

RED STAR

Rs. 10/-

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

Central Organ of CPI(ML) Volume 12 January 2012 Issue 10 English Monthly



**Transform the New Year
into an Year of Great
Revolutionary Advances**



ON THE DEATH OF CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

15 DECEMBER 2011 saw the death of Christopher Hitchens. Famous for his book, “God is not Great”, Hitchens remained a committed atheist till the very end. Having developed his world outlook in the Trotskyite environs of the *International Socialist*, he ended being an advocate for the Iraq war and divorced himself from the left under the assertion that the left was “making excuses” for Islamic terrorism. Though one of the most widely-read “intellectuals” of recent times, his life, however, is an elucidation of the moorless meanderings of recent liberal thought.

Though he started his journalistic career in writing for the *International Socialist* run by the very people who went on to form the SWP (Socialist Workers Party of Great Britain), he is known to have stated in an interview in 2001 that he could no longer say “I am a socialist”. He followed this up in 2006 by stating in a debate, while commenting on his political philosophy, “I am no longer a socialist but I still am a Marxist”. As recently as June 2010 in an interview in the *New Statesman*, he said, “The materialist conception of history is valid. I consider myself a very conservative Marxist”.

How is it then, that a person who wrote scholarly books challenging the established church and challenging the notions of “intelligent design” could be advocating theories very reminiscent of the “clash of civilisations” at the same time. How is that the person who criticised imperialism and stood for internationalism, could ask for American intervention in Iraq, could say that on questions of contemporary foreign policy he found himself with the neoconservatives and, as recently as last year, could call for US to go to war against Pakistan when Bin Laden was found to be living there?

Christopher Hitchens is well-known for his ruthless and acerbic critiques of Bill Clinton, Mother Teresa, the Pope, the British Royal family and Henry Kissinger to name a few. At the same time, he has made concessions for George W. Bush as a crusader against “Islamofascism”. So how do we understand such phenomena. Are they mere aberrations?

In the plural, such phenomena would include Noam Chomsky, Richard Dawkins and other such intellectuals (irrespective of the fact that Chomsky took cudgels against Hitchens in the debate after 9/11 in *The Nation* and showed that his ideas on Iraq are the opposite of Hitchens’). Though all of them have played major roles in spreading scientific ideas, in spreading progressive ideas and in debunking the institutions which hold up imperialism, like religion, ethnicity, etc, all of them have invariably strayed into intellectual tangents which have rendered a lot of their toils to be ineffective.

It is not as if these belong to the “post-modern” school either. For instance, Christopher Hitchens had to say about “post-modernism”, “The Postmodernists’ tyranny wears people down by boredom and semi-literate prose.” The point is that there are so many distractions and diversions in modern society that it is very easy for any intellectual, unguided, to meander on into meaningless wastelands. To a certain extent it is the Communists themselves who are to blame for this.

The abject failure of the communist movement to analyse the concrete conditions in which the old colonial world gave way to the neo-colonial world after the Second World War created many absolutely self-defeating effects. The US communist party, under Earl Browder was dissolved. The communist movement suffered a severe setback. Even today, it has not fully recovered. This is the reason why, “free radicals” like Chomsky and Hitchens have no moorings and are able to prattle on regardless. They even have a ready audience in such a theory-starved society which suffices to keep them in relative clover, financially.

The same can be said of other countries also. At a certain time, before the 2nd World War, one could expect that an intellectual or a scientist who did not believe in God would support broadly, the communist movement. Witness, Einstein, Bertrand Russel or Sartre. However, this is no more true. Such is what Hitchens’ life and his ideas tend to prove. ●

Sanjay Singhvi

INQUILAB

Organ of AIRSO

C-141, Sainik Nagar
New Delhi-110059

Phone: 09981399702
airsocenter@gmail.com

Rebel

Organ of RYFI

C-141, Sainik Nagar
New Delhi-110059

Phone: 09981773205
ryficentre@gmail.com

Breaking the Shackles

Organ of AIRWO

C-141, Sainik Nagar
New Delhi-110059

Phone: 09804737149
choudhurysharmistha@gmail.com

TRANSFORM THE NEW YEAR INTO AN YEAR OF GREAT REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCES

WE ARE bidding farewell to 2011 and heralding 2012 at a critical time. Beset with unprecedented meltdown of finance capital, which has reached highest levels of speculation, and growing challenges to its hegemony and plunder from the world people, the imperialist system, especially US imperialism, is facing acute crisis, stagnation and inflation. In an almost similar situation of *stagflation* in 1970s, it had resorted to winding up of the Keynesian policies pursued hitherto and launching of imperialist globalization cum neo-liberal policies for its recovery. Now the imperialist camp and its think tanks are worried what can be the new remedy, as the very same recipe used for recovery in 1970s has led to more severe *stagflation* at global level presently.

The US led barbarous military offensives in West Asia and North Africa during the last decade also did not yield the desired results and the US and its allies are being forced to make ignominious withdrawals from these countries. Side by side the resistance struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples are throwing more fierce challenges to the imperialists and their lackeys everywhere. In short, compared to the past when the camp of reaction was celebrating the end of socialism and of class struggle, presently the world situation has become more favourable to revolutionary changes than ever.

In spite of these favourable changes in global situation, the mighty mass upsurges in many countries are not leading to revolutionary seizure of political power by the proletariat and the oppressed masses as the revolutionary vanguard forces everywhere are weak and are not strong enough to transform these upsurges in to proletarian revolutions. Similarly, after the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, there were no positive efforts to reorganize the Communist International so as to develop solidarity actions of the revolutionary forces at international level and the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The great steps forward taken to found the *International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations (ICOR)* with revolutionary parties from more than 35 countries already becoming its members should be seen in this context. It has encouraged a number of international actions already challenging the imperialist system and its lackeys.

Within our country the comprador ruling system is facing the worst ever political-economic crisis. At this

Contents

❖ Editorials	3
❖ On the Elections to Uttar Pradesh and Other State Assemblies	4
❖ How to Undo an Anti-Corruption Law	5
❖ US Withdrawal from Iraq	6
❖ Afghanistan Minus US-NATO Forces	6
❖ Mullaperiya Issue: Water to Tamilnadu, Safety to People of Kerala	7
❖ Political Resolution	8
❖ Messages of Greetings to 9th Congress	15
❖ <i>Stagflation</i> as the Consequence of Intensified Neo-colonial Plunder	16
❖ An Assessment of the Failure of the Durban Summit on the Climate : No More "Green Capitalism"	19
❖ Communist Approach to the Question of Liberation of Women	21
❖ Significance of Founding of ICOR and the Ideological Challenges Confronting ICM	25
❖ Perspective of International Socialist Revolution	28
❖ Where the Central Trade Unions are Leading the Working Class?	35

Our Web Site : www.cpiml.in

Editorial Board

**KN Ramachandran, Sanjay Shinghvi,
PJ James, Sharmistha Choudhury,
Umakant**

**Editor, Printer, Publisher and Owner
KN Ramachandran**

From:

**C-141, Sainik Nagar
New Delhi - 110059**

Phone : (011) 25332343

Email : redstarenglish@yahoo.co.in

**Printed at Everest Offset Press,
B-162, Okhla Industrial Area,
Phase I, New Delhi**

juncture, the bold initiative taken by the CPI(ML) to make a concrete analysis of the present situation when imperialism has transformed its colonial plunder to neo-colonial forms, to initiate the discussion on the ideological challenges faced by the ICM, and to make a critical analysis of the nine decades of the communist movement, especially of the post-Naxalbari decades, and to convene its Ninth Party Congress successfully putting forward the Party Program and Path of Revolution which calls for revolutionary seizure of political power by developing countrywide people's uprising under proletarian leadership is a significant step forward.

The further advancement of the political reorganization by uniting all like-minded forces and the revolutionary sections of the new generation, transforming the Party in to

a mighty all India organization is the challenging task before the Marxist-Leninists. Along with this all the revolutionary and left sections and groups who aspire for a radical transformation of the country have to be brought together in a countrywide political forum to unleash countrywide struggles against the ruling system. The Ninth Congress has prepared the ground for taking up these responsibilities and for advancing class struggle in all fields. The condition is thus prepared to develop the subjective forces of revolution to utilize the favourable objective situation.

We extend revolutionary New Year greetings to all the revolutionary forces and to the left masses and appeal for redoubling the efforts to make the New Year really in to a year of mighty revolutionary advances. ●

ON THE ELECTIONS TO UTTAR PRADESH AND OTHER STATE ASSEMBLIES

THE Election Commission has announced the elections to the state assemblies of UP, Uttarakhand, Punjab, Goa and Manipur. Out of these, the ruling class parties are treating the seven phase elections to the UP assembly as a dress rehearsal for the next Lok Sabha elections, and as such it has assumed lot of political importance. The ruling Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and the main opposition party in the state, the Samajvadi Party (SP), along with BJP and Congress had started campaign for the elections months before, lavishly spending fabulous sums, making the 'code of conduct' announced now by the EC meaningless. It is absolutely clear that the elections in this sensitive state as well as in the other states will be held based on caste-communal vote banks and using money-liquor-muscle power. The corporate media has already prepared the ground to make these elections as a musical chair contest among the parties who are united in pursuing the neo-liberal policies. Though the CPI (M)-CPI led front is contesting few seats in these states, it has degenerated already in to a junior partner of the ruling system.

The elections to these state assemblies are taking place at a time when the price rise, corruption, under employment, peasant suicides, pauperization of the 80% of the population, displacement of the oppressed sections and socio-economic discrimination in all fields have intensified as a result of the neo-liberal policies ruthlessly pursued by all the parties who share power at center and in the states. There are no basic differences among any of the major contestants in these elections regarding these policies as proved in practice. All of them are involved in intensifying the neo-colonial slavery by subjugating to the dictates of the US and other imperialist powers directly or indirectly whenever and wherever they share the power at center and in the states. In this way, the

people are forced to choose one of these ruling class options, one among the evils. This is the basic reactionary feature of the elections under the bourgeois democratic system practiced everywhere. By not differentiating themselves in practice from this, starting from CPI and CPI(M) a number of the so-called left parties in practice have degenerated to parliamentarism, to part of the ruling system even while preaching socialism in words. And the anarchist sections like CPI (Maoist), as proved in West Bengal elections recently, have degenerated to indirectly canvassing for one ruling class party or other, while claiming to boycott the elections. All these forces have discredited the left forces and Marxist-Leninist ideological positions before the people through their opportunist practice.

It is in this context, the CPI (ML) is approaching this election as an opportunity to put forward its revolutionary line before the people and as part of the efforts to build a revolutionary alternative to the ruling system at all India level. It calls for uncompromising struggle against the imperialist globalization and neo-liberal policies, to kick out IMF-World Bank-WTO-MNCs and to throw out all the reactionary policies pursued under their dictates. It calls for putting an end to price rise, corruption and unemployment and to create conditions for providing food, shelter, healthcare, education and employment for all. It calls for intensifying the struggles to create a casteless, secular and democratic social system which ensures social justice to dalits, adivasis, women and all oppressed classes and sections. It is calling for revolutionary land reforms based on *land to the tiller* and a development policy which ensures social justice and protection of environment.

The CPI(ML) is putting forward an election manifesto based on these points and contesting elections as part of

the class struggle for the revolutionary restructuring of the society. It is fielding candidates in UP, Punjab and Manipur while trying to organize a political campaign in all these five states. It shall try to organize united campaign with and support the candidates of the revolutionary left and democratic forces who share the basic positions put forward

in the election manifesto of the Party. The CPI(ML) appeals to all left and democratic forces and the masses of the people to support the candidates fielded by and the forces supported by the Party in order to strengthen the efforts to build a countrywide revolutionary alternative to the ruling system. ●

SUPPORT THE ANTI-POSCO MOVEMENT

ONCE again the BJD government in Odisha, with the blessings of the UPA government at center, has launched fierce suppression of the movement of the people affected by the POSCO project and supported by the left and democratic forces in Odisha and all over the country. Its leaders are arrested and tortured to somehow start the construction of the infrastructural facilities for the project. The people and their leaders are implicated in false cases and arrested.

In this situation it is the responsibility of all progressive

democratic forces to come out in support of the struggles of the people.

As the state and central governments are trying to impose the project over the resisting people, it is the task of the revolutionary forces to hit at the POSCO where it hurts by launching a movement to throw out from the whole state, uniting all anti-displacement struggles going on in the state. We appeal to all popular forces to get united to strengthen the movement to throw out POSCO from Odisha and from the country. ●

HOW TO UNDO AN ANTI-CORRUPTION LAW

THE CIRCUS going on in the parliament on how to make the Lokpal Bill as diluted as possible has taken comical forms. Any opposition to the games played by the 'sacred parliament' to make name-sake Lokpal/Lokayuktas now after being forced by the 'outsiders' to enact one, after keeping it in cold storage for four decades, is termed an attack on the parliament!

The whole exercise shows that the ruling system and UPA government along with its supporters from among the opposition ranks are openly or discretely trying to cheat the people once again by imposing a set of impotent Lokpal/Lokayuktas over them. It does not mean that the 'crusade' of Anna Hazare team that once an effective Lokpal is in place the corruption will be wiped out is correct.

The experience of our own country and at international level has proved that corruption is part and parcel of the present imperialist and comprador ruling system and unless it is overthrown with its so-called 'development perspective', it cannot be wiped out. Still the revolutionary left and democratic forces support the struggles against corruption whether it is waged by Anna Hazare or anyone else because even such efforts for reformist measures will be a partial relief for the vast masses suffocated by corruption in all fields.

In the present context of mega-scams, any moves to challenge the games of the ruling system to transform even the proposed Lokpal Bill in to a futile exercise is opposed by the masses and large number of them get mobilized in

support of Anna Hazare like forces which are providing an avenue to express their anger. The UPA government becomes furious as its nefarious games get exposed. The BJP-led forces are also only playing an opportunist game, pretending to champion the anti-corruption sentiments among the people, when they also ardently support the neo-liberal policies which have led to this *scamsters'-raj*, and when the state governments led by them are also proved equally corrupt.

As we have repeatedly stated, it is the capitalist-imperialist economy predominantly dominated by the speculative capital world-wide which has made corruption an inevitable feature neo-liberal, neo-colonial imperialist socio-economic system. In 1980s the government and the opposition forces had widely campaigned that once the *license-raj* is over and the liberalization-privatization becomes dominant, corruption will disappear. Even now they are not tired of repeating it even when the corruption has reached unheard of levels under neo-liberal policies.

In this situation, the task of the genuine left and democratic forces is to expose the neo-liberal policies and neo-colonization as the root causes of corruption, and while intensifying the struggles to overthrow this reactionary ruling system, as part of it to support and participate in all forms of struggles against it. In this way, the masses who are angry against the reactionary manifestations of the ruling system like price rise and corruption have to be won over to the struggle for overthrowing the very ruling system itself. ●

US WITHDRAWAL FROM IRAQ

AS SOME of the corporate newspapers who had once fully acclaimed the barbarous aggression of US against Iraq themselves reported, the last contingents of US troops withdrew from that devastated country on 19th December in a most shameful manner. They were literally sneaking out of Iraq like rats. And they had left behind a thoroughly ruined country in a fissiparous condition, after eight years of aggression, occupation and destruction. There were none in the streets to bid farewell to the Americans who had gone there in the name of saving it from the clutches of the 'Butcher of Baghdad' as they had dubbed Saddam Hussain. As an alibi for it, Bush and his assistants had repeated that Iraq was having 'weapons of mass destruction'. By this utterly false propaganda they cheated UN and the world people. Along with their allies they attacked and butchered millions in Iraq and destroyed the Iraqi state system which was comparatively many times better than the ones fostered by them in other West Asian countries.

The US imperialists are shamelessly repeating that they are the defenders of democracy at home and abroad even now. In the name of democracy they are continuing their murderous attacks, interference and bullying everywhere.

But what they did to Iraq alone is sufficient to prove their barbarous character. Before they committed brutal aggression, Iraq was comparatively the best administered country in West Asia with the people enjoying a measure of secular democratic rights and welfare. But they have reduced that country to ruins and imposed a puppet regime over it. Now it is facing disintegration with the Shias, Sunnis and Kurds fighting each other, with suicide bombers killing dozens every day. It is the US administration which has committed this most heinous crime against the Iraqi people. Though they have sneaked out, they are still plundering the Iraqi oil and other resources and maintain one of the largest US embassies in Baghdad, controlling the country still through their puppets. They have weakened the Iraqi state and divided the Iraqi people so much that even an organized resistance against these butchers and their puppets will take time to emerge and strengthen.

