML) before the November 2009 All India Special Conference process started to share the draft documents put forward by it with left organizations, intellectuals and with all interested sections by making their hard copies available to them, sending them by emails or posting them in our website, with an appeal to all to send their criticisms, suggestions and amendments, was a significant step towards breaking the present ideological stagnation in the communist movement. It was an attempt to recreate the spirit of the "Great Debate" inspired by the CPC in the early 1960s and prevalent in the communist movement at least for a brief period, of course with our own limitations. But in spite of our best efforts the response to our initiative was not encouraging. Only very few responded to our requests to send their comments.

Not disheartened by it, from the time the Central Committee took the decision to convene the Ninth Party Congress from 7th to 12th November, the practice of opening the discussion on the draft documents outside the Party was again initiated, more vigorously. We have not received much response so far this time also. But in making the Ninth Congress and its draft documents along with the founding document of ICOR and the booklet "From First to Ninth Congress: Nine Decades of Indian Communist Movement" a matter of serious discussion among the left and democratic circles, better results are visible.

A glance through the developments at the international level during the post-Second World War years reveal that it was a period when the imperialist camp led by US was extremely active in developing the theoretical, political, financial, cultural offensive against the socialist camp. It transformed its colonial forms of plunder in to neo-colonial forms using the hegemony of imperialist capital-market forces and technology. It promoted post modernist ideology and its various off shoots like 'identity politics' to weaken the socialist offensive. Various universities in imperialist countries and *Ford, Rockefeller* like *Foundations* were utilized to promote the counter-revolutionary ideological offensive by the imperialists to pollute the communist and trade union leaders, middle class intellectuals, educated sections of dalits, adivasis, and other oppressed sections. This new form of offensive launched by the US-led imperialists demanded an equal or more vigorous counteroffensive from the communist forces.

But by this time the Communist International (Comintern) was dissolved in 1943. Though *Cominform* was formed in 1946, it was more of a communication channel among the communist parties of the socialist countries only. Its main functioning was limited to publishing its organ, "For lasting peace, for people's democracy". When the imperialist camp was engaged in an aggressive onslaught against the Marxist-Leninist positions and it was succeeding in confusing the communist and national liberation forces including degenerating the Titoist leadership of Yugoslavia to revisionist positions, the communist leadership and the organ of *Cominform* could not put forward any in-depth analysis of the post-Second World War international developments, any serious study of the imperialist system in its neo-colonial phase or on the post-modernist offensive.

An evaluation of this critical period reveals that the *Cominform* or the leaderships of the communist parties could not expose the counter-revolutionary offensive of the imperialists and their lackeys and develop the Marxist-Leninist theory according to the new situation. They could not develop the general line and the strategy and tactics of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution capable of confronting these new challenges. It was in this situation alien tendencies started coming to dominance, which led to the degeneration of the socialist countries and leaderships of most of the communist parties. As a result, if in the beginning of the 1950s there was an upsurge of the socialist movement, very shortly, by the late 1950s, it had started facing a severe set back.

This ideological stagnancy and consequent setbacks soon led to the capitalist roaders becoming powerful enough to seize the leadership of party, army and state apparatus and turning the centre of revolution to a centre of reformism, advocating compromise with the imperialist forces or becoming apologists of neo-colonialism. It was reflected in India with the degeneration of the CPI leadership to a class collaborationist line, becoming an appendage of the comprador Congress leadership. Even the split in 1964 and formation of the

CPI(M) did not save the movement from the revisionist clutches.

When the CPC under the leadership of Mao Tsetung challenged the Soviet revisionist line that had emerged under Krushchov's leadership and put forward the "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM" in 1963 inspiring the *Great Debate*, it had raised the hopes of a resurgence of the communist movement including an ideological confrontation against the neo-colonial offensive of the imperialist camp. The ideological struggle did break out in vast majority of the communist parties, giving rise to the emergence of Marxist-Leninist parties or organizations in scores of countries. But as the CPC took a negative attitude towards reorganizing the Comintern and refused to form even an international forum of the newly emerging Marxist-Leninist parties, very soon this ideological resurgence started petering out. All these parties started considering the CPC and Mao as guiding forces mechanically, repeating the mistake of the past when most of the Communist parties formed under Comintern guidance were mechanically looking towards Soviet leadership and CPSU for guidance.

The ideological-political upsurge taking place in China following the 1963 Great Debate and during the early phase of the Cultural Revolution started losing its momentum by 1967. Soon the sectarian, adventurist trend started coming to dominance by the time of the Ninth Congress of the CPC in 1969. During these years, all these parties went on copying whatever was happening in China mechanically, refusing to make a concrete analysis of the international and national situation and what was taking place in China. For example, in spite of its great contributions in the struggle against the revisionist and neo-revisionist positions of the CPI and CPI(M) leaderships and taking firm stand against the degeneration of Soviet Union to capitalist path, the CPI(ML) leadership went to the extent of raising a slogan like "China's path is our path and China's chairman is our chairman", eulogizing Mao Tsetung. It created irrevocable damage to the revolutionary movement, soon leading to its disintegration.

Almost the same thing happened to other ML parties/ organizations also. Even when the leadership in China started appeasing the US imperialists in the name of countering the threat from Soviet Union, which it had analyzed as the main enemy, these ML groups could not recognize the danger posed by such a

line. As a result, when the capitalist roaders seized full control in China and advocated their class collaborationist 'theory of three worlds', most of these ML groups including those in India went behind them. It took six-seven years for many of them to recognize their folly. Even then most of them continued to cling to the 'TWT', refused to rectify their mistakes and to develop the ML theory and practice according to present concrete conditions. Many of them still persist with the 'Chinese line', though they do not call it so openly. Most of their practices are still influenced by the 'TWT'. In spite of the severe setbacks suffered by the ICM, there is no recognition of the need for a theoretical breakthrough to overcome it. As a result, though many of these groups are beset with serious internal conflicts often emerging from petty squabbles, no effort is made to overcome them.

It is in this situation the CPI(ML) has called for an all round ideological-political offensive to establish the path of revolution in each country according to present conditions, based on a study of imperialism in its neo-colonial phase. The study on *Imperialism in its neo-colonial phase* going to be released on 8th November during the Party Congress and the publication of the *paper on Ideological challenges confronted by the ICM* in the Sept. 2011 issue of *The Marxist-Leninist* are important steps to develop these struggles. The initiative was taken to make the draft documents for the Congress available to all friends as well as critics of the movement, inviting their comments on them also is an effort to enthuse all of them to actively participate in the ideological struggle.

We hope these initiatives taken in the context of the Ninth Congress of the CPI(ML) shall contribute towards breaking the present ideological stagnancy in the movement and help to create conditions for an all round revolutionary offensive. ●

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MESSAGES TO THE NINTH CONGRESS

K Sivaraman, CC Member

THE 9th Party Congress to be held at Bhubhaneswar from 7th to 12th November 2011 is a very historical event. The theoretical and political debate started from 1980 under the leadership of CRC-CPI(ML) and to mould the organization accordingly to Bolshevik style will reach a critical stage by the time of the Party Congress.

The American Imperialism in order to resolve its economic crisis has strengthened its exploitation over Asian, African, and Latin American Countries. The 1st and 2nd World War for the redivision of the world had turned these countries as colonies. Though the Imperialist forces are now under extreme economical crisis, the possibilities for another world war is not seen. Being a premier arms and ammunition vendor, the US will try to impose war through out the world. The people of US is on the street against the 1% of multi millioners who are possessing 99% of its economy. The protest in other Imperialist countries are also strong. The protest all over the world can be directed against the US imperialists and their lackeys need to be strengthened. It is in this context the importance of the formation of the International Coordination of Communist Revolutionaries(ICOR) with the active participation by various parties including our party should be seen..

The Globalization policies which was strengthened in our country since 1990 are being pushing forward by the NDA led by BJP and the 1st UPA Government supported by CPI and CPI(M). The 2nd UPA Government under the leadership of Manmohan Singh, Montek Sing Aluvalia who are the American agents, and the IMF Officials are implementing these policies very forcefully. The CPI and CPI(M) parties who were ruling Kerala and West Bengal were supporting and implementing those policies. The documents released by Wekiliks establish those facts. As a result these parties are helpless to do any thing against those policies. The CPI and CPI(M) parties have degenerated as revisionist, neo revisionist, or social democratic, pseudo leftist and so on. These parties can be termed as apologists of Neo Colonialism, who are implementing neo liberal policies, who can be called nothing but bourgeoisified communist parties. This has increased the responsibility of our Party when the Party Congress is being held. The 9th Party Congress is being held in the context of putting forward an in depth analysis of the issues like the setbacks suffered in Russia, China and other former socialist countries. The undivided party in our country can not give leadership to the people.

The US which came to the leadership of Imperialist camp after the 2nd world war had launched neo colonial

exploitation. After the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, neo colonial plunder has intensified through globalisation – privatisation-liberalisation. In the ideological struggle with the CPSU in the 1960s, even though the CPC had taken a somewhat correct stand about neo colonization (*Though the Wolf had gone out through the front door, the tiger has entered through the back door*) it was not subjected to more studies. Therefore the Chinese Party was not able to take a correct stand against Imperialism and to reorganize the Communist International.

In the course of discussions during the last several years about neo colonization, and its impact on its in political, economic, social and cultural fields has enabled our Party to put forward a detailed study about it. None else among the left forces could conduct any such studies and they were trapped in the old semi-feudal, semi-colonial stand.

Forty years after the disintegration started in CPI(ML), while holding its 9th Congress, the Party has started functioning in 19 states. The Party Congress held in Bhubhaneswar, in a state where militant struggles are going on against neocolonial plunder, will be a historical event. ●

Message from Party Friends in Bahrain

OCTOBER Socialist Revolution in 1917 gave strength to national liberation forces and movements who led independents struggle in the colonial, semi colonial countries world over. It fuelled Indian independent struggle against British colonial rulers and its feudal lackeys in general and strengthened Indian working classes in specific. The Program of Peoples Democratic Revolution put forwarded by International Communist Movement to working class in Colonial, Semi Colonial countries world over helped to reinstate its leadership role to accomplish Democratic Revolution in the respective countries.

Though the victory of USSR under the leadership of Stalin in the anti-fascist war and general strengthening of anti-imperialist block, the shifting of leadership of world Imperialism from Briton to the US and its transformation of colonial forms of plunder to neo-colonial forms were not properly identified by Communist International as well as anti-imperialist block in general. In continuation to Krushchovian revisionism at beginning to culmination of Gorbachovian Glasnot-Peristroika reforms paved the way for destruction of USSR and East European socialist block.

This created severe ideological confusion in communist parties all over world and neo-colonial countries including Indian communist movement. These issues were not

addressed and scientifically analyzed by any of Communist movement in India. Parties like CPI(M) were uttering that capitalist restoration was not possible after a socialist revolution. It was blindly repeating that a 'new born baby cannot go back to mother's womb'. At the same time, from the formation period, CPI (ML) could not put forward the program and path of revolution and path of class struggle by exposing right deviation in the world communist movement. Its sectarian and adventurist position under the influence of the Lin Piaoist theory of the then CPC, paved the way for the destruction of CPI (ML) at the very beginning. As many of its positions went against then concrete situation, the ML movements faced severe setbacks. ML movements was splintered. It is in this context, the Ninth Congress of our Party is held after building party and mass organizations at national level, uniting genuine revolutionary forces as well as building international platform as part of restoring communist international. It is a historic step forward

On one side, it is the time when world imperialism under the leadership of American Imperialism is intensifying its neo-colonial plunder over world people to overcome its inevitable crisis. After Iraq and Afghanistan, it is attacking Libya to expand its colonial plunder. On the other side, peoples' uprisings for democracy and liberation are spreading all over the world, starting from Tunisia and Egypt, and spreading all over Asian, African countries. Millions of people are rallying in the streets of West Asian countries against reactionary dictators and feudal kings.

The wave of anti-imperialist, anti monopoly movement are attacking the very heart of Imperialist centers is an apt reply to the forces who declared the end of communist movement and class struggle. *Occupy Wall Street* Movement in America and huge rallies have trembled the centers of all major cities of Europe, Australia, Japan and more than 100 countries. It gave a great enthusiasm to Anti-imperialist movement all over the world. To absorb this people's anger against imperialist system, a strong communist party is required to raise socialist alternative and to move forward in the path of class struggle.

Hope this Congress will be an important step towards building the leadership role of CPI (ML) to move forward in the path of Indian Peoples Democratic Revolution as well as our effort to form Communist International by the initiating the ICOR. Hope the advancement in the formation of ICOR will reflect and represent world working class and suppressed masses and will be a guide line to a socialist alternative to world imperialism. We are highly enthusiastic on this historic responsibility of Ninth Congress. We hope that this Congress may become a starting point to materialize the historic tasks ahead. ●

*Revolutionary Greetings to all comrades
Revolutionarily Greetings to 9th Congress*

Greetings from Party friends in UAE

NINTH Party Congress of CPI (ML), held after 41 years of its 8th Party Congress, has historical relevance due to many factors including: The movement settled almost all erroneous positions & analysis of 8th Congress through long process of ideological struggles. It must be the first Congress of any Communist Party in India which analyze neo-colonial phase and the class character of India based on it. It is held after formation of ICOR, an international initiative of Communist Revolutionaries to bring back Communist International after 6 decade of dispersal of Comintern. It boldly and severely made a self critique on erroneous positions and analyze of Party leadership in Nine Decades of Indian Communist Movement.

The Party Congress is being held after ratifying clear cut guide line of Path of Indian Revolution and the mass line approach, when the mass uprisings have energized millions all over West Asia, Africa, US and Europe against imperialist onslaught and dictators.

Party took broader and bolder step forward by circulating the Congress draft documents outside party structure, to progressive and revolutionary political public for their ideological – political involvement in further development of the documents.

Party Congress is being held after successful initiative of building national level mass organizations based on the decisions of Bhopal Special Conference and its Revolutionary Path Document. Hope this Ninth Congress will pave the way for a stronger Party, enriching its ideological, political and organizational base, enabling it to lead countrywide mass movements against enemy class.

All workers and progressive Indians residing in Gulf countries extend our support and express solidarity to the Revolutionary movement and warm greetings to Ninth Party Congress of CPI (ML). ●

Greetings from the workers in South Africa

CONVEY heartiest wishes for the complete success of 9th Congress. Unity of principles, tactics, party organisation and action will make the CPIML a powerful and glorious army of the Indian Working Class and Indian masses in general. As our draft organisational report pointed 'The challenge before the CPI (ML) is to establish its line, mobilize the masses and intensify the people's upsurges against the ruling system on the one hand and to strive for the reorganization of the Party to make it capable of leading the PDR to victory'. Hail the delegates of the party Congress for leading party in the future revolutionary struggles of the proletarian masses. ●

Salim V Divakaran, South Africa

STATE CONFERENCES HELD SUCCESSFULLY AS PART OF NINTH PARTY CONGRESS

Gujarat: First State Conference

The First state conference of the CPI(ML) in Gujarat was held at Ahmadabad in *Punarudhan* office on 12th Sept. ember. Comrades K.N. and Sanjay Singhvi participated representing the CC. Besides party comrades, comrades of Punarudhan led by com. Damayanti Bahen also participated as observers. The conference adopted the draft documents of the CC with amendments and elected a state reorganization committee and delegates to the Party Congress. Com. Kantilal Dabhi was reelected secretary of the SOC. Comrades from Punarudhan shall be participating as observers.

Rajasthan: New SOC Formed

In a meeting of the party members in Hanumangarh district which discussed the draft documents of the CC the new district was formed with com.Raman Yadav as secretary. Similarly com. Panjam Singh was elected secretary of Ganganagar district committee. In a meeting of the comrades from these two districts, the new SOC was formed with com. Mahesh Maharshi as state secretary.

Punjab: Second State Conference

The second state conference of CPI(ML) in Punjab was held on 18th September at Barnala, with 21 delegates participating from Ludhiana, Barnala and Mansa districts. The conference discussed the draft documents of the CC and adopted them after com. K.N explained the various clarifications sought by the delegates. The state report was also adopted. An 8 member SOC was formed with com. Ramesh Gautham reelected as secretary. Earlier districts conferences were held at Ludhiana, Barnala and Mansa districts in which the district committees were elected. The state conference elected delegates and decided on the observers who shall attend the Party Congress.

Delhi: Draft Documents Discussed

An activists meeting was held in Delhi on 17th September which discussed the draft documents of the CC and decided to send a delegate to the Party Congress. The state conference shall be convened after the Congress in which the SOC shall be formed.

Bihar: Activists Meeting Held

A meeting of the activists who were active in different

organizations formerly was held on 22 and 23 September which discussed the draft documents of the CC and decided to work in the Party. It was decided that two comrades from Ara and two from Jahanabad shall attend the Party Congress as observers. After the Congress the state conference shall be convened which shall take steps to form the SOC.

Manipur: Successful State Conference

The second state conference of the CPI(ML), in Manipur was successfully organized on 28th September at Imphal with 28 delegates and observers participating from different districts, representing the 270 party membership in the state. The conference was held in the Party office recently opened in the main city area and called *Marxism Study Centre*. The conference discussed the draft documents for the Congress and adopted them with some amendments. The state report was also adopted. The conference elected a new state organizing committee (SOC) of seven members which reelected com. Shyam Sundar as its secretary. The delegates to the Party Congress were also elected. The conference passed resolutions including a call to withdraw AFSPA and the military from the state, declaring solidarity with Irom Sharmila whose fast against this black act is going to enter the 12th year on 2nd November, for immediate lifting of the economic blockade which has made life miserable for the masses, and against the reactionary policies of the central and state governments.

Orissa: Sixth State Conference

The sixth state conference of the Party in Orissa was successfully held on 1-2 October at Bhubaneswar. The two



day conference was held after district conferences were held in Bhadrak, Cuttack, Khurda and Puri districts, with delegates and observers from these districts participating. The conference discussed and adopted the draft documents for the Congress, adopted the state report, and elected the state committee and delegates to the Party Congress. The state committee reelected com. Sivaram as the secretary and concluded on 2nd evening with the lowering of the red flag amidst militant slogans and International. The conference resolved to hold the Party Congress successfully, taking the propaganda to all districts.

Jharkhand: Second State Conference successfully held

The second state conference of the Party was successfully held on 8-9 October at Ranchi in Birsa Munda Hall, remembering the hundreds of freedom fighters who laid down their lives for the liberation of the country from the clutches of imperialist forces. Representing the six districts where district conferences were held 88 delegates and observers participated in the conference. The conference adopted the four draft documents for the Congress and the state report after they were presented, discussed and clarifications were given to the various questions raised. The conference elected a nineteen member state committee with com. Anjanikumar Pandey as its secretary. Delegates for the Party Congress were elected and various resolutions reflecting the urgent demands of the people of the state were adopted.

West Bengal: First State Conference

The first West Bengal State Conference of CPI(ML) after the merger with CCR(ML) in 2010 was successfully held on 10th-11th October. The Conference, held in Comrade Charu Majumdar Bhavan in Agarpara, to the north of Kolkata, was inaugurated with the hoisting of the red flag by veteran comrade, Gautam Chaudhuri. Two days of intense discussion on the draft documents for the Congress as well as the state report followed. Majority of the delegates were from the working class, representing both the industrial and the rural proletariat. Two observers also attended.

Party General Secretary, Com K.N. Ramachandran, placed the Congress documents for debate and deliberation. Passionate and informed exchanges followed, with delegates and observers coming up with opinions, suggestions and amendments. There was an open session for fraternal delegates at the end of the first day of the conference. But unfortunately, though all CR groups who have not formed any alliance with either the CPI(M) or the TMC were invited, only delegates from MLG attended. This shows that despite all talk of unity against the ruling class and its parties, despite all talk of the necessity of fraternal

relations and vigorous ideological exchange, CR groups (at least in Bengal) have a long way to go in achieving even a semblance of the spirit of revolutionary unity.

The State Political Organizational Report was also discussed and adopted by the conference. Resolutions were passed on the unconditional release of all political prisoners, withdrawal of joint forces from *Junglemahal*, the minority question, our task among workers, and a host of other questions. A seven-member State Committee was elected (by secret ballot) by the conference, which then reelected Com. Alik Chakraborty as the State Secretary. The conference was successfully concluded on the night of 11th October, with the lowering of the Red Flag and the singing of the *International*.

Chhattisgarh: Sixth State Conference

The sixth state conference of the Party in Chhattisgarh was successfully held at Abhanpur in Raipur district on 13-14 October in continuation of the district conferences in Bastar, Durg, Raipur and Bilaspur districts. Delegates and observers from these districts participated in the conference.



The conference discussed and adopted the draft documents for the Congress and the state report. The conference elected the new state committee which reelected com. Saura as its secretary. Delegates for the Congress were also elected and the conference successfully completed on 14th afternoon with the lowering of the red flag and singing of International.

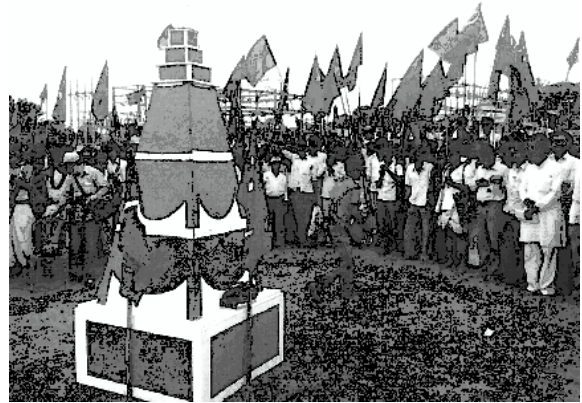
Madhya Pradesh: Third State Conference

The Third State Conference of the Party was successfully held at Singroli in com. Pushan Kole Bhavan on 10-11 October. Representing the CC com. Umakant presented the draft documents for the Congress and replied to the discussion in which a number of delegates participated. The conference was held in continuation of the district level conferences in Bhopal, Baitul, Guna, Sidhi and Singrauli. The conference adopted the draft documents for

the Congress and the state report and elected the new state committee which reelected com. Badriprasad as the secretary. Delegates for the Congress also were elected.

Maharashtra: Eighth State Conference

The eighth state conference of the Party was held at Dombivli in Thane district on 15-16 October following the district level conferences in Mumbai, Thane, Nagpur and Nanded districts. After the delegates discussed and adopted first the draft documents for the Congress and then the state report, the new state committee was elected which reelected com. Arun Valaskar as its secretary. Delegates to the Party Congress also were elected.



Taminadu: Sixth State Conference.

The sixth state conference of the Party was successfully held on 20-21 October at Chennai with comrades from Chennai, Coimbatore, Dindigal, Madurai and Kanyakumari attending. The conference discussed and adopted the draft documents for the Congress and the state report. It elected the new state committee which reelected com. P.T. Shanmugasundaram as its secretary. Delegates to the Congress also were elected and the conference successfully concluded on 21st afternoon. The veteran comrade Sundaram hoisted the flag and addressed the comrades.

much publish attention. CEC member R. Manasayya CCMs B. Basavalingappa, DH Poojar and small coffee growers union president and journalist, Sunder Bangera addressed the public meeting, which was inaugurated by com. KN Ramachandran, party general secretary, who gave the call: “present international and national situation shows grave imperialist crises. The working class struggle with socialism as the only alternative is the task ahead. The task of the Marxist-Leninist forces is to over throw existing ruling system of big capitalist-big landlord classes serving imperialism led by US through countrywide mass upsurges.

Kerala: Ninth State Conference

The ninth state conference of the Party was held on 22-24 October, with a public meeting on 22nd evening followed by the inaugural address by the general secretary. The draft documents were adopted after thorough discussion in the course of which many amendments were moved. The state report also was adopted. The new state committee was elected which reelected com. P.N.Provint as its secretary. Delegates to the Congress also were elected. On 23rd evening a seminar on Imperialist crisis and neo colonization was held in which many pro-left intellectual participated . The conference successfully completed in the evening of the 24th October.

After successful completion of mass program, the two days delegates session in Dundiaiwag Hall (Ambedker Hall) discussed the draft documents of the CC and state report which were adopted with amendments. From eight district 112 delegates 25 observers participated in the conference . In the election that followed 15 member state committee and delegates to the Congress were elected. Com. B Rudrayya was elected as state secretary and.

Karnataka: Seventh state conference successfully held

The part of CPI(ML) Ninth Congress the three day seventh state conference Karnataka successfully completed on October 17-19, 2011 at Chikkamagalore. Comrades from ten districts, thousands of people with their respective committee banners and flags and cultural troops took part in the 5km long colure full red rally on MG road and IG road attracting big number of public from Chikmagalore city. The public meeting preside by state secretary com. B Rudrayya with party district secretaries, trade union, peasant, women, youth, student organizations’ leaders in the dias attracted

It adopted resolutions on;fight neo-liberal policies in all spheres, fight against land acquisition in the name of various projects, stop private mining, confiscate mining mafias property for building the public steel plants, capture government land from land grabbers to distribute to land less people, no nuclear plants, defeat communal, caste and chauvinist forces, and buildup democratic movement against it. Conference concluded in a militant atmosphere with the call to intensify the class struggle in all fields.

Andhra Pradesh : The First State Conference was held on 25th October at Hyderabad, with participation of delegates from eight districts. Comrade Venteswara Rao of ML Committee and Prem Paudel of All India Nepali Ekta Samaj Mul Pravah were present as fraternal delegate. A 7-member SC was elected with com. M Prabhakar as it secretary.

Assam: A meeting of the activists who were activists or sympathizers of different left organizations was held on 24-25 September and again on 22 October at Gauhati which discussed the importance of the Ninth Congress of the Party and the draft documents discussed in it. Two comrades shall attend as observers in the Congress. ●

ON THE APPROACH TO NEO-COLONIALISM

PJ James

IN THE turbulent 1940s when US imperialism was laying down the economic, political, military, ideological and cultural foundations for transforming colonialism into neocolonialism, as a direct challenge to the colonial system of imperialism socialist advancement and national liberation movements were surging ahead in different parts of the world. At this critical juncture, the strategy of 'decolonisation' was used as an effective veil to cover up the all-embracing neocolonial offensives on the one hand and to settle inter-imperialist rivalries through the dismantling of the old colonial structures on the other. While engaging in a ruthless domestic McCarthyite purge of communists, pro-Soviet sympathizers among radical and liberal "New Deal Americans", labour leaders, anti-fascists, writers, scientists, teachers, even those in Hollywood, and above all the militant "African-American movement" with little resistance from the revisionist-reformist CPUSA led by Browders and Fosters, US imperialism right from the promulgation of the Atlantic Charter came forward to hoodwink world people through the proposal for granting of what is called 'formal political independence' to colonies.

As a model to be emulated by European imperialists, USA granted nominal independence to Philippines on July 4, 1946 and a "puppet republic" was established under a proclamation enacted by US administration. Interestingly this granting of "independence" to Philippines was part of a script already prepared under the Tydings-Mc Duffie Law enacted by US Congress in 1934 that "empowered US government to retain its supreme authority over extensive military bases which it could expand at will, guaranteed the property rights of US corporations and citizens as being equal to those of Filipino corporations and citizens and put Philippine foreign relations under US government direction." The Philippine situation is not an isolated case but only an example of the most ferocious form of imperialist plunder under neocolonisation led by the US that was in store for the future. For instance, in the case of India, which was the "jewel on the British crown", power was transferred under the "Mountbatten Plan" to the leadership of the Indian National Congress representing the interests of the comprador Indian big bourgeoisie led by the Tatas and Birlas. As a matter of fact, the shift from colonialism to neocolonialism was so designed as to avoid any rupture in the fundamental spheres or dislocation in the movement of finance capital and international monopolies. In brief, the 'decolonisation' that was imposed from above though had variations according to concrete situations, such differences were of degree and not of kind. Thus erstwhile colonies where finance capitalists from a particular imperialist country enjoyed monopoly control, had become a happy hunting ground for all the imperialist powers under neocolonialism.

After the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, the Cominform was formed in 1947 as a political response to Truman's neocolonial initiatives such as the Marshall Plan that envisaged to bring the whole of Europe under the US umbrella. In its documents the Comintern had noted this new strategy of imperialism in the post World War II period. For instance, in a Resolution released in September 1947, the Cominform on the basis of an evaluation of the process of power

transfer taking place in the Indian subcontinent under the Mountbatten Plan exposed how imperialist interests were safeguarded through the process. Based on this Cominform Resolution, the Communist Party of India in December 1947 even characterized the new Indian state that emerged as "imperialist-feudal-bourgeois combine." This position on the class character of the Indian state was also reflected in the 1951 'Party Program' of the CPI prepared in consultation with CPSU, "reflecting the concrete conditions in the country to a great extent," in spite its weakness in analyzing the conditions and stage of revolution.

Taking note of the emerging world order in November 1949, the Cominform resolved : "The Information Bureau considers it the primary task of the Communist Parties to struggle continuously to unite and organize all the forces of the working class in order to offer powerful resistance to the insolent claims of Anglo-American imperialism, to frustrate their gamble on a new world order, to defend and consolidate the cause of peace and international security, to doom to failure the offensive of monopoly capital against the standard of living of the working masses." However, concrete evaluations on the neocolonisation drive unleashed by imperialism headed by USA were few and far between. Hence, in general, glaring inadequacies occurred during this critical period in recognizing the transition from colonial phase to the neocolonial phase of imperialist plunder.

However, with the ascendancy of Khrushchevian revisionism and his "secret report" to the Twentieth Party Congress of CPSU in 1956 completely obliterating the great achievements of Soviet Union and maligning Stalin along with the dissolution of Cominform in the same year, drastically changed the situation. The theory of "peaceful co-existence"

between oppressed nations and “civilized imperialism”, the so called “theory of disappearance of colonialism” and the thesis of “peaceful transition” from capitalism to socialism put forward by Khrushchev were attempts to camouflage the intensified penetration of finance capital and whitewash neocolonialism. From then onwards, a trend got strengthened among the Soviet revisionists and other revisionist parties to belittle the harmful effects of imperialism and wish away colonialism as a thing of the past, and above all relegating the study of the political economy of neocolonialism to the background.

However, the revisionist leadership was displaying its political bankruptcy by distorting global reality, even nationalist leaders from Africa and elsewhere had a more mature understanding on neocolonialism even in the 1960s. For instance, Kwame Nkrumah, first Prime Minister of Ghana, while conceptualizing neocolonialism in the case of Africa opined: “In order to halt foreign interference in the affairs of developing countries it is necessary to study, understand, expose and actively combat neocolonialism in whatever guise it may appear. For the methods of neo-colonialists are subtle and varied. They operate not only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres.

“Faced with the militant peoples of the ex-colonial territories in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, imperialism simply switches tactics. Without a qualm it dispenses with its flags, and even with certain of its more hated expatriate officials. This means, so it claims, that it is ‘giving’ independence to its former subjects, to be followed by ‘aid’ for their development. Under cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism. It is this sum total of these

modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about ‘freedom’ which has come to be known as neocolonialism.”

But this was none of the concerns of the revisionists. There was no dearth of rhetoric on the part of revisionists regarding the so called “breakdown of the colonial system of imperialism” and “the formation of the world socialist system.” Following the stagflation of the 1970s, when imperialism led by USA was re-designing the neocolonial accumulation process with neoliberalism for an all-out offensive against world people, Soviet Union under Brezhnev was still propagating the illusion of the “final collapse of imperialism.” A Soviet textbook on political economy published in 1977 said: “Having gained political independence, the countries freed from colonial oppression are, one by one, ceasing to be obedient tools in the hands of the imperialist powers in the solution of international problems... The new sovereign states are becoming a powerful force in the world today. They are developing closer and closer ties with the socialist countries, receive vital political and diplomatic support from them and increasingly frequently join forces with them in fighting the intrigues of imperialism and reaction and for peace and democracy.

“The decline and fall of the colonial system has shaken the foundations of imperialism and is bringing it closer to its final doom.”

And, as a reflection of the setbacks suffered by proletariat, while this revisionist prognosis was put forward, even China had started moving along the capitalist path following Mao’s death. By that time Soviet revisionism had reached a most despicable position as if all the basic questions of imperialist plunder of neocolonial countries were settled and that the “remains of colonialism” could be resolved through the support of Soviet Union. The whole issue concerning the strategy and tactics of imperialist plunder in the neocolonial phase was sidelined and everything was reduced to a mere question of foreign policy and international cooperation among countries. In his Report to the Twenty Fifth Congress of the CPSU analyzing the international position of Afro-Asian-Latin American countries, Brezhnev said: “The foreign policy of the developing countries has become visibly more active. This is seen in many trends- the political course of the non-alignment movement, and the activity of the Organisation of African Unity and of the various economic associations formed by the developing countries. It is quite clear that with the present correlation of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite able to resist imperialist diktat and achieve just-that is, equal-economic relations.”

This does not construe to mean that the Soviet revisionists were unwilling to use the term *neocolonialism*. During the Brezhnev regime, revisionist theoreticians interpreted neocolonialism in a narrow sense of the condition of a puppet country dominated by an imperialist country such as the case of South Vietnam under US domination. The standard Soviet interpretation of neocolonialism was “the economic exploitation and dependence of the peoples of developing countries that have gained state independence.” Obviously, according to this definition that makes a demarcation between economics and politics, a criticism leveled against Kautsky by Lenin, neocolonialism implies the economic exploitation of politically independent countries by imperialism. Following this, Soviet textbooks of the Cold War period also explained neocolonialism as the policies pursued by US imperialism to have its hegemony over “developing countries that have gained state independence”, and the methods adopted “to prevent developing countries from pursuing a truly independent home and foreign policy” or “not to allow them to take a non-capitalist course of development” and so on. This depoliticizing and academic interpretation of neocolonialism utterly failed to comprehend the further

strengthening and consolidation of the interrelation between imperialist economics and imperialist politics and was against the Cominform evaluation of the late 1940s that transfer of power to the comprador ruling classes did not mean gaining of political independence by the erstwhile colonies or the people there. Moreover, on account of the further expansion and internationalization of finance capital, it was easier for imperialist powers to ensure the comprador classes' subservience to them.

Marxist-Leninist Formulation

The first coherent Marxist-Leninist formulation on neocolonialism came out as part of the fierce ideological struggle initiated by the Communist Party China (CPC) led by Mao Zedong against Krushchevian revisionism soon after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. For, in the 'Fourth Comment of the CPSU' entitled "*Apologists of Neocolonialism*" on October 22, 1963, the CPC vehemently attacked the attitude taken by CPSU towards the "extremely sharp issue of contemporary world politics" and the assertion by it "that the task of combating imperialism and colonialism and their agents has been completed by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America." The CPC said: "This fighting task is far from completed...the old colonialists have changed into neo-colonialists and retain their colonial rule through their trained agents. In other words, the wolf has left by the front door, but the tiger has entered through the back door, the old colonialism being replaced by the new, more powerful and more dangerous U.S. colonialism. The peoples of Asia and Africa are seriously menaced by the tentacles of neocolonialism, represented by the U.S. imperialism." In the specific case of Latin America, the CPC quoting the Havana Declaration, for instance, further said:

"Latin America today is under a more ferocious imperialism, more powerful and ruthless than the Spanish colonial empire."

In the same document, the CPC continues: "The facts are clear. After World War II the imperialists have certainly not given up colonialism, but have merely adopted a new form, neocolonialism. An important characteristic of such neocolonialism is that the imperialists have been forced to change their old style of direct colonial rule in some areas and to adopt a new style of colonial rule and exploitation by relying on the agents they have selected and trained. The imperialists headed by the United States enslave or control the colonial countries and countries which have already declared their independence by organizing military blocs, setting up military bases, establishing "federations" or "communities", and fostering puppet regimes. By means of economic "aid" or other forms, they retain these countries as markets for their goods, sources of raw materials and outlets for their export of capital, plunder the riches and suck the blood of the people of these countries. Moreover, they use the United Nations as an important tool for interfering in the internal affairs of such countries and for subjecting them to military, economic and cultural aggression. When they are unable to continue their rule over these countries by "peaceful" means, they engineer military coup d'etat, carry out subversion and even resort to direct armed intervention and aggression

"This neocolonialism is a more pernicious and sinister form of colonialism"

Undoubtedly, this correct orientation of the CPC in historically situating the transformation of colonialism into neocolonialism including the degeneration of Soviet leadership as its "apologists" was inspiring to proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world. However, in spite of its formulation on neocolonialism as part of the polemics against Soviet revisionism in the '*Great Debate*' there was no effort on the part of CPC to locate it as a qualitatively new phase of imperialism

and unravel the neocolonial strategy and tactics employed by both US imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism. With the ascendancy of left sectarian line led by Lin Biao and with the interpretation of "imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing towards world-wide victory," the idea of a "weakened imperialism" got rooted in CPC too. For a time, even the conceptualization of "Soviet Social imperialism" as a bigger evil than American imperialism had been in currency. All these retrograde moves had their concrete manifestation in July 1971 when Henry Kissinger made his secret visit to Beijing to prepare Richard Nixon's head-of-state visit to China in February 1972. The immediate Soviet response to this was a summit meeting between it and America leading to the establishment of what is called "the triangular Washington-Beijing-Moscow diplomatic relationships." With this, the whole understanding on neocolonialism evolved by CPC as part of its erstwhile critique of Soviet revisionism was also thrown into the dustbin. This context enabled imperialists led by USA, who during the first half of the 1970s were confronting a grave crisis as reflected in the UN initiative for a New International Economic Order, to refashion the neocolonial policies for an intensified offensive by finance capital through neoliberalism.

Dependency Theory

Meanwhile, there has been a spurt in academic and empirical studies on imperialism's post-war phase by different scholars which are grouped under the so called "*dependency theory*." In general, it refers to a body of social science theories predicated on the notion that resources flow from the "satellites" or "periphery" of poor and "underdeveloped states" to the "centre" or "metropolitan" wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. In general, the dependency theorists, albeit with variations, visualize imperialist

exploitation mainly at the realm of exchange relations between developed and developing countries. The essential ingredients of “dependency theory” are rooted in the “thesis on secular deterioration in terms of trade” codified by the UN economists associated with the Economic Commission for Latin America in the late 1940s.

But the clear articulation of *dependency approach* as a ‘coherent theory’ arose around 1970 as a reaction to the “*modernization theory*” proposed by American social science research institutions. This neocolonial prognosis of the modernization theory among other things held that all societies progress through similar stages of development, that today’s ‘underdeveloped’ areas thus are in a similar situation to that of today’s developed areas of some time in the past and that therefore the task in helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed ‘common path of development’, by various means such as foreign capital investment, technology transfers, and closer integration into the world market. The central contention of dependency theory is diametrically opposed to this view and argues that the impoverishment and backwardness of poor countries are the direct outcome of their integration into the “world system.” According to most studies of the dependency school that have come out on countries of Latin America, accumulation in the imperialist countries is directly related to impoverishment and deprivation in the dependent countries.

For instance, in the words of Frank, the representative of this school, “underdevelopment as we know it today, and economic development as well, are the simultaneous and related products of the development on a world-wide scale and over a history of more than four centuries at least of a single, integrated economic system:

capitalism.” According to him, “underdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself.”

Moreover, the “centre-periphery” or “metropolis-satellite” structure, argued the dependency theorists, is not confined to the relation between the imperialist and dependent countries. The same structure that prevails at the international level penetrates national, provincial and local structures of the dependent countries. “Thus, a whole chain of constellations of metropolises and satellites relates all parts of the whole system from its metropolitan centre in Europe or the United States to the farthest outpost in the Latin American countryside.” Regarding how exactly the accumulation process takes place in the “metropolises” at the cost of “satellites”, the dependency theorists have put forward the “mechanism of unequal exchange of equal values” between “metropolises and satellites”. According to Amin, “transfers of value”, from “underdeveloped” to the “developed” constitute the “essence of the problem of accumulation on a world scale.” This unequal exchange is mainly due to the unequal wage levels between metropolises and satellites. While high wage in developed countries overvalue their products, the low wage in underdeveloped countries undervalue their products, which through exchange lead to capital accumulation in the former and economic drain and “decapitalisation” of the latter. Most of the “satellites”, as the ECLA thesis has shown, being mono-production primary exporters, the prices of their products are also deteriorating in the long run. There is a constant drain of surplus from the satellites to the metropolitan centres leading to ‘accumulation and development’ of the developed countries and ‘development of underdevelopment’ of the under-developed areas.

The dependency theory has certainly been a challenge to the neoclassical and modernization theories coming out from imperialist centres. But the attempts to incorporate it into the core of Marxists analysis are met with difficulties. The dependency theory is too simplistic and one-sided in its emphasis. Its main thrust is on the “invisible” transfer of value from “periphery” to centre through trade, the logical anti-dote of which is economic nationalism or autarky rather than socialism. By placing ‘exchange’ on the highest pedestal, the whole system embracing exchange as well as production which are at the basis of backwardness is totally ignored. Secondly and more importantly, in the name of a “world system perspective” or “integrated world capitalist system” the dependency theorists have ignored the domestic class relations as well as the differing relations that various sections of the bourgeoisie in ‘dependent’ countries are having with imperialist finance capital.

The stratification or differentiation in the ranks of the bourgeoisie which Lenin’s *Colonial Thesis* and later in the conceptualization on the *People’s Democratic Revolution* was quite irrelevant for dependency theory for which the bourgeoisie as a whole are integrated into the world capitalist system. In other words, the contradiction between comprador, bureaucratic land lord classes on the one hand and national bourgeoisie classes on the other, which is related to the strategy and tactics of revolution plays no role in the dependency approach. In this respect, dependency theorists are criticized for their over emphasis on “external determinism” and negation of internal dynamics of neocolonial countries.

However, the most important drawback of dependency theory is its antipathy towards the Leninist position on imperialism. The characteristic feature of

imperialism, according to Lenin, is finance capital the export of which, replacing or relegating the export of goods to the background has resulted in a parasitic and most oppressive exploitation of the whole world by the most powerful capitalist states. Lenin's characterization of imperialism as militaristic, parasitic, decadent and oppressive are all integrally linked with the subordination of every realm of social life to the diktats of finance capital. Lenin's prediction that the front of capitalism will be pierced where the chain of imperialism is the weakest is also based on the analysis of the global operations of finance capital including his thesis on the uneven development of capitalism. To reiterate, the core of Lenin's theory of imperialism which has contributed for the development and enrichment of Marxist analysis of capitalism is the theorization on the evolution of finance capital as the most valid category as well as its inseparable link with the internationalization of capital. All these crucial issues are either insignificant or missing in the dependency theory. Further, a major part of Lenin's polemics against Kautsky was mainly on account of the latter's incorrect understanding of imperialism as a mere policy of capitalism. Lenin, for whom imperialism is finance capital in search of profits in other capitalist countries and in colonies, was concerned with the whole process of capital accumulation on a global scale. Taking this polemics between Lenin and Kautsky into consideration, we are constrained to characterize the 'dependency theory' as a post war reincarnation of the Kautskian approach. The vulgar conceptualization of neocolonialism "as economic imperialism" also belongs to dependency theory, as it, on account of its Kautskian orientation could not comprehend the Leninist stress on the interdependence, interaction and inter penetration of the economic, political, military, and cultural aspects of imperialism. This ideological bankruptcy also prompted both Frank and Wallerstein to be admirers of NGOs and New Social Movements (NSMs) along with the their non class alternatives as codified in such initiatives as World Social Forum including similar de-ideologisation and de-politicization efforts at a global level.

Postmodern Approach

This fundamental departure of dependency school from the Marxist theory of imperialism, especially its non-class and non-Leninist orientation has become attractive to several postmodern, "post-colonial", post Marxist, and even neo-Marxist persuasions on imperialism, which they call "late capitalism" on account of their reluctance to use the terminology imperialism as used by Lenin. According to these trends that reject the core of Marxist political economy, imperialism is a "discourse of power over the third world." For the post-colonial writers who deny the primacy of political economy and role of finance capital, "neocolonialism" is the "cultural legacy of colonialism" and at the most it refers to the "developed countries' involvement in the developing world." The general trend among these scholars is the negation of the Marxist conception of class and state and the use of non-Marxist concepts of exploitation and oppression in their analysis. The insistence on "fragmentation", "local", "other domain", "the particular", "the civil society", etc. by postmodern, post colonial and subaltern theorists and their celebration of "culturally constructed identities", "structurally split polity" and "multiple histories" at the expense of an analysis of the logic of capital in spite of their parroting of neocolonialism, are intended to obfuscate the complex ways in which these so called "local narratives" are shaped by and integrated into the international operations of finance capital.

Very revealingly, neoliberal globalization, the latest neocolonial offensive of finance capital has further inspired the proponents of postmodernism and post-colonialism. Instead of scientifically situating the imperialist strategy in the laws of motion of capital, these theorists have taken refuge in the 'cultural

logic' of neoliberalism that eulogizes "cultural hybridization", which is detrimental to the understanding of the global operations of capitalism today. Therefore, as is obvious, the true mission behind the post modern interpretation of neocolonialism and its characterization of it as "*post-colonialism*" is to spread confusion, pessimism and despair among the people and discourage political action and resistance against imperialism. Its "deconstruction" or neutralization of class politics is to misinterpret the whole trajectory of neocolonisation and mislead the masses away from anti-imperialist struggles.

Recently, all these non-class ideological and political trends have converged to form what is called the **World Social Forum (WSF)** proposing a postmodern "alternative" to imperialism's neocolonial plunder appropriating the vocabulary of "participatory democracy" and "sustainable development" frequently used by "civil society" now "organized in social movements and non-governmental organizations". The WSF whose ideological range spans the entire spectrum of NGOs, NSMs, Civil society groups, postmodern "discourses" and anarchist, social democratic and Trotskyite trends, is not concerned with the roots of neocolonisation, but aims at building up "counter-hegemonic", non-class civic actions against its consequences. Just as its mentors like the World Bank and imperialist funding agencies, the WSF upholds the growth of "participatory democracy" and "good governance" led by "transnational civil society" instead of class-based political actions as the panacea for the inequity and oppression prevailing today.

Negating class politics, the only terrain from which anti-imperialist struggle can be launched, WSF counterpoise civil society against the neocolonial state as the site of plural and fragmented struggle against the latter's evils. To facilitate this, the

usual argument by WSF theoreticians is that classes are being replaced by fragmented cultural “identities” within civil society. Without going into the details of these non-class trends, it may be stated that the logical outcome of the theoretical and ideological avoidance on the part of postmodern incarnations like WSF is reflected in its reluctance to politically confront finance capital. Hence its “alternatives” to neocolonialism and neoliberalism are often reduced to piecemeal, reformist and economic alternatives.

For instance, proposals such as reform of the Bretton Woods institutions and WTO; strengthening of UN institutions like UNCTAD, ILO, UNDP, etc., creation of new regional institutions “sympathetic to the South”; control over finance capital through imposition of tax (such as Tobin Tax propounded by the Nobel Prize winning economist James Tobin) on financial transactions; regulation on transnational corporate behaviour through the establishment of an authority for corporate accountability and encouragement of global NGO campaigns focusing on corporate behaviour, adoption of measures for cancellation of “third world” debt; etc. have come from various meetings of WSF. Obviously, such alternatives contain nothing to overcome the imperialist system and are intended to confine the surging world people’s struggles against neocolonialism within the neocolonial order itself. As a continuation of this WSF alternative and in relation to the intensification of the imperialist crisis, of late certain “neo-Keynesian” proposals are also being advanced. But as the whole imperialist system is moving from crisis to crisis, and on account of the ideological and political bankruptcy of such proposals, they remain as mere academic exercises only.

Mode of Production Theory

If the dependency theorists argue that capitalist penetration into the

economies of backward countries stifle the process of industrialization and capitalist development in the latter, another group of writers called the “mode of production theorists” points out the crucial role of internal factors in blocking capitalist development in these countries.

The major line of reasoning of the mode of production theorists is that the dependency theorists neglect the role of internal dynamics in shaping the socio-economic structure of backward countries. The mode of production theory emphasizes the importance of class struggle and mode of production in shaping each country’s socio-economic-political formation. The basis of neocolonial domination according to this theory is the perpetuation of appropriate production mechanism and class relations in backward countries. This does not imply that the mode of production remains static throughout the colonial-neocolonial phases of imperialism. Nor the concept of mode of production can be treated as an absolute one. While, “external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change”, as Mao Zedong said, “external causes become operative through internal causes”, and there is constant interaction between external and internal factors. In the neocolonial phase of imperialism, on account of the global expansion and internationalization of finance capital and its penetration into the socio-economic formations, the erstwhile “colonial mode of production” itself is being appropriately transformed to suit neocolonial plunder. In the neocolonial period, with the further penetration of corporate capital into agriculture and the growth of an agricultural bourgeoisie closely integrated with imperialist market, the compradorisation of the ruling regime is strengthened further. Therefore under the ever-intensifying internationalization of finance capital in the neocolonial phase, every socio-economic formation or mode of production as it is called can be studied only as an integral part of the imperialist world system and the dimensions of class struggle also will not be confined within separate national frameworks. Therefore, the dialectical interactions between internal dynamics and external forces have become all the more significant today.

Taking these aspects into consideration, from a theoretical perspective attempts to synthesize the dependency and mode of production theories are also there. While the dependency theory raised new questions and placed old issues in new perspective, mode of production analysis opened the way to in-depth research on modes and relations of production and understanding of concrete situations. Though such attempts were originally made in the specific

imperialism in the neocolonial phase

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context of Latin America in the sixties, such analyses led by well-known academic scholars have taken place in countries like India too.

In brief, neocolonialism is the persistent and historically structured concentration of the power of finance capital in its diverse, mutually interpenetrating forms—economic, political, military and cultural—emanating from a handful of imperialist countries. Lenin's theory of finance capital is the most powerful tool and guide capable of unraveling the complex process of neocolonisation. In the specific historical context when colonialism was transforming into neocolonialism, led by USA, the supreme arbiter of the neocolonial order, the necessary institutional and organizational arrangements were effected for finance capital's intensified accumulation on a world scale, and in the process integrating more and more areas and sectors into imperialist economy. During the quarter century of brief interregnum immediately proceeding World War II, the presence of socialism and national liberation movements in general could manage to impart interruptions in the logic of finance capital. However, the right and left deviations in the International Communist Movement leading to the failure in concretely analyzing the neocolonial phase of imperialism followed by capitalist restoration in erstwhile socialist countries and their eventual integration with imperialism enabled finance capital to reorient the neocolonial accumulation process through neoliberalism, the economic essence of which is the so called financialisation at an international scale. In the process of this bouncing back of finance capital with intensified vigour, it is repudiating the welfare state including all the hard-earned rights in both imperialist and neocolonial countries. Under neoliberalism, this neocolonisation has assumed catastrophic dimensions.

The "coalescence" of finance and industry, the erstwhile hall mark of finance capital is of less significance under neoliberalism than pure speculation. Extraordinary growth of speculative finance and its domination over production have imparted a new dimension to the inherent tendency of stagnation in the imperialist economy leading to unmanageable proportions of deindustrialization and joblessness. The consequences of this internationalization of finance is the recurring global crisis which inflict the neocolonial countries with unprecedented severity as imperialist globalization has already weakened the maneuverability

of comprador regimes in neocolonial countries.

In this context, the theory of imperialism and finance capital elucidated by Lenin almost a century back is still the guiding tool for evaluating these developments and, therefore, is of paramount importance to comprehend the neocolonial order of imperialism. Departure from the basic teachings of Lenin regarding finance capital and the consequent weakness in unraveling the global operations of it in the neocolonial phase of imperialism are integrally linked with the global setbacks suffered by the International Communist Movement. Rectification of this mistake calls for a concrete evaluation of the neocolonial phase of imperialism based on Leninist positions and in the process developing Marxist theory further. Only this will provide a fresh basis for the development of class struggle and the revolutionary advance of the proletariat and all oppressed peoples of the world. ●

[Note: Extracted from the last Chapter on "Approach to Neocolonialism" from the book *Imperialism in the Neocolonial Phase* to be released on November 8, 2011]

Ninth Party Congress, 7th to 12th November, 2011 Seminars in Bhagat Singh Hall, Bhubaneswar

8 November, 2011

Releasing the study:

"Imperialism in the neo-colonial phase"

Seminar : "On Imperialism in the neo-colonial phase"

President: R. Manasayya

Presentation of the subject: com. PJ James

Participants: Fraternal delegates from abroad and India, Sudhir Naik and others

9 November, 2011

Seminar: "Communist approach to Dalit, Adivasi, Minorities and Women's Questions"

President: Com. PJ James

Presentation: Com. Sharmista Chowdhary

Participants: Anand Tultumde, Mukul Sinha, Biswapriya Kanungo, John Miran Munda and others

11 November, 2011

Seminar: "On Founding of ICOR and Ideological Challenges Before the ICM"

President: Sanjay Singhvi

Presentation: Com. KN Ramachandran

Participants: Fraternal delegates from abroad and India and others

WITH the 9th Congress looming before us, many important questions are being brought into the debate. However, there is still lack of clarity in many on many of the basic questions. Therefore, there can be no objection to once again revisiting the basic questions of ideological debate between the CPI (ML) and other sections of revolutionaries in India.

In particular, almost all the other sections which have come from the CPI(ML) which was formed in 1969 still refer to India as a “semi-colonial” country, which formulation we have specifically discarded as obviously faulty. In the context of the documents of the 9th Congress, we have distributed our drafts documents widely. Some questions have already come up from some groups of communist revolutionaries in India and many of these questions show that this specific theoretical formulation is still not widely understood.

Colonisation and even imperialism preceded the capitalist system itself – as in the Roman Empire. However, when we speak of imperialism today, it is the colonial policy of finance capital of which we speak. Otherwise, the whole debate becomes abstract and meaningless. The debate has to centre around how the capitalist system developed monopoly capital, finance capital and imperialism, for its own survival and how imperialism has progressed as a world system. *De Hors* this basis, there is no basis for debate at all!

By the second decade of the twentieth century, it was clear that capitalism had undergone a profound change. It was much more aggressive, it had colonised much of the free world, it was much more concentrated and it was much more centralised. In short, it had developed into monopoly capital, finance capital and imperialism. Many theories were written about the nature of imperialism.

"SEMI-COLONIAL", "NEO-COLONIAL" OR NOT COLONIAL AT ALL?

Sanjay Singhvi

Hobson was the main writer who linked the new imperialism to the growth of capitalism and its need for expanding markets and sources of raw materials. While strenuously opposing imperialism, he granted that it might give capitalism its only chance for a lasting peace by forming cartels or combinations. In support of “Federation” of Great Britain with its self-governing colonies, he examines, in his book *On Imperialism* written in 1902, the factors which can persuade Great Britain and its colonies (he is thinking mainly of Australia, Canada, etc not of India and Pakistan and or East Africa) to come together in a federation. He contemplates a world divided into such great power federations – Anglo-Saxondom (British), Pan-Teutonism (German), Pan-Slavism (Russian), and Pan-Latinism (Spanish and Portugese) and then says,

“Christendom thus laid out in a few great federal Empires, each with a retinue of uncivilised dependencies, seems to many the most legitimate development of present tendencies, and one which would offer the best hope of permanent peace on an assured basis of inter-Imperialism.”

Lenin points out that this, shorn of religious content, was basically the same idea that Kautsky put forward, more than a decade after Hobson, in his idea of “ultra-imperialism” or “super-imperialism”.

Lenin opposed the idea of such a “Federation” and brought forward his thesis on Imperialism, in which he took a lot from Hobson, that imperialism was the result of the expansion and growth of capitalism but linked the fight against capitalism with the fight for national self-determination. It was Lenin who put forward the democratic idea that the fight of the colonial people for self-determination was a part of the international fight against imperialism.

One has to see Lenin’s ideas on imperialism as emerging from his ideas on national self-determination. In the RSDLP program of 1905, adopted at the Berne Congress, Article 9 had talked of the right to self-determination. Lenin resolutely defended this idea of the right to self-determination. In this it was Kautsky who was Lenin’s ally while even Rosa Luxemburg talked of “autonomy” as a possible alternative. Lenin fought against many diverse trends to put forward a consistently democratic view on the question of self-determination.

It was this democratic approach which allowed Lenin to clearly understand Imperialism as a system which sought to enslave the whole world. Writing at a time when almost the whole world outside of the imperialist countries had been colonised, Lenin wrote one of his greatest works, *Imperialism – The Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

In this writing Lenin opposed the writings of Kautsky, Longuet and others who had stated the true internationalism consisted in every worker defending his own fatherland. In the words of Kautsky

“It is the right and duty of everyone to defend his fatherland; true

internationalism consists in this right being recognised for the socialists of all nations, including those who are at war with my nation... . (See *Die Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914, and other works by the same author.)”¹

Thus it is clear to see that Lenin formulated his theory out of a true understanding of democracy and peace. He abided by a genuine desire to end imperialist war. Kautsky and others who stood with him, in direct contravention of decisions of the Stuttgart (1907), Copenhagen (1910) and Basle (1915) conferences of the Second International, called upon workers of various countries to shoot each other in defense of their respective fatherlands.

It was in this background that Lenin wrote *“Imperialism -The Highest Stage of Capitalism”* in 1916 while he was in Switzerland. In his thoroughness, while examining the colonial (or oppressed) countries in the world, as opposed to the imperialist (or oppressor) countries, he mentioned different levels of colonialism. In this context he used the term “semi-colonialism” specifically to describe the countries “Persia, China and Turkey”. He has used the term to describe countries which are in the process of becoming colonies but where the process has not yet been concluded. Here is what he stated about semi-colonies. He said,

“Supan gives figures only for colonies; we think it useful, in order to present a complete picture of the division of the world, to add brief figures on non-colonial and semicolonial countries, in which category we place Persia, China and Turkey: the first of these countries is already almost completely a colony, the second and third are becoming such. (page 94)”

Later in the article, while expanding on the complexity of the imperialist system, he says,

“Finance capital is such a great, it may be said, such a decisive force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence; we shall shortly see examples of this. Of course, finance capital finds most “convenient,” and is able to extract the greatest profit from *such* a subjection as involves the loss of the political independence of the subjected countries and peoples. In this connection, the semicolonial countries provide a typical example of the “middle stage.” It is natural that the struggle for these semidependent countries should have become particularly bitter in the epoch of finance capital, when the rest of the world has already been divided up. (page 97)”²

In fact, when further elaborating, with typical thoroughness, Lenin points two other countries which are different types of colonies – Argentina (which he calls a dependant country) and Portugal. We must remember that this was at a time when Portugal itself had many colonies – like Goa in India, Macao in China, East Timor in Indonesia, etc. He says,

“Typical of this epoch is not only the two main groups of countries: those owning colonies, and colonies, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, officially, are politically independent, but in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence. We have already referred to one form of dependence — the semicolony. An example of another is provided by Argentina.

“South America, and especially Argentina,” writes Schulze-Gaevernitz in his work on British imperialism, “is so dependent financially on London that it ought to be described as almost a British commercial colony.” Basing himself on the report of the Austro-Hungarian consul at Buenos

Aires for 1909, Schilder estimates the amount of British capital invested in Argentina at 8,750,000,000 francs. It is not difficult to imagine what strong connections British finance capital (and its faithful “friend,” diplomacy) thereby acquires with the Argentine bourgeoisie, with the circles that control the whole of that country’s economic and political life.(page 101-02)”

He goes on to say, about Portugal,

“A somewhat different form of financial and diplomatic dependence, accompanied by political independence, is presented by Portugal. Portugal is an independent sovereign state, but actually, for more than two hundred years, since the war of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), it has been a British protectorate. Great Britain has protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify her own positions in the fight against her rivals, Spain and France. In return Great Britain has received commercial privileges, preferential conditions for importing goods and especially capital into Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, the right to use the ports and islands of Portugal, her telegraph cables, etc. Relations of this kind have always existed between big and little states, but in the epoch of capitalist imperialism they become a general system, they form part of the sum total of “divide the world” relations, become links in the chain of operations of world finance capital.” (page 102-3)

For Lenin, he was comprehensively describing the colonial system as it existed. He was taking account of the reality and analysing it, thoroughly, with Marxist tools. He was fighting against those who put forward imperialism as a

“civilising” force – as a force which would bring peace by fostering an “interimperialism” or a “ultra-imperialism”. He was consistently fighting for the democratic rights of the colonial people to be rid of the yoke of imperialism. In this conception he quickly harnessed the support of the oppressed peoples of the world in the struggle against imperialism. He said, in 1919:

“Hence, the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie — no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism. Characterising the approach of the world social revolution in the Party Programme we adopted last March, we said that the civil war of the working people against the imperialists and exploiters in all the advanced countries is beginning to be combined with national wars against international imperialism. That is confirmed by the course of the revolution, and will be more and more confirmed as time goes on.”³

It was this theory that gave rise to the slogan of *“Workers and Oppressed People’s of all Nations, Unite!”* in place of the earlier slogan of *“Workers of All Countries, Unite”*. The effect of this analysis of imperialism was many-fold. In the first place, the war against capitalism in each country, was replaced by the war against imperialism all over the world. A bridge was linked between the workers in the advanced imperialist countries and the oppressed people’s of the colonies. A unity was also forged among the workers struggling against their own oppressors, and other workers, similarly situated, in other countries, as also between one national liberation struggle and

another – in other words, the international content of revolution was much enhanced by this conception. Further, the socialist attitude towards war was clarified as “War on war”. The conception of “just wars” - essentially wars of oppressed against their oppressors – and other wars made clear. The slogan of “defense of the fatherland” was exposed as an empty nationalistic slogan.

It was these theoretical advances that allowed Lenin to put forward, in his Draft Theses on the Colonial Question, the new form of revolution in the colonial world of that time. He said,

“From these fundamental premises it follows that the Communist International’s entire policy on the national and the colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible. (point 4)“⁴

Further,

“The Communist International’s national policy in the sphere of relations within the state cannot be restricted to the bare, formal, purely declaratory and actually non-committal recognition of the equality of nations to which the bourgeois democrats confine themselves — both those who frankly admit being such, and those who assume the name of socialists (such as the socialists of the Second International).

In all their propaganda and agitation — both within parliament and outside it — the Communist parties must consistently expose that constant violation of the equality of nations and of the guaranteed rights of national minorities which is to be seen in all capitalist countries, despite their “democratic” constitutions. It is also necessary, first, constantly to explain that only the Soviet system is capable of ensuring genuine equality of-nations, by uniting first the proletarians and then the whole mass of the working population in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; and, second, that all Communist parties should render direct aid to the revolutionary movements among the dependent and underprivileged nations (for example, Ireland, the American Negroes, etc.) and in the colonies.

Without the latter condition, which is particularly important, the struggle against the oppression of dependent nations and colonies, as well as recognition of their right to secede, are but a false signboard, as is evidenced by the parties of the Second International. (point 9)“

It was this conception that paved the way for the theory of “People’s Democracy” or “New Democracy”. The revolutions in the East European countries, towards the end of the Second World War, were all referred to as “People’s Democratic Revolutions”. It was by developing this theory further that Mao wrote about “New Democracy” and the “New Democratic Revolution”. Thus we can see that that it was Lenin’s study and analysis of the new concrete condition that prevailed in the time of colonialism – primarily in the study *“Imperialism – The Highest Form of Capitalism”* - that gave rise to the strategy and tactics that led to socialist or People’s Democratic Revolutions taking place all over the world till half of the area of the earth and one third of its population lived under the new form of society.

But imperialism is adaptable. It was able to form new tactics. It moved from the absolutist bourgeois state – exemplified by the Czarist state – to the “welfare state” following Keynesian economic models by the 1930s (especially after the

Great Depression of 1930). This was also not able to solve the crises of imperialism and Fascism arose in the 1930s. By the 1940's, imperialism had put into place a new model, glimpses of which started with the Atlantic Charter of 1941, which gave birth to the IMF and the WB in 1943 and the UN by 1946. It is this new model which was referred to by the Communist Party of China, in its debate with Khrushchov, as "neo-colonial".

By this neo-colonial model, imperialism was able to pretend that colonialism had been abolished. The former colonies were given, at least formally, independence. That they remained oppressed by the former imperialist countries through the market and through different forms of economic exploitation, is a different matter. Imperialism was able to tout that the democratic principle of "equality of nations" had been achieved, This was the basis of the UN Charter on Human Rights. This was the basis of most of the constitutions of the newly formed "independent" countries. It was this change that created the most profound confusion in the communist camp, from which it has still not recovered.

The communist response was mainly along two lines. The first was that of accepting the imperialist pretence – that colonialism is dead and that the former colonies are truly independent. This was the response that was symbolised by Khrushchov. He put forward that there was, thus, no need now for "revolution" in the old manner. There was only a need to peacefully co-exist with imperialism and to peacefully compete with it in the new market place. He proposed that the peaceful competition would so clearly be won by the soviet system – by the socialist system – that there could be no doubt that the newly independent countries would willingly accept the socialist system as the only viable one and would peacefully transform into socialist countries. The majority of the existing communist parties all over the world accepted this thesis. They all degenerated to social-democratic parties – parties within the bourgeois camp.

On the other hand, there was another response. The CPC took up cudgels for revolutionary communism and proclaimed the need for revolution. However, after breaking relations with the CPSU in 1963, by 1966 they were proclaiming a new type of understanding. This was akin to the response of an Ostrich – burying their heads in the sand. They refused to accept any change in the world whatsoever. They proceeded on the basis that the colonial system remained unchanged – in essence. By 1966, in "*Long Live the Victory of the People's War*", Lin Biao said that the strategy and tactics used by China to liberate itself from the colonial or semi-colonial yoke, were of universal applicability. This led to a new understanding among the newly emerging ML parties all over the world. They accepted the premise that nothing much had changed. The only change, therefore, was that the old colonial countries had changed into "semi-colonial" countries. The strategy, followed by China, therefore, which was itself a "semi-colonial" country – was applicable to all semi-colonial countries. Thus "protracted people's war" was the strategy for all such countries.

This conception refused to see the new world situation after the second world war. It refused to see the changes that had taken place with the formation of the WB, IMF and WTO. It was blind to the importance of Declaration of Human Rights and of various constitutions in the former colonies, promising equality, justice and liberty. It refused to see the significance of the fact that the Keynesian "welfare state" had given way to the "monetarism" and "neo-liberalism". It refused to see the changes in the old feudal system, where a new class of rich peasants, tied to imperialism with numerous strings, was created, through programs like "Green revolution" etc. No doubt all these changes were recognised. However, they were all seen as having little significance and the path of revolution was put forward as the path used by Mao in China, namely

"Protracted People's War". We must here, in fairness, draw attention to the fact that Mao himself had never put forward any suggestion that the path of protracted people's war was applicable anywhere outside china. In fact, Mao never put it forward as a "path of revolution". That honour goes to Lin Biao.

So mechanical was the tradition that emerged, that there are parties today which want to pursue *protracted people's war* even in countries like Italy! One of the ways of escaping being duped by a charlatan is to refuse to see the charlatan's show. This is what was done. The communists refused to see the changes in imperialism to keep from being duped by imperialism as Khrushchov did. That this blinded them from reality itself can never be realised by those who choose to be blind. A tradition emerged that everything must be done secretly, that democracy is an unnecessary hindrance, that reading, study and research are mere distractions and – finally – that the masses themselves are not necessary for revolution.

This is the situation, even today, among a large section of the communist revolutionaries all over the world. They mechanically stick to the idea of "semi-colonial" India, without ever giving a thought to whether the colonial system still exists. Many of them do admit that the system is now a "neo-colonial" one, but still insist on calling India a "semi-colonial" country. This is not a mere question of semantics. If that were so, we would be perfectly glad to accept any name, whether "semi-colonial" or any other,

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for the sake of uniting the communist revolutionaries. The question is one of content. The essence lies in realising that profound changes have taken place in the imperialist system, that it has changed from the old colonial form to the neo-colonial form, and that the old strategies and tactics for making revolution can no more be applicable in this new situation.

There can be no semi-colony in a world where there are no colonies. If we do not accept this, we preclude any chance of seeing the concrete situation, of analysing it and of making any concrete strategy and tactics. Our strategy and tactics is, then, condemned to being a hodgepodge of the strategy and tactics propounded in the colonial period. That is the real problem, not one of nomenclature.

We have therefore to reject the formulation that we are living in a “semi-colonial” country just as much as we have to reject the formulation that we are an independent capitalist country. For too long the communist revolutionaries have been floundering between these two, mutually opposed, though equally erroneous, positions. There are no short-cuts to revolution. We have to see the real, concrete situation as it exists. We have to analyse it. We have to respond to the real and perceived demands of the people and we have to help them understand that these demands cannot be achieved in the present system, but only in a new socialist or truly democratic system.

Our party had started the process of understanding the changes that have taken place in the world in its 1982 Conference itself. We see the 9th Congress significant since we have reached a certain stage in this process of understanding the concrete situation. We cannot claim to have laid bare the new system as Lenin had laid bare the system of imperialism in his writings. However, we hope that the 9th Congress and the debate which it develops will be first step in reaching clarity on the new situation. ●

IMPERIALISM FIDDLES WHILE ROME IS BURNING

THE recent massive mobilisations in various cities all over the Globe show that the ongoing economic crisis of imperialism is transforming into a political crisis. Rome is burning and the call for massive demonstrations on 15th October, in sympathy with the movement to “Occupy Wall Street” saw massive demonstrations in over 900 cities from over 82 countries. People’s anger has jumped the bounds of “civilized” protest and whole cities – even whole countries like Greece – are being put to the torch.

The masses are coming out into the streets all over the world to protest openly against the greed of imperialism and its policy of globalisation. We support these movements whole-heartedly and call upon the protesting masses to overthrow the anti-worker, anti-poor, anti-people ruling regimes in their countries and to march forward towards genuine democracy and towards socialism.

These are not sudden developments. The crisis has been deepening in a most serious manner since the past three years or so. The economic system has been doddering ever since the sub-prime crisis hit the US. The movements in Tunisia, Bahrain, Egypt, where the rulers were thrown out and in other places like Algeria and Morocco, are clear indications of this same loss of faith in the present capitalist / imperialist system by the people. Even Libya, where imperialism is meddling, under cover of its supposed enmity with Gaddafi, was a clear expression of this loss of faith of the workers and oppressed masses with the imperialist system. Even in India, though Anna Hazare has not been able to provide a clear direction and though he only restricted himself to making changes within the system, the poor workers and oppressed masses who rallied to his call were expressing a similar disenchantment with the system.

Imperialism has shown remarkable adaptability and an ability to change forms and processes to overcome crisis after crisis. However, the present crisis will not easily accommodate of mere fiddling around. As the crisis grows deeper, there will be lesser space for imperialism to manoeuvre and its depredations will be all the more easily exposed. This, in turn, will leave it with even greater crisis and even less chances of manipulations. This is the significance of the present crisis.

We call upon all left and democratic forces to come together and support these movements, wherever they may be taking place and to make clear before these movement that the crisis cannot be solved within the present imperialist system and the only solution is socialism and a new and more pervasive form of democracy, where the workers and oppressed people are given the right to decide how their labour and the natural resources of the world are to be utilised. Without such a clear direction we stand the risk of playing into the hands of yet more fiddling by imperialism at the peril of the very future of humanity. ●

17 October, 2011

K. N. Ramachandran,
General Secretary
CPI (ML)

ON INTRODUCTION TO IMPERIALISM IN ITS NEO-COLONIAL PHASE

I RECENTLY read your article in Red Star issue of October 11 titled “Imperialism in Its Neo-Colonial Phase: Introduction”. This article acquire importance as it introduces the study conducted by your party for two years which is going to be presented at a seminar during the 9th Congress at Bhuvanewar.

Before starting commenting anything on this, I would like to narrate one of my friends’ story. He decided to study about one ‘social phenomenon’, the term of which was so fashionable among intellectuals for a time-period and to write a book based on the study. But to a tragic end, he gradually recognized that there is no such social phenomenon essentially, that is too, after spending years for research works and reading a lot of books! I wished this funny thing happened to your case of study also. But, alas!

In the first part of the article, you honestly elucidate the background of your beginning of understanding on neo-colonialism. We, readers thank you for that. It is the second half of 70s. The ideological-political questions faced by the released jail comrades triggered this inquiry. This positioned what the political formations viz. crc- cpiml and cpiml redflag advanced ideologically among the CRs. So far so good. But this denotes its limitations also.

Think about a youth who entered into political activism in the ‘90s in Red Flag. The political-ideological challenges he faced would be entirely different and the answers he got would also be different. This note of dissent is because of that. Also, think about those whose political beliefs were set in ‘40s or ‘50s or even ‘60s. Recently, Karat said at Cambridge that the most of the Indian Communists are still living in ‘40s. What he meant is the ideological framework in which Communists still live is set in ‘40s. True indeed. In other words, the framework set by Comintern. What he targeted is actually Comintern.

What you have done in attempting unity even with Kanu Sanyal group was actually seeking unity of the political understanding of pre-WWII decades with your, that of two decades of post-WWII. It proved disastrous.

The reading of history is temporal. This applies even to Lenin! Before coming to Lenin, we should think what compels you to invent ‘neo-colonial’ phase of imperialism. During 70s, much hype was there about de-colonization. So, the young comrades wanted to establish that imperialism was still existing. Imperialism was equated with colonialism and if it is not colonialism, it is neo-colonialism! But, we can see that for Lenin, imperialism is not merely colonialism, though historically, he was not in a position to think about imperialism bereft of colonialism. Colonialism was there even before capitalism. Jesus Christ fought against Roman colonialism.

What Lenin focuses in his monumental book on imperialism is the latest developments of international capital of last two-three decades. This period in economic history is remarkable for the demise of bi-metalism and the introduction of gold standard. The beginning of finance capital was during this period. Colonialism ceased to be what it was earlier. Imperialist powers were grown to the stage that they export not goods, but capital goods. Imperialists wanted industries in colonies. The beginning of Tatas, Birlas, Godrejs, etc were thus.

Colonialism was not the same throughout the imperialist rule. What Lenin studied about was the stage of international capital after 1870s to 1915. Lenin was more on the latest changes of international finance capital than on the ‘colonial’ aspect of it. If we think that imperialism is still in the stage of what Lenin described in his book, we are living in fools’ paradise. It undergoes one cycle of change at least during a two-three decades. A general outline can be given as below:

1870 - 1915 - End of bi-metalism, introduction of gold standard, Rise of finance capital, Imperialist crisis and WWI.

1915 - 1930 - Decline of UK and rise of US in finance market, flow of gold from UK to US, great depression.

1930 - 1945 - Crisis and WWII

1945 - 1971 - Brettonwood system based on gold standard; MNCs, IMF, WB, Brettonwood system collapsed on 1971 August 15.

1971 - 1990 - Monetarist policies of Reagon, Thatcher, gold demonitisation, introduction of SDR, transitory stage before globalization

1990 - 2010 - Globalisation, unimaginable growth in financial derivatives trade

2010 - US and Europe in economic recession.

What you describe as “neo-colonization” in your article best suits for the period from 1945 to 1971. It came to an end with the declaration of US president that US will not comply with the gold standard. After the transitory period, globalization got momentum after 1985, which has brought far reaching changes on the human life on earth. One characteristic is the ability of capital to flow without barriers of country borders. The capital loses the stamp of country. The nation-state system gets diluted. The values of currencies of countries are now determined by the financial derivatives.

SOME POINTS TO PONDER

It is very clear that the Comintern positions are comfortable with the pre-1945 period. You still banks on those positions, but tries to extend up to today. And calls it incorrectly “neo-colonial” period. You are correct in saying that the main reason for the setbacks suffered by communists is lack of clear understanding of the forms and changes of international finance capital. But you too lack this understanding.

We are living in a globalized world. But your article mentions only once the word ‘globalization’.

The lack of understanding of globalization hampers your party too to put forward the alternative to the people. So, your party too resorts to the nationalistic, isolated, protectionist, welfare state concept as alternative to imperialism, relying on old paradigm.

Because of the lack of understanding of today’s imperialism, you are not able to explain many world events of today. How do you explain the recession of Europe and US? How do you explain the capital inflows into India and China?

How do you explain the presence of unimaginable volume of financial derivatives trade other than calling it speculative or bubble economy? In a funny way, you called India “junior partner of Imperialism”. What about China? In your article, you never mentioned the present day China.

When the globalization itself makes nation-states obsolete, what is your position towards ‘foreign’ capital? Your new party program clearly shows where you stand!!! You are tying the horse behind the cart. Why can’t you think as Indian contingent of international brigade?

If you feel this email is worth your reply, please send me a reply. Otherwise please write an article on the points I raised. ●

*With revolutionary greetings,
Oingo Mango*

1. In the early eighties when the party had its 1982 conference, the principal question for Communist Revolutionaries was about Class Line Vs Mass Line, as the way to establish people’s political power at the local level, as part of the larger process of protracted peoples’ war. Three decades have passed since, and though there are many pockets in India, still under feudal – semi feudal forces, the moot issue is what is the principal direction of change?

2. Let us first look at some of the global forces. First of all there is a need to define finance capital and its character. Finance Capital represents the transfer of Purchasing power through creation of a debt, from one unit to another. Whether it is equity or debt capital, a promise to pay in future enables one to secure the entire purchasing power [liquidity] of vast sections of people and concentrate it in the hands of few corporate/state bureaucrat managers. The separation of ultimate ownership from control [which is central to defining a corporation] becomes important here.

3. When Lenin talked about finance capital, he particularly described the fusion of bank and industrial capital. This is however only one mode of accumulation of finance capital – known as the Junker or Prussian model. It was prominent in Continental Europe and Japan and led to the formation of holding combines like the Zaibatsu [Japan]. US, UK and some other markets had a different form – the Anglo Saxon model - where the role of equity was more important. Yet a third form emerged in countries like India – State Finance Capital – where the state became the conduit for concentrating and allocating capital.

4. What has happened particularly in the last four decades is the coming to dominance of Speculative Finance [in the form of equity/ debt and other forms like derivatives and structured finance]. Banks worldwide have ceased to play their traditional role of taking deposits and granting credit. They are more distributors and brokers of capital rather than lenders. The new financial institution that has come to dominate the financial marketplace is the investment bank [e.g. Goldman Sachs, Lehmans, JPMorgan...]. Wall Street and Dalal Street ... [where capital is traded and market values of equity and debt are determined] have emerged as the new happening places. Governments - from Obama to Singh – look to what would happen in these places before deciding on any policy. Every corporate body [the emerging global market is dominated by corporations] is concerned with maximizing shareholder value [where shareholders include millions of individuals including you and me, who have put our savings in various financial institutions].

5. Neo colonialism should be seen less as a result of a conspiracy of a few individuals or groups or governments in few countries and more as a worldwide system of domination that follows a logic – the **logic of accumulation of speculative capital**. One implication of this logic is the way production and services have come to be reallocated and distributed worldwide. The US, for example, hardly produces most of the things it consumes. [if you go near the statue of liberty, which symbolises US Democracy and Sovereignty, you would find that every momento to Liberty is “Made in China”] Its competencies are mainly in services [like finance, IT and media...] and of course military hardware. The crisis of US is no longer the crisis of Under consumption and over production. There is a need to ask some hard questions more carefully – Who really controls the world and its economic dynamics? When we use a term like Comprador, what exactly is the relation of Capitalists and governments in third

world countries to international capital? How do they fit in as partners? More need for clarity on these issues when we conduct a class analysis. In a word, who exactly is the enemy

6. An interesting point raised by Thomas Freidman in his book ‘The world is flat’ is that revolutions like that of Russia and China would not be repeated in future. The reason for this, he says perhaps gleefully, is the growth of a middle class which has a stake in continuing the status quo. The reality of the explosive growth of middle class in India is widely known. It is estimated anywhere between 200 to 300 million and growing very fast.

The growth of this class is also linked with the explosive growth of the services sector, which has come to overtake the manufacturing sector in Indian economy. This class is very restive and volatile and has been in the forefront of revolts in many countries in recent years. At the same time their aspirations and class character raises serious challenges.

7. What is the approach of International capital to the masses in India? Clearly the Washington Consensus, which set the agenda for WB / IMF and other bodies has set the mandate for third world governments – do everything necessary to allow free operation of the market mechanism – open up markets to international forces - reduce fiscal deficits and follow rigorous monetary policies. The results in terms of growing marginalisation of vast segments of labour force – is there for all to see.

8. At the same time, there is a strong current which seeks to integrate the vast masses with international capital. Management Guru C.K. Prahlad has written a book “Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid,” which represents the ‘new wisdom.’ He speaks about how global companies can profitably tap segments at the bottom rungs of society by creating opportunities to earn incomes – the whole point is to create markets where revenues and profits can be generated. In the financial market, the biggest thing today is Microfinance – which talks about both ‘empowerment’ and also serves as a super money lender of a new kind. Yet a third factor is the linkage of agricultural production with the speculative commodities markets. These trends are already beginning to transform rural India and will become more and more prominent in years to come. How should the party and CR s work with the broad sections of people who are coming under these influences? What are their implications for the future?

9. A key lesson that the ICM has taught us is the challenge of making the transformation towards Socialism and preventing a capitalist restoration. In the decades to come, as the economic and social profile of the masses of people change, the challenge is going to be even more severe. Some critical questions like What exactly is the dictatorship of the proletariat all about; How does socialist democracy differ from Parliamentary forms of government may need to be answered in more detail

10. Finally, the question of defining what would be the profile of the New Man in the new order. The standard argument of capitalists everywhere is that Communism does not work because Greed and Individualism are intrinsic to man – so markets would be necessary. When Mao said “Put Politics, not Profits in command” as a counter to the “Black Cat , White Cat theory” he had made a clarion call for guiding CRs everywhere. But what does it mean to put politics in command? What are the implications for transformation at the level of the individual? What are the values that the movement upholds and what are the values it decries? These issues may need to be more clearly outlined. ●

Dr. Sasidharan Kutty

HIJAM IRABOT: GREAT LEADER OF MANIPUR PEOPLE

THE people from all walks of life in Manipur are observing the 115th birth anniversary of Janneta Hijam Irabot on 30th September who had fought against the British colonialists and against the feudal forces for the liberation of the people, especially the peasantry. During their colonial rule in India, the British had resorted to all heinous means to impose their domination over this independent kingdom. But the people had successfully resisted this attempted colonization under the leadership of Irabot like forces. When the Nehru govt. forced an accession act in 1948 and turned Manipur in to a Category C state in the Indian Union, these nationalist forces continued their resistance to it. Proving their apprehensions were true, today, though Manipur is made a full-fledged state, it is virtually put under military rule for more than last three decades and oppressed under draconian Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA). Violating even the provisions of the 1948 Accession Act, the National Highway to this landlocked state is not kept free and essential commodities are not made available.

Exposing the anti-people role of the central and state governments, the state committee of the CPI(ML) called upon all sections of the people to observe the 115th birth anniversary this hero who died in 1951. Party supported the joint initiative by broad sections of democratic and patriotic forces and mass organizations, under the banner *Irabot Research and Commemoration Committee* , which organized a massive rally culminating at Thau ground. commemoration meeting was organized successfully. Addressing the masses called on the Manipuri people to continue their struggle for people’s democratic rights, inspired by ideals of Irabot. ●

THE ideological-political line and the concrete analysis of the concrete situation are the two central pillars on which the advance of the communist movement rests. So in the present situation when the international communist movement (ICM) is still passing through a period of fierce struggle to overcome the severe crisis confronting it, most visibly from the time of the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, any discussion to achieve clarity on these questions are significant. It is on this basis we are participating in this discussion to establish what is the ideological line of the ICM in the present phase.

According to our analysis, the genesis of the present challenges confronting the ICM starts from the time the socialist construction and the debate on the form of state and its relation with the superstructure were initiated in the course of Soviet practice from the 1920s itself. It started taking a serious turn when the question of building 'socialism in the one country', Soviet Union, where the proletarian power was established, was taken up with the Marxist-Leninist concept of developing it as the base area of world proletarian socialist revolution. The relation between 'socialism in one country' and the proletarian internationalism became a question of major debate. Again, in the post-Second World War period when the imperialist camp under US leadership transformed the hitherto colonial forms of plunder to neo-colonial forms, the weaknesses in analyzing the emerging concrete situation under neo-colonization further intensified the problems confronting the progress of the ICM. If the emergence of Soviet revisionism was a result of all these weaknesses, no communist party of that period could fully escape from the influence of these retrogressive tendencies.

While all these tendencies went on taking increasingly serious turn with the emergence of Soviet

MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO THOUGHT OR MAOISM?

KN Ramachandran

revisionism from the 20th Congress of the CPSU, as far as the ideological line of the communist parties was concerned, there was apparent unanimity among them as all of them were upholding Marxism-Leninism as their guiding line, whether they were pursuing revolutionary practice based on it or not. Though the concept of *Mao Tsetung Thought* as the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete practice of Chinese revolution was put forward in 1943, its usage was confined to the CPC alone. Even after its reiteration in the 8th Congress of the CPC in 1956, it continued to be confined to the CPC.

It was from the time of the *Great Debate* against the Soviet revisionist line, when the CPC under Mao's leadership put forward the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM* and the *Nine Comments* related to them and launched an open polemic leading to the ideological struggle at the international level and to the emergence of the Marxist-Leninist Parties/organizations later, especially after the publication of the book, *Long Live the Victory of the People's War* by Lin Biao in 1965, the concept of *Mao Tsetung Thought* was internationally upheld by most of the parties/organizations who had openly rebelled against the Soviet revisionist line. But the Party of Labor of Albania did not uphold it during the long period up to 1978 till it degenerated to opportunist path even though it had close relations with the CPC and was upheld as a socialist country by it. Or, even after the newly emerging Marxist-Leninist parties/ organizations started upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as their ideological guideline, upholding it was not considered as a pre-condition for the Marxist-Leninist parties/organizations.

During these years Mao Tsetung Thought was in the main defined as the concrete application of the Marxist-Leninist teachings in the concrete conditions of China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, which led to its successful completion of the New Democratic Revolution and advancing to the socialist revolution. In the course of this he developed the Marxist-Leninist theory regarding *On Contradiction* and the concept of *Ten Major Relationships*, differentiating the contradiction between the enemy classes and the people from the contradiction among the masses. As the capitalist restoration took place in Soviet Union and the capitalist roaders where threatening the usurpation of power in China also, Mao Tsetung, developing the *theory and practice of continuing the class struggle in the socialist countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat*, launched the *Cultural Revolution*(CR). He called for a *long revolution* at the realm of the superstructure to overthrow the millenniums old customs and beliefs for creating a proletarian culture. It was these contributions of Mao Tsetung which were summarized as the Mao Tsetung Thought and upheld by the Marxist-Leninist forces along with Marxism-Leninism.

But it was in the 9th Congress of the CPC held in 1969 the whole concept started undergoing a sharp change. In the Report adopted by this Party Congress, it was stated that the *era of imperialism and proletarian revolution* which was upheld as the present era by all communist parties till then has under gone a

change to the 'era of total collapse of imperialism and worldwide victory of socialism'. It was further stated that *Mao Tsetung Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of this new era*. If the 8th Congress of the CPC saw the domination of the rightist forces advocating the 'theory of productive forces', the 9th Congress saw the left adventurist line coming in to dominance. These deviations in the CPC as evaluated by the 4th All India Conference of the former CPI(ML) Red Flag call for a serious study to understand the present concept of 'Maoism' paraded by the CPI(Maoist) like forces.

Deviations in the CPC

The ML forces which had emerged in the course of the struggle against Soviet revisionism and their manifestations within their countries, the CR launched by CPC against the capitalist roaders in it had evoked great inspiration. In the absence of any international platform after the dissolution of the Communist International (CI) in 1943 to discuss these developments and as the CPC was also taking a stand that any more such formations are irrelevant, these ML forces almost blindly upheld these developments in the CPC. Instead of trying to analyze and take lessons from whatever was happening in China, they were blindly upheld.

The left adventurist line manifested in the 9th Congress of the CPC through the Report presented by Lin Biao and adopted by it, including the changes in the Party Constitution declaring Lin as the successor to Mao, were upheld by the newly emerged ML forces unchallenged. The 'Mao worship', as manifested in the slogan raised by the CPI (ML) that 'Chairman Mao is our chairman', emphasis given to the study of 'Quotations of Mao' and the concept 'the more you study more foolish you become', though rejected by the 10th Congress of the CPC in 1973, caused great damage to the CPC as well as to the ML parties all over the world. The evaluations of the CPC's 9th Congress Report gave an over-simplistic and romantic reduction of revolutionary struggles to mere tactics of war-tactics linked to people's war. When the ICM was facing a serious challenge after the deviation of Soviet and East European parties in power to right opportunist positions, deviating these countries to capitalist path, instead of making a concrete analysis of the then international situation and advancing a protracted ML path for overcoming the setbacks and developing the world proletarian socialist revolution, the 9th Congress formulations led to over exaggeration of the revolutionary possibilities and projection of over-simplistic methods in the name of advancing world revolution, in effect replacing the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM* put forward in 1963 with a basically erroneous line, damaging the ICM seriously.

Changing this erroneous line, the CPC Report to its 10th Congress presented by Chou Enlai stated: "Chairman Mao has often taught us: we are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution... Stalin said: "Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution". This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated. They remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today." Though this point was repeatedly emphasized during the struggle against the rightist line of Lin Biao and the importance of the study of Lenin's works on imperialism and connected topics was repeatedly stressed, neither an in-depth analysis and refutation of the 9th Congress positions nor any study of the important changes that have taken place after Lenin was taken up. Though during the Great Debate, Krushchovites were attacked for their argument that the period of colonialism is over, explaining how colonialism was replaced by a more sinister and pernicious form of neo-colonialism, no attempt was made to expand studies on it. Similarly, no satisfactory explanation was provided for extending invitation to Nixon in 1971 when the US was carpet-bombing Vietnam up to the Chinese borders.

There were no effective attempts to resist the numerous petty-bourgeois, New-Left trends linked to post-modernist theories, the NGOs promoted by the imperialists and other vested interests including religious establishments and the 'civil society' groups which were advocating that any form of changes can be brought out by campaigning and agitating within the system, when all of them were attacking the struggle for proletarian seizure of political power. In the absence of such a serious rectification process, the changes advocated by the 10th Congress of the

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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CPC did not, by and large, reach the ML forces which had already come under severe setbacks due to the sectarian line they were pursuing based on the 9th Congress positions. As the 'Theory of Three Worlds' formally put forward in 1977 after Mao's death and the capitalist restoration soon after his death had created more confusions, at least a section of the ML forces around the world continued to mechanically uphold the 9th Congress positions and went ahead to put forward the concept of 'Maoism', as the Marxism-Leninism of the 'new era'.

As the 1997 Forth Conference document stated: "Those who are talking today about 'Maoism' are trying to repeat the very same mistakes (of the past). Those who are abandoning the Leninist concept about present era are abandoning the very objective base for the revolution itself. For them revolution becomes something subjective, determined by arms, military might and by strategy and tactics of war alone, something alienated from the working class, their organizations and organized mass movements. A revolution which is not correctly rooted in history and concrete objective realities of today will only create obstacles for proletarian revolutions, instead of helping them. Romantic concepts about quick victory of revolutions are not going to help the working class movement. But it ultimately serves the petti-bourgeois *avant guardism* and ultimately the interests of capital.

"The advocates of Maoism as in the case of the RCP (USA), organizations grouped around the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and similar forces, in reality, are not upholding the great Marxist-Leninist theoretical lessons developed by Mao in the background of Chinese revolution and the ideological struggle developed within the ICM. But they repeat some quotations which deify Mao as done by Lin Biao. Along with providing

opportunities for creating some Lin Biaoist 'thinkers', in the name of Maoism these advocates transform Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in to some idealistic principles of faith. A common characteristic of these advocates of Maoism is that they neglect or discard the concrete approach towards determining the fundamental contradiction in the contemporary period, the contradiction between imperialism and proletarian revolution".

Maoism Today

Like the anarchists of Marx's period and the Narodniks of Lenin's period, against whom they had to wage uncompromising struggles to defend Marxist theory and to develop revolutionary practice, today without waging a serious ideological-political struggle against the anarchist trend of Maoism, along with the struggle against all right opportunist and alien trends, the Marxist-Leninist positions cannot be defended and the revolutionary theory and practice according to present conditions cannot be developed. The basic problem with the Maoists at the theoretical level is that like Lin Biaoists and in general like almost all the ML forces active during the 1967-1972 period, they deify Mao and view him separated from or above the CPC. They refuse to see that Mao was the leader of the CPC and he should be evaluated as such, along with his ideological and political contributions. More than any one else he was responsible for the achievements as well as the shortcomings of the CPC which led to usurpation of power by the capitalist roaders soon after his death.

An over view of the developments during the 1950s show that the CPC leadership also failed to recognize the impact of the neo-colonization adopted by the imperialist camp under US leadership during the post-Second World War (SWW) years, to evaluate the class character of Nehru, Nassar, Tito like leaders, to correctly estimate the significance of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), to evaluate the post-SWW developments correctly before giving undue importance to *Bandung Conference* etc. Later, as the ideological struggle against Soviet revisionist line developed in to the Great Debate, though these mistakes were, in the main, rectified and a theoretically and politically advanced General Line of the ICM could be put forward in continuation to the positions of the CI, it refused to organize even a platform of the ML parties/organizations who were struggling against Soviet revisionism, as it negated the significance of reorganizing the CI. By 1967, even when the CR was advancing, the left adventurist positions were gaining dominance in the CPC which led to the erroneous formulations of the 9th Congress. Though this line was defeated by early 1971, very soon the centrist forces advocating a rapprochement with US imperialism in the struggle against the 'main enemy', Soviet social imperialism, gained dominance as proved by Nixon's visit to Beijing in 1971. The main

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capitalist roader, Deng was reinstated in 1974 and was elevated to high positions. Even while upholding Mao as a great Marxist- Leninist and his great contributions to the ICM, these serious mistakes even after the sad experience of the degeneration of Soviet Union, demands a serious evaluation of the experience of the CPC during his period.

Again, as already pointed out, the ICM upheld Leninism as the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, when the capitalist era under went qualitative changes to the era of monopoly capitalism, imperialism, bringing around basic changes in the laws of motion of capital, when Lenin could defeat all deviations that had surfaced in the Second International, which led to its liquidation, and develop the theory and practice of Marxism during the era of imperialism. During the many decades after *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism* by Lenin was published, though vast changes have taken place in the forms deployed by imperialism for its plunder and world hegemony including the transformation of colonial forms of plunder by neo-colonial forms during the post-SWW period, except for the importance provided to the territorial domination and territorial division of the world among the imperialist powers receding to the background, all the fundamental postulates of the imperialist system explained by Lenin in his epochal work still persist. That is, in spite of vast changes, with the finance capital becoming extremely speculative and parasitic, and under neo-colonization the pre-capitalist relations are under going fast changes every where in the world, the imperialist system has not qualitatively changed to a new system. The laws of motion of capital as explained by Lenin have not changed fundamentally. Till they undergo basic changes even if the world really reaches a phase when the imperialism is facing real collapse and socialist forces are nearing world wide victory, it will only denote a new phase, not a new era as the 9th Congress of the CPC stated. So the assessment of the new era in the 9th Congress of the CPC was a basically erroneous one.

The experience of the Maoist movement in Peru, Philippines, Nepal and a few other countries from the 1980s shows that after reaching certain stage of development, either they were suppressed, or are in stalemate or are facing crisis regarding the path to be taken, with the RIM itself in crisis. Though most of them got the publicity for the wrong reasons, except in Nepal they could not subscribe in any significant way to the revolutionary movement in their own countries or at international level. In Nepal itself after substantially contributing in the struggle for over throwing the monarchy, they are facing serious troubles to find a way forward on the path of completing the tasks of the People's Democratic Revolution.

In India though it is projected as a major threat by the ruling system and by the corporate media, these projections are far from reality. Today the CPI (Maoist) represents a sinking force which has lost its ideological moorings and revolutionary political positions conforming to present Indian reality. They persist in mechanically trying to apply the 'Chinese path' to Indian conditions, without recognizing that China's was a unique case, which cannot be copied anywhere. In China after Kumintang led by Sun Yatsan became victorious in coming to power in 1911, it became the first government to recognize Soviet Union; it invited the nascent CPC to work in Kumintang and in its army; when Chiang Kaisheck came to leadership after Sun's death and launched open attacks on communists in 1927 and when it was forced to flee to the rural bases a 40,000 strong section of the army also joined it under Chu Te's leadership; and that in the concrete conditions of China where the coastal region was under the control of various imperialist powers with Kumintang power confined to few areas and war lords having sway over vast areas, from then on the people's war was a war between the Kumintang army and the red army led by the CPC. Without

recognizing these aspects and the vast changes that have taken place at national and international levels, by trying to apply the 'Chinese path' mechanically they are exposing the shallowness of their ideological-political positions.

The entire theorization of Maoism is proved contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Like the CPC leadership inviting Nixon to Beijing to seek support against the 'main enemy', Soviet social imperialism, today the CPI (Maoist) supports the TMC-Congress alliance to defeat its 'main enemy', the social democratic CPI(M) led LF, as it had supported and support other ruling class parties in other states after issuing the 'boycott election' call, smacking of the influence of the 'Theory of Three Worlds'. While deifying Mao, it rejects his call for practicing mass line. Contrary to concrete reality in India, it continues the mistake of analyzing the character of state and society in India as semi-colonial, semi-feudal. Without recognizing the momentous changes that have taken place in the agrarian sector under neo-colonial offensive, it still claims the contradiction with feudalism as the principal contradiction, the resolution of which shall resolve all other contradictions. While talking about anti-imperialist struggles, it compromises with the NGOs and 'civil society groups' and resort to reformist positions. It has reduced itself to tailing behind the TRS leaders on the Telengana question.

Maoism in theory and practice has proved itself a far cry from the ideological guide line of Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tsetung Thought. Rather it is a basic aberration from the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Along with the social democratic positions pursued by the CPI(Marxist), the anarchist line of the CPI(Maoist) also should be uncompromisingly struggled against in order to establish the hegemony of the revolutionary theory and practice according to present conditions. ●

IT IS imperative today after the world-wide debacle of the Communist movement to build up a revolutionary Party, based on a revolutionary theory which addresses the concrete problems of the present concrete condition, in all countries. And that needs examining the whole movement first, with due respect but without any illusion to the past or submission to the legacy or the established authorities, and combating both 'left' and right deviations in the movement. In our country, the task is rendered too complicated after the experience of the revolutionary upsurge of the late sixties and early seventies, as the whole movement has been disintegrated due to left adventurism and a large number of revolutionary groups, small or large, had emerged subsequently. Some have vanished by this time, some do exist. Each existing group is trying in its own way to advance. Very many efforts to unite the groups having failed, it is today clear that such unification attempts will not yield the expected result.

Without concrete evaluation of the concrete condition today and developing a correct revolutionary theory based on that, no effort to unite the revolutionaries and build up the true revolutionary Party able to capture political power and lead society to emancipation will be successful. But that correct theory will not automatically unite the revolutionaries. Some amongst us are of the view that a revolutionary organization based on a correct ideological-political stand can only act as the nucleus to consolidate the whole camp and draw other revolutionaries outside the camp as yet, and advance the task of revolution. With this idea, some of the CPI (ML) groups have already held their Party Congress (9th Congress). [CPI (ML) Party Unity held 9th Congress in 1987 (later merged in CPI (Maoist), CPI(ML) New Democracy held 9th Congress in 1992, CPI(ML)

CPI(ML): THE NAME SHOULD BE REVIEWED

Gautam Chaudhuri

We had invited criticisms, comments and suggestions on the draft documents for the Ninth Party Congress by publishing them in the website, in the Facebook and handing over a number of hard copies to a large section of organizations and individuals. Though a healthy discussion took place in the state conferences and below, which will be moved as amendments and suggestions in the Congress to enrich the draft documents, we could not get many contributions on them from organisations and individuals outside. Only three contributions received which are published below -Red Star

Liberation held 8th Congress in 2007, etc]. After that, they are virtually functioning as 'The Party'—quite understandably. People are getting confused. They aspire for a revolutionary party. But formation of such a Party eludes us. Our Party is also now going to hold its Congress—the same 9th Congress. How can we view the initiative? Let us examine in brief.

As we know, in the late 1960's, the capitalist crisis led people to rebel against capitalism and imperialism and launch big movements the world over. Denouncing the leadership of the erstwhile Communist Parties under the influence of Soviet revisionism, new Marxist-Leninist parties emerged in countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and even Europe. Mao was accepted as the world leader for particularly the valiant struggle launched by the Communist Party of China (CPC) under Mao's leadership against Soviet revisionism, and also for the Cultural Revolution launched in China to combat restoration of capitalism.

With this perspective, the peasant upsurge in Naxalbari in 1967 took place with the conscious effort of the local communist leadership guided by Com. Charu Majumdar.

The CPI had formally split in 1964 and the CPI (M) formed, but the basic

questions raging throughout the party regarding the state character, the path of revolution, even the ideological questions were not resolved. Fierce inner party struggle (IPS) continued. Resorting to parliamentarianism by the party was abhorred by a section of the comrades. The revolutionaries became restive in the backdrop of the stormy global situation. They launched ideological offensive against the established leadership alongside leading the ongoing class struggle in the country. They organized themselves in 'Naxalbari O Krisak Sangram Sahayak Committee' which later converted to 'All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries in CPI (M)'. As a result, they were driven out of the party en masse in an autocratic manner and then it turned to only AICCCR. In reaction to the right opportunism of the leadership and in the Party as a whole, which was then the main danger, a 'left' orientation naturally grew in the new leadership from its inception.

It was Lin Piao who, surfacing through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), proclaimed in the 9th Congress Report of the CPC (1969) that the world history has advanced to "an entirely new era, the era in which imperialism is heading for collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is a great new era in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in the decisive battle on a world wide scale." And "Guerilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the entire strength of the people against the enemy." And Com. Charu Majumdar (CM) echoed Lin's words: "In the present era, Chairman Mao's thought is the highest development of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao has not only creatively applied Marxism-Leninism but has enriched Marxism-Leninism and developed it to a new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought can be called the Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world-wide victory". This 'new era' was incorporated in the Constitution of the CPC, too. And "As we all know, the Political Report to the 9th Congress was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance." (The 10th Congress Report) Com. Charu Mazumdar advanced further to declare that Lin Piao, declared as the heir apparent of Com. Mao in the 9th Congress of the CPC, was our leader and his "Long Live the Victory of Peoples' War" was made the Bible to the cadres. "We are living in the era of Mao Tse-tung. Today the great Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, is leading the international proletariat in fulfilling their most glorious task, namely, the victorious completion of the world revolution." ("China's Chairman is Our Chairman, China's Path is Our Path") Charu Mazumdar said that those who dare not to attack Mao directly, are attacking Lin actually targeting Mao. He also said that those who don't accept Lin unquestionably, will not be allowed to continue in the CPI (ML).

The CPC declared Lin as a traitor in its 10th Congress in 1973 though without really combating him politically-ideologically. All this happened in the august presence of Mao: "The great leader of our Party, Comrade Mao Tsetung presided over the Congress" (Press Communiqué of the 10th National Congress, August 29, 1973)

In the 9th Party Congress Report of the CPC in 1969, US imperialism was recognized as the greatest danger to the world people. But in 1971, the US President Nixon was invited to China through the Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, when Vietnam was fighting a fierce battle against US imperialism. Soviet Social Imperialism was declared as the greater danger and the 'Theory of Three Worlds' appeared in 1974 when Deng was the vice-premier. The three world concept had already been mooted in the 10th Congress Report of the CPC: "They (the US and the USSR) want to devour China, but find it too tough even to bite. Europe and Japan are also hard to bite, not to speak of the vast third world." All this happened when Mao was leading the CPC.

After Lin, a fierce struggle ensued in the CPC between the centrist-rightist force led by Chow, Deng et al on the one hand and 'the Gang of Four' on the other. The latter was defeated and their leaders jailed. No true political struggle came to the fore. The rightist force consolidated itself with no reported opposition from Mao. Then, after Mao's demise, Deng reigned supreme and led China straight to restore capitalism, finally turning it to virtually another super power contending now with the USA for hegemony.

What does this history in brief show?

Krushchevite revisionism caused havoc to the world proletarian movement and those fighting for national liberation. The CPC launched an ideological battle against Krushchevite revisionism known as 'Great Debate' and saved the world proletarian movement from the influence of Soviet revisionism. That in the backdrop of the capitalist crisis raised the hopes for a radical change of the world. But lacking a proper understanding of the world situation after World War II (WWII), a suitable ideological-political weapon, a correct theoretical guideline, and without having an international platform for the proletariat, the whole movement was fraught with the danger of turning 'left'. And the CPC only accelerated the journey towards left adventurism causing immense harm to the world proletarian movement.

Formation of CPI (ML) was only a part of this episode

After the Naxalbari uprising and the formation of the AICCCR, unification of the entire revolutionary ranks under its banner, leading the movement despite weakness, consolidating the revolutionary force of the country through ideological-political debates and studies and polemics—were all hurriedly done away with and the

CPI(ML) was formed. “The world is progressing at a breath-taking speed towards the final emancipation of Man under the leadership of Chairman Mao: our struggle in India, too, is developing at an inconceivably fast speed.” (Political Organisational Report adopted at the Party Congress.) So was the hurry for the Party formation “even though it was carried out hastily without trying to bring the CRs together”. (*Nine Decades of the Communist Movement in India*- K.N. Ramachandran)

‘It is the time to build the Party’—or the revolution can’t achieve success: this was the clarion call at the time. This position of Com. Charu Majumdar was supported by others who later occupied the berths of the Central Committee. Some of them later denounced that ‘hasty’ step without self criticism. Those who urged for continuation of ideological-political-organizational preparation before forming the new party were surreptitiously warded off and the party was formed defeating the ‘wrong’ ideas and concepts in the AICCCR like ‘the metaphysical understanding of a pure party’, etc.

What kind of a party was thus formed?

“Though we are a small party now, we can fulfill this sacred task (of leading ‘revolutionary upsurge to a nationwide victory of revolution’) if we raise our study and application of Chairman Mao’s thought as embodied in the ‘Quotations’ and the ‘Three Articles’ to a new height, entrench ourselves deeply among landless and poor peasants and integrate ourselves with them, ... study and concretely apply the correct thesis of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao’s: “Guerilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy”, ... annihilation of the class enemy is the higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerilla war and People’s War and realize that

this class struggle, i.e., this battle of annihilation can solve all the problems facing us and lead the struggle to a higher plane, ... (Political-Organisational Report adopted at the Party Congress, 1970).

Is it further necessary to interpret this illustrating citation? Let us read again: **“We must build up our Party among the landless and poor peasants and on this alone the revolutionary striking power of the Party and the revolutionary people depends. The working class and the petty bourgeois cadres must integrate themselves with the landless and poor peasants.”** Also, “It is on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance that a revolutionary united front of all revolutionary classes will be built up. As the part (not the advanced detachment—just a part!—*author*) of the working class, the Communist Party must take upon itself **the responsibility of organizing the peasantry** and advancing toward seizure of power through armed struggle.”

In his speech introducing the Political-Organisational Report, Charu Majumdar said: “Build up the party and get it entrenched among the landless and poor peasants. The building up of the party means the development of armed struggle. And without armed class struggle party cannot be developed and cannot entrench itself among the masses.” Nowhere was even mentioned the task of organizing the working class—let alone establishing the leadership of the working class over the movement. Such was the stand of a Communist Party regarding its class basis. *The Party went to the extent of reducing the protracted people’s war advocated by Lin Biao as panacea for all the Asian, African and Latin American countries, to ‘the line of annihilation of the class enemies’.* (*Nine Decades of the Communist Movement in India*) “The question of building the class and mass organizations was not even mentioned as by that time the concept that they are highways to revisionism had gained strength. The concept of mass line was not even discussed. In short, the Party Congress documents advocated a left adventurist line, based on an erroneous evaluation of the concrete conditions in the country, in the name of fighting against the revisionist betrayal of the movement, in the name of speedy completion of the democratic revolution.” (*ibid*) All the struggles for partial demands and class-mass organizations were shunned and left for the revisionists to wreck the movement.

“Though momentous developments had taken place after the 1964 Party Congress at both international and national level, and though it was necessary to draw a line of demarcation from the positions taken on these questions by the CPI (M) leadership, the 1970 Congress documents failed to take up this task. The positive aspect of the 1951 Documents, as already pointed out, was that they had rejected the pursuing of either Russian Path or Chinese Path and emphasized on developing an Indian Path for advancing the People’s Democratic Revolution in the country. But, the 1970 Congress once again called for pursuing the Chinese Path without making any efforts to evaluate the India situation. Though it was stated that India had become the neo colony of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, these formulations, neo colony and semi colony, were used synonymously.” (*ibid*)

Since before the birth of CPI(ML), Com. Charu Mazumdar and some of his comrades in arms stressed on developing a revolutionary authority. Com. Charu Mazumdar was then declared as the authority who must be followed without any question. Debates and discussions were all throttled in the Party on the plea of the war situation—the war being waged against the State. Nothing except the ‘Red Book’, the ‘Three Articles’ and ‘Quotations of people’s war’ were virtually allowed to the cadres to read and to study anything seriously was made

impossible as those would invite ‘undesirable’ questions, even when the Party began suffering from serious setbacks. An authoritarian set-up developed and strengthened along with personality cult. From Lin Piao’s maxim: “Guerilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy”, Charu Mazumdar drew the formulation: “annihilation of the class enemy is the higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerilla war and People’s War” and “this class struggle, i.e., this battle of annihilation can solve all the problems facing us and lead the struggle to a higher plane,” The enemy had then little problem in crushing the movement.

So, although the revolutionary Party CPI(ML) after its formation had carried the banner of revolution, dislodging the renegades, it suffered from the very beginning from many shortcomings and left deviations that paved the way of disintegration when faced with severe assault from the enemy. The whole of the revolutionary camp is still in chaos and disarray.

Now, the question is, can the revolutionary rank and file possibly come together, can we really march forward with our correct formulation based on the concrete condition, after the Party Congress? Or it will be another venture “carried out hastily without trying to bring the CRs together”?

No doubt, the correctness of the political-ideological line determines everything. But one must take into account the concrete reality of the revolutionary force of the country, too, in order to maneuver its strength. The correct political line bases itself on the objective condition of society, but the actual state of the revolutionary force, i.e. the force which will shoulder the responsibility to advance the cause at the given time, or the subjective force, is also an important factor. Political-ideological line must have the support of a correct organizational line to realize its goal. Having little or no consideration of that factor will perhaps fail to serve the purpose.

So the revolutionaries of all shades must be made to get involved in ideological-political debates and discussions in various manners and many more people drawn into that vortex. We must launch platforms for united activities in different fields, some of which we have already set off. This will create a condition conducive to isolating those who are ideologically against the working class and/or the NDR, and consolidate the revolutionaries. After completion of our Party Congress, I think accomplishing this task in the name of CPI(ML) will be hampered. Our endeavour will then obviously be concentrated on strengthening our organization’s base on our Political-ideological line. True efforts to unite the revolutionary camp, enrich our ideological-political armoury essential to lead the revolution, build up the joint platforms to guide the huge upsurges on the anvil, will possibly take backstage. Collective efforts on the part of the revolutionary organizations to rouse the people, to call them to action or launch political struggles from a common platform will be impaired. The people will perhaps be divided and disappointed.

So, the name which, on the one hand bears the glory of martyrdom, of upholding the agenda of revolution in the country when it was betrayed by the right opportunists of the Krushchevite brand, and on the other bears the stigma of extreme left deviations that wreaked havoc in the communist movement of the country for the decades to come, is not acceptable to many of the revolutionary groups. The name which gives rise to inhibitions in many—right or wrong way—cannot serve to unite the revolutionaries of the land. Rather it will heave hindrances in the way of the advancement. A suitable name of *THE PARTY* that will carry the heritage of communist revolution in our country and be able to unite further the revolutionaries and the people at large can be chosen at a later time. The name suitable for our organization at the moment should be chosen in

a way that will no way disturb the process of building the Party.

The revolutionaries today must make a radical departure from the left deviation practiced in the name of revolution under the banner of CPI (ML), also the right deviations that the later period — the contemporary practice included — has witnessed, holding aloft the banner of CPI (ML). Bias and blind pursuit opposed to face the real challenges posed by the concrete reality and resurrect the correct Marxist practice on the one hand, and rampant liberalism worshipping right opportunism even to the extent of venturing to build up ‘Communist Confederation’ with the diehard revisionists on the other, has unfortunately become the hallmark of CPI(ML) today. Hence, the revolutionaries of the present epoch cannot but reject that name.

Thousands of martyrs of the country who have laid down their lives for the cause of revolution cannot be paid their due homage by simply a name, rather this can be done only by accomplishing the revolution. In the world today, when the existing production relation is miserably failing to cope with the huge growth of the productive force, when the whole of the world is just fuming and getting ready to change the world order, our sectarianism in sticking to the name of CPI(ML) may raises obstacles in the progress of humanity to shatter the shackles.

The rule of capital appears to be really on the verge of collapse today in this globalised world. Any perception not commensurate with today’s proletarian interest of the world will serve the enemy to regain strength and vitality. Revolution might then be betrayed again. The revolutionaries today must be careful.

The Party Congress will be a grand success to formulate the cornerstones to lead the Indian people to achieve victory sailing through all odds—we are confident. ●

THE Ninth Congress of the CPI(ML) is being organized after a long and continuous ideological struggle within the communist revolutionary (CR) movement. Through a prolonged ideological and theoretical struggle some sections of CRs have reached a certain realization about the line and orientation of the revolutionary movement. These sections in the revolutionary camp have synthesized and projected a new line and outlook in the movement. The Ninth Congress is significant in this context. So naturally the draft documents of our Party Congress, prepared by the Central Committee, are the sign of a new beginning in the movement and these are the synthesis of the continuous ideological and theoretical struggle within and by the revolutionary movement.

We have rejected the basic orientation of the 1970 Party Congress and are trying to develop a new course of movement. The special conference held in Bhopal two years ago decided this. The line of protracted people's war and area wise seizure of power has been discarded and it has been declared that without nationwide political struggle no revolutionary upheaval can be successful. Without physical leadership of the working class the People's Democratic Revolution (PDR) will not be possible based on merely the ideological leadership of the working class. Without a theoretical development of our movement no revolutionary movement can be developed. Development of International Communist Movement (ICM) is possible not only through theoretical guideline; we also have to build a new International to fight against international bourgeoisie and imperialism. If we have to develop a world socialist revolutionary movement then it is a must to develop an international communist organization.

Our Party has declared that it is essential to develop a nationwide

MAIN QUESTIONS OF DEBATE IN THE PARTY CONGRESS

Rabi Roy

political struggle under the leadership of the working class, utilizing all forms of struggle, including electoral struggle. Formation of government to disintegrate state machinery is also applicable in this movement towards the development of nationwide uprising to seize the existing political power. So our Draft Programme clearly states, "*The Path of the PDR in India is determined not by mechanical application of the Soviet or Chinese or any other path as happened repeatedly in the past, but by the concrete conditions of the country and international situation. While developing this revolutionary path, the experience of the revolutionary people's movements of the country and the experience of all hitherto revolutions that had taken place at international level should be assimilated. Rejecting parliamentary cretinism and the line of sectarianism and individual terrorism, upholding path of revolutionary mass line, it resolves to utilize all forms of struggle and organizations to mobilize the working class and all revolutionary classes and sections for a massive countrywide people's uprising to overthrow the Indian state and to seize political power*"(Section 5.3). Our Party clearly states that the Indian state is a neo-colonial state and the ruling classes of our country are the junior partners of imperialism. So the principal contradiction is between the alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlord classes on the one hand and the broad masses of people on the other hand. This is a significant theorization. Anybody can say that the principal contradiction is regarded as the contradiction between one class and another. But in our document we have stressed on the alliance between imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlord classes. This is because the contradiction between imperialism and people of a country is synonymous with the contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlord class on one side and the people on the other, in the neo-colonial phase of imperialism. To be precise, we have rejected the basic orientation of the previous international and national revolutionary line – that in our country there will be area wise seizure of power and protracted people's war, and we have to rely solely on developing the peasant movement – and have developed a new line of countrywide political movement and uprising under the leadership of working class and in alliance with the peasantry.

The analysis of the ICM, particularly in the phase of the Great Debate, is extremely significant to us. We have reached a certain realization on this subject. But this does not mean that we are saying the 'last word' and the theoretical development is over. We have only reached a certain stage of development. A section of communist revolutionaries has reached a certain stage of realization. But this realization is also not complete and does not cover every question of the communist movement. We are working in a complex situation. We have to reach a total realization regarding the whole ICM. In this context, debate and discussion are going on within our Party. These can be resolved only through the theoretical and political development of the whole communist movement. The upcoming Congress has also generated some inter-organizational debates within the Party. These debates may or may not be entirely resolved in the Congress, but under the basic realization thus attained the whole Party can

develop a broader and deeper unity and a homogeneous practice through this Congress. The Central Committee and entire ranks of our Party are fully aware that in this complex situation we cannot resolve every question by a single stroke. The course of unity-struggle-unity is applicable not only vis-à-vis the Party and the masses, but also within the Party. Our Party Constitution was drafted taking this into account very consciously. I am now entering the main debatable questions, which are sure to make the Congress lively.

The question of the contradiction between capital and nature

Our Draft Programme states, “It has given rise to a new, fifth, major contradiction at both levels, the contradiction between capital and nature, along with the other four major contradictions” (Section 2.1). It is true that capitalism is recklessly plundering natural wealth and it has created such a situation where environment and nature are in crisis. Not only that, the desire for super profit and competition leads to a situation where the stability of nature will be at stake. But this conflict is the conflict between human and nature. Capitalism is a certain stage in the history of human civilization. The conflict between human and nature has now reached a stage where the capitalist form of civilization is going against the sustainability of nature. So it is the duty of humankind to overthrow capitalism to save nature and human society. To quote Marx, “*Nature is man’s inorganic body — that is to say, nature insofar as it is not the human body. Man lives from nature — i.e., nature is his body — and he must maintain a continuing dialogue with it is he is not to die. To say that man’s physical and mental life is linked to nature simply means that nature is linked to itself, for man is a part of nature.*” (*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*)

We know that capitalism has reached that reactionary stage when it stands against human development. In essence now capitalism is against humanity. We know that to save humanity we have to overthrow capitalism. But because of that we don’t say that the contradiction between capitalism and humanity is a major contradiction. Similarly, to save nature we have to overthrow capitalism. Only the proletariat can save nature by overthrowing capitalism. Today the conflict between human and nature has taken the form of conflict between capitalism and nature, and so is obviously imbued in the conflict between labour and capital. **The contradiction between capitalism and nature is a part of the contradiction between labour and capital. So there is no sense in separately putting forward the contradiction between capital and nature as ‘a fifth major contradiction’. If we put this as a major contradiction, then the question of class struggle will be relegated to the background.**

We know that the contradiction between capital and labour is reflected in human society as the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations is also related with two human camps. But the contradiction between capital and nature cannot be related with the two camps of human society because nature itself is not a part of human society, on the contrary, humans are a part of the nature. In our Draft Documents every major contradiction stated is in essence a class contradiction except the one described as ‘between capital and nature’. Contradictions within humankind take the form of various forms of class contradictions. The contradiction between capitalism and nature is a part of the contradiction between human and nature. But the contradiction between human and nature will change from antagonistic to non-antagonistic when class contradictions will be eliminated.

Engels stated, “*Classical political economy, the social science of the bourgeoisie, in the main examines only social effects of human actions in the*

*fields of production and exchange that are actually intended. This fully corresponds to the social organisation of which it is the theoretical expression. As individual capitalists are engaged in production and exchange for the sake of the immediate profit, only the nearest, most immediate results must first be taken into account. As long as the individual manufacturer or merchant sells a manufactured or purchased commodity with the usual coveted profit, he is satisfied and does not concern himself with what afterwards becomes of the commodity and its purchasers. The same thing applies to the natural effects of the same actions. What cared the Spanish planters in Cuba, who burned down forests on the slopes of the mountains and obtained from the ashes sufficient fertiliser for one generation of very highly profitable coffee trees – what cared they that the heavy tropical rainfall afterwards washed away the unprotected upper stratum of the soil, leaving behind only bare rock! In relation to nature, as to society, the present mode of production is predominantly concerned only about the immediate, the most tangible result; and then surprise is expressed that the more remote effects of actions directed to this end turn out to be quite different, are mostly quite the opposite in character; that the harmony of supply and demand is transformed into the very reverse opposite, as shown by the course of each ten years’ industrial cycle – even Germany has had a little preliminary experience of it in the “crash”; that private ownership based on one’s own labour must of necessity develop into the expropriation of the workers, while all wealth becomes more and more concentrated in the hands of non-workers.” (*Dialectics of Nature*).*

Capitalism is a specific system of mode of production in human society. Capitalism plunders nature through the instrument of human action, that is through labour. So capital by does nothing against nature. It is the

capitalist mode of production that poses itself against nature. So we have to resolve the contradiction between human and nature through the overthrow of capitalism, that is, we have to resolve the contradiction between labour and capital in order to preserve nature and keep it fit for the existence of life.

Nature existed even when there was no life on this planet. And it may continue to exist even after the destruction of all life on the planet. Human activity can destroy life on this planet, but it cannot destroy nature. **So the question is not how to preserve nature *per se*, but as fit for the existence of human and other living elements.**

The question of PDR and NDR

In our Draft Documents we have said that the immediate stage of our revolution is PDR. There is no problem in saying PDR. But a different question arises here. The term PDR was used when the question of leadership of the revolution had not been clear, especially in the colonies and semi-colonial countries. Not only for colonies and semi-colonial countries, the Comintern also put forward the programme of PDR for the European countries where the task of bourgeois democratic revolution was not completed. According to the Comintern, the nature of revolution in those countries would be democratic. Only after it became clear that the bourgeoisie would not lead the democratic revolution and the democratic revolution had entered a new phase and this revolution would be a new type of democratic revolution, PDR came to be described as New Democratic Revolution (NDR). So PDR is actually synonymous with NDR. Through the theorization of NDR, the question of leadership of democratic revolution was settled. This theorization was made by Mao Tse Tung and is a great contribution of Mao to resolve the problems of development of independent

proletarian revolutionary movement. But our Draft Documents do not cite this historical advancement – that of resolving the question of leadership of democratic revolution through NDR – or even count this as a historical development. The Draft Programme states that the Communist International had put forward the line of PDR under the leadership of working class to be followed in countries like India which were under various forms of colonial domination. This statement is false and no corroborative evidence can be produced in support. Nowhere in its documents did the Comintern give the call for PDR under working class leadership in the colonies and semi-colonial countries. The Comintern merely distinguished between ‘national revolutionary movement’ and ‘nationalist reformist movement’ and declared that the former was to be supported as against the latter. But the Comintern could not come up with a concrete answer to the question of who would lead the national revolutionary movement in such countries. We will not be doing full justice to the (then) newly formed Communist Party of India if we say that the Comintern had clearly enunciated the leadership of the working class in the national revolutionary movement, because then the whole responsibility for the erroneous line (as stated in our Documents) followed in the movement would fall on the newly formed CPI.

Even in the case of China, the Comintern was reluctant to state that the national revolutionary movement would advance under the leadership of working class alone up to the time of the counter revolutionary upsurge of 1927. Actually it was a historical impossibility for the Comintern to have proclaimed the line of PDR under the leadership of working class because the communist parties and working class movements in Asia began to develop only since 1920 onwards. There certainly was no astrologer in the Comintern. So the ‘National and Colonial Thesis’ was prepared and the line put forward on the basis of the nature of the then revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi colonies. So in 1920 the Comintern could only decide the nature and principle of the revolutionary movement in colonies like India. Lenin stated in his thesis: *“It is particularly necessary to exert every effort to apply the basic principles of the Soviet system in countries where pre-capitalist relations predominate — by setting up ‘working people’s Soviets’, etc.”* The basic principle of the relation between the communist movement and bourgeois democratic struggle was stated by the Comintern as follows:

“The point about this is that as communists we will only support the bourgeois freedom movements in the colonial countries if these movements are really revolutionary and if their representatives are not opposed to us training and organising the peasantry in a revolutionary way. If that is no good, then the communists there also have a duty to fight against the reformist bourgeoisie, to which the heroes of the Second International also belong.” (Minutes of the Second Congress of the Communist International) In this Congress the ECCI differentiated between the revolutionary and reformist way of thinking. So the ECCI chalked out the term National Revolutionary instead of Bourgeois Democratic. This was the main contribution of Comintern at that time. The error of CPI lay in that it failed to grasp the significance of this warning of the Comintern – *“There has been certain rapprochement between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often – perhaps even in most cases – the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes.”* (Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions, July 26) Without grasping the real significance of the National and Colonial Thesis, the CPI mechanically followed it and got busy developing the “independent political thinking and independent political action” of the proletariat

while sidelining the task of establishing independent proletarian leadership over the national liberation movement.

Only in its 1928 Programme was the Comintern able to speak about the leading role of the proletariat in the national revolutionary movements in colonies like China and India. Then Comintern categorised the various types of national revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies. **Even in that Programme the Comintern was not able to put forward the idea of revolution under the leadership of proletariat in countries like India.** The Comintern stated, “Colonial and semi-colonial countries (China, India, etc.) and dependent countries (Argentina, Brazil, etc.), have the rudiments of and in some cases a considerably developed industry – in the majority of cases inadequate for independent socialist construction – with feudal medieval relationships, or “Asiatic mode of production” relationships prevailing in their economies and in their political superstructures. In these the principal industrial, commercial and banking enterprises, the principal means of transport, the large landed estates (latifundia), plantations, etc., are concentrated in the hands of foreign imperialist groups. The principal task in such countries is, on the one hand, to fight against the feudal and pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, and to develop systematically the peasant agrarian revolution; on the other hand, to fight against foreign imperialism for national independence. As a rule, transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries will be possible only through a series of preparatory stages, as the outcome of a whole period of transformation of bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution, while in the majority of cases, successful socialist construction will be possible only if direct support is obtained from the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established.”(Programme of Communist International, 1928)

Through the concrete practical experience of China, Comrade Mao categorically formulated the democratic revolution and national liberation movement. He said, “It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism. In the course of its progress, there may be a number of further sub-stages, because of changes on the enemy’s side and within the ranks of our allies, but the fundamental character of the revolution remains unchanged.” (On New Democracy)

Our Draft Documents fail to deal with this development from the Comintern’s formulation to Mao Tsetung’s formulation. And along with banishing Comrade Mao’s contribution in this field, our Documents also banish NDR. NDR has not been mentioned even once. If we do not mention PDR as NDR, then the question of working class leadership and fight against imperialism (these two questions are pivotal to our Party’s theorization) will be theoretically sidelined. The main concept of democratic revolution was agrarian revolution. We are not discarding PDR and agrarian revolution, but in our stage of revolution the fight against monopoly capitalist is the principal task; agrarian revolution will go on simultaneously with the preparation of nationwide upsurge for seizure of political power. Agrarian revolution will compliment this revolutionary movement. The greatest contribution of Comrade Mao regarding democratic revolution is not confined within the Chinese boundary but has enlightened the whole communist movement. So, particular explanation of PDR as NDR will enlighten the whole communist revolutionary movement. If we are reluctant to uphold this, we will not be able to fight left-wing adventurism and right wing opportunism. Moreover, if we do not uphold Mao’s theorization on this question, that will be a right deviation and we will degrade to right opportunist thinking

like CPI and CPIM. By attempting to discard the formulation of NDR in the name of fighting against sectarianism and left-wing adventurism, we will embrace right opportunism instead.

So the suggestion is to reframe the statements in our Documents that have defined the course of development of PDR concept and, at the same time, use NDR along with PDR.

The question of registration of the Party

The Election Commission has laid down a condition for registration of our Party. In consonance with this condition, an amendment has been added to our Constitution. Accordingly, Article XX(A) of our Constitution has included a ‘Mandatory Provision as in Section 29A (5) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951’, which states: “The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) shall bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established and to the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy and would uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.”

The question is, can we endorse any mandatory provision directed by this reactionary Indian State in our Party Constitution? I think we cannot. It would be a sign of parliamentary cretinism. It will create a wrong notion among our ranks as well as outside the Party that the development of a revolutionary party depends on the recognition granted by this oppressor state. Registration may give us some extra opportunities in parliamentary election. But these extra opportunities certainly wouldn’t serve to help us organize the people under our banner. History shows that revolutionaries have won massive votes when mass movement was at a high phase. Revolutionaries won even contesting from jail. But when mass movements and political movements are in low

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DRAFT POR

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ebb, then we cannot gather many votes in spite of all our propaganda, agitation etc. Even if we manage to get our Party registered by bowing to the diktats of the State, that alone will not ensure our success in either winning votes or organizing the masses. So, why should we trail behind the oppressor State to get some opportunity within the electoral arena that will serve little purpose anyway?

We know that there are two ways of parliamentary struggle: reformist and revolutionary. Parliamentary struggle in the revolutionary way depends not on the State but on the masses. The inclusion of the aforementioned mandatory provision will indicate that we have no faith in the masses but choose to rely on the State to make our mark in the electoral battle.

It may be argued that the inclusion of Article XX(A) is a tactical step just as the step of contesting elections. But this argument is utterly untenable. We do not choose our tactics by departing from principle.

When we participate in parliamentary elections, our representatives provide this type of mandatory affidavit before the election commission. But this is a partial thing and electoral battle has also a partial nature. Our candidates may be defeated or may win. But even if they win, the Party does not direct them to break the Indian constitution every time. When people's movement demands, our representatives have to join and lead the movement breaking all constitutional boundaries.

In spite of all this we know that parliamentary struggle can create some illusions not only among our elected representatives but also among the party leaders and ranks. A revolutionary party has to take caution to overcome these problems. So we nominate those party members who are capable of handling all the contradictions between Party and state policy. We take part in elections

THE ninth Party Congress of the CPI(ML), which shall adopt the Party Programme, can well be called a momentous event in the history of the communist movement in India. After long years of intense ideological struggle, and efforts to unite communist revolutionaries based on a new line that is a radical departure from the line of mere ideological leadership of the working class in the Party and revolution, protracted people's war and area wise seizure of power – that were the hallmarks of the eighth Congress – we have succeeded in convening the ninth Congress, which will usher a new dawn in the communist movement. Thus it is a new line, a new analysis of the concrete conditions, that we have put forward in the Draft Documents for the ninth Congress. We have explained that under neo-colonisation, the principal contradiction has transformed to the contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the landlord classes on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other hand. Contrary to the realization reached at in the eighth Congress in 1970 (first Congress of the CPIML), we have also emphasized the importance of the physical leadership of the working class in the Party and the revolution. It is in this context that I venture to propose a few amendments to the Draft Political Organisational Report (POR), which I feel, will help in strengthening the new line that we are trying to establish in the communist revolutionary camp.

Theoretical struggle and the means thereof

In our Draft Documents we have repeatedly stated that the task of reorganization

knowing full well that it is a partial compromise. But if we include this type of mandatory provision (Article XX(A)) to our Party Constitution then the question of partial compromise is transformed into full compromise.

We regard extra-parliamentary as primary and parliamentary struggle as secondary. In fact, parliamentary struggle is only a minor but significant part of the total struggle undertaken by the Party. But if we include a mandatory provision like Article XX(A) in our Party Constitution, then it will be binding on the whole Party and all of its struggles. It will thus not be possible for the Party to guide our representatives in the parliament, assemblies and local bodies to challenge and break the Indian Constitution whenever necessary. For instance, if an elected representative of our Party sides with State on the question of right to secession of any nationality, then how can the Party committee take disciplinary action against that comrade? After all, s/he will only be acting in accordance with the Party Constitution – that explicitly vows allegiance to the Indian Constitution – by advocating denial of right to self-determination to, say, the Kashmiri people! Clearly, inclusion of Article XX(A) will swing the Party uncontrollably toward the Right.

I hope and expect the Party Congress to arrive at the correct decisions on all these questions. ●

of the Party is an ongoing process and, by no means, one that will be concluded with the ninth Congress. The ninth Congress will be a summation of what we have achieved so far in this task and provide the direction to overcoming the challenges that lie ahead.

However, in this context, **the importance of theoretical struggle both within and outside the revolutionary camp needs to be categorically asserted.** A misconception well entrenched in the revolutionary camp is that in the contradiction between theory and practice, practice is always the principal aspect. But this is not a dialectical materialist conception. As Mao has explained in *On Contradiction*, “The creation and advocacy of revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role in those times of which Lenin said, ‘Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.’ When a task, no matter which, has to be performed, but there is as yet no guiding line, method, plan or policy, the principal and decisive thing is to decide on a guiding line, method, plan or policy.” And such is indeed the time in which we stand now. True, we have evolved a revolutionary line and put forward a path of revolution, but that is by no means complete, and even in its rudimentary form, yet to be accepted by a significant section within the CR movement.

As we know, the line that still holds sway over the revolutionary movement is the line advocated by the entire gamut from the Maoists to Liberation – the line of peasant-led revolution in deed, area wise seizure of political power and protracted people’s war, with Liberation adding the provision of possibility of peaceful transition in certain special cases. The challenge before us is to demolish this line and re-establish the importance of the physical leadership of the working class, which will strike at the root of the theory of area wise seizure of political power as a general strategy of revolution and prepare the ground for countrywide upsurges leading to capture of political power. Secondly, another significant aspect of the line we are putting forward is the use of bourgeois democratic institutions by the Party to the furthest limits. Although few CR organizations apart from the Maoists practice ‘election boycott’ as a strategic line, all of them – almost without exception – fight shy of giving the call for government formation. They participate in elections but are clueless about what they would do if the people did indeed bring them to power through electoral battle. They would not dream of forming a government within the bourgeois system because that would be ‘unrevolutionary’! Here again our Party has made a bold departure by stating that, if the situation arises, we would not hesitate to form a government even within the bourgeois state, but unlike the CPM, the government would not be a mere instrument of providing relief to the people within the limits defined by the bourgeois state but would go all out to implement a revolutionary programme, as part of the struggle for revolution.

These are the significant departures from the position upheld by the 1970 Congress that differentiate our line from that of others in the CR camp. But it is not enough to have a correct line. The challenge lies in being able to champion that line within the CR camp as also in larger society. That our Party does not yet have the numerical strength to practice its line fully is proof of the fact that we have not yet been able to champion it as the correct revolutionary line in the concrete situation. The situation is indeed similar to that faced by the Russian Party as asserted by Lenin in *What is to be Done*: “Our Party is only in process of formation, its features are only just becoming defined, and it has as yet far from settled accounts with the other trends of revolutionary thought that threaten to divert the movement from the correct path.” So also with the CPI(ML). Have we been able to ‘settle accounts’ with the Maoists, Liberation and others of their ilk and wean away their ranks? No, we have not. This is the task that lies ahead

of us. But this task cannot be fulfilled if we devote all our meager resources to floating a plethora of class/mass organizations that cannot stand on their own feet any way, and announcing mass programmes round the year that cannot be expected to have a mass impact due to our limited numerical strength. Rather than striving to create mass impact through such moves, the emphasis should be on consolidating our ranks on our line and launching a relentless theoretical offensive against the wrong ideas prevalent within the camp as also against all anti-socialist inclinations propagated by the bourgeois theorists in wider society.

Here lies the unmatched importance of an all-India Party journal. We do have Red Star, which is published regularly every month. But still it is simply not adequate to the demands of the time. A qualitatively and quantitatively greater effort needs to be put into its publication and circulation. If we can make Red Star available in at least all the capital cities of the country, then it will go a far longer way in attracting the left-minded section to our line than a dozen mass programmes taken over a year. Across the CR camp, the importance of a Party organ has been relegated to a publication that mostly reports Party activities – invariable making them out to be far grander than they really are – and Party statements, resolutions and such like. Undoubtedly, this is indispensable, but to devote the Party organ to such reportage in the main indicates that the necessity of theoretical struggle and breakthrough is ill-comprehended. Red Star is, of course, much better than most similar publications of other organizations, but it still leaves a lot to be desired. We are scarcely able to provide regular analyses of the vast range of political events taking place across the country and the world. We are scarcely able to carry forward a sustained theoretical campaign against the various opportunist/anarchist/economist

trends threatening the development of the revolutionary movement. Very rarely are we able to respond in our organ to erroneous political/ideological assertions made by these trends in their publications. We do not have a team of comrades solely or even primarily responsible for the publication and circulation of Red Star. It is another job among a whole host of jobs we have, perhaps inopportunely, taken up.

This somewhat negligent approach to theoretical struggle is reflected in the fact that the Draft POR does not have a section on Party Publication. This omission is suggestive of over-emphasis on mass work at the expense of theoretical struggle. Without consolidation we cannot hope for fruitful expansion of the Party. **And this consolidation can be built only upon the pivot of an all-India journal that effectively meets the demands of the time, arms the ranks with revolutionary theory, provides a platform to connect to all revolutionary and left-leaning sections and serves as the weapon of ideological onslaught against the ruling class. Thus, I propose that a separate section on our Party organ and publications be included in the POR, with the view to asserting the profound importance of theoretical struggle today.**

The role of the working class

Section 8 of the Draft POR is titled 'On Mobilising Working Class as Leader of People's Democratic Revolution'. Our Party correctly views this as an extremely important and urgent task. But then Section 8.1 goes on to state: "So the question of establishing the working class leadership in the PDR is not just a question of theoretical importance." This formulation is fallacious, perhaps unintentionally so. The said question is undoubtedly of grave theoretical importance, because the 1970 Document had diluted this very question by relegating the role of the working class to providing

merely ideological leadership and, in the main, serving as a helping hand to the peasantry – supposedly the real and physical leaders of the revolution. Thus the quoted sentence should actually be changed to: "So the question is not just of establishing the ideological leadership of the working class in the PDR." If this change is effected, the significance of the very next sentence ("Without their [the working class] leadership in practice in all fields the PDR cannot advance) will become all the more clear.

However, the real problem of Section 8 lies elsewhere. Despite its title ('On Mobilising Working Class as Leader of PDR'), the entire section is devoted to the role of trade unions, and the role played by TUCI – as opposed to the reactionary and reformist central unions – has been evaluated in this context. We know though that a central trade union has a far greater political role than factory-based or industry-based trade unions, but this greater political role is also confined within the democratic political framework. A militant central trade union (like TUCI) can **help** workers organize as a class; can **create conditions for them** to fight in revolutionary way, can lead workers towards revolutionary direction. But if the Party does nothing more than this, it will be sheer economism.

The Party's political work among the working class is very different from trade union work. The Party may guide the economic struggle of the working class but that is by no means its sole work among the working class. The Party's primary work among the working class is to organize it as a class – not through economic struggle, but independently of it. This is done through political education, raising the political consciousness of workers, organizing them in struggles against government measures and policies and the government, and helping forge their unity with allied classes in the battle against the bourgeois state. As Lenin emphasizes in *What is to be Done*:

"Working-class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all* cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter *what class* is affected — unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic point of view and no other. The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe *every* other social class in *all* the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata, and groups of the population. Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats; for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding — or rather, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical, understanding — of the relationships between *all* the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life." **A militant trade union centre like TUCI can very effectively assist the Party in this work but cannot replace the role of the Party.**

Take, for instance, the recent heroic struggle of the Maruti workers. What has been – and could at the most have been – the role of TUCI? If capable, it could have led the struggle, it could have organized workers across all industries to act in solidarity with the Maruti workers, it could have uncompromisingly carried forward the struggle so that the Maruti management was compelled to capitulate and accede to the workers' cardinal demand of having their own union. But could it have transformed the struggle of the Maruti workers into a struggle against the government for revoking neo-liberal policies? Could it have organized workers across industries as a class that led an upsurge against the

anti-people government? Could it have, beginning with the Maruti struggle, organized workers across industries as a class that led a political battle against the ruling class and its representative parties? Undeniably, it could not. For that is something that could have only been done from *without* – in the words of Lenin, “that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers”. In other words, that is something that could only have been done by the Party.

The Maruti struggle revealed the revolutionary forces to be lagging far behind the workers. While the workers were waging a heroic struggle, the revolutionary forces were in no position to come out with a concrete appraisal of the events and provide a direction to raise the struggle to a higher phase. The revolutionary forces were in no position to lead the waging of a political offensive against the government in support of the Maruti workers’ demand. This is the weakness that we have to address and it is not a weakness that TUCI can by itself overcome. In fact, how can TUCI mobilize the working class as leader of the PDR when PDR is not even part of its agenda?

Hence, I propose that the following paragraph be added to the end of the section as Point 8.5:

“However, the TUCI can at best play an auxiliary role in organizing the working class. This work shall be undertaken by the Party with all the importance it deserves. The Party shall concentrate on organizing the working class as a class and elevating it to the position of leader of the revolution. The Party shall take all efforts to politicize the working class through ceaseless agitation and propaganda. In case of every workers’ struggle, the Party shall put forward the political solution to the workers’ problem. It shall endeavour to lead the struggle of the working class, not only for better terms for the sale of labour-power, but for the abolition of the social system that compels the propertyless to sell themselves to the rich. It shall make every effort to organize the working class so that it can take its place at the helm of the struggle for democracy. It shall strive to bring the workers into its ranks as well as develop fighting workers into professional revolutionaries. The Party’s work among the working class shall be distinct from TUCI’s work, and the Party shall guide TUCI so that it can fulfil its role as a school for training of the working class in class struggle.”

On United Front activities

Section 1.5 of our Draft POR is titled ‘United Front Activities’. However, the contents are all about joint activities with other revolutionary and like-minded organizations, which is very different from United Front activities. A United Front is a front of various classes fighting against a common enemy. But such a Front has not yet been formed. Nor is the time ripe for the formation of such a Front, which can only be conceived when the Party has accomplished the task of organizing the working class as a class to a certain extent. It is not correct to confuse United Front with an alliance with other left and revolutionary

organizations. Such an alliance helps in consolidating the working class in political struggle, whereas United Front draws other classes into the struggle against the ruling system or some aspect of it (for instance, the United Front in China at the time of the Japanese aggression or the United Front against fascism during the Second World War). Thus the prerequisite for forming a United Front is the organization of the proletariat as a class, which can then go on to form a United Front with other classes which show revolutionary quality like the peasantry, petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie against the alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlord classes. This is a task that lies ahead of us. Moreover, it would be extremely imprudent to term the organizations with which we are conducting joint activities as organizations representing other classes. For all or most of these organizations are ally-organizations whom we wish to win over in the course of Party building. The very task of Party building will be immeasurably hampered if we label them as organizations representing ‘other classes’, as then there will remain no question of future merger or unity. Hence, I propose that this section be renamed as ‘**Joint Activities**’.

In conclusion

I have stated only a few points of debate here, and that too only on the draft POR. Needless to say, I share many other points raised by other comrades, and look forward to their resolution in the Congress. Of course, not everything can be clinched at the Congress, and what we need is unremitting ideological struggle thereafter so that our Party can truly emerge as a living, dynamic entity, the real vanguard of the Indian proletariat. As Mao Tsetung said, “If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party’s life would come to an end.” ●

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THE QUESTION OF PDR AND NDR

[Till the time of All India Special Conference in 2009 we had used both PDR and NDR synonymously. But in the Party Congress draft documents we have used PDR and have avoided the use of NDR. It is not because we have rejected Mao Tsetung Thought including his important work On New Democracy. Still we uphold both. But we have not used it in the draft documents for two reasons. Firstly as the Comintern documents from the time of the: Thesis on the Eastern Question of December, 1922, shows, from the time of Lenin itself the question of PDR was presented with sufficient clarity. That is why we have reproduced two relevant sections of that document for reference. Later Comintern documents substantiate it further. As Mao himself has explained in On New Democracy, he has analysed NDR based on the Comintern positions. It is to substantiate it we have reproduced below the relevant chapter from On New Democracy. Secondly, though Mao was always advocating mass line and against all sectarian positions, the NDR is used by the sectarian forces, including the so-called Maoists linking it with their new era positions. In this context, as the PDR positions are sufficiently clear to explain the stage of revolution in the then countries under colonial domination and presently in countries under neo-colonial domination, this classical concept is uniformly used all through the draft document. The two sections reproduced below from the Comintern document and Mao's writings show that this usage is correct. At the same time we are not against Mao's usage of NDR synonymously with PDR and do not forbid its usage - *Red Star*]

Excerpts from *Theses on the Eastern Question*

The Workers' Movement in the East

THE new workers' movement in the East is a product of the recent development of indigenous capitalism.

Until now even the hard core of the working class in these countries has been in a state of transition, from the small craft workshop to the large capitalist factory. Where it is the bourgeois-nationalist intelligentsia that involves the revolutionary movement of the working class in the struggle against imperialism, its representatives will initially take the lead in the organisation and activity of the newly-formed trade-union organisations. At first the proletariat does not take its actions beyond the limits of the 'common national' interests of bourgeois democracy (the strikes against the imperialist bureaucracy and administration in China and India). Often, as the Second Congress of the Communist International pointed out, the representatives of bourgeois nationalism, exploiting the political and moral authority of Soviet Russia and adapting to the class instinct of the workers give their bourgeois-democratic aspirations a 'socialist' or a 'Communist' guise, in order – though they may not themselves be aware of it – to divert the first embryonic proletarian groups from the real tasks of a class organisation (the Eshil-Ordu party in Turkey giving a Communist coloration to its pan-Turkism; some representatives of the Kuomintang in China preaching 'State Socialism').

Nevertheless, the trade-union and political movement of the working class in the backward countries has made great progress in the last few years. The formation of an independent proletarian class party in almost every Eastern country is a significant step forward, even though the overwhelming majority of these parties have still a great deal of internal work to do in order to rid themselves of dilettantism, sectarianism and many other shortcomings. The fact that from the very beginning the Communist International realised the potential importance of the workers' movement in the East is of tremendous importance, for it clearly reflects the genuine international unity of proletarians throughout the world under the banner of Communism. The Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals have so far failed to find a single supporter in any one of the backward countries, precisely because they are acting merely as 'servants' of European and American imperialism.

The General Tasks of Communist Parties in the East

WHILE the bourgeois nationalists look at the workers' movement from the viewpoint of its importance for their success, the international proletariat considers the new workers' movement of the East from the viewpoint of its revolutionary future. Under capitalism the backward countries cannot share in the achievements of modern technical knowledge and culture without paying an enormous price in the form of savage exploitation and oppression by Great-Power capital. The workers in the East have to ally with the proletariat of the advanced countries, not only in the interests of their common struggle against imperialism, but because only the victorious proletariat of the advanced countries will give them disinterested aid in the development of their backward productive forces. Alliance with the proletariat in the West will pave the way to an international federation of soviet republics. For backward peoples the soviet system represents the smoothest form of transition from primitive conditions of existence to the higher Communist society which is destined to replace the entire capitalist world economy of production and distribution. This is borne out by the experience of the soviet system in the liberated colonies of the former Russian empire. Only the soviet form of government is able to ensure that the peasant agrarian revolution is consistently carried through. The specific conditions of agriculture in certain parts of the East (artificial irrigation), maintained in the past by a unique system of collective labour organised on a feudal-patriarchal basis but now undermined by capitalist greed, also require

meet social needs in a planned and organised manner. In view of the special climatic and historical conditions, co-operatives of small producers will definitely play an important role in the transitional period throughout the East generally.

The objective tasks of the colonial revolution go beyond the bounds of bourgeois democracy because a decisive victory for this revolution is incompatible with the rule of world imperialism. The colonial revolutionary movement is at first championed by the indigenous bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia, but as the proletarian and semi-proletarian peasant masses become more involved and the social interests of the ordinary people come to the fore, the movement starts to break away from the big-bourgeois and bourgeois-landowner elements. A long struggle still lies ahead for the newly-formed proletariat in the colonies, a struggle that will cover an entire historical epoch and will confront both imperialist exploitation and the native ruling classes, who are anxious to monopolize for themselves all the gains of industrial and cultural development and to keep the broad working masses in their former 'pre-historic' condition.

The struggle for influence over the peasant masses will prepare the indigenous proletariat for political leadership. Only when the proletariat has done this preliminary work in its own ranks and in those of the social layers closest to it can it challenge bourgeois democracy, which in the conditions of the backward East is even more inadequate than in the West.

The refusal of Communists in the colonies to take part in the fight against imperialist tyranny, on the pretext of their supposed 'defence' of independent class interests, is the worst kind of opportunism and can only discredit the proletarian revolution in the East. No less harmful, it must also be recognised, is the attempt to remain aloof from the struggle for the immediate everyday demands of the working class in the interests of 'national unity' or 'civil peace' with the bourgeois democrats. A dual task faces the Communist and workers' parties of the colonial and semi-colonial countries: on the one hand, they are fighting for a more radical answer to the demands of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, directed towards the winning of national political independence; on the other hand, they are organising the masses of workers and peasants to fight for their own class interests, making good use of all the contradictions in the nationalist bourgeois-democratic camp. By putting forward social demands, Communists will stimulate and release revolutionary energy which can find no outlet in liberal bourgeois demands. The working class of the colonies and semi-colonies must be firmly convinced that it is only the overall intensification of the struggle against Great-Power imperialist oppression that can promote it to revolutionary leadership. On the other hand, it is only the political and economic organisation and the political education of the working class and the semi-proletarian layers that can increase the revolutionary scope of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Communist Parties of the colonial and semi-colonial Eastern countries are still in a more or less embryonic stage and must take part in every movement that gives them access to the masses. At the same time they must campaign hard against patriarchal-craft prejudices and bourgeois influence in the workers' unions in order to safeguard these rudimentary trade unions from reformist tendencies and turn them into militant mass organisations. They must make every effort to organise the numerous agricultural labourers and farm-girls and the craft apprentices of both sexes around the defence of their everyday interests.

Excerpts from *On New Democracy*

The Chinese Revolution is Part of the World Revolution

The historical characteristic of the Chinese revolution lies in its division into the two stages, democracy and socialism, the first being no longer democracy in

general, but democracy of the Chinese type, a new and special type, namely, New Democracy. How, then, has this historical characteristic come into being? Has it been in existence for the past hundred years, or is it of recent origin?

A brief study of the historical development of China and of the world shows that this characteristic did not emerge immediately after the Opium War, but took shape later, after the first imperialist world war and the October Revolution in Russia. Let us now examine the process of its formation.

Clearly, it follows from the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of present-day Chinese society that the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages. The first step is to change the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal form of society into an independent, democratic society. The second is to carry the revolution forward and build a socialist society. At present the Chinese revolution is taking the first step.

The preparatory period for the first step began with the Opium War in 1840, *i.e.*, when China's feudal society started changing into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal one. Then came the Movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Sino-French War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Reform Movement of 1898, the Revolution of 1911, the May 4th Movement, the Northern Expedition, the War of the Agrarian Revolution and the present War of Resistance Against Japan. Together these have taken up a whole century and in a sense they represent that first step, being struggles waged by the Chinese people, on different occasions and in varying degrees, against imperialism and the feudal forces in order to build up an independent, democratic society and complete the first revolution. The Revolution of 1911 was in a fuller sense the beginning of that revolution. In its social character, this revolution is a bourgeois-democratic and not a

proletarian-socialist revolution. It is still unfinished and still demands great efforts, because to this day its enemies are still very strong. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen said, “The revolution is not yet completed, all my comrades must struggle on”, he was referring to the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

A change, however, occurred in China’s bourgeois-democratic revolution after the outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914 and the founding of a socialist state on one-sixth of the globe as a result of the Russian October Revolution of 1917.

Before these events, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution came within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, of which it was a part.

Since these events, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution has changed, it has come within the new category of bourgeois democratic revolutions and, as far as the alignment of revolutionary forces is concerned, forms part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

Why? Because the first imperialist world war and the first victorious socialist revolution, the October Revolution, have changed the whole course of world history and ushered in a new era.

It is an era in which the world capitalist front has collapsed in one part of the globe (one-sixth of the world) and has fully revealed its decadence everywhere else, in which the remaining capitalist parts cannot survive without relying more than ever on the colonies and semi-colonies, in which a socialist state has been established and has proclaimed its readiness to give active support to the liberation movement of all colonies and semi-colonies, and in which the proletariat of the capitalist countries is steadily freeing itself from the social-imperialist influence of the social-democratic parties and has proclaimed its support for the liberation movement

in the colonies and semi-colonies. In this era, any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, *i.e.*, against the international bourgeoisie or international capitalism, no longer comes within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, but within the new category. It is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist, world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution. Such revolutionary colonies and semi-colonies can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter revolutionary front of world capitalism; they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism. Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually serves the purpose of dearing a still wider path for the development of socialism. In the course of its progress, there may be a number of further sub-stages, because of changes on the enemy’s side and within the ranks of our allies, but the fundamental character of the revolution remains unchanged.

Such a revolution attacks imperialism at its very roots, and is therefore not tolerated but opposed by imperialism. However, it is favoured by socialism and supported by the land of socialism and the socialist international proletariat.

Therefore, such a revolution inevitably becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

The correct thesis that “the Chinese revolution is part of the world revolution” was put forward as early as 1924-27 during the period of China’s First Great Revolution. It was put forward by the Chinese Communists and endorsed by all those taking part in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the time. However, the significance of this thesis was not fully expounded in those days, and consequently it was only vaguely understood.

The “world revolution” no longer refers to the old world revolution, for the old bourgeois world revolution has long been a thing of the past; it refers to the new world revolution, the socialist world revolution. Similarly, to form “part of” means to form part not of the old bourgeois but of the new socialist revolution. This is a tremendous change unparalleled in the history of China and of the world. This correct thesis advanced by the Chinese Communists is based on Stalin’s theory.

As early as 1918, in an article commemorating the first anniversary of the October Revolution, Stalin wrote:

The great world-wide significance of the October Revolution chiefly consists in the fact that:

1) It has widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combating national oppression in Europe into the general question of emancipating the oppressed peoples, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism;

2) It has opened up wide possibilities for their emancipation and the right paths towards it, has thereby greatly facilitated the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the West and the East, and has drawn them into the common current of the victorious struggle against imperialism;

3) *It has thereby erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East*, having created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian Revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East.[5]

Since writing this article, Stalin has again and again expounded the theory that revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies have broken away from the old category and become part of the proletarian-socialist revolution. The clearest and most precise explanation is given in an article published on June 30, 1925, in which Stalin carried on a controversy with the Yugoslav nationalists of the time. Entitled "The National Question Once Again", it is included in a book translated by Chang Chung-shih and published under the title *Stalin on the National Question*. It contains the following passage:

Semich refers to a passage in Stalin's pamphlet *Marxism and the National Question*, written at the end of 1912. There it says that "the national struggle under the conditions of rising capitalism is a struggle of the bourgeois classes among themselves". Evidently, by this Semich is trying to suggest that his formula defining the social significance of the national movement under the present historical conditions is correct. But Stalin's pamphlet was written before the imperialist war, when the national question was not yet regarded by Marxists as a question of world significance, when the Marxists' fundamental demand for the right to self-determination was regarded not as part of the proletarian revolution, but as part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. It would be ridiculous not to see that since then the international situation has radically changed, that the war, on the one hand, and the October Revolution in Russia, on the other, transformed the national question from a part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a part of the proletarian-socialist revolution. As far back as October 1916, in his article, "*The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*", Lenin said that the main point of the national question, the right to self-determination, had ceased to be a part of the general democratic movement, that it had already become a component part of the general proletarian, socialist revolution. I do not even mention subsequent works on the national question by Lenin and by other representatives of Russian communism. After all this, what significance can Semich's reference to the passage in Stalin's pamphlet, written in the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, have at the present time, when, as a consequence of the new historical situation, we have entered a new epoch, the epoch of proletarian revolution? It can only signify that Semich quotes outside of space and time, without reference to the living historical situation, and thereby violates the most elementary requirements of dialectics, and ignores the fact that what is right for one historical situation may prove to be wrong in another historical situation.[6]

From this it can be seen that there are two kinds of world revolution, the first belonging to the bourgeois or capitalist category. The era of this kind of world revolution is long past, having come to an end as far back as 1914 when the first imperialist world war broke out, and more particularly in 1917 when the October Revolution took place. The second kind, namely, the proletarian-socialist world revolution, thereupon began. This revolution has the proletariat of the capitalist countries as its main force and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies as its allies. No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies.

Today, the Chinese revolution has taken on still greater significance. This is a time when the economic and political crises of capitalism are dragging the

world more and more deeply into the Second World War, when the Soviet Union has reached the period of transition from socialism to communism and is capable of leading and helping the proletariat and oppressed nations of the whole world in their fight against imperialist war and capitalist reaction, when the proletariat of the capitalist countries is preparing to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, and when the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie in China have become a mighty independent political force under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Situated as we are in this day and age, should we not make the appraisal that the Chinese revolution has taken on still greater world significance? I think we should. The Chinese revolution has become a very important part of the world revolution.

Although the Chinese revolution in this first stage (with its many sub-stages) is a new type of bourgeois-democratic revolution and is not yet itself a proletarian-socialist revolution in its social character, it has long become a part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and is now even a very important part and a great ally of this world revolution. The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but will result in the establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat. The revolution will then be carried forward to the second stage, in which a socialist society will be established in China.

This is the fundamental characteristic of the Chinese revolution of today, of the new revolutionary process of the past twenty years (counting from the May 4th Movement of 1919), and its concrete living essence. ●

THE PHILOSOPHY OF "POVERTY LINE"

Sanjay Singhvi

THERE has been much talk recently of how to fix the poverty line. While the immediate flutter has been caused by the affidavit of the Government of India filed before the Supreme Court affirming that the poverty line be fixed at the rate of Rs. 25 per day for the rural areas and at Rs. 32 per day for urban areas, the debate has been going on for much longer.

Before we address the question of how to define poverty, we have to understand why we want to define poverty. The need arises from the fact that the Government, claiming scant resources, wants to restrict concessions and subsidies to the "poor". Thus, those who fall within the definition of "poverty" alone will be entitled to such concessions as subsidised food under the Public Distribution System, pensions, getting jobs under NREGA, etc. At the outset, this is a wrong approach to the question of poverty. In this approach, it is in the interests of the Government to show a smaller proportion of the population under "poverty" so that its responsibilities are lightened. Big business and big capital also wants to show as small a proportion of the population as possible under the poverty line so that lower taxes can be justified since less subsidies have to be given. By this approach, we miss the real objective of the definition of poverty, which is to allow us to take a realistic view of the problem so that we can solve it.

The question came up in a big way after the "India Shining" campaign of the NDA Government sought to show India as having overcome the problem of poverty. The new Prime Minister Manmohan Singh commissioned the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) under Dr. Arjun Sengupta (in 2004), which stated (in its report in 2006) that in spite of the all the so-called economic development, 77% of Indians lived on less than Rs. 20 per day. In 2009, the

Prime Minister commissioned Dr. Suresh Tendulkar, formerly of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, to report on the method for measuring the poverty line in India. The Tendulkar Committee gave a report in which various factors like spending on education, health, electricity, clothing and footwear were also taken into consideration. Earlier, only the expenditure on food was considered. By this definition, 37.2% of the population as opposed to 27.5% under the earlier methodology, were under the poverty line in India. The Planning Commission has accepted this view and the Rs. 25 for rural areas and Rs. 32 for urban areas that they have calculated in their affidavit before the Supreme Court is alleged to have been calculated under this methodology. There has also been some reference, in press reports, of internal discussions in the Planning Commission, where they have shown the willingness to expand the poverty line to include 41% of the population.

On the other hand, the Government of India has fixed the floor level minimum wage at Rs. 100 per day. This means that, in no case, should the states fix minimum wages which are below this level, whatever may be the nature of the industry. This means that, if we assume that an average family has 5 consumption units, then the floor level minimum wage is fixed even below the poverty line of Rs. 25 / Rs. 32!

There is an international poverty line, on the other hand. Earlier it was the purchasing power parity of 1\$ of 1990 per day. It was recently revised to the purchasing power parity of \$1.25 in 2005. This means that the poverty line in each country is that amount of currency of that country as would be necessary to buy what \$1.25 could buy in the US in 2005. By this estimation also, the poverty line in India should be around Rs. 37 per day. (The international poverty line makes no allowance for differentiation between rural and urban living – presumably, it would be higher for urban populations).

The poverty line, however, must realistically be linked to the concept of minimum wage. It is the goal of the Constitution to achieve a "fair wage". The Central Advisory Council in its first session (November, 1948) appointed a Tripartite Committee on Fair Wages. Consisting of representatives of employers, employees and Government, their task was to enquire into and report on the subject of fair wages to labour. They defined three different levels of wages viz; (i) Living wage, (ii) Fair wage, and (iii) Minimum Wage

The living wage, according to the Committee, represented the highest level of the wage which should enable the worker to provide for himself and his family not merely the basic essentials of food, clothing and shelter but a measure of frugal comfort including education for children, protection against ill health, requirements of essential social needs and a measure of insurance against more important misfortunes including old age. But the Committee felt that when such a wage is to be determined, the considerations of national income and the capacity to pay of the industry concerned has to be taken into account and the Committee was of the opinion that living wage had to be the ultimate goal or the target.

The idea was that a minimum wage was to be paid irrespective of what was produced and irrespective of whether the industry has any profit left or not. Beyond that, the Committee further recommended that the fair wage should be related with the prevailing rates of the wages, though in view of unduly low wages prevailing even in organized industries in the country, it said that the wage fixing machinery should make due allowance for any depression of wages caused by unequal bargaining. The Fair Wage Committee drew a distinction between a minimum and a living wage and observed that the minimum wage is less than the living wage.

With regard to the fair wage, the Committee recommended that it should be above the minimum wage and below the living wage. The Committee was of the view that a minimum wage must provide not “merely for the bare sustenance of life, but for the preservation of the efficiency of the worker”. For this purpose the minimum wage must also provide for some measure of education, medical requirements and amenities.

At the 15th Session of the Indian Labour Conference held at New Delhi in July 1957, an important resolution was passed, which laid down that the minimum wage should be need-based and should ensure the minimum human needs of the industrial worker. The following norms were accepted as a guide for all wage-fixing authorities including Minimum Wage Committees, Wage Boards, Adjudicators, etc.:

(i) In calculating the minimum wage, the standard working class family should be taken to comprise three consumption units for one earner, the earnings of women, children and adolescents being disregarded.

(ii) Minimum food requirements should be calculated on the basis of a net in take of 2700 calories, as recommended by Dr. Akroyd for an average Indian adult of moderate activity.

(iii) Clothing requirements should be estimated on the basis of a per capita consumption of 18 yards per annum, which would give for the average worker's family of four a total of 72 yards.

(iv) In respect of housing, the norm should be the minimum rent charged by Government in any area for houses provided under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme for low income groups ; and

(v) Fuel, lighting and other miscellaneous items of expenditure should constitute 20 per cent of the total minimum wage. The Resolution further laid down that wherever the minimum wage fixed was below the norms recommended above, it would be incumbent on the authorities concerned to justify the circumstances which prevented them from adherence to the aforesaid norms. The Resolution, thus, tried to give a concreteness to the whole concept of minimum wage.

In 1991, the Supreme Court in its judgment expressed the view that children's education, medical requirement, minimum recreation, including festivals ceremonies, provision for old age and marriage should further constitute 25 per cent and be used as a guide for fixing the minimum wage.

It was further posited that in fixing the minimum wage, the wage of only the male worker should be considered and the wage of the wife should be disregarded. (We have to adjust this now to read that the wage of only the highest wage earner among any couple should be considered). It was also accepted that the wage of the worker must provide for at least 3 consumption units.

There are thus two measures for what is essentially one and the same

object. Poverty can be defined as subsistence. Therefore, there is no reason why the subsistence level will be any different from the poverty level. Otherwise one would have to posit that one could be above the poverty level and not eligible for Government subsidies but still not capable of subsisting. This is a ridiculous postulate. One has to accept that the poor may not be capable of subsistence. But it is impossible to say the opposite that one who is not capable of subsistence is not poor. Hence, the poverty line must be fixed at or above the subsistence level.

Going by this measure, the poverty line must also be calculated by the measure by which minimum wages should be calculated. By such measures, the minimum wage or the poverty line would today be well over Rs. 15000 per month in urban India. This is clearly a more realistic measure.

The measures being used are unrealistic and biased. For instance, the necessary food consumption is taken as 2100 calories. This is clearly at odds with the Minimum wage formula which takes 2700 calories as the minimum required for efficient working. The amounts being calculated under the Tendulkar Committees report for clothing education, etc. are clearly below the norms set by the Fair Wages Committee. Further, the poverty line makes no provision for housing. The implication is that the homeless are not necessarily poor!

Such manipulation of the concept of “poverty” is clearly not in the interest of a concrete understanding of the real situation. We propose that the concept of subsistence as put forward for the calculation of minimum wage may also be adopted for the calculation of poverty in a uniform manner. It is only in this way that we can clearly understand the real levels of poverty in India and make provision for its eradication. Mere sleight of hand will not solve the problem. ●

ON MARUTI STRIKE AND CORPORATE MEDIA

Pranshu Prakash

THE inspired struggle waged by the Maruti-Suzuki workers at Manesar, Haryana last month aroused hopes among workers and progressive forces all over the country. The sheer grit and resilience shown by the workers faced with seemingly insurmountable odds and adversities seems exemplary and unheard of in India in the recent memory. This almost month long stir that ended in a partial victory for the workers also served the working class movement in another very significant way; by exposing the reactionary character of the State institutions and the media in the eyes of the workers. This write up concentrates upon the dubious role played by a leading bourgeois newspaper: *Times of India*, which may serve as a representative example of the reactionary character of the mainstream media.

Its lopsided reporting and analyses did all within its capacity to sabotage the movement and turn public opinion against it. *Times of India* chucked away even the pretence of being an “impartial” observer and openly sided with the company. It gave extensive coverage to the perspective of the management, ignoring the point of view of the workers all the time. The narrative was predictable, numerous data were furnished regarding how much money the company had been losing due the strike and how much loss of revenue the state has incurred in the process. It was stated that if the strike continues, there could be a drop in the FDI and the readers were led to believe that somehow that would be a terrible thing.

Times of India could get away with writing like this because somehow the corporate funded newspapers and news channels have managed to establish in the minds of the middle class that if the corporate houses rake in a lot of profit, it is good for us, and if the GDP grows, definitely it benefits the rest of the people, irrespective of how the wealth is being distributed and what class they belong to. As a

result, most of the middle class has gradually developed a bias against the working class movements. They have been gradually conditioned to believe that strikes are bad and that the labor unions are undesirable and an impediment to the national progress. Whether we like it or not, but thanks to the propaganda of the corporate funded media, the recruitment of the Indian middle class as an ally of the big business is almost complete. Most of the middle class has now come to believe that the economic interest of the big business is the economic interest of the entire nation. So it is not surprising that that the battle for dignity of some 7000 workers at Manesar appeared to be a lone voice, drowned by the deafening din of big business propaganda.

Times of India wrote at length about the threats by the Maruti company to the workers and the rest of the nation that if the labour unrest continued it could roll back its facilities and move to greener pastures. Maruti management declared that it was unhappy with the handling of the situation by the Haryana government. But the management failed to mention what exactly they meant by this, because, those of us who had been following the events closely had noticed how desperately the government and the labour department was trying to broker a peace favorable to the management. Perhaps the management meant that the government could have been more brutal, perhaps the workers should have been lathi charged, slapped with framed up charges, whisked away to the jail.. probably this is what the management meant by the government’s taking apt and appropriate measures.

TOI’s entire reporting had nothing about the reasons for the strike. The workers were portrayed as selfish, unreasonable and lazy actors, who were being manipulated by political leaders to pursue their narrow interests. The management on the other hand, in their narrative seemed to be the representative of the most enlightened and patriotic section of our nation, working untiringly to bring prosperity and economic growth to all of us. The reports mentioned nothing about the inhuman and humiliating working conditions within the production units, nothing about the 7 minute breaks the workers get for tea in the afternoon and half an hour break they get for lunch. The report also did not mention that the workers are allowed no leaves at all, at any time of the year and for no reason whatsoever and out of their meager salaries they lose Rs. 1500 per day for going on leave. No exception is allowed even in case of disease, death of near and dear ones or wedding. There is a cap over how much time a worker can spend in the washroom, and those who stay inside for too long are hounded out through bangs on the door and greeted with abuses.

Times of India did not think any of this worthy of being reported. It complained of repeated strikes in these facilities but glossed over the fact that the last stir was not caused due to the strike by the workers but due to a lockout by the company. The company management stopped production for almost a month and told workers that they could come in and resume work only on the condition that they signed a “bond of good conduct”. The terms stated in this “bond of good conduct” were contrary to all labor laws, but there was no

DECLARE SOLIDARITY WITH KOODANKULAM RESISTANCE STRUGGLE

RECOGNIZING the dangers involved if the Koodankulam nuclear power plant is commissioned, the people of nearby areas including the fisher people, the peasantry around the area, and people of nearby areas including south Tamil nadu and south Kerala are waging a resistance struggle to prevent the commissioning of this plant which shall create a catastrophe for them. The thousands of fishing families in the region are surviving through fishing in the coastal sea and collecting the pearls from the shallow sea bed. The experience of Kalpakkam nuclear plant in Chengelpet district of the state has taught them that the continuous pumping of the extremely hot water in very large quantities from the plant to the sea destroy the fish wealth in the area and make fishing impossible in a very large area. So the fishing families will have to go away from the area like what happened to the fishing folk of Kalpakkam decades ago.

The Three mile Island, Chernobyl and Fukushima meltdowns have shown that the nuclear plants are not free from meltdowns. With or without a Tsunami, which is very

ON MARUTI STRIKE AND....

reporting regarding that either by Times of India. It also shamelessly failed to report that after a peace was brokered and the company ended the lock out, it went back on its words and sacked some 1200 contract workers, their only crime being that they had showed solidarity with the permanent employees, foiling the tried and tested strategy of the management to break strikes by using the division between the permanent and contract employees. None of this was reported by this distinguished and impartial national daily.

To be precise this newspaper gave every evidence of the fact that its editors are nothing better than the running dogs of the capitalist class ; a confirmation in practice, of a truth that the communist fighters and the working class have known in theory all along. In conclusion it may be stated that this case study of TOI sheds lights upon the reactionary character of the mainstream media in general. There is a strong feeling among the working class now that they need a parallel media of their own, capable of not just representing their voices but also of carrying out active propaganda on their behalf, so as to be able to recruit all progressive sections of the society as their allies. This remains an extremely difficult but nevertheless necessary task that the revolutionary movement needs to fulfill in its march towards the revolution. ●

possible in Koodankulam as proved a few years ago, it can happen endangering their survival. The nuclear technology is still undeveloped with regard to prevention of meltdowns, spread of radiation above danger level and waste disposal.

After the Fukushima meltdown an international campaign has started against any new nuclear plants and for shutting down existing nuclear plants. As a result, Germany and now France with the largest number of nuclear plants have decided to shut down all existing plants in a phased manner and not to start any new plants. At this time the UPA government commissioning this plant and going ahead with a plan to start work for new nuclear plants is an extremely dangerous step. The international campaign of ICOR and ILPS has called for a vigorous opposition to any new plants and shutting down of all existing plants. In this situation, commissioning of the Koodankulam nuclear plant is an extremely dangerous step. The people of the surrounding area, recognizing the danger involved in commissioning of the plant are struggling against it through mass mobilization around the plant.

In solidarity with the struggle of the people of surrounding area solidarity committees are formed in nearby areas including Kerala to oppose commissioning of this plant. We appeal to all progressive democratic forces to take initiative to form solidarity committees in all areas and support the resistance struggle of the people of Koodankulam area so that the UPA government can be compelled to dismantle the plant. Such a struggle will help the ongoing struggle of the people in Jaitapur in Maharashtra and at a dozen more places in different states against the construction of nuclear plants. Let us unitedly fight to stop all nuclear plants including dismantling of existing plants. ●

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NATO's Genocidal Role

THIS brutal military alliance has become the most perfidious tool of repression known in the history of humanity.

NATO assumed this global repressive role as soon as the USSR, which had served as the U.S. pretext for its creation, disappeared. Its criminal purpose became obvious in Serbia, a country of Slavic origin, whose people heroically struggled against the Nazis during World War II.

In March of 1999, when the countries of this nefarious organization, in its efforts to break up Yugoslavia after the death of Josip Broz Tito, sent in troops to support the Kosovar secessionists, they met with strong resistance on the part of the country's experienced forces which remained intact.

The yankee administration, advised by the right-wing Spanish government of José María Aznar, attacked Serbian television stations, bridges over the Danube River and Belgrade, the capital of the country. The embassy of the People's Republic of China was destroyed by yankee bombs and several functionaries died. This could not have been any mistake, as those responsible alleged. A great number of Serbian patriots lost their lives. President Slobodan Milošević, overwhelmed by the power of the aggressors and the disappearance of the USSR, submitted to NATO demands and allowed the presence of troops from this alliance within Kosovo, under United Nations command, which finally led to his political defeat and subsequent prosecution by the less than impartial court of The Hague. He died under mysterious circumstances in prison. Had the Serbian leader resisted a few more days, NATO would have faced a serious crisis which was about to erupt. The empire thus had more time at its disposal to impose its hegemony among the increasing number of subordinate members within the organization.

Between February 21 and April 27 of this year, I published, on the Cuba Debate website, nine Reflections about the issues, in which I amply addressed the role of NATO in Libya and what, in my opinion, was going to happen.

I therefore find myself obliged to offer a summary of the essential ideas I presented and of the events

which have occurred just as they were foreseen, given that a central figure in the story, Muammar Al-Gaddafi, was mortally wounded by NATO's most modern fighter planes which intercepted and immobilized his vehicle, was captured alive and then assassinated by men armed by this organization.

His body was seized and exhibited as a war trophy, conduct which violates the most fundamental principles of Islamic norms and other religious beliefs around the world. It was announced that shortly Libya will be declared "a democratic state which defends human rights."

I find myself obliged to devote several Reflections to these important and significant events. ●

Fidel Castro Ruz
October 23, 2011



Demonstration in Support of Orind Workers

THE workers of Orind Paper Mill situated at Lathikata in Rourkela in Odisha are struggling for their wages of 15 months. Labour authorities and the administration are continuously betraying them in the name of a settlement. Workers waged militant struggle for their demands. They were arrested and denied bail. In support of struggling worker of Orind Paper Mill the state committee of TUCI held demonstration on 19th October at Bhubaneswar demanding the release of workers from jail and giving them wages of 15 months with interest. ●