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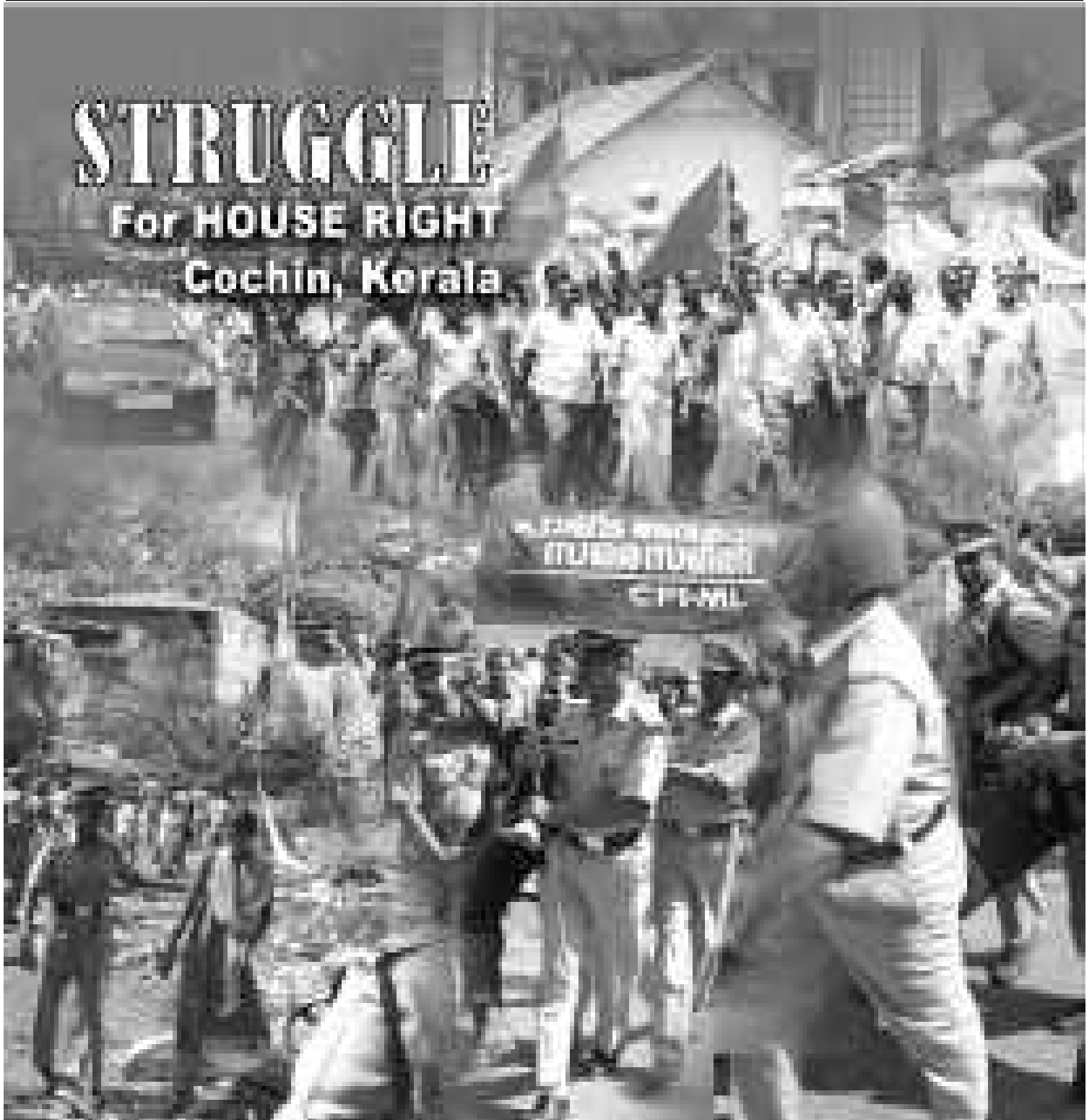
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A Vote Against Pseudo Left and Sangh Parivar ! UPA Victory is Not a License for More Reforms and US Subservience !

Prepare to Fight intensification of Neo-Colonisation !

IN A SITUATION when the democratic content of all the bourgeois democratic institutions including the parliamentary system and the state apparatus is eroding fast under neo-colonisation, the results of the 15th Lok Sabha elections was almost like a 'fait accompli'. The Congress and the UPA led by it, should primarily thank the CPI(M)-led Left Front for this. For more than four years the LF was dutifully propping up the Manmohan Singh government which was intensifying the neo-liberal policies with Prakash Karat and company immensely enjoying the game of *hunting with the hunter while running with the hare*. While they enjoyed all the benefits of it, as dogs barking incessantly, never daring to bite. The UPA government went ahead with its imperialist globalization agenda coupled with the signing of the *Defence Framework Agreement with US*, dragging the country to 'strategic subservience' of US imperialism. Ultimately, by the time the Left Front withdrew support in the name of opposing the formal signing of the Indo-US Nuke Deal, all the damages were done and UPA had achieved whatever it wanted. It had gone ahead with the neo-liberal agenda speedily in spite of the 'barking dogs' and had succeeded to spread the impression that while the Left Front governments in power in West Bengal and Kerala go ahead with the same policies, LF is an obstacle to development. By exposing the hypocrisy of the pseudo-left with the able support of the corporate media, the left alternative itself was maligned and attacked. Along with the 'parliamentary left', the 'actions' of the anarchist 'left', the *Maoists*, also helped the ruling class parties and the corporate media to slander and abuse the Marxist-Leninist forces and to repeatedly assert that the 'left' cannot deliver.

The picture became more ridiculous when Prakash Karat and company came out with the so-called Third Front, a non-Congress, non-BJP front, a disaster based on negativity. A *Third Front* of Left Front with Telugu Desham Party, AIADMK, JD(S), BJD, TRS like parties, most of whom were partners of BJP-led NDA for long and all of them are addicted to neo-liberal policies which had nothing to offer as a positive

slogan when the country is facing the grave consequences of the *global imperialist crisis*, unprecedented price-rise and unemployment. It was exposed as an absolutely opportunist front, keeping its doors open to 'ayarams, gayarams'. It was the negative vote against the rule of LF in West Bengal or LDF in Kerala and against this opportunist, 'Third Front' which benefited the Congress and its partners in West Bengal, Kerala, Tamilnadu and AP greatly. Besides it helped the Congress to emphatically spread through a mega-scale multi-billion campaign that there is no alternative to market fundamentalist neo-liberal policies.

In other areas the Third Front was a non-starter. The main struggle was between UPA and NDA. Once LK Advani announced during the campaign that if voted to power he will go ahead with the Indo-US Nuke Deal, on all economic policies and international relations no differences existed between them. In such a situation, as RSS started lobbying to project Narendra Modi as next in line to Advani for prime-ministership, as Modi like leaders' speeches started becoming more virulently anti-minority than ever, as BJD leader Navin Patnaik left nine year long alliance with BJP to escape from the people's wrath created by Sangh Parivar's anti-Christian genocidal attacks in Kandhamal district of Orissa, as JD(U) leader and Bihar Chief Minister, Nitish Kumar, tactically kept Modi and the gang away from the campaign in his state, as the secular credentials of almost all the regional parties were becoming suspect, between the two main political parties of the ruling classes — the Congress and the BJP — the former once again started becoming more preferable for the minorities, as a *lesser evil*.

Bihar became an exception only because the JD(U) leader kept his alliance with BJP at very low key and succeeded to win over the Muslim support in a number of areas, while also benefiting from the RJD-LJP alliance fighting the election separately from the Congress. In Gujarat, in spite of Modi's concentrated

☞ ***Continued on page 35***

UPA Returns on the Crest of Negative Votes

More Profound Rightist Turn in Indian Politics

THE RETURN of Congress-led UPA government under Manmohan Singh to power marks yet another dangerous turn in Indian political scene. It is going to deepen the neo-liberal policies and impose a more bitter version of Mamohanomics enslaving the country and the people to further intensification of neo-colonisation which includes subservience to US imperialist domination. Thus the results of the 15th Lok Sabha elections have caused a greater challenge to the people.

After almost two decades of imperialist globalization which has devastated vast masses to pauperization, increasing prices of essential commodities and unemployment, to throwing away whatever sovereignty this country had, it should have been the central question of debate in this election. But both Congress-led UPA and the BJP-led NDA colluded to keep it out of discussion. Same was the case of almost all other major parliamentary parties including the parliamentary left. All of them were afraid of this election becoming in any way a referendum on imperialist globalization and its consequences. Thus they succeeded to de-politicise the election, as happens in any other bourgeois parliamentary system.

The way the parliamentary left propped up the UPA government for more than four years, the way it formed the thoroughly opportunistic Third Front without any political agenda, the way it had ruled West Bengal and Kerala like any other ruling class party or combination causing Singur and Nandigram, succumbing to Lavalin like scandals and indulging in communal appeasement like forming an understanding with Islamic fundamentalist PDP in Kerala etc. provided enough scope for Congress to win hugely in these states.

As neo-liberalism is increasingly taking away the shine of the communal fascist agenda of BJP and without recognizing it Narendra Modi, Varun Gandhi like characters are projected, Congress could score over BJP as a better representative of the ruling system. Besides the Rs. 500 billion mega campaign utilizing money, liquor and muscle power, the entry of multi-millionaires and billionaires to election scene, peripheral issues obliterating burning issues like price rise and unemployment, the reactionary record of the five year UPA rule etc. helped to increase its strength with the false pretension of stability, continuity etc. in a de-politicized election. It is not a vote for Manmohanomics, for acceleration of neo-liberal policies. It is a negative vote reflecting the frustration of the masses. It is absurd to expect any thing basically different under this ruling system.

The agenda the revolutionary left and patriotic democratic forces should take up in this situation is not difficult to understand. As Manmohanomics is going to devastate the vast masses to more pauperization, it is their task to mobilize these masses in ever larger numbers and launch uncompromising struggles against the central and the state governments.

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15th Lok Sabha: A Billionaires' Club

THE FAST transformation of the political filed in India following the introduction of the neo-liberal policies with a political class of multi-millionaires increasingly dominating it is getting exposed shamelessly during and after the elections. When the whole world knows that the declared asset of a candidate is only a fraction of his/her real wealth from 2004 to 2009, the number of crorepati candidates almost doubled to about 600. The entry of this fabulous riches to election scene increased the total expenditure of the main candidates to well above Rs. 50,000 crores, or an average of Rs. 100 crores per seat, in this election according to the corporate media. This fast transformation of the political class ruling the country has come out vividly in the statistics brought out by the Election Commission.

According to it the total assets of the 543 MPs is Rs. 3075 crores, or more than 5.5 crores per MPs when according to government datas the daily income of about 70% of India's population of 120 crores is Rs. 20 and when more than 30 crores are below poverty level (BPL). If in last LS the number of crorepatis were 154, this time their number has doubled to 300, that is a clear majority in the new

Lok Sabha. Congress has contributed 138, BJP-58, SP-14, BSP-13, DMK-11, Shiv Sena-9, JD(U)-8, NCP-7, BJD-6, Trinamul Congress-6 crorepati MPs.

According to the datas from the Election Commission all the candidates have increased their wealth manifold during last years, with some of them becoming billionaires. Politics is becoming the most lucrative field to become rich within the shortest time. For example, once the famous Tamil actor Sivaji Ganesan said that due to poverty both he and M. Karunanidhi traveled ticketless in the train in their teens to reach Chennai. Today the property of Karunanidhi's family is hundreds of billions.

Just take the case of Vidarbha and Marathwada in Maharashtra where vast majority of the people are facing acute poverty with thousands of farmers committing suicide in the region. While people got pauperized during last five years, the assets of the 225 candidates of the main parties

contesting from this region increased from an average of Rs. 37 lakhs to Rs. 68 lakhs, among whom 28 are crorepatis.

The huge influx of multi-millionaires and billionaires as candidates has commercialized the election scene also with the corporate houses running the show. According to Manmohan-omics which is going to be unleashed now more ruthlessly, economic growth means create an ever larger number of super rich, while keeping the hundreds of millions of the poor controlled through some more concessions, some more labour guarantee schemes and some more projects to distribute rice and wheat to the BPL at Rs. 1-2 per kilo. Alms for the poor and fabulous wealth for the rich.

The rich have entered the political field in unprecedented numbers to hijack the politics to the rightist neo-liberal agenda. Even among the cabinet ministers of the new Manmohan Singh Govt., a majority are from multi-millionaires and billionaires.

Sri