The world people should recognize the hollowness of Obama's claims about the withdrawal of troops and hate, denounce and resist the US imperialists, their allies and puppets who have done unpardonable crimes against Iraqi people. ●

AFGHANISTAN MINUS US-NATO FORCES

THE announcement about the withdrawal of 10,000 US forces from Afghanistan do not mean much as more than 100,000 US-NATO forces are still left in that beleaguered country, devastated due to a decade of US-led aggression. If the Soviet military interference in late 1970s in the name of protecting the democratic regime which had thrown out the feudal rule there was a serious mistake, its gravity compounded as it was utilized as pretext by the US for interference, communalization and devastation of the country and neighbourhood in the following decades. As the military regime in Pakistan was utilized by US for recruiting, training and arming the so-called *jihadists* indoctrinated with Islamic fundamentalist fanaticism to throw out the Soviet troops, this dangerous and reactionary plan boomeranged as the Taliban took over the administration and tried to impose its own religious rule without US presence. To regain control of this gateway to central Asia, US had to utilize the September 1991 attacks in its territory to launch the 'war on terror' at global level. The renewed aggression against Afghanistan is continuing till today, further devastating Afghan lives, ecology and the region. Under Obama the barbarous policies of Bush are continued under new labels, and this token withdrawal is not going to solve the crisis faced by Afghan people and the peoples of the region.

The collapse of the 5th December Bonn talks reveal that unless the US-NATO forces are totally withdrawn and Iran, Pakistan, India like regional forces help the various groups in Afghanistan to come to a reconciliation, even a partial return of peace is not possible. But the most important obstacle for this is the US-NATO forces which are not ready to withdraw their forces fully. They want to continue their control of the Kabul government through their puppet government and by deploying necessary forces for it. Secondly the Pakistan military and ISI, in spite of its present contradictions with the occupying forces of US are not ready to renounce its past deeds and take a secular, democratic and anti-US stand to work for regional cooperation and conciliation in Afghanistan. As far as the Indian government is concerned, in its eagerness to become the 'strategic partner' of US imperialism in Asia, its Afghan policy is limited to outsmart Pakistan, its 'main enemy', and to provide all infrastructural assistance to US-NATO forces. As a result, in spite of repeated calls by Iran to both Pakistan and India, they refuse to take anti-US positions and to help Afghanistan to work out a reconciliation to replace the puppet government with a representative one.

The consequences of this policy pursued by both Pakistan and India will only worsen the situation in the

region. Already Pakistan is on the verge of disintegration or another military take over. In spite of the increased danger it poses to the region, Indian government is not taking any initiative for a political solution to the issues, which led to six decades long enmity, with the civilian government in Pakistan, which will become impossible if the military takes over once again there. As far as the US is concerned, this rivalry between India and Pak is its trump card which it is using effectively for last six decades to maintain domination in the region. In this situation, not only a solution to the serious Afghan problem, including the ousting of US-NATO forces from the region, and a prevention of military rule in Pakistan, but also the security and development of the South Asia calls for a Indo-Pak reconciliation including the

settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir question based on the principles of right of self determination.

To achieve it, the progressive democratic forces in both India and Pakistan should join their hands and put pressure on the governments of both countries to take firm anti-US stand and strive for a reconciliation. The peoples of the South Asian countries should develop solidarity actions and compel their governments to work for the unity of the region based on anti-imperialist and democratic positions. To achieve this goal the nefarious games of chauvinist, religious fundamentalist, parochial and comprador ruling forces in the service of US led forces should be exposed and resisted. We appeal to all democratic forces in the region to work hard for it. ●

MULLAPERIYA ISSUE: WATER TO TAMILNADU, SAFETY TO PEOPLE OF KERALA

AS THE central government is procrastinating on arranging a meeting between the state governments of Tamilnadu and Kerala for appointing an expert committee acceptable for both and to settle the Mullaperiyar issue through a political decision outside the Supreme Court, the issue is becoming serious day by day. Mullaperiyar dam is a gravity dam constructed 116 years ago on an 8100 acres plot of land leased out by then Travancore raja (now a part of Kerala) to then British Madras presidency. Though the lease had to be renewed after the transfer of power in 1947, the Travancore-Cochin or later Kerala governments did not take any action to renew the lease arriving at a political solution based on the opinion of an expert committee on the future of this gravity dam. And finally when the lease was renewed in 1970, by both Tamilnadu and Kerala governments did not settle the vital issue of the safety of the dam. By 1990 following few tremors in the Idikki district where 14 big dams are constructed without taking their ecological effects in to consideration, when the leakage from the dam had increased, the local people started demanding a solution to this problem. By 1995 when the anxiety about the safety of the dam increased following more earthquakes in the region, an agitation was started by the local people under a people's committee demanding a scientific solution to the problem. Though the people of the region had demanded an urgent solution to the problem without affecting the flow of water to Tamilnadu which is irrigating five districts there, at the same time ensuring the safety to the people living in the downstream side in Kerala, consecutive Kerala governments failed to impress upon the central governments the importance of the question or to arrange a bilateral discussion with Tamilnadu govt for settling the question outside the court based on a mutually agreeable expert committee opinion. Meanwhile the Supreme Court orders, reducing this question in to legalist

one without taking the life span of the gravity dam in to consideration, has only aggravated the problem.

In this situation, the chauvinist forces on both side turned this engineering problem to be settled scientifically through an expert committee acceptable to both sides in to a convenient issue for their narrow political ends, fomenting mutual distrust and hatred among both people. They started spreading stories that Kerala is going to demolish the dam or that Keralites in TN or Tamils in Kerala are coming under attack. While the TN govt opposed the construction of a new dam nearby, fearing that it will end its control over the dam, the Kerala govt could not convince its TN counterpart that construction of the new dam will neither affect the flow of water to TN or its control over it. Even the TN and Kerala state committees of so-called national parties from Congress-BJP to CPI-CPI(M) started taking mutually hostile positions creating mistrust among both the peoples. While the UPA govt, through its procrastination, forgetting its federal responsibilities, is intensifying the crisis.

The CPI(ML) has demanded that the central govt. should take immediate action to convene a tripartite meeting to settle the problem politically based on the recommendations of an expert committee acceptable to both sides. It has called on the people in TN and Kerala not to be misled by the chauvinist propaganda coming from both sides and to maintain their unity. Based on this stand the TN and Kerala state committees of CPI(ML) has started a campaign demanding a political solution to the problem ensuring *water to TN and safety to people in Kerala* and resisting the chauvinist forces on both sides and the opportunist positions taken by the TN and Kerala Committees of the so-called national parties. We appeals to all progressive democratic forces in both states to raise the ir voice for a political settlement of the problem scientifically. ●

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

(ADOPTED BY 9TH CONGRESS OF CPI(ML)

HELD FROM 8-12 NOVEMBER, 2011 AT BHUBANESWAR, ODISHA)

1. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1.1 The developments in various fields in the period after the November 2009 All India Special Conference expose the growing crisis faced by the imperialist system, especially US imperialism, and the frenzied efforts of the imperialist powers to transfer the burden of this crisis to the shoulders of the working class in both imperialist and neocolonial countries and to the broad masses of toiling people of the world. Ruling classes everywhere are mounting their attacks by snatching away all the hard earned rights of the working class and oppressed peoples through yesteryears struggle by unleashing the so called 'austerity measures' on them. As a result, all the major contradictions at the global level pointed out by the international communist movement (ICM) for many decades, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations, the contradiction between capital and labor, the contradiction between the imperialist system and the socialist forces and the contradiction among the imperialist countries and monopoly groups have intensified to unprecedented levels. Along with these, with the further intensification of internationalization of finance capital and its consequent pressures for the removal of all barriers for its free movement in search of predatory speculative profits and the way the imperialist globalization has intensified the plunder of natural resources to unheard of levels have made the contradiction between capital and nature a fifth major contradiction which determines the destiny of humanity, along with the above four major contradictions. The developments after the beginning of this millennium, especially after the 2008 crisis faced by the imperialist system, especially the US imperialism, are once again making the objective situation more favorable for the advance of the forces of national liberation and socialism. The challenge before the ICM is to recognize the importance of this favorable situation, and prepare itself for yet another revolutionary upsurge at international level.

1.2 The intensification of the neo-colonization drive through neo-liberal policies has caused loss of immeasurable amount of productive forces through "de-industrialization" and "jobless growth". US imperialism is reduced to principally manufacturing war materials, where also it is facing growing challenges from the imperialist contenders. It continues as the biggest debtor country with maximum trade deficit amounting to trillions of dollars and of late remains downgraded in its so called 'credit rating'. So it is indulging in launching continuous aggressions against the

countries in West Asia and North Africa, one of the main areas of major petroleum deposits, to impose its hegemony in these as well as in all other countries through control over petroleum resources. Presently, as a result of continuously losing control of the Latin American countries, once considered its reliable backyard, its interference, bullying and aggressions in other regions are intensified to prolong its hegemonic positions. So, utilizing NATO forces and in continuation of the "war on terror" based on the "clash of civilizations" propaganda unleashed under Bush, US under Obama administration is still trying to perpetuate its presence in the West Asian region, expanding it to South Asia and even to South China sea. As a result of serving as the advanced post of US imperialism for decades to destabilize and control the region, Pakistan is virtually facing the threat of disintegration. Heinous aggression on Libya and imposition of puppet regime there in continuation to the virtual occupation of Iraq and installation of puppet regime in Afghanistan, and encirclement of Iran are part of this strategy to destabilize and control the region. A condition is created under which every president coming to power in US, Republican or Democrat, can 'rule' and prolong US hegemony only if he launches his own war of aggression for survival. It is this policy of brinkmanship when the parasitic, predatory and speculative character of finance capital is reaching its most ugly level, which has to the unprecedentedly severe 2008 crisis starting from the US and spreading to other imperialist countries and to countries under neo-colonization, from which none of the imperialist countries have come out so far.

1.3 From the time imperialist globalization was launched following the crisis of 1970s by the US led imperialist forces, under the regime of the neo-liberal policies what is taking place is 'jobless growth'. Tens of millions of workers have lost their jobs all over the world and this situation is continuing. Along with this *de-industrialization* has become an over-riding tendency. New technological gains are used to plunder natural and human resources wantonly. All welfare measures earned through bitter struggles by the toiling masses are taken away at a maddening pace. Along with these, price rise, cost of essential services, corruption, etc. are sky-rocketing. The gap between the rich and the vast masses is widening very fast. As the people's anger is intensifying against these, in order to divert their attention and politically disarm and maim them most reactionary cultural offensive is launched destroying all progressive and humane values achieved by

the humanity through past struggles. This is neo-colonization in its worst forms. The numerous wars of aggression launched by the US led imperialist forces, expanding NATO in to an international strike force as manifested in its latest aggression on Libya and cold-blooded murder of Gaddafi and deploying it around the world, and the criminalization let loose at alarming rate have intensified the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations unprecedentedly.

1.4 This was manifested in the series of mass upsurges witnessed by the Latin American countries in the beginning of this millennium leading to a number of left oriented governments coming to power there as in Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Ecuador etc., a process which is still continuing as in recent elections in Peru. As a result, the era of military dictatorships in Latin America has almost come to an end. In Nepal, a massive people's uprising in which all the political sections including the UCPN (Maoist) played a pivotal role succeeded in throwing out the 250 years long monarchy. The US led imperialist forces had launched most ruthless aggressions in Iraq followed by Afghanistan in the name of "war on terror" exterminating almost half a million people during the last decade. They are still continuing these aggressions in the region under various pretexts. But the tide has started turning, with the massive people's uprisings starting from Tunisia and Egypt in the beginning of this year challenging the monarchies and oligarchic rulers continuing in power for decades with the support of the imperialists in these countries. The African countries, most of which have a history of glorious struggle against colonialism, continue to be victims of brutal interventions and massacres by the imperialists and their lackeys, who are provoking internecine tribal wars and creating unrest in those countries. However, the people of Africa have now increasingly begun to fight against neocolonial rule and imperialist domination. In the other countries of Asia this growing awakening is becoming more visible. Though these countries lack powerful communist parties of national liberation movements to lead these people's uprisings and advances forward to capture of power by the revolutionary forces, the objective situation is becoming increasingly favorable for the upswing of major changes. But it is also important to remember that although mass upsurges are taking place globally, in the absence of strong presence of Left revolutionaries, most of these movements are either being hijacked by American imperialists or are themselves losing momentum due to lack of a specific direction. The imperialists are taking advantage of the situation and succeeding in establishing or maintaining their supremacy. At the same time, in USA itself, the working class and oppressed sections are rising up and coming to the streets as is manifested through Occupy Wall Street type movements which are spreading across the world. Left revolutionaries should ensure their presence in these movements and strike at the opportune moment. Just as

India, Pakistan too presents an extreme example of how a country which allowed itself to be used as a launching pad of aggression against neighbouring countries and centre for training jihadists by the US imperialists for long decades is now facing disintegration with whatever sovereignty it had blown to pieces by the US action within its territory assassinating bin Laden followed by the latest NATO attack on a Pakistani military camp killing dozens of soldiers within its own soil.

1.5 Against the onslaught of the forces of finance capital, if the last decade saw a series of massive working class struggles all over the world, especially in the imperialist countries against attacks on their rights, during last two years they have further intensified as seen in France and a number of countries last year and in Greece, Spain and Britain this year. Some of these general strikes took the form of mass uprisings. They are going to intensify further in coming days as the imperialists are trying to transfer the burden of the escalating crisis faced by the imperialist system to the working class in their own countries and the oppressed peoples.

1.6 The contention for the territorial division of the world among the imperialist powers has assumed new forms with the transformation of colonial forms of plunder to neocolonial forms. Presently the capital-market forces and the technological advances have become major tools of plunder. The inter-imperialist contradiction has taken the principal form of contention for trade and markets and technological dominance. Though no world wars have broken out for six decades, the new forms of inter imperialist contradictions are sharpening day by day. Even the contradiction between US and European Union countries is increasing as reflected in the contradiction for the dominance between Dollar and Euro. The trade and currency wars between US and China which as an imperialist power is contending with other imperialist powers for sources of raw materials, markets for export of commodities and capital has also intensified. As the crisis within the imperialist system intensifies, the uni-polar situation when the US was dominating the international scene is disappearing, with multi-polar conditions emerging stronger. As these inter imperialist contradictions are intensifying, there are possibilities for them assisting the popular forces for advancing their struggles on the one hand, and for them leading to another war among the imperialist powers on the other, which will also eventually help the revolutionary forces to advance.

1.7 From the time the capitalist system emerged and it started recreating the world in its image, the contradiction between capital and nature had taken antagonistic forms, though it remained subdued for a long time. But this situation is fast changing with global warming and nuclear catastrophe like factors coming to the forefront. Today this contradiction has emerged as one of the major contradictions

determining the future of humankind. It has made the necessity for overthrowing the rule of capital to save the humanity more urgent.

1.8 All these have led to the contradiction between the imperialist system and socialist forces becoming more intensified than ever. *Imperialist barbarism or socialism* is the challenge before the humankind today.

1.9 It is in this context the great significance of the founding of the International Coordination of the Revolutionary Parties and Organizations should be evaluated. The Founding Document stated: "The founding of the ICOR follows from the understanding: The time is ripe to counter highly organized, globally linked international finance capital and its imperialist world system with something new - the organized power of the international revolutionary and working-class movement and of the broad masses in a new stage of the cross-border cooperation and coordination of the practical activity.

"Imperialism with its system of neo-colonialism can further exist only in a developing proneness to crisis which dramatically calls into question the existence of humankind. It is expressed in the world economic and financial crisis 2008, the structural crises of the capitalist system of production and reproduction, the debt crises, the global environmental crisis, the growing absence of family of the proletariat and the broad masses, the political crises, but also in the growing international threat of war, the increasing imperialist aggressions, and in the general tendency of imperialism to reaction and fascism.

"Capitalism has no future to offer to the working class and the broad masses of people in the world. Therefore, the ICOR calls upon all revolutionaries of the world to join together in the spirit of the words of Lenin: "*Disunited, the workers are nothing. United, they are everything.*" (Lenin, 1913, "Working-Class Unity")

"The ICOR takes up the achievements of the internationally organized revolutionary and working-class movement. That includes the great revolutionary action of the Paris Commune in 1871, the victorious Russian October Revolution in 1917, the Chinese revolution 1945 to 1949, the revolutionary struggle of liberation for the destruction of the old colonial system and the emergence of the socialist camp after the Second World War."

1.10 "The ICOR is based on the rich experiences of historical examples of international forms of organization like the First, Second and Third International. It takes into account today's circumstances, necessities and possibilities for such a union. It puts into practice the great revolutionary slogan of Karl Marx, "*Workers of all countries, unite!*" as well as the one of Lenin, "*Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!*" The founding of ICOR is the result of more than three decades of struggle by the Marxist-

Leninist forces against the erroneous tendencies which were obstructing the reorganization of the Communist International, which were weakening the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It is a first step towards deepening the ideological struggle in the ICM in order to develop a *General Line For The World Proletarian Socialist Revolution* according to the concrete condition today, in continuation to the general line put forward by the CI under Lenin's leadership and the Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM put forward by the CPC during the Great Debate under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. It has created favorable atmosphere for developing solidarity actions at international level and to advance towards reorganization of the CI. Our Party should be prepared to take initiative at all times to carry forward the tasks of the ICOR to the best off our abilities always.

2. NATIONAL SITUATION.

2.1. During the two years after the All India Special Conference, at the national level, in continuation of the CPI (M) supported first UPA government, the present UPA rule has further intensified the imposition of the neo-liberal policies. Collaborating with imperialist powers, especially US imperialism, under the banner of 'strategic alliance with US', it is working as a 'junior partner' of imperialism. The intensification of globalization-liberalization-privatization policies coupled with large scale disinvestment of public sector have led to an unprecedented deindustrialization and joblessness on the one hand, while corporatization of agriculture has resulted in massive displacement of the peasantry from agriculture and their migration to urban centres. Globalisation induced speculation has led to the skyrocketing of the prices of all essential commodities and services including food fuel. The privatization and commercialization of education, healthcare, housing and communications, growing privatization of water and electricity, 'futures trading' and withdrawal of the state from procurement and distribution of food grains including the move to replace the present PDS system with food coupons, sell-out of the country's fisheries sector to MNCs and deep-sea trawlers with devastating consequences for the fishing community, decontrol of petroleum production and its sale at market-determined prices, etc. have led to the emergence of a growing number of billionaires while the impoverishment of the masses is increasing at an alarming rate. The decision to open up the retail sector which is second only to agriculture as a source of livelihood for the people to FDI is going to have horrific consequences. Together with unemployment, under-employment, removal of all democratic rights including the 8-hour work and growing state oppression against the toiling and oppressed sections and classes have made life increasingly miserable for them. It has also created conditions for rampant corruption and mega scams reaching unheard of levels in which the comprador

regime itself becomes a conduit for the corporate loot of the country's wealth in all fields. As is manifested in the recent anti-corruption struggles in the country, people's resentment against scams and corruption is growing.

2.2. The so-called development policy imposed with ruthlessness opening all fields to MNCs and corporate houses, entirely focused on 'GDP growth' has made a small section fabulously rich utilizing SEZs, which are now replaced by New Manufacturing and Industrial Zones (NMIZs) like facilities and export promotion sops. The plunder of water, forests, land and mining have reached unprecedented levels. In the name of '*Second Green Revolution*', what is taking place is further corporatization of agriculture with the effective utilization of genetic engineering under the aegis of agri-business MNCs. All indigenous scientific research is discouraged, and under the intellectual property rights of WTO, the technological dependence on MNCs is intensifying. Under the imperialist prompted development policy the ecological destruction is manifested in all fields.

2.3. The big capitalist-big landlord state collaborating with imperialism, especially US imperialism, has intensified the attack on the people wherever and whenever they are coming out against the reactionary policies pursued under neo-liberal raj. The militarization of the country as witnessed in Jammu and Kashmir and Northeast is spread to more areas like Chhattisgarh where the military is already deployed with the danger of its operations spreading to all of mineral rich central India where adivasis constitute a major section of the population, under the pretext of countering the Maoist activities. Wherever the military goes, it imposes the AFSPA which denies all civil rights to the people. Besides in the name of combating terrorist activities and Maoist threat, a number of black acts are imposed. The strength of military, para-military, police and various intelligence agencies are increased manifold. What is witnessed is an intensification of state terror all over the country with the democratic space shrinking for the masses daily. At the same time, imperialism is propping up diverse set of foreign funded NGO activity to divert the simmering discontent of the masses to apolitical channels.

2.4. As the so-called strategic alliance with the US imperialists is strengthened day by day, the foreign policy has undergone major changes. The UPA government is tailoring its foreign policy to suit its junior partner role to imperialists, especially by clinging to the apron strings of US imperialism in its 'war on terror' policy. As a result its hitherto friendly relations with the West Asian countries have worsened. The cancellation of the Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline under pressure from US has not only harmed the national interests, it has worsened the decades long good relations with Iran. Same is the case with its relations with the SAARC countries. Sacrificing the national interests, the UPA government, like its predecessor NDA government, is

refusing to initiate efforts to solve Indo-Pak problems politically and to develop relations with it, contrary to the aspirations of the people on both the countries. It is satisfying only the US imperialists and their allies who want to reap huge profits from the ever increasing arms sale to both, by maintaining the conflict between the two. As a reflection of its reactionary domestic policies, its external policies are against the interests of the people.

2.5. As a result, all the major contradictions in the country, including the contradiction between imperialism, especially US imperialism, and the masses of people, the contradiction between capital and labor, the contradiction between the landlord classes and the peasantry, the contradiction between capital and nature and the contradiction among the ruling classes and monopoly groups have intensified further creating objective conditions for mobilizing the masses for revolution more favorable.

3. TASKS BEFORE THE PARTY

3.1 In this over all international and national contexts, the foremost task before us is to reorganise and build up the Party at the all India level. It calls for consolidation and expansion of the organisation in those states where we are now functioning on the one hand, and a concerted effort to spread the Party to other areas through vigorous campaigns and by strengthening the connections and contacts we already have, on the other. Based on the ideological political line that we have put forward, systematic political and organisational work should be initiated to develop the Party as a political force at the all India level. The process of party building should start with building up and strengthening of the class and mass organizations by expanding their membership and taking up various struggles and recruit comrades from them as candidate members and transform them as ideologically-politically equipped professional revolutionaries. An inalienable component of this task is propaganda work through party organs and publications, and systematic education of cadres based on Marxist books, basic documents of the Party and the ICOR, and the documents and publications of the class and mass organizations. This will create a revolutionary atmosphere in the country for bringing more and more sections to the ideological-political line of the Party. Besides, we have to enrol members and candidate members from former activists of CR groups and new members who accept the Party line. Ideological-political campaigns are also indispensable in the context in which imperialists and their lackeys are engaged in a counter propaganda against Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party utilizing various post-modern and post-Marxist theories with the help of imperialist media machine.

3.2 The intensification of the contradiction between capital and labor and the intensification of the neo-liberal policies have taken away the rights earned by the working class in the past through strenuous struggles. The contract

and casual systems have worsened the working and living conditions of the huge working force in the country, almost 200 millions, if all unorganized sectors are also taken in to consideration. As pointed out in the Party Programme and the Path of Revolution adopted by the Bhopal Conference, all the toiling and oppressed masses in the country can be mobilized and conditions for countrywide massive people's uprisings can be created only under the leadership of the working class. Today the ruling system is not only plundering the working class in all sectors economically, reducing them to a wage slave more than ever, they are politically and culturally influenced with the help of corporate media in order to ideologically disarm and make them incapable of challenging the ruling system. All the present trade union centers ranging from INTUC and BMS to the reformist ones including the CITU, AITUC and HMS have, in the main, abandoned the path of resisting the neo-liberal policies through country wide struggles, and even if a call is given it is restricted to certain partial demands. In this situation, educating and mobilizing the working class so as to make them capable of leading the revolutionary movement to overthrow the ruling system has become a more difficult task. The Party will have to work out a comprehensive policy to intensify the work among the working class, to mobilize them, to politicize them and to make the working class movement capable of uniting the numerous struggles going on and unleash countrywide revolutionary offensive.

3.3 The task of agrarian revolution has taken more complex character with the neo-colonization of the country. Under it the old feudal landlords are by and large replaced by agricultural bourgeoisie and rich farmers, or big landlords, through implementation of land ceiling laws and other reforms. It is through these classes along with the MNCs and the corporate forces the first green revolution was implemented and now the second green revolution, which in essence means the corporatization of the agrarian sector, is launched. The entry of GM seeds, chemicals, fertilizers and pesticides with the capital- market forces are having full sway. Under these the production relations in the agrarian sector have transformed to a large extent, along with the classes operating here. The earlier contradiction between the feudal forces and the peasantry is turned in to contradiction between the big landlord classes including agricultural bourgeoisie and rich farmers along with corporate forces and the MNCs operating in this sector on the one hand, and the agricultural workers, landless-poor peasants and marginal- middle peasants including the adivasis, dalits and most oppressed sections on the other. This contradiction which is getting intensified day by day has led to pauperization of the peasantry and even suicide by hundreds of thousands every year. The main tasks of the agrarian revolution presently are the revolutionary land reforms based on 'land to the tiller' slogan, end of displacement of peasantry from agricultural lands for so-called developmental projects and achieving housing rights

for all houseless. These can be achieved only by overthrowing the ruling system by developing the agrarian revolutionary struggles combining with the working class struggles. The Party has to intensify its work among the revolutionary sections of the peasantry by sending experienced comrades to develop the activities of the peasant movement, establishing the worker-peasant alliance and preparing for advancing the revolutionary upsurge.

3.4 The struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and of the Northeast is continuing for last six decades. The consecutive central governments tried to suppress and eliminate these struggles in numerous forms. But they have not succeeded in it so far. It is in this context, the importance of the slogan "unify India based on the right of self determination of the peoples of various regions" becomes all the more relevant. The Party should intensify its campaign for withdrawal of the military and its black laws from these regions and for political settlement of the national question in these regions based on right of self determination, which is the only way to unify India democratically. The Party should vigorously campaign for withdrawal of the military from Chhattisgarh and for approaching the Maoist problem politically.

3.5 The present Telengana agitation, as like earlier agitations for Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarkhand like states earlier is the result of the growing uneven development under neo-colonization and because of the failure of the central and state governments to implement earlier agreements to ease this unevenness. While formation of such states are not going to solve the grievances of the affected peoples, as already proved in the above mentioned states after their formation, the Party should come forward upholding people's demand according to the emerging concrete situations. At the same time, the limitations of these struggles under the leadership of the ruling class leaders should be propagated along with the need to overthrow the ruling system for basic resolution of the people's problems. On the Telengana question and similar demands raised in other parts of the country, without tailing behind the bourgeois/petti-bourgeois leaderships of these movements, Party should propagate its position independently.

3.6 The political developments in the country after the All India Special Conference, especially after the recent assembly elections to the five state assemblies, have further exposed the social democratic character of CPI(M) and the Left Front led by it. During the 34 years of continuous rule it never tried to utilize the power to try to implement the revolutionary politics or what is written in its own Party Programme. It is ousted from power in Bengal, as its performance basically was not better than the other state governments vying for implementing the neo-liberal policies as manifested through Singur, Nandigram like developments. Similar is the case in Kerala also. The post-poll evaluation of CPI(M) even after such a serious set back shows that it is

not ready for any rethinking. On the contrary, its maximum program is to regain the power in these states some how or other, making any amount of compromises. The LF parties represent the right opportunist trend and the Party has to intensify the ideological struggle against them uncompromisingly to win as many sections as possible from them to the revolutionary side. Similarly, the opportunism of CPI (Maoist) was further exposed through its covert support to the TMC during the Bengal elections. Its isolated squad actions and opportunist political positions are taking it to a suicidal path, like what happened to the LTTE earlier. Intensifying ideological struggle against and politically exposing both these deviations, and continuously trying to establish the revolutionary line, the Party should strenuously try to win over as many cadres from them.

3.7 Between these two trends of right opportunism and anarchism, there are a number of left organizations and groups, most of them functioning at regional or local levels, which are still influenced by the 'semi-colonial, semi-feudal, people's war' line, though their practice at present, in the main, is limited to certain mass struggles and political campaigns. The Party should take a 'unity and struggle' approach towards them, waging ideological-political struggles, while uniting in issue based joint activities. Through a protracted ideological struggle there are possibilities for winning over some of them to the Party line. At the same time, there are possibilities for joint activities at all India and state levels as we are doing at present. The process of unity and struggle should be pursued continuously in the relation with these forces, with the perspective of party reorganization.

3.8 With the introduction of the imperialist globalization policies and as neo-liberal policies are imposed by at all levels vigorously, not only the major ruling class parties like Congress and BJP, but also all other ruling class and petty-bourgeois parties, communal parties like Shiv Sena, caste-based parties, 'dalit' parties like BSP, all regional parties and the social democratic CPI(M) led Left Front parties whenever they come to power at center or in the states, alone or in alliance are vigorously pursuing these policies. So the struggle against neo-liberal policies and for a democratic polity can be carried forward only by exposing and fighting consistently against all these parties and alliances standing for imperialist promoted policies which are devastating the life of the vast masses. In this situation the Party should make vigorous efforts to build the Democratic People's Forum (Loktantrik Jan Manch) at both central and state levels based on the ten point program put forward, to develop a people's alternative to all shades of ruling class and reformist parties, uniting the revolutionary left and democratic forces.

3.9 Adivasis who constitute nearly 10% of the population are the most exploited and oppressed section of the Indian society. As they are inhabiting the resource rich areas, the corporate houses and the MNCs have entered

these areas for plundering the rich mineral wealth and the cheap labor. The presence of Maoists in some of these important regions is utilized by the government to deploy huge police and para-military forces in the name of 'waging war' against them, but actually for helping the corporate-MNC forces to loot the riches in the area. The Party should develop a comprehensive plan to advance the work among the adivasis by activating the All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha (AIKAM) and intensifying efforts to mobilize and politicize this section, as it constitutes an important section of the revolutionary forces. Party should wage a consistent struggle for implementation of the autonomous councils with full rights wherever adivasis constitute a sizable section of the population.

3.10 The dalits, who constitute almost 10-15 % of the population, are predominantly poor and landless peasants and agricultural workers. They are not only subjected to economic exploitation, but are facing social and cultural attacks based on caste oppression and caste-based division of labour. Historically the Communist movement in the country had serious weaknesses at all India level in making a revolutionary approach towards the emancipation of the dalits who have played a significant role in the revolutionary movement, and for the annihilation of the caste system. It is in this context the importance of the *Approach Paper* recently put forward by the Party regarding the caste question should be approached. While waging democratic movements to solve the land question faced by the dalits, to defend the 'reservation' as a democratic right and against caste discrimination, the Party should take initiative to launch a powerful country wide movement with central slogan of caste annihilation as called for in the *Approach Paper*.

3.11 The emancipation of women who constitute half of the population is an integral and vital aspect of the revolutionary movement not only for capturing the political power, but also for continuing the revolution in the direction of socialist transformation. Though this is accepted in theory, in practice corresponding importance to this question was never given by the communist movement. As patriarchy and domination of private property weigh down the women under the present social system, without giving the importance required by the question of women's liberation, the revolutionary movement cannot move forward, as repeatedly proved in the past. The task before the Party on this question is not settled just by stating that the socialist state will abolish women's slavery. On the contrary, from the very beginning of the revolutionary movement, from now itself, the question of women's liberation should be made a part of the Party's agenda. It should also be incorporated in to the agenda of class and mass organizations.

3.12 The question of approach towards the *Cultural Revolution* is an important aspect of the revolutionary movement. Lenin had emphasized the importance of the

struggle to *transform the superstructure* continuously following the October revolution. It was in line with this, the CPC under Mao's leadership had launched the Cultural Revolution in China when the capitalist roaders had usurped power in Soviet Union and those advocating the 'theory of productive forces' were posing similar danger there also. But in spite of the CR, the capitalist roaders succeeded in usurping power in China also, turning it also in to a capitalist country. After these severe set backs suffered by the ICM, the question of how the class struggle can be continued in the socialist countries, and how the revisionist tendencies can be combated in the communist parties have become a matter of crucial importance. This has become more significant when the imperialists and their lackeys have intensified the cultural and propaganda war in order to disarm the communists and blunt the revolutionary movement. But in spite of it the left initiative in the cultural field is very weak or non-existent in most areas. By putting forward an *Approach Paper* for building the cultural movement, already we have taken certain initiatives in this field. Based on the orientation of the Approach Paper, the importance of waging a relentless cultural offensive to throw out the influence of feudal and imperialist cultural approaches, old customs and superstitions should be highlighted along with developing revolutionary, socialist cultural values. We have to vigorously carry forward these initiatives so that a powerful revolutionary cultural offensive can be launched at all India level without any delay.

3.13 Approach towards religious and linguistic minorities is an important issue before the revolutionary forces. In present situation, the ruling system is promoting hatred towards the religious minorities using the terrorist actions occurring in different parts of the country, even after it is proved that RSS and its various offshoots have a major role in many of these terrorist actions. Majority religious fundamentalism is consciously promoted not only by BJP like parties, but also by so-called secular parties for creating vote banks. Against the spirit of what is written in the Constitution, communal passions are promoted weakening the secular spirit among the masses. In the name of fighting against majority religious fundamentalism, minority religious fundamentalism is promoted by vested interests among them. The Party should wage a consistent struggle against both majority fundamentalism, which is the main danger, and against minority fundamentalism, while vigorously putting forward secular positions and the message of the renaissance movements. Secularism means that religion should be treated as a private affair and it should not be allowed to interfere in public life under any pretexts. Exposing the Hindu fundamentalist approaches, Party should campaign for a democratic common civil code which ensures equality for women and secular values in all fields. Regarding linguistic minorities, Party should struggle for all their rights including the right to receive education in the language of their choice.

3.14 When the contradiction between capital and nature has emerged as a major contradiction at international and national level and ecological destruction is reaching catastrophic levels, the Party should vigorously take up a discussion on a people oriented development policy with class approach as an alternative to the imperialist development policies. With this perspective, Party should make continuous efforts to coordinate the different people's movements developing at various regions against SEZs, displacement for corporate-MNC projects, infrastructural and real estate projects etc. Similarly the movements such as the Anti-Nuclear Committee formed in the context of Jaitapur against nuclear power projects and other projects which devastate ecology also should be coordinated with central slogans, as is being done with the plan for formation of the all India committee against nuclear power. At state and central level constant attention should be paid to this question as organic coordination of these movements open up possibilities for country wide upsurges against the neo-liberal policies.

3.15 The development of youth and student movement should be given special emphasis. Commercialization of education, unemployment, under employment and skyrocketing prizes of essential commodities are making a large section of youth vulnerable to the criminalization promoted under imperialist cultural offensive. They become easy prey to religious and caste organizations also. A vigorous effort should be made by the Party to strengthen the activities of the youth and student organizations so that state wide and country wide agitations can be launched by them for the urgent issues confronting them as well as for the general issues before the masses. There is immense scope to launch movements against commercialization of education, corruption and such other issues once the youth and student movements are developed fast.

3.16 The foreign policy is speedily adjusted by the ruling system to suit its present role of junior partner of the imperialists, especially US imperialists. As a result India's relations with the countries subjected to imperialist aggression, bullying and domination, and with the neighbouring countries have deteriorated fast. It is trying to impose its dictates over the neighbouring countries like Bhutan, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Bangla Desh and Nepal, forcing them to view all its approaches with suspicion. The Party should wage a vigorous campaign for an anti-imperialist foreign policy, which will focus on strengthening relations with all countries, especially the neighbouring countries, subjected to aggression, plunder and bullying by the imperialists, especially US imperialists. All efforts should be made to strengthen fraternal parties al international level and to develop people to people relations.

3.17 To speed up all these activities it is very necessary that our publication work and media contacts are developed fast. Ideological understanding of the cadres is to be

developed through party schools, study classes and theoretical discussions for applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism according to concrete situation in our country. We should also take particular attention to strengthen our ideological political initiatives at the international level. Presently we have succeeded to bring out our central organs regularly. Some of the state committees are also bringing out their organs. Class/mass organizations also have started the publication of their organs. Our website is regularly updated and visited by growing number of people. Our facebook also is attracting attention. But these are not

enough. In present times media and propaganda have a major role in creating public opinion, in winning over the masses, in mobilizing them and in launching country wide movements in a vast country like India. Party should give lot more importance to publications and media work. A comprehensive plan should be worked out and implemented fast so that activities in this field can be developed many times more vigorously. Targets for expanding publications and media work should be fixed at all levels and implemented actively so that the revolutionary message is carried far and wide.

MESSAGES OF GREETINGS TO 9TH CONGRESS

From BP (NK/T)

Dear Comrades,

We have got your invitation to participate in your congress. We feel very sorry, that we can not participate in your Congress and cannot follow it directly. We thank you for the invitation. But we have not the material funds to come to India. So we will be with you by our hearts and thoughts. We are convinced, this Congress will be a great effort in strengthen your party. As we learned from Red Star the party program will be reformulated. This will be a big step forward.

It's been a long time since we enthusiastically accompanied your fight for the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist political direction in the revolution in India. We are learning much from your fight and experiences. We attend delightedly your fight and effort for the reconstruction of a new, real Communist International. A long ideological debate will be necessary to reach our common aim. We know this will be a long and strenuous way. But every long way is starting with the first steps. Your contributions in ICOR and the ICMLPO are exemplary positive.

We are going the way to rebuild a new Communist International together in the consciousness, that only a communist world party, which evaluates and learns from the experience of the III. Communist International will be successful in completing the proletarian world revolution.

We send you the best revolutionary and communist greetings for your congress!

Inqilab Zindabad!
Long live proletarian Internationalism!
Bolshevism will win!
Long live CPI (ML) ●

*Central Committee
Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan/Turkey)*

From PCC, CPI(ML)

Dear comrades

I had planned to go to Bhubaneswar to greet your congress personally. But I have suddenly fallen ill and not in a position to travel.

I sincerely send my best wishes and greetings to the Congress. Hope your party will emerge stronger and better equipped to shoulder the challenges thrown by the Indian state controlled by the alliance of imperialism with the domestic reactionary ruling classes. Imperialist world order is in deep crisis and I think many opportunities will be opened to the Indian people in their struggle against neo-colonial plunder of the country.

*With revolutionary greetings
Santosh Rana
General Secretary
PCC CPI(ML)*

From MLRO

Dear Comrades,

First of all I on behalf of our organisation convey my heart-felt thanks to you for inviting us to the "9th Congress, CPI(ML)" to be held at Bhubaneswar from 7th to 12th of November, 2011. We are extremely sorry that owing to some unavoidable circumstances we cannot attend the Congress.

We greatly appreciate the manner you are trying to have the ideas and opinions of different Communist Revolutionary groups reflected in your Congress and thereby enrich it.

I wish your Congress a great success and will be looking forward to having the final documents and resolutions adopted by it.

*With revolutionary greetings,
Susant, Convener, MLRO*

STAGFLATION AS THE CONSEQUENCE OF INTENSIFIED NEO-COLONIAL PLUNDER

P J JAMES

TWO DECADES of neoliberal globalization has led India to a peculiar situation where the corporate elites and big businesses composed of just one percent of the population enjoy the riches and pleasures quite undreamt of even by medieval monarchs and aristocracy while the vast majority of the toiling people find it difficult to meet their both ends. While wealth is accumulated by the billionaires and corporate mafia in leaps and bounds, India is becoming a society of mass poverty and destitution. While taxes paid by the super-rich are dwindling in successive years, the Manmohan government is devising ingenious methods to prune even the food subsidy bill further.

For instance, while answering a question in Rajya Sabha on December 16, 2011, finance minister Mukherjee, has admitted that as a result of tax exemptions to the corporates in the past three years alone, government has lost more than Rs.13 lakh crores. This is more than three times the total annual direct tax collection by the government. If the service tax exemptions are also taken into consideration, the giveaways would be much larger. A glance at the budget documents since 2005 reveals that during the past seven years corporate tax exemptions by the Manmohan government amount to more than Rs. 23 lakh crores. On the other hand, the amount set apart for food security with much fanfare is only Rs. 105051 crores. While the number of billionaires in India is increasing, data released by the Income tax department for the first three quarters of the fiscal year 2011-2012 reveals that corporate and income tax payment by the elite has gone down. Manmohan government's target of income and corporate tax collections of Rs. 5.85 lakh crores for 2011-2012 is unlikely to be met which will lead to a rise in fiscal deficit and public debt putting more burden on the backs of common people.

No doubt all these trends are to be seen in relation to the structural changes taking place in the economy including stagnation and retrogression in employment oriented productive spheres on the one hand, and ballooning of the speculative financial spheres and wealth accumulation led by a tiny minority of super-rich takes place on the other.

DE-INDUSTRIALISATION

IT IS in this context that the official Index of Industrial

Production (IIP) compiled by the government of India and released on December 12, 2011 reveals the dismal industrial scenario in the country. Thus industrial growth, which was displaying a robust expansion of 11.3 percent as claimed by the Manmohan government in October, 2010, mirroring the overall economic slide owing to rising prices, high interest rates, slack consumer demand and diversion of corporate investment to speculation in consonance with the inherent trends of neoliberal capital accumulation, has slumped into negative territory contracting by 5.1 percent in October 2011, the biggest-ever decline in factory output during the entire neoliberal period.

Index of Industrial Production (IIP) also reveals that the slump in factory output was primarily due to the dismal performance of major sectors such as manufacturing and mining as a direct consequence of high interest rates, fall in domestic demand due to abysmal decline in real income of the masses and persistent slowdown in global economies. Manufacturing industry whose weight in the index of IIP is 76 percent is showing a minus 6 percent decline in production pointing towards one of the gravest deindustrialization and worst employment scenarios the country has ever seen.

Industrial production becoming negative is a clear indication that world imperialist crisis whose economic essence today is stagflation — i.e., stagnation in production coupled with inflation and galloping prices on the other — has entered India leading to pauperisation of the masses and unprecedented inequality and concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

As part of stagflation when the news of IIP that industrial growth has become reverse comes out, foreign speculative financiers or the so called foreign institutional investors (FIIs) in stock and currency markets are engineering a massive flight of “hot money” and this outflow of foreign exchange from the country is exerting pressure on the rupee to depreciate.

Meanwhile, leading business organizations of the comprador bourgeoisie led by FICCI and Assocham have asked the Manmohan government for a further extension of the so-called stimulus packages on the one hand, and have expressed their anxiety over the declining consumer demand — which is a tacit admission of the naked fact that poverty, unemployment and lack of purchasing power of

the people are the root causes for the industrial retrogression — and the decline in the index of industrial production.

CONSEQUENCES OF RUPEE DEPRECIATION

STILL more gruesome is the economic repercussions associated with the irreversible fall in the exchange value of the rupee vis-à-vis the dollar, euro and other imperialist currencies. On December 12, the rupee reached an all-time low of Rs.53.75 for a dollar — a decline of 25 percent in four months along with the tumble and turbulence in global stock and financial markets including ever-mounting debt and deficit in US and Euro-zone countries. However, constant depreciation or devaluation of the rupee is not a simple affair. It is one of the most heinous methods neocolonial wealth accumulation and plunder by imperialist finance capital.

For instance, right from the 1940s when the essential tools of neocolonial accumulation were designed, depreciation or ‘enforced devaluation’ of the currencies of other countries, especially neocolonial countries, has been a time-tested neocolonial weapon in the armoury of US led imperialism to plunder the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America during the entire post World War period. The apparent outcome of both market-led depreciation and official devaluation of the currency of a neocolonial country is a deterioration in the *terms of trade* of the country, i.e., cheapening of exports or a decline in export prices and an increase in import prices in trade with imperialist countries. But it has deeper manifestations.

For instance, maintaining the Indian rupee in a state of undervaluation is an ingenious device of bleeding the country white by plundering its entire wealth including labour power, raw materials, goods and all forms of assets, both material and financial at a cheap rate and this form of loot is particularly important for imperialist finance capital with the connivance of comprador ruling regime. The Manmohan government, its finance ministry, the Reserve Bank, etc., are accomplices in this treacherous game enacted by finance capital through the IMF. For instance, the Reserve Bank which is supposed to be the custodian of the country’s foreign exchange reserves remains a moot spectator while foreign speculators are effecting massive “hot money outflows” from the country thereby artificially pegging up the price of dollar and pegging down the value of rupee. As constant depreciation makes the exports cheap and worthless in the international market, in the name of maintaining the level of export earnings, more and more labour power and country’s scarce resources are increasingly diverted to export oriented sectors leading to extraversion and distortion of the whole economy with harmful consequences.

On the other hand, depreciation/devaluation leads to an unprecedented rise in the prices of imports and a direct outflow of large quantity of the country’s wealth in the name of imports. A rupee depreciation means artificial sky-rocketing of the prices of all essential imports including badly needed oil, essential inputs, medicines capital goods and technology by MNCs. This neocolonial plunder by draining the country by financed capitalism also results in domestic inflation and rise in prices resulting in a reduction in the purchasing power of the masses and further redistribution of income and wealth in favour of the affluent sections. Rise in import prices also leads to a contraction in the import-dependent export oriented (postwar neocolonisation has already transformed the industrial sector of neocolonial countries in this manner) industrial production and recession and contraction in domestic economy enabling the comprador regime to divert resources to debt-servicing, stimulus packages to corporate financiers and to blow up speculative activities at the behest of finance capitalists.

INFLATION AS THE BIGGEST TAX ON COMMON PEOPLE

IT IS well known that as profitable surplus capital investment outlets for surplus capital are shrinking in the real economy on account of the specific character of finance capital, speculation-induced price rise has become another form of surplus value extraction under neoliberalism. In the specific case of India, for instance, the Manmohan government’s various initiatives aimed at downsizing and withdrawal of the state from market and abolition of price control mechanism altogether, etc. have led to the large scale entry of financial speculators in all forms of commodity and capital markets leading to unprecedented rise in prices. In India too, a striking feature in recent years is the flocking together of leading comprador and corporate financiers such as Reliance, Tata, Birla, etc. to indulge in futures and speculative trading in the context of the huge reverses they are confronting in stock and currency markets dominated by MNCs and foreign speculators.

The obvious outcome of this speculation in diverse forms is super profits to corporate sections through sky-rocketing of the prices of all mass consumption goods including food, fuel, education, shelter, medicine and so on leading to pauperization of both real producers and broad masses of consuming people. Inflation and price rise of essential articles are just like an indirect tax on the people who are fleeced by speculative finance capital with the connivance of the comprador regime. Continuous inflation that often hovers around double-digit level implies a constant flow of real value and wealth to super-rich and destitution and devastation of the workers, peasants and all other toiling masses.

In brief, both external rupee depreciation and internal

inflation are effective methods of plunder of the broad masses of people by corporate speculative financiers and affluent sections. The consequence of these exterior and interior loots by finance capital today is reflected in the advent of stagflation that is ravaging the imperialist world irrespective of national boundaries. As a result of growing integration of the Indian economy with imperialist market, stagflation whose manifestations are stagnation in production, unemployment, speculation, inflation and price rise, under-consumption and lack of demand, mass poverty, and so on are devastating the country.

Consequently, the so called double-digit growth rate of the economy so assiduously projected by Manmohan government has become a mere wishful thinking as the country's GDP growth in the second quarter of the fiscal year has been hovering around 6 percent, which is based not on productive sectors but on the money-spinning tertiary and financial sectors. USA, EU and Japan are also facing severe downturns in their economies. According to official sources, there is no possibility of their recovery in the immediate future and they all have plunged into stagflation.

Even in this horrific context, the comprador

Manmohan government is not all concerned with the destiny of suffering Indian people, but is acting at the behest of crisis-ridden imperialist powers, especially USA. Under pressure from Obama administration and MNCs, Manmohan is working over-time to throw open Indian retail sector to MNCs like Walmart which is sure to aggravate the deindustrialization, agricultural retrogression and joblessness already ravaging the country. He is also colluding with imperialist financial speculators and foreign hedge funds to surrender the huge deposits accumulated in India's pension and provident funds. He is also tying the country to the apron strings of crisis-ridden US imperialism by diverting India's tax money to American arms MNCs and nuclear merchants and their middle men at the expense of Indian people. Domestically, the Manmohan government is allowing leading speculators like Reliance to fix the price of fuel and food grains driving the people to starvation and penury.

The only alternative before the people is to rise up and come to streets to overthrow this traitorous regime and the anti-people system and fight for a people's democratic state capable of effectively resisting all imperialists and putting down all domestic reactionaries.

GREETING MESSAGE TO 9TH CONGRESS

Dear Comrade KN Ramachandran,

I do sincerely thank you for inviting me to the seminar to be held in Bhubaneswar on the occasion of the Party Congress of CPI(ML) in November. But you're aware of the fact that I've been seriously suffering from various heart and lungs diseases for the last few years, as a result of which I cannot generally participate in any public meeting even in Kolkata, not to speak of Bhubaneswar. Naturally I'm sorry for not being able to respond to your request.

The Naxalite Movement of the 1960's and 1970's was a great upheaval asserting a bold departure from the parliamentary cretinism in which the Indian Communist Party was bogged in at time. In spite of the bold beginning of the upheaval and the great sacrifice of the young revolutionaries, the movement could not reach its goal because of serious deviations in strategy and tactics.

In fact, ultimately that movement basically began to oppose even mass-movements and mass organisations in the name of opposing 'parliamentary illusions', thereby paving the way for a deviation from even a mass-line of the Party, which is supposed to be the life-blood of a Communist Party..

And this lack of understanding regarding the dialectical relation between parliamentary election and armed revolution, as taught and practiced by Lenin, and then

successfully implemented in the concrete conditions of a third world country like China by Mao Tsetung. Though subsequently a sizable section of revolutionaries ultimately became aware of the failure, not yet has any Revolutionary group or party has been able to put forward a concrete programme, strategy and tactics which can lead to revolution. Another section of the Revolutionaries has been sadly and blindly following the same erroneous line of CPI(ML) leading to great sacrifices, but a futureless struggle.

I do sincerely hope that your Party Congress will be able to move towards a correct realization and understanding of the basic problem of Indian Revolution, that will be a great achievement. ●

With Revolutionary greetings to you and your comrades,

*Dipankar Chakraborti
Editor, Aneek*

Sakhav

Organ of Kerala State Committee of CPI(ML)

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

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE FAILURE OF THE DURBAN SUMMIT ON THE CLIMATE : No More "GREEN CAPITALISM"

JOSEP MARIA ANTENTAS & ESTHER VIVAS

WE WILL save the markets, not the climate. That is how we can summarize the outcome of the 17th Conference of Parties (COP17) to the United Nations Framework on Climate Change (UNFCCC) which took place in Durban, South Africa between 28 November and 10 December 2011. There is a striking contrast between the rapid response by governments and international institutions at the onset of the economic and financial crisis of 2007-08 in bailing out private banks with public money and the complete immobility they demonstrate in response to climate change. Yet this should not surprise us, because in both cases it is the markets and their accomplices in government who come out as winners.

There were two central themes at the Durban summit; first, the future of the Kyoto Protocol which expires in 2012 and the ability to put in place mechanisms to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and, secondly, the launch of the Green Climate Fund approved at the previous summit in Cancun (Mexico) with the theoretical aim of supporting the poorest countries to face the consequences of climate change through projects of mitigation and adaptation.

After Durban, we can say that a second phase of the Kyoto Protocol remains empty of content. They postponed any real action until 2020 and ruled out any binding regulations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. It was the representatives of the most polluting countries, headed by the United States, who argued for an agreement based on voluntary reductions and opposed any binding mechanism. The Kyoto Protocol was already inadequate, and its strict application would lead to a small slowdown of global warming. But now we are on a path that can only make the situation much worse.

With regard to the Green Climate Fund, as a first step, rich countries pledged to contribute up to \$ 30 billion in 2012 and 100 billion per year until 2020. In the first place these amounts are insufficient. Further, no source of public funds has been identified. Therefore, the doors are wide open to private investment run by

the World Bank. As has already been noted by social movements, this is a strategy to "transform the Green Climate Fund into a greedy employers' fund". Once again they are making profits from the climate crisis and environmental pollution (investment banks have already developed a range of financial instruments to intervene in what is called the carbon market, emissions, etc.)

Another example of the commodification of the atmosphere was the endorsement by the United Nations of capture and storage of CO₂ as a mechanism for so-called clean development, whereas this procedure is not intended to reduce emissions and will help to seriously deepen the environmental crisis, especially in developing countries that are candidates to become cemeteries of CO₂ in the future.

The results of the Summit therefore cause an increase in green capitalism. South African activist and intellectual Patrick Bond denounced it like this: "The trend towards commodification of nature has become the dominant philosophical point of view in environmental governance." In Durban, we repeated the scenario of the previous summits, such as Cancun in 2010 and Copenhagen in 2009, where the interests of large transnational corporations, international financial institutions and the elites of the financial world, both North and South, are given priority over the collective needs of the people and the future of the planet.

***"U.S. Democracy" : The U.S. Empire's
Indispensable Myth***

By Comrade Ray O Light

***Dawn of the International
Socialist Revolution***

By Comrade Stefan Engel

Price : Rs. 400 each

Red Star, C-141, Sainik Nagar, New Delhi - 110059

In Durban, not only our future was at stake, but also our present. The effects of the ravages of climate change are already being felt; including the release of millions of tons of methane in the Arctic, a gas 20 times more potent than CO₂ in terms of atmospheric warming. Then there are the melting glaciers and ice caps which is resulting in a rise in sea level. These effects are already increasing the scale of forced migration. In 1995 there were approximately 25 million climate migrants; that number has doubled now, with 50 million. In 2050, this number could be between 200 million and 1 billion people displaced.

All indicators show that we are moving towards an uncontrolled global warming of more than 2°, which could rise to about 4° at the end of the century. Scientists believe this will most likely trigger unmanageable consequences such as a very significant increase of sea level. We cannot wait until 2020 to start taking action.

But with the lack of political will to tackle climate change, resistance does not, however, dry up. In a movement parallel to Occupy Wall Street and the wave of indignados which has reverberated round Europe and the world, many activists

and social movements met in a daily forum a few meters from the official conference centre with their initiative called "Occupy COP17." Participants ranged from farmers struggling for their rights to representatives of small island states like Seychelles, Grenada and the Republic of Nauru (Oceania, Micronesia) who are threatened by an imminent rise in sea level, to activists against debt who are demanding the repayment of ecological debt from the north to the south.

The movement for Climate Justice shows the need to focus our lives and the planet against the commodification of nature and the commons. Capitalism and its elites are unable to provide a comprehensive response to the socio-climate crisis which has led us to a productivist and predatory system. If we are not to exacerbate the climate crisis with all its consequences we must fundamentally change this system. The well-known environmental activist Nnimmo Bassey said very clearly: "The summit amplified climate apartheid, where the 1% richest in the world decided it was acceptable to sacrifice the remaining 99%."

(Courtsey: <http://www.internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article2421>)

Crackdown on Anti-Dam Protesters in Assam

A LATE-NIGHT crackdown by the police and paramilitary forces on anti-mega dam protesters in Lakhimpur district triggered raging protests at several places in Assam on 26th December. The police arrested more than 200 protesters, who since December 16 had been blocking vehicles transporting equipment and construction materials, through National Highway 52, for the NHPC's 2,000-MW Lower Subonsiri hydroelectric project at Gerukamukh in Arunachal Pradesh. To protest the police action, five organisations, including the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), the Asom Jatiyatabadi Yuba Chatra Parishad and the Takam

Mising Porin Kebang, which have been spearheading the blockade, called a 48-hour bandh from Monday in Lakhimpur and Dhemaji districts.

Moreover, hundreds of people continued their blockade of the highway at several places in the two districts, burning tyres, throwing stones at vehicles and felling trees. On 25th December, five organisations had announced their decision to extend the blockade for more days at the end of the first phase of their 10-days agitation. ●

(*The Hindu*, 27 December)

PJ James

imperialism
in the
neocolonial
phase

Price : Rs. 400

Massline Publication
Thekkumgopuram Road
Kottayam - 686601
Kerala, India

masslinekeralam@gmail.com

The empirical study on *Imperialism in the Neocolonial Phase* by Comrade PJ James, released in a Seminar on 8th November, during Ninth Party Congress of CPI (ML) at Bhubaneswar.

Imperialism in the Neocolonial Phase is an enquiry into the capital accumulation in the post World War II period. In the context of International situation set by the socialist advancement and surging national liberation movements of the immediate post war period, direct territorial control of erstwhile colonies becoming unviable, led by USA, a whole set of mutually interpenetrating economic, political, military, cultural and intellectual tools were devised for the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism, giving a qualitative dimension to the global expansion of finance capital. This post war trajectory of ever intensifying neo-colonialism and internationalization of finance capital today has led the world imperialist system to an irreversible and irresolvable crisis.

Read Full (Online): www.cpiml.in/Books/Imperialism%20inside%20matter.pdf

COMMUNIST APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF LIBERATION OF WOMEN

SHARMISTHA CHOUDHURY

DESPITE the fact that the Communist movement in India has contributed greatly to the cause of women's emancipation, it is nevertheless true that it has never given it the unique importance it deserves. Rather, the women's question has been viewed and treated as one that will get automatically resolved – or nearly so – with the democratic revolution. Thus while the Indian Communist movement has done a lot in terms of securing democratic rights for women, it has steadfastly failed to treat the liberation of women as a revolutionary question and come up with a separate agenda for it. With its goal of creating a world where the exploitation of human by human will become a thing of the irreversible past, the Communist movement has drawn women from the enslaving confines of their homes to the liberating field of battle. It has proclaimed the equality of the sexes, demanded the abolition of all forms of gender discrimination and inequality, struggled against feudalism and its inherent principle of subjugation of women, struggled against colonialism-capitalism-imperialism and the gender injustices that are its integral part, and has led many glorious struggles against the exploitation of women. But, in spite of all this, it has failed to set the agenda for the emancipation of women. Further, as imperialism changed its form of rule from colonial to neo-colonial, the Communist movement – vis-à-vis the women's question – has been largely outwitted by the emergence of an apparently insoluble contradiction between a surge in formal rights for women and the intensification of gender-based exploitation.

Let us first examine how the Left in India has generally pussyfooted over the women's question. For this, we will take a look at the Party Programmes (and related documents) of the entire spectrum – from the pseudo-Left or the CPM, to the veiled revisionists of Liberation to the arch anarchists or the Maoists.

The CPM writes in Section 5.13 of its Party Programme: *“With India's independence the women of India, equal participants in the freedom struggle, had hoped for emancipation from the shackles of centuries old feudal and gender oppression. But leave alone advance, five decades of bourgeois-landlord rule have perpetuated patriarchy in every sphere. Women are exploited at different levels, as women, as workers and as citizens. The process of liberalisation has brought in its wake newer forms of gender exploitation, in both the economic and social spheres, leading to increased violence against women.*

Economic independence and an independent role in social and political life are basic conditions for the advance of women. Resistance against this unequal status and the women's movement for equality are part of the movement for social emancipation.”

In the Section titled *People's Democracy and its Programme*, the CPM Programme lays down the following tasks: (i) *“... At the all-India Centre, there shall be two Houses — House of the Peoples and House of the States. Adequate representation to women will be ensured”*; and (xiv) *“Removal of social inequalities and discrimination against women, equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property including land, enforcement of protective social, economic and family laws based on equal rights of women in all communities, admission to professions and services will be ensured. Suitable support systems in childcare and domestic work will be part of the thrust to democratise family structures.”*

There is nothing on women in the CPM Party Constitution.

Clearly, there is no indication that the women's question is a revolutionary question and demands a revolutionary solution. There is no indication that the problem of women's enslavement is rooted in private property and the existence of the family as an economic unit of society. That women are exploited – across all culture and countries – is a well-known universal truth and requires little reiteration. It is the duty of a Communist Party to expose the root of the exploitation and chart the course for demolishing that root and pave the way for a society where the exploitation of human by human will become a thing of the irretrievable past. The CPM does none of these and confines itself to tired platitudes by putting forward some remedies that have proved themselves inadequate to pave the way for women's emancipation. The ‘gifts’ that it magnanimously promises to women in its Programme for People's Democracy have in the main already been achieved by women in the developed countries – but even in the most advanced capitalist country women are not one whit any nearer to achieving freedom from the shackles of patriarchy. By limiting itself to these, the CPM unarguably proves that, as with the larger political question, on the question of women, too, it is disinclined to walk the revolutionary path.

Now let us have a look at the Programme of CPI(ML)

Liberation. Under the Section titled People's Democratic State, one of the many tasks stated is: "*Abolition of all types of social, economic and sexual exploitation of women and ensuring their equal status and rights in all spheres of life, eradication of caste oppression and discrimination, protection of the rights of indigenous people and various minority communities, helping all weaker sections of the society to catch up in the race of social progress and ensuring their equal status.* (5b)"

Under the Section titled Working Class Leadership, it is further written: "*To establish its leadership over the people's democratic revolution, it is imperative for the working class to.... (c) support and unite with the movement for women's liberation.*"

And that is about it. Not one word more on the question of women's emancipation. Clearly, Liberation has not been able to sever its umbilical bond with the CPM on the women's question at least. That the liberation of women is a revolutionary challenge to any Communist Party worth its salt, is a fact that has quite eluded Liberation. Its Programme is forbiddingly silent on the origin of the subjugation of women as well as efforts to overcome it in its entirety. '*Abolition of all types of social, economic and sexual exploitation of women and ensuring their equal status and rights in all spheres of life*' is all very fine, but what about the revolutionary goal vis-à-vis women? Is this by itself the revolutionary goal? Surely, even Liberation will not go so far as to declare so; but the fact remains that its Programme does not so much as suggest that as long as there exists private property, women will not attain emancipation. Rather, the question of women's emancipation is relegated to something that is subject entirely to the will of the ruling class, and if the ruling class changes from capitalist to proletariat, then that alone will suffice to resolve the question.

Similarly, it is imperative for the working class, asserts the Liberation Programme, *to support and unite with the movement for women's liberation.* But if the 'movement for women's liberation' sets for itself only some mere democratic aims, then what good will all the support and unity do?

Now to the Maoists. In their Unity Congress held in 2007, the political resolution adopted states: "*The Maoist Party should put additional attention to arousing, mobilizing, organizing and helping the womenfolk to come forward and participate in various struggles, especially people's war and in the revolutionary women's organization. We definitely have to try unceasingly to inspire them in the politics of new democratic revolution and, in this way, help them understand that women cannot attain liberation without the liberation of the oppressed masses from the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism.*"

Such unabashed condescension indeed becomes the Maoists – after all, they are at the helm of the 'ongoing'

revolutionary people's war in India! As far as the women's question is concerned, the Maoists, evidently, are solely interested in recruiting women cadre to their Party. Thus they disdain to talk of inspiring women to fight for their liberation. They disdain to announce that just as women cannot attain liberation without the liberation of the oppressed masses from the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism, so also the oppressed masses cannot attain liberation unless they fight for the liberation of women. Far from treating the women's question as a separate and important part of their revolutionary agenda, they take pride in subverting it to the extent that the question is quite lost.

To be fair to the Maoists, they have made as much of a mess of the women's movement as they have made of their wider politics. Unable to look beyond semi-feudalism, protracted people's war and area-wise seizure of power, the Maoists have tailored their women's movement to fit this framework. It is true that they have/had formed militant women's organizations in their areas of work like Lalgarh and Dantewada. It is also true that these militant organizations were never anything more than mere appendages to their party organization, working primarily to aid the growth of the party rather than secure rights for women. Consequently, the women organizations of the Maoists have never been able to make a mark in urban areas or even against bourgeois forms of gender oppression in rural areas. Firm on the conviction that the Indian state is semi-feudal in nature, their women's movement has been quite flummoxed by bourgeois reforms made by the state and left with nothing to do but preach to a disbelieving people that these reforms mean nothing at all! And so, just as, despite their frequent military strikes against the State, they have been unable to attain an appreciable degree of relevance in the struggle against the politics of neo-liberalism, so also have they been unable to emerge as even a minor leader of the women's movement in the country.

Thus, the CPI(ML) may rightly claim to be the only party in the entire Left movement in India – right from the CPM to the Liberation to the Maoists – which unequivocally declares in its documents that the '*question of women's liberation should be made a part of the Party's agenda*' (Draft Political Resolution: Section 3.10). Its Programme recognizes the special feature of the enslavement of women under neo-colonialism and states: "*Under neo-colonization new types of attacks are mounting against women. The enslavement under patriarchy and the system of private property has taken new forms.*" It also states in its Constitution that *the responsibilities of a Party member include 'firmly oppose such disruptive tendencies as ... patriarchy'* (Article VIII, 11). The Party Pledge (Article VI of the Constitution) declares: "*I will fight communalism, casteism, revivalism, national chauvinism and gender discrimination in life and society.*" If a Communist Party

cannot instill within its rank the urgency of the question of women's emancipation, if it cannot practise within itself a patriarchy-combatting culture, how can it hope to lead the masses? That the CPI(ML) recognizes this is reflected in its Constitution. This is indeed a qualitative leap in the Communist movement vis-à-vis the women's question and one that needs to be cherished and nurtured.

The CPI(ML) recognizes that women's historical subjugation hinges on private property and the existence of family as the economic unit of society. It holds that if we want to fight for the emancipation of women, we have to follow Marxist theory because Marxism unequivocally proves that as long as exploitation and oppression of man by man/woman exist in society, no woman can be free. Why women have been subjugated and dominated by men over the ages and how to abolish this domination, are the basic questions confronting the women's movement today.

The ownership of private property went into the hands of men due to the basic division of labour. Production and reproduction of real life is the basis of human society. This has a twofold meaning. It refers to the production of goods and the re-production of material things for the subsistence of human beings as well as the reproduction of the human being itself. So humankind has a twofold duty: produce things for their subsistence and reproduce their own kind. The primitive division of labour took place on the basis of this. Subsequently, and in continuation, to this, family, private property and the state evolved and took a definite shape. Based on the division of labour, women gradually went out of the arena of major production process. They were relegated to secondary jobs and their primary job became child-bearing and rearing. So, with the development of property relations, men naturally retained control on property and, through this process, men also became the master of the house and the family. Women lost their status in society and gradually lost their supremacy in the household also. Through this process the monogamous (but monogamous only for women) family developed and became the economic unit of society. Women became house slaves of men and society became patriarchal in nature. Since the beginning of division of labour and development of class-divided society, patriarchy became more and more deeply entrenched in society.

In bourgeois society, man's domination in every sphere continues because the family remains the economic unit of society. Thus even now the responsibility of child-bearing and maintaining the household are the primary duties of women. This primitive division of labour still remains intact. In this situation, women cannot participate in social production in the real sense and remain mired in what Lenin referred to as 'stultifying housework'. Engels said, "*It is my conviction that real equality of women and men can come true only when the exploitation of either by capital has been abolished and private housework has been*

transformed into a public industry." (*Marx-Engels Correspondence 1885, Engels to Guillaume-Schack*)

So, it is only when private property has been uprooted, the antithesis between mental labour and physical labour abolished, and the family no more remains the economic unit of society, can we say that oppression and subordination within human society will also disappear. This can be achieved only in the higher phase of communism. Without proletarian revolution and overthrow of the bourgeoisie we cannot imagine that type of society. No, Marx and the teachers of Marxism didn't imagine that all disparity between man and woman will disappear one fine morning with the advent of communism. Rather, they clearly enunciated the disparities remaining in each stage of development of socialist society. As long as class and the state remain, this antithesis will not be abolished. To be precise, the state and class will wither away (**not be abolished**) through the process of winning over that antithesis.

Marx showed precisely where equality in the real sense can be achieved. He wrote about the lower phase of communist society: "*Equal right here is still in principle — bourgeois right*". To quote Marx further, "*In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-around development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!*" Marxism holds that equality between men and women will be achieved only at that stage of development (only vulgar Marxism claims that women's emancipation will be fully achieved with the victory of socialism) because male domination on women originated from the division of labour and the inception of private property. Monogamous family as the economic unit is the key to protecting this property relation. Engels elaborated the abovementioned quotation by Marx in his epochal work, *The Origin of Family, Private Property and State*: "*The first premise for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry; and this again demands that the quality possessed by the individual family of being the economic basis of society be abolished.*"

In this context we can say that class struggle is the key to women's emancipation. An allegation against Marxists is that they usually seek every solution in class struggle, and so they inevitably fail to arrive at the real evaluation of the existing situation! Such allegations have gained weight today because over the last few decades vulgar Marxists have been dominating the scene and are mistaken for true

representatives of Marxism. They cannot analyse the real situation and the relation between class struggle and every micro-level problem. Weakness of the Marxist theoretical movement is responsible for this confusion. Yes, class struggle is the key to the solution of the women's question. Class struggle is the answer to the resolution of very oppression. But class struggle is not only confined to the question of power. Power is the key question of class struggle. But class struggle encompasses all spheres including economy, politics, culture and also the human mind. Even the sexual relation (and sexual domination) is determined according to the domination of certain classes. When the social position of man is as the master of the household, then within the family, even when both men and women take part in social production, there remains male domination. So the fight against male domination and patriarchy is also a part of class struggle. The relationship of men and women (including the sexual relationship) is controlled by this materialist situation. Today patriarchy and male domination remain over-encompassing even at the micro level and in the sphere of personal relationship. We have to recognize this, and at the same assert that this can only be overcome as a consequence of the overthrow private property at the macro-level.

A sizeable section within the communist movement proclaims that the contradiction between man and woman is a non-antagonistic contradiction and has to be dealt with accordingly. What they mean to say is that since the contradiction between the genders is a non-antagonistic one, the struggle to resolve it need not be all that intense. We have to fight furiously, or so they claim, in order to resolve the antagonistic contradiction between the exploited and the exploiting classes. But our fight against patriarchy in the family will be of a rather tame nature since we are looking to solve a non-antagonistic contradiction, namely the contradiction between man and woman! What these 'communists' fail to grasp is the fact that contradictions do not exist in air but on a concrete economic and social base and that an antagonistic contradiction might change into a non-antagonistic one with a change in that base.

To quote an example used by Mao Tse-tung in his essay *On Contradiction*, "*Economically, the contradiction between town and country is an extremely antagonistic one both in capitalist society, where under the rule of the bourgeoisie the towns ruthlessly plunder the countryside, and in the Kuomintang areas in China, where under the rule of foreign imperialism and the Chinese big comprador bourgeoisie the towns most rapaciously plunder the countryside. But in a socialist country and in our revolutionary base areas, this antagonistic contradiction has changed into one that is non-antagonistic; and when communist society is reached it will be abolished.*" Similarly, in a class divided society that fosters the perpetuation of patriarchy, the contradiction between man and woman has distinct shades of antagonism, with man always seeking to

dominate over and exploit woman. But with the abolition of class divided society and advent of socialism, this antagonistic contradiction will change into a non-antagonistic one as the material base of man's domination over woman - private property and the existence of the monogamous family as the economic unit of society - will disappear and also pave the way for the disappearance of the ideological superstructure of male domination. Those who do not understand this basic truth, take a pussyfooting approach to women's struggle for liberation and end up becoming alienated from the masses of women.

In conclusion, it must be stated that the task of the Communist movement in spearheading the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of women has become much more difficult today than ever before with the change in imperialism's form of rule from colonialism to neo-colonialism. A more pernicious form of imperialist plunder and oppression than colonialism, neo-colonialism is a form of rule in which imperialist powers rule countries like ours not directly but through their conscious, trained and trustworthy agents. By not ruling directly, they are able to erect a façade of democracy and instill in the masses an idea of independence. An important feature of neo-colonial rule is the absence of reliance on brute force alone in almost all but extreme circumstances. Rather, the ruling class adopts a consensus-creating approach, in which imperialist culture, ideology and politics are used in such a way that the masses appear to accept — perhaps after some debate and dispute — the policies of the State. The women's movement has vastly suffered because of this. Apparently pro-women legislation and measures conceded by the State has succeeded in derailing the women's movement to a great degree. Unable to grapple with the insidious nature of neo-colonial rule, failing to even recognize its existence, the Communist movement too has suffered a severe setback.

Just as the Communist movement must leave behind its fixation of characterizing the Indian state as semi-feudal, semi-colonial, and set a path of revolution that answers the concrete questions of the concrete situation, so also must the revolutionary women's movement, under its leadership, rise above battling only feudalism and learn to grapple with the new challenges thrown up by neo-colonial rule. Only then can it carry on the struggle to its victorious destination of overthrow of private property and patriarchy and lead the way to the bourne of unqualified freedom.

(Paper presented to the Seminar: On Communist Approach to Dalit, Adivasi, Minorities and Womens Questions on 10th November, 2011 at Bhubaneswar.)

UTARAN (Bengali Political Monthly)

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

SIGNIFICANCE OF FOUNDING OF ICOR AND THE IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGES CONFRONTING ICM

KN RAMACHANDRAN

President comrade Sanjay Singhvi, fraternal comrades and dear comrades,

THE objective of this seminar is to start a discussion on the ideological challenges confronted by the International Communist Movement (ICM), of course in the background of the founding of ICOR which is an initiative taken by the revolutionary parties and organizations to reorganize the Communist International. As all of you are aware, 67 years after the dissolution of the Communist international, many like-minded revolutionary parties and organizations at global level initiated this process and participated in founding of the ICOR. The formation of ICOR was declared on 16th October 2010. It was not a small thing. For the Communist Revolutionaries the world over who are working for World Proletarian Socialist Revolution, the formation of the international platform for the communist international movement is an important step forward.

The First International was formed by Marx and Engels based on their call: Workers of the world, unite. Because, capitalist system is a system integrated internationally. The capitalist class is trying to organize the world in its own image internationally and in order to overthrow this system the working class has to mobilize themselves and all the oppressed classes both nationally and internationally. Though the working class had emerged in some countries by that time, in many of the countries they had not emerged, still the First International was founded. It could provide an inspiring leadership to the working class movement in Europe and North America. It contributed much in the victory of the Paris Commune, though it could survive only for a brief time.

Taking the lessons of Paris Commune and taking the lessons from the changes taking place in the then concrete situation, under the leadership of Engels the First International was reorganized as the Second International. During this period the capitalist system was facing its own perennial crises in more acute forms and in order to solve its own crisis, and to face the increasing challenges from the working class movements, the capitalist system was transformed in to monopoly capitalism, to the stage of Imperialism. In analyzing this transformation in the capitalist system, the leadership of the Second International made grave mistakes leading to its disintegration during the time of the First World War.

It is in this situation, Lenin came forward correctly analyzing the changes that had taken place with the transformation of the capitalist system to imperialism and developed the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution according to these changes in the concrete situation. Within a short time, Lenin could lead the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and founded Soviet Union. Subsequently the Third or the Communist International was

formed in 1919. The history of the following decades teaches that it is under the leadership of the proletariat, the working class movements came up, the communist parties were formed internationally, and under the guidance of Comintern, the mighty leap forward of the revolutionary movement took place all over the world, serving the cause of the working class internationally. Even today, when we are trying to reorganize the communist international and to reorganize the communist party in our country, we are taking the basic lessons of Communist International as the guide lines.

After formation of the Third or Communist International, there were mighty developments around the world, with a number of communist parties making significant advances, which later led to a world situation when one third of the world population were living in the socialist countries. Under the leadership of the Communist Parties and national liberation movements a situation was created when it looked like the East Wind of Socialism shall prevail over the West Wind of Imperialism.

But what is the situation today? The situation is very different today. We can see that none of those erstwhile socialist countries, including Soviet Union and China are, either not existing, or not pursuing the socialist path. Almost all the powerful communist parties formed under the guidance of Comintern have degenerated to revisionist path. The national liberation movements have also weakened around the world.

Against this revisionist trend which was overtaking the socialist trend, a powerful struggle was waged under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Party of Labor Albania through the Great Debate of early 1960s. In spite of it, all the parties which followed the revisionist Soviet leadership degenerated to rightist path. And, as the CPC also soon came under the influence of the left adventurist line, all the Marxist-Leninist Parties which had emerged during that time and which had mechanically followed the Chinese also came under the 'left' adventurist path and soon disintegrated.

In the context of this severe setback, the necessity for the reorganization of the Communist International was put aside and many parties started to think that no more international is required and no more internationalism is required, though proletarian internationalism was chanted as a ritual. Naturally, the question of why Communist International was dissolved in 1943 was not seriously discussed inside the communist movement. It was a serious mistake. We had Three Internationals from 1848 to 1943, almost a century. So when the Communist International was dissolved, was it not the responsibility of the communist forces to discuss why it was dissolved? Was it not necessary to evaluate whether the dissolution of Comintern was a correct step or not,

was it not necessary to discuss whether we should reorganize the Communist International or not? Many of communist parties around the world took a position that there is no necessity for the Communist International, whether they were under the influence of the right deviation or under the influence of the left adventurist position.

When Cho En Lai had declared that due to the mistakes committed by the Comintern, no more Communist Internationals are required and later when the Chinese Communist Party put forward Three World Theory, and China called itself a Third World country; not as a socialist country, the central issue of reorganizing the Communist International was kept aside, or thrown away. Of course, after dissolution of the Comintern, the Cominform was formed, a platform of Communist parties in power. But it was not a replacement for the Comintern and there was no scope for discussing and developing the strategy of world proletarian socialist revolution under it. Why the Communist International was not reorganized after its dissolution in 1943 is a very serious question.

Of course, there may be many reasons for dissolving the Communist International at that time. But there should have been an effort to reorganize the Communist International. So if there were no efforts to reorganize it, it is the responsibility of the Marxist-Leninist forces to analyze and evaluate the mistakes which led them to such a position. As far as our party is concerned, we had put forward the question of the necessity for the reorganization of the Communist International from 1978 onwards, as a part of the question of evaluation of the international developments during the post-1943 period. From that time onward, we have made continuous efforts to develop relationship with the like-minded parties around the world based on this perspective.

At the same time, we had started studies under our own initiative about the changes taking place in the international situation, why the international was dissolved and about the transformation that had taken place in the form of imperialist plunder. So for us who had put forward the need to reorganize the Comintern for last three decades, the founding of ICOR in 2010 is very important milestone in the journey towards reorganization of Communist International. We were part of its formation, and we are proud of it. We are campaigning for the advancement of the ICOR.

At the same time, our task is not yet over. Still the communist forces all over the world are not united and the communist forces are not yet capable of challenging the imperialist system nowhere in the world. In spite of objective situation becoming more and more favorable for revolutionary advances, no powerful communist parties are existing anywhere in the world which are capable of challenging the ruling system and overthrowing it. I am sure that all the Marxist-Leninist forces around the world will agree that compared to the 1991 period when there was an onslaught on the socialist movement by imperialism with slogans like 'End of History', today the situation is different, and a very favorable condition has emerged for the oppressed masses to advance.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that only because of the

objective situation have become favorable, the revolution will not take place. There should be a revolutionary party which is advancing based on a revolutionary theory which shall help the masses to get mobilized and overthrow the reactionary ruling system and to lead the revolution. That is why seminars like this have become very important in discussing what are the ideological challenges which led to the severe setback to the International Communist Movement and what are the lessons we are going to take from that. I don't want to elaborate this point as we have already published a paper in 'The Marxist-Leninist' – our theoretical organ- On the Ideological Challenges Confronting the ICM- for an open discussion. As far as, we, in the CPI (ML), are concerned, we are for an open discussion on this question and the discussion shall be continued. We do not think that we can conclude this discussion immediately, as vital questions concerning the future of the ICM are involved.

There are so many organizations in the world and in India also. They think that any discussion on history, experience of erstwhile socialist countries, like experience of the Soviet Union, experience of China will be leading to attack on Marxist Leninist leaders and so it is not suitable. We think that on all these basic questions there should very be serious discussion. First one is while we work for revolution in our own country, mobilizing the working class and other sections all over the country for revolution in our country, we have to give emphasis to proletarian internationalism, we should have the concept of world revolution in front of us, we should have the concept of world proletarian socialist revolution. After the Second World War, the momentous changes have taken place in the world situation. The imperialist system has actually intensified the internationalization of production, consequently intensified the international character of the working class struggles, and the attack on the working class also. Our studies during the last three decades have led us to the conclusion that the major factor which led to the degeneration of Soviet Union and China was the inability of the CPSU and CPC leaderships to evaluate the development after the Second World War on how the imperialism is attacking the world people in the new forms.

After the Second World War, under the leadership of US Imperialism initiative was taken to change the mode of exploitation. The imperialist system resorted to neo-colonial forms of plunder utilizing the Brettenwood instruments, IMF-WB, and institutions like UN, military alliances like NATO, and a new system of exploitation was introduced using capital-market forces and technology. To fight the Socialist offensive, they even used welfare state concepts based on Keynesian theory. It was very complicated issue, these aggressive acts by imperialism in new forms after the Second World War.

Later, as the Chinese Communist Party analyzed in 1963, the imperialism changed its colonial form to neo-colonial form, but it became more barbarous; it did not get weakened. But, if you evaluate the history of 1940s, especially the second half of 1940 and the first half of 1950s, we can see that the analysis of then world situation coming from the Soviet sources were not recognizing these new forms of imperialist plunder which was barbarous in nature. It was based on this wrong evaluation, later the Kruschovite formulation of peaceful competition and peaceful

coexistence with imperialism and peaceful transition to socialism was put forward. Soviet revisionists repeated that the imperialism is weakening so that we can have peaceful transition to socialism. So though the concrete realities all around the world were changing, they were not ready to change their evaluation of the new situation accordingly.

It was by fighting against this position, in 1963 the Great Debate position was put forward by the CPC which created an inspiring atmosphere for the emergence of the Marxist-Leninist forces around the world. But very soon, as we know, the left adventurist line came to dominance in China by 1969 in the Ninth Congress. According to this line, imperialism was facing total collapse and proletarian revolution was advancing towards worldwide victory. So it was argued that imperialism can be easily overthrown if arms are taken, an adventurist line. As a result, not only the Communist Party of China was in crisis, but all the Marxist-Leninist Parties around the world disintegrated due to this line.

By 1971, though the Lin Biaoism which spearheaded this line was thrown out, what emerged was the new line of Three World Theory. When the Vietnamese people was fighting a do or die struggle against US Imperialism, under the Three World Theory they analyzed that Soviet Social Imperialism was the main danger, and in Africa and many other places, the Chinese Party, Chinese Government started to collaborate with the guerilla groups propped up by the American imperialists to destroy the peoples movements getting Soviet assistance. During the whole process the challenge of reorganizing the Communist International was forgotten or put aside or thrown overboard and this is the mistake we have to struggle against and we have to uphold that the immediate necessity of taking up the struggle for reorganizing the Communist international. In order to take up this task forward, we should have a better understanding on imperialism today, imperialism in the neocolonial phase. We have released an important study on this subject on 8th November and it shows that this is an important subject without studying which we cannot go forward.

The second important aspect we have to take up is question of Democracy. What is the Proletarian Democratic concept under the proletarian dictatorship? It is a very serious question we have to take up. Are we going to transcend, go beyond, whatever we have achieved under bourgeois democracy, or are we going back, in the name of proletarian democracy? It is a very big challenge before the Communist Party. How the Communist Parties are to be organized and what is the type of democracy we are going to practice in the Communist Parties, what is the type of democracy we are going to advocate in the society as a whole, and what should be the democratic system to be developed under the proletarian dictatorship?

It is in that context we have published Marx's studies on Paris Commune and later Lenin's contribution and other studies connected with Proletarian concept about democracy. So the question of Proletarian Democracy is a very serious question and should be taken up without which the communist party cannot advance. There was a slogan by Lenin, 'all power to Soviets', and socialist countries should emerge by implementing this slogan, transferring the power to the people and advancement of socialism

should be linked to transferring the power to the people, making the people capable of building the centers of people's political power should be the central question. We know that all the socialist leaderships had degenerated to bureaucratic dictatorships and all communist parties came under the influence of revisionism were transformed into bureaucratic organizations. How to challenge this? So without fighting the emergence of bureaucracy in any form by initiating the plans of transferring power to the people, we will not be able to develop the democratic concept of proletarian dictatorship.

The third question is the concept of development. Today, we know that under the so called imperialist development policies, all over the whole world ecological devastation is taken place, what once Engels said is becoming true that the contradiction between nature and human beings is changing into an antagonistic contradiction. This is the situation today. So ecological question today cannot be neglected as a question which the revisionists ridiculed as ecological fundamentalism till yesterday. It is a vital question; it is an organic question without taking which, without fighting against the imperialist policies which devastate nature, and without developing a new development policy, we will not be able to advance further. We are not saying there were no positive experiences in the socialist countries. There were many experiences and there was an article by Mao on Ten Major Relationships and many contributions were there. In spite of these, we can see that an alternative development perspective could not be developed theoretically and practically.

Today, in fact all the scientists are united in explaining that if these 'development' policies are continued, human race cannot exist on this earth for more than a century. It is in this aspect the contradiction between capital and nature is stated as one of the major contradictions in our Party Program. It is just a beginning. We have to work hard to develop the perspective on what will be the development perspective of tomorrow, based on the lessons learned from the so called development policies of capitalism and imperialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that without a line, without an ideological political orientation, we cannot go forward. Marxism is not a metaphysics. Marxism is a science and we have to develop Marxist understanding on the question of internationalism, on the question of democracy and on the question of development. So we consider that it is a great challenge, confronted by the Communist Parties around the world. We will have to face these challenges, we will have to find answers to them and we will have to develop our understanding about them. By stating this we do not mean that we have come with ready made answers for these questions. We are initiating our studies, we are asking questions and we are trying to find answers to them. We hope this seminar will ponder over these questions, shall deepen the discussion on them and try to make contributions to find answers to these questions. Thank you comrades!

Marxwadi - Leninwadi
(kannada Monthly)

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

PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

STEFAN ENGEL

DEAR FRIENDS AND COMRADES,

I AM very pleased about the fact that today I may present our new book “*Dawn of the International Socialist Revolution*”. It appeared as number 32 to 34 in the series *Revolutionärer Weg (Revolutionary Way)*, the theoretical organ of the MLPD. We translated the book into English very quickly. The CPI(ML) saw to it that it was printed and published in India, and now can also be distributed, read and discussed internationally in the English language. Many thanks for that.

At the Fourth Party Congress (of MLPD) in 1991, Willi Dickhut made a contribution of seminal importance. On the basis of the internationalization of capitalist production analyzed by him in *Revolutionärer Weg* he explained: “This international character of the capitalist mode of production demands that the socialist revolution take on international character too.” (*Selected Documents of the Berlin Party Congress of the MLPD*, p. 43)

The Central Committee set about as early as in 1992 to plan an issue of *Revolutionärer Weg* on the international socialist revolution. But it would take fully 19 years until *Revolutionärer Weg*, Numbers 32 to 34, could be completed and published. There were objective and subjective reasons for this. The elaboration of strategy and tactics must be based on the analysis of the objective development of society as well as on the generalization of the practical experience of the international class struggle.

To fully understand the *necessary qualitative leap in the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics*, a great many theoretical insights and practical experiences were needed. We learned from experience that the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking is effective not only in party-building, but also in the destruction of socialism, the corrosion of class consciousness and the splitting of the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement. This necessitated the comprehensive elaboration of the doctrine of the mode of thinking in *Revolutionärer Weg* Number 26 “The Struggle over the Mode of Thinking in the Working-Class Movement”.

In strategy and tactics the problem of how the party and the masses could successfully come to grips with the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking increasingly moved center stage. This called for deepening our understanding of political economy. Already in *The Origin of the Family*,

Private Property and the State, Frederick Engels and Karl Marx formulated the twofold conception of production as a fundament of the political economy of Marxism.

This conception states that the production of material goods and the production of the human species itself must be understood as a dialectical unity. Class consciousness is determined not only by the position in relation to exploitation in capitalist production, but also by the mode of life, the bourgeois family system as dialectical counterpart to the exploitation of wage labor. This is all the more valid in a time in which the system of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking exerts a comprehensive influence on the thinking, feeling and acting of the masses. With *Revolutionärer Weg*, Numbers 27/28, for the first time the strategy and tactics in the struggle over the mode of thinking in the women’s movement was developed.

The masses can successfully deal with the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking only on the basis of the interaction of systematic party-building with the promotion of the self-run organizations of the masses. Since then the party has fought to acquire a more and more comprehensive theoretical and practical understanding of the *importance of the mode of thinking in party-building and class struggle*. The Eighth Party Congress was able to complete the transition of party work to the foundation of the proletarian mode of thinking.

With the reorganization of capitalist production, the internationalization of capitalist production made a qualitative leap which changed the entire imperialist world system and lastingly influenced the conditions of class struggle. Without making a comprehensive analysis of this essential change in the capitalist mode of production and the imperialist world system in *Revolutionärer Weg*, Numbers 29 to 31, it was impossible to understand the new quality of the strategy and tactics of the international revolution.

At the same time the MLPD gathered extensive experience in the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement. This enabled a deeper understanding of the central problems that have to be solved in theoretical work in the context of the international Marxist-Leninist movement. The unification of the international Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and working-class movement made its most important qualitative leap with the building and

founding of ICOR, and, with that, created important prerequisites for the mutual revolutionization and coordination of the class struggles across national frontiers. The elaboration of *Revolutionärer Weg*, Numbers 32 to 34, means a *synthesis of the theoretical and practical process of cognition and development which the MLPD has gone through in the last 20 years* in interaction with the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement.

Since the publication of the work of General von Clausewitz “On War” the bourgeois parties have also adopted the position that **political strategy and tactics** are necessary for pushing through certain politics. Marx and Engels appreciated the dialectically thinking of the Hegelian von Clausewitz and developed the **doctrine of the class struggle** as one of the three aspects of Marxism. They emphasized the **scientific nature** of the proletarian strategy and tactics and called for a social analysis as their foundation. Therefore proletarian strategy and tactics are based on the **political economy of Marxism-Leninism**.

That means that the proletarian strategy and tactics do not follow arbitrary ideas, but are based on the course of class struggle governed by law and its roots in the capitalist society. The strategy and tactics always also have an **ideological basis**. The world outlook of the working class is dialectical and historical materialism. It is based on the fact that reality exists and is functioning according to dialectical laws. The proletarian strategy and tactics are a science which is based on the **political economy of the working class**, and on **dialectical and historical materialism**.

Willi Dickhut summarized the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics as follows: “Strategy and tactics are terms from military science; the Marxist-Leninists also use them in the political struggle. The strategy is concerned with the ultimate aim and the purpose of class struggle, the tactics with the concrete form and contents of the struggles in the particular situation. The strategy and tactics of the party is the method of theoretically working out all aspects of the class struggle and of party work, as dialectical unity, and realizing them in practice.”

The book, “Dawn of the International Socialist Revolution” has 3 parts: In the **first part** we describe the development of the strategy of the international socialist revolution from Marx until today. In the **second part** we treat the strategy and tactics of the presently ruling international finance capital. In the **third part** we deal with the conclusions for the concrete proletarian strategy and tactics for the preparation and realization of the international socialist revolution.

It was necessary to retrace such a long history of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, because there are many wrong views regarding this in the international Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and working class movement. It was Marx and Engels who developed the strategy of the

international socialist revolution, to which they provided fundamental guidance already in 1848 under the slogan: “Workers of all countries, unite!” They substantiated that with the statement that capitalism is a worldwide phenomenon and can therefore be overcome only on a worldwide level. At that time they expected a simultaneous, uniform revolution, at least in the still few capitalist countries in Europe and North America. They expected that the working class which comes to power would go over relatively quickly to communism in a **common act**.

However, after the suppression of the Paris Commune, this first heroic attempt of the establishment of the power of the working class in 1871, they corrected this statement self-critically. Engels wrote in 1895: “*But history has shown us too to have been wrong, has revealed our point of view at that time to have been an illusion.... It has made it clear that the state of economic development on the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production...*” (Quoted in “Dawn ...”, p. 31)

Lenin then evaluated imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism and discovered the law of uneven development. After that he concretized the strategy of the international revolution as a chain reaction of revolutions, which will begin at the weakest link of the imperialist world system. He assumed that after the October Revolution, in particular in Germany and Europe, proletarian revolutions would follow, and consequently socialism would defeat capitalism in the whole world.

These expectations were not unfounded, because at the end of the murderous First World War, a revolutionary situation emerged in most of the capitalist countries. However, as we all know, in Germany the proletarian revolution, which broke out between 1918 – 1923 in several armed uprisings, was finally crushed in a bloodbath through the counterrevolution. The Soviet Union was now forced to build socialism with its own forces.

Some comrades of the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement criticize the MLPD that the international revolution is a turning away from the October Revolution, which was actually followed by the construction of socialism in one country. This is a distortion of the facts which was carried out in the Soviet Union mainly by the national Bolsheviks which later landed with the fascists. Lenin unequivocally made clear in 1921 at the II Congress of the Communist International: “*When we started the international revolution, we did so not because we were convinced that we could forestall its development, but because a number of circumstances compelled us to start it.*”

We thought: either the international revolution comes to our assistance, and in that case our victory will be fully assured, or we shall do our modest revolutionary work in the conviction that even in the event of defeat we shall

have served the cause of the revolution and that our experience will benefit other revolutions. It was clear to us that **without the support of the international world revolution the victory of the proletarian revolution was impossible.**

Before the revolution, and even after it, we thought: Either revolution breaks out in the other countries, in the capitalistically more developed countries, immediately, or at least very quickly, or we must perish.

In spite of this conviction, we did all we possibly could to preserve the Soviet system under all circumstances, come what may, because we knew that we were not only working for ourselves, but also for the international revolution. (Quoted from "Dawn ...", p. ...)

When the Trotskyites, who temporarily had supported the October Revolution, realized what great difficulties and efforts the construction of socialism in a backward country, surrounded by hostile capitalist and imperialist countries, demanded, they attacked this construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. They declared in a demagogic way that they were the true advocates of the international revolution. With that, however, they adopted a counterrevolutionary standpoint. Lenin regarded this capitulation only with contempt.

Stalin as well understood the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union not as a national project, but as a bulwark of the international class struggle, as revolutionary center which would advance the international revolution. The Soviet Union also unselfishly supported the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of Mao Zedong.

For the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China Mao Zedong developed the strategy of the new-democratic revolution, which was achieved victoriously in the year 1949 under the particular conditions of this huge country with the strategy and tactics of the protracted people's war. So, the Chinese new-democratic revolution was a development of the Marxist-Leninist strategy of the international proletarian revolution for the particular conditions of the social and national liberation struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies of that time. In this context Mao Zedong pointed to the fact: *"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 ... 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, - so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution***

becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution...." (Mao Zedong, Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 346 and 347; quoted according to the "Dawn ...", p.)

Today we see a growing open-mindedness of many people as regards a socialist alternative, even though there are many different views regarding that. However, just for this reason anti-communist reservations against socialism are stirred up among the masses today. The book states regarding this: *"Modern anticommunism surrounds the history of socialism with a negative aura of failure, imputes "despotic crimes" to it and paints a picture of the "senseless toll on life" which the struggle for socialism is supposed to have taken. The purpose is to suggest that despite capitalist society's obviously crisis-laden nature there is no alternative to it. It is the international state doctrine today to stir up anticommunist reservations against socialism among the masses.*

This makes a serious and objective discussion of the experience of socialist construction very difficult.

The Marxist-Leninists do not deny that mistakes, misdirected developments or even crimes against humanity occurred in the socialist countries. They themselves are most interested in a full elucidation in order to learn for the future. But they are able to distinguish between anticommunist slanders, unscientific corruption of historical facts and the manipulation of public opinion, on the one hand, and a critical and self-critical appraisal of the experiences of the first socialist countries in their historic context from the viewpoint of the struggle for liberation from exploitation and oppression.

"In this process they will preserve the essential part, the progressive part, the indelible part.

"Socialism was an inspiring, encouraging perspective for the exploited and oppressed of all countries for many decades; this experience cannot simply be obliterated.

"The collective memory of the international Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and working-class movement will survive the flood of anticommunist manipulation and red-baiting." (Dawn ...)

Socialism suffered its most severe setback and its most serious defeat by the betrayal from within! After the death of Stalin on 5th March 1953 at the **Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU** in February 1956 a strata of petty-bourgeois bureaucrats in the party leadership, in the state apparatus, and in the direction of the economy seized political power under the leadership of Khrushchev.

A petty-bourgeois mode of thinking gradually emerged and developed among them, and finally it gained ground against the proletarian mode of thinking. The proletarian party, the revolutionary initiative of the masses, and with that of the whole society, were undermined from inside by this, eroded and finally destroyed. Step by step the

restoration of capitalism was initiated and the socialist achievements were cut back one by one, which experienced its dramatic climax with the fall of the wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. The ideological basis for this was **modern revisionism** of Khrushchev.

The consequence was a **division and fragmentation for decades worldwide** of the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement. The overwhelming majority of the former communist parties in the whole world were transformed into bourgeois parties and appendages of the CPSU.

At the same time, the transformation of the socialist camp into a bureaucratic-capitalist block became the main hindrance for the advance of the proletarian revolution, socialism and the transition to communism. It sounds harsh, but the decline of the Soviet Union, the fall of the GDR, the disappearance of the bulwark of revisionism, was the starting point for a new upswing in the struggle for socialism.

This coincided with the reorganization of international production which signified a new stage of the imperialist world system. Since the 1990s, imperialism has created international integrated production systems, and brought forth a fast growing international industrial proletariat, so that the united socialist countries of the world have become a realistic and tangible goal today. Production, trade, traffic and communication are internationally organized today and concern all branches of the economy, including the financial system. Thus also an international labor market came into existence with the consequence that the training of the workers is being standardized worldwide. Even the health and education system, science and culture are affected by the internationalization of the capitalist mode of production, which gradually includes all countries of the world.

All this alone to the benefit and increase of the wealth of a tiny strata of billionaires, who are outstripping each other. A tiny strata of about 500 international supermonopolies constitutes today the worldwide solely ruling finance capital. It controls and disposes over more than 80 per cent of the world social product, 70 per cent of the world exports and 90 per cent of the world capital exports. It dominates the speculative capital floating round the world, which in 2007 amounted to 2,3 quadrillion US dollars, about 42 times the world social product.

Never before in the history of humankind was there a greater concentration of power. And nevertheless, this solely ruling international finance capital as new main enemy of the international working class and of all oppressed people of the world is a shaky giant who can be defeated.

In order to become a worldwide superior force and be able to overthrow the solely ruling international finance capital and its imperialist world system, the international working class has to be familiar with its strategy and tactics. In our book we have discovered three fundamental

weaknesses of these rulers of the world which make us confident.

First: The mode of existence of the imperialist world system is being marked by a **general crisis-proneness** owing to the reorganization of international production. In the book we have depicted fifteen main features of this crisis-proneness.

Among them a chronic structural crisis on the basis of the reorganization of the international production, financial and economic crises which are breaking out in tendency in shorter intervals and more violently, latent or open political crises, the dramatically intensifying environmental crisis, the crisis of neocolonialism, the general danger of war, the crisis of the bourgeois family system, and, not least, the crisis of bourgeois science and world outlook. All these are international phenomena and profoundly destabilize the imperialist world system.

Owing to the chronic over-accumulation of capital, international production will only function on the basis of the international structural crisis in the foreseeable future. Industries with a conventional technological basis and energy basis, with a traditional organization of work, which are organized one-sidedly on a national state level and have a traditional position in the social division of labor are being liquidated rigorously or replaced by new international integrated production systems on the highest technological level.

In India during the last years, this has led to the destruction of more than 100 million jobs in old industries, whereas only 20 to 25 million new jobs were provided in the internationally organized modern industry. The permanent annihilation of capital to an ever growing extent will become internationally the fundamental condition of the internationalized capitalist production and reproduction process.

The strategy and tactics of the solely ruling international finance capital exists on this basis **mainly in the political and economic crisis management**. A graphic example for this was provided by the counter-measures, with which international finance capital and its governments responded to the dramatic outbreak of the world economic and financial crisis in September 2008. On 14/16 November 2008, a summit of the heads of state of the most important countries (G20) was convened to Washington for the first time.

The most significant economic powers of the world, to which, in the meantime by the way, also Brazil, South Africa or India belong, got under way an internationally coordinated crisis management, which in its dimensions and its relative consensus was historically unprecedented up to that time. This international crisis management could only work, because the imperialists and the international supermonopolies were ready to temporarily put aside their

secondary contradictions. By combining the manipulation of opinions with economic concessions to the masses, they could dampen the class contradictions so far that only occasionally an open outbreak of political crises occurred, but not a development of a revolutionary world crisis. The price for the state crisis management was among other things a massive increase in state debts and the latent danger of national bankruptcies. This set off a euro crisis in Europe, which in reality was an **acute crisis of the international crisis management**. With the end of the joint crisis management, the competition of the various groups of the solely ruling international finance capital and the imperialist states came to the fore again.

The euro crisis triggered a change of tactics of the international finance capital. Now the goal was to increasingly shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the broad masses in Europe. This initiated internationally a change of mood. There was an enormous upswing in the workers' and people's struggles and the rebellion of the youth in the second half of the year 2010.

Here I think of the 14 general strikes in Greece with growing participation and increasing radicalization or also several general strikes in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain with millions of participants. In the Southern European countries a big part of migrants from North Africa actively took part in the class disputes. These became an important trigger of the struggles in North Africa in December 2010.

Today the Mediterranean region has undoubtedly become the weakest link in the chain of the imperialist world system. Currently this manifests itself the most in the **potential for a revolutionary world crisis**.

A mere power failure owing to an earthquake and a tsunami triggered a disastrous nuclear catastrophe in Japan by a worst case scenario in Fukushima. Worst case scenario, that is the maximum credible accident. Today nobody can predict the entire extent of the consequences of this nuclear catastrophe in Japan that is only gradually becoming visible. What is only certain is the fact that out of pure greed the truth comes to light only bit by bit.

Today, there is no other question in which the ruling powers are so isolated as they are in the environmental issue. Our book states: "*The unity of man and nature is the foundation on which all human societies and their modes of production develop. (...)*"

"In the 1980s it had to be assumed that the "changes man causes in the natural environment [have] turn[ed] into an accelerated phase of destruction of soil, water, air, flora and fauna, affecting all fundamental conditions of human life. (...)

"At the beginning of the 1990s there were first indications that the environmental crisis was turning into a global environmental catastrophe.

*"We refer to a **global environmental catastrophe** when the destruction of the natural metabolism existing between soil, water, air, flora and fauna has reached such dimensions that this metabolism loses its balance and the foundations of any human existence and production are destroyed.*

*"With the reorganization of international production since the 1990s, the **environmental crisis** has become a **law-governed manifestation of the capitalist mode of production**.*

*"This means that capitalist production and consumption **only work now on the basis of the chronic crisis-laden destruction of the environment**. The development of capitalism therefore has reached a point where it is **irreconcilable** with the preservation of the **natural foundations of life of humanity**."*

This makes the call for a social alternative among the masses in the world more and more insistent.

Secondly: For the solely ruling international finance capital it is a fundamental problem that it is **no homogeneous force**. Various groups of super-monopolies are fighting bitterly against each other for geostrategic spheres of influence, for the control of the reserves of raw materials, for the world market and for predominant political influence in international organizations and in the nation-states in which they have their basis of political power.

The solely ruling international finance capital **neither disposes of a unified nor of a stable, permanent own power apparatus**. It often has to rely on the conflicting power organs of the imperialist countries. It can exert its imperialist power only on the basis of inter-imperialist agreements, for example as deployment of UN contingents or within the framework of temporary police or military cooperation. This limits the tactical and strategical scope, because such cooperations always presuppose compromises, require strategic and tactical concessions. This causes a general restriction of its scope and makes it assailable.

Thirdly: At the center of the strategy and tactics of the international finance capital is the interplay of its two main methods of rule: deception and force.

The formation and growing importance of the international industrial proletariat for the mastery of the developed international productive forces, **forces the international finance capital to dampen the class contradictions and manipulate public opinion**. In its undisguised anti-worker form, bourgeois ideology has already met with rejection for a long time. Therefore, monopoly capital went over on the international level to build up the spontaneously operating petty-bourgeois mode of thinking to a system of views, habits, feelings and patterns of behavior. Thus a new central means of struggle of the bourgeois class rule came into being - the social system of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking. It reaches the broad

masses worldwide via the modern mass media. In the world economic and financial crisis it became the basis of the international crisis management.

The system of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking is directed at the disorientation, disorganization and demoralization of the working-class and people's movement and is, in particular, intended to block the revolutionary way out. The fundamental weakness of this system of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking consists in its **negative orientation**, by which a positive attachment to the existing capitalist system is not possible.

Thus, since the turn of the millennium, an international trend to the left developed. Reformism suffered a crisis and its influence in the working class movement, mainly in Europe, declined considerably. The response to that was a Europe-wide smear campaign of modern anticommunism coordinate by the European Council in 2006. The **new kind of separation between the working-class movement and socialism** through the propagation of a confusing **petty-bourgeois anticommunist mode of thinking** among the masses is presently the main problem in the struggle over the mode of thinking of the masses.

However sophisticated and refined the internationally operating system of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking with the core of modern anticommunism may be, it is in the long run not capable of satisfying the needs of the masses. To that extent to which the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking is facing a crisis, scientific socialism can reach the decisive majority of the working class, in particular the international industrial proletariat, and it is possible to involve the broad masses in the struggle against the government.

A fundamental question of every revolution is its socio-economic character. This is derived from the question which classes are opposing each other in the struggle for power and with what strategic goal the revolutionary struggle is being conducted.

Since the beginning of the reorganization of the international production in the 1990s, the capitalist mode of production has adopted a new international quality. In the worldwide integrated productions systems the main carrier of a perspective of the united socialist states of the world emerged with the international industrial proletariat. This strata of the working class in the 500 largest monopolies is quickly growing, and with 400 to 500 million people it presently comprises more than ten per cent of the about 3 billion persons in work worldwide.

Its numbers in the production centers in India is already greater than in the entire European Union. The international industrial proletariat is irreconcilably pitted against the solely ruling international finance capital as the present ruler of the world and has to develop to a force that is superior to it. They are directly working in the international monopolies like Siemens, BASF, BMW, Tata Motors, Tata Steel, Indian

Oil, or in enterprises which are directly integrated into the production process of the international monopolies, or in independent enterprises, which produce for the international monopolies.

The international industrial proletariat is the decisive force of the international revolution, for it is at the center of the highest developed international productive forces. With its method of work and mode of thinking it represents the most advanced mode of production. It is therefore alone capable of leading the remaining part of the working class and the broad masses in the historical transformation from capitalism to socialism.

Today there is no agreement in the international revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement on the strategic main task of winning the international industrial proletariat. Various revolutionary parties, even experienced parties which are established among the masses, place little value on the revolutionary work among the rank and file among the industrial proletariat in modern industrial centers, in monopoly enterprises and in special economic zones. They objectively give way to the reformists and revisionists.

The policy of class collaboration of the international supermonopolies makes it easier for the reformists and revisionists to extend their influence in big enterprises, making the revolutionary work among the rank and file of the Marxists-Leninists more difficult.

As main adversaries of the worldwide class struggle, this international industrial proletariat and the solely ruling finance capital with its international super-monopolies and its imperialist state apparatus are opposing each other. Owing to this class antagonism, the revolution in future will take on the character of an international socialist revolution.

In general, however, a revolutionary fermentation among the broad masses of the world population is not yet visible. Only when the mass struggles weaken the imperialist apparatus, a general process or revolutionization will begin, bringing to a climax the inner corrosion of the states, so that they will become ripe for the revolution.

The concrete conditions of the proletarian class struggle differ considerably from country to country, because the internationalization of the capitalist production results also in the aggravation of the uneven development of capitalism. Former empires like Spain and Portugal have sunk into second-rate imperialist powers or even dependent capitalist countries.

In former colonies, semi-colonies or neoc-olonially dependent countries like India, Brazil, South Korea or South Africa own international monopolies have developed stimulated by the capital export from the imperialist metropolises. Thus, in India eight international monopolies are among the 500 biggest supermonopolies in the meantime.

These countries are at first taking on a regional hegemonic role and then they themselves go over to capital export and to an imperialist policy of plundering against other neo-colonial countries, driven by economic constraints, and are competing more and more with the up till now existing imperialist countries. This intensifies the inter-imperialist competition and the general destabilization of the imperialist world system.

Today, the former socialist China is operating as the second biggest economic power in the world and as a rising social-imperialist rival in the struggle for world hegemony and seriously challenges the established imperialist powers.

In Venezuela or Bolivia anti-imperialist governments have taken on the struggle against the domination of international supermonopolies in their countries. They try to achieve economic independence. However, they are still standing before the decisive step to overthrow by revolution the state apparatus with its various dependencies on the old exploiting classes and on finance capital and then establish a new people's democratic power which takes the road of socialism.

In fascist dictatorships like Iran, the next strategic goal must be that an antifascist people's front overthrows the fascist dictatorship and again achieves bourgeois-democratic rights and liberties. This also applies to most of the Arab countries.

Only then will the class struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist rule be able to develop. All countries have their geographic, historical, cultural and other national peculiarities, which the strategy for the struggle for power has to take into consideration.

The international socialist revolution will have a **general proletarian character**, which can express itself in no other way than in the **interaction of the particular revolutions in the individual countries**. These revolutions will break out at different times, and differ from one another in their character, in their main forces, in the concrete goals.

With the trend to the left, the desire for a closer cooperation of revolutionary organizations and parties beyond ideological-political differences of opinion is developing worldwide. "*Because internationalism*", Lenin said, "*does not consist of phrases, not in assertions of solidarity, not in resolutions, but in deeds.*" (German: Lenin Volume 26, p. 64)(eigene Übersetzung)

Time is ripe for a new stage of the proletarian internationalism, for the organized practical cooperation of revolutionary parties and organizations in party building and class struggle beyond country borders. The founding of ICOR on 6 October 2010 with in the meantime 43 organizations from 33 countries, 4 continents and with six different currents followed this necessity. Such a union, even though it does not make possible and necessitate the

union in all essential questions, needs, nevertheless, a common ideological-political basis, to draw a clear dividing line to opportunism, to revisionism, to reformism, to Trotskyism and liquidationism; and, of course, to any form of modern anticommunism, which presently produces strange effects in its worldwide campaign against so-called Stalinism and Maoism.

The organized formation of the strategic superiority of the revolutionary working-class movement in the moral, ideological, political and organizational field is the common task of all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries today. For that, in all countries, they have to extend the proletarian strategy and tactics to the strategy and tactics in the struggle over the mode of thinking.

They have to learn and train, to act together like an orchestra by **unfolding** the various **different concrete strategies and tactics** in the individual countries **in such a way, that they apply at the same time to the international socialist revolution**. With that, the struggle for saving the natural environment takes on a strategic importance for the overthrow of imperialism.

The book states at the end: "*By unleashing the international productive forces, the reorganization of international production has ushered in the Götterdämmerung of international finance capital. At the beginning of its crusade around the globe, international finance capital still reveled in fantasies of omnipotence and dreams of eternity.*"

Today, their mood is one of general hangover: the crisis-proneness of the social system proves irreversible.

But the turn of a new era already looms on the horizon; the dawning of the international socialist revolution becomes visible.

And yet, the old masters will not make way voluntarily, even if they drag the whole of humanity with them into capitalist barbarism.

The decision for the international revolution must be made by the workers and the masses themselves.

To help them make this decision and together with them sweep every obstacle out of the way so that they can fulfill their historical mission – that, in a nutshell, sums up the tasks of the Marxist-Leninists in the whole world today.

Forward with the international socialist revolution!

Forward to the united socialist states of the world!

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries and all oppressed, unite!

Thank you very much for your attention!

(Speech in Bhubaneswar/India on 14 November 2011, during the release of his work, "Dawn of the International Socialist Revolution")

WHERE THE CENTRAL TRADE UNIONS ARE LEADING THE WORKING CLASS?

On 2nd December 2011, some Central TUs have given a call for a bandh on 28th February 2012, on an All-India basis. This is supposed to be the follow-up action after the Jail Bhara movement undertaken by them on 8th November 2011. The statement announcing this strike was signed by BMS, INTUC, AITUC, HMS, CITU, AIUTUC, AICCTU, UTUC, TUCC, LPF and Sewa.

The demands for this agitation include the five point demands formulated jointly by the Central Trade Unions and Federations for 1) concrete measures to contain price rise; 2) concrete measures for linkage of employment protection with the concession/incentive package offered to the entrepreneurs; 3) Strict enforcement of all basic labour laws without any exception or exemption and stringent punitive measures for violation of labour laws; 4) universal social security cover for the unorganised sector workers without any restriction and creation of a National Social Security Fund with adequate resources in line with the recommendations of NCEUS and the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Labour; and 5) Stoppage of disinvestment in central and state profit-making PSUs.

Besides these previously formulated demands, the following have also been added for the 28th strike : 1) No contractorisation of work of permanent/perennial nature and payment of wages and benefits to the contract workers at the same rate as available to the regular workers of the industry/establishment; 2) Amendment of Minimum Wages Act to ensure universal coverage irrespective of the schedules and fixation of statutory minimum wage at not less than Rs. 10000/-; 3) Remove all ceilings on eligibility for Bonus, Provident Fund and increase the quantum of gratuity; 4) Assured pension for all; 5) Compulsory registration of Trade Unions within a period of 45 days, immediate ratification of ILO conventions 87 and 98.

No doubt, the demands are such as no worker can have any objection to. It is like saying that workers must get higher wages. But the workers will not be so easily convinced. They have often seen leaders who have demanded higher wages for workers only to sell the workers down the river for a fistful of silver.

Who is making the demands and of whom? It is clear that it is the leadership of the signatory central trade unions which have made the demands. It is not as if the demands have been arrived at after some democratic process. The demands are being made of Government and Parliament. Are the workers then to turn a blind eye to the fact that it is the same parties who lead these trade unions which are also leading the Government and Parliament, including both the Treasury benches and the opposition benches? How are the workers to imagine that the demands will work?

For instance, Dr. G. Sanjeeva Reddy, President INTUC is a MP of the Congress. The Congress lists the INTUC as its "frontal organisation" on its website. Will it be that he will lead the morcha on 28th February 2012 and go into the hall of Parliament on 29th February 2012 to vote in favour of the budget? Will even the leaders of the AITUC and the CITU, who will be on the opposition benches in Parliament raise at least a cursory voice about the demands inside Parliament or will the budget be passed like the

SEZ Act of 2005 was passed, without any discussion at all?

Besides, these demands have a history. The price rise is linked to many policies of this and the previous UPA Governments and also of the NDA Governments linked to globalisation. The dissolution of the oil pool, cutting of subsidies, etc. are all linked to globalisation. Without opposition to globalisation, the demands are a mere window dressing. The fact is that almost all the parties which control these central trade unions have been responsible for these policies. Can the workers now trust that these trade unions are going to launch an agitation which will force these governments to reverse these very policies? Is this the reason why the main demand on price rise has been left so vague as to demand "concrete measures" to contain the price rise? Can any Government ever say that they will not take "concrete measures" against price rise? In effect this demand means nothing.

The demand for implementation of ILO conventions 87 and 98 (for freedom of formation of trade unions of their choice and for collective bargaining) also has a history. Soon after the conventions were passed in 1948 or so, the Indian Government has drafted a bill called the Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill. However, this was never passed into law. No doubt the recent refusals of managements to discuss with the majority trade unions as in the case of Maruti Suzuki, Ricoh and Jet Airways, has prompted this demand. However, just raising a demand for implementation of an ILO convention over 60 years after its ratification, without any explanation for the delay, will leave the workers wondering about the sincerity of the demand.

The demand against privatisation has, as usual, been watered down to be limited to "profit-making" PSUs. The other demands also show signs of being hasty and ill-thought out. However, it is not the demands that are the main concerns of the workers.

The workers are concerned that such protests are mere showpieces where the workers are made use of as "morcha-fodder" for totally extraneous agendas. The budget is to be presented in Parliament on 29th February and there are to be elections in five states this year. This strike is being touted as a massive working class unity with the Congress, BJP and Communist unions all supporting it. Of course working class unity is a most desirable aim. But that begs the question. Unity for what? Can there really be such a unity of the working class where workers led by Congress, BJP and CPI/CPM leaders come together. What will the aim of such a unity? Certainly not the overthrow of the system, not even the Government. This unity then is only a manifestation of desire – a mere registration of protest.

We may have many differences with Anna Hazare. After all, Team Anna represents a middle class or a bourgeois leadership. Still, they seem to be more intent upon the overthrow of, if not the system, at least of the Government. Without such intent, agitation must be reduced to mere assertions of deep desires. It is very doubtful if such registration of protest will grip the working class and is even more doubtful, indeed, if ever it was intended to.

Sanjay Singhvi

If Undelivered Return to
Red Star
C - 141, Sainik Nagar
New Delhi - 110059
Phone: 011-25332343

Postal Reg. No. DL(W)-18/2188/2012-14
RNI Registration No. - DELENG/2000/615



Worker's Struggle at Loomtex Jute Mill, Tatagarh, Kolkata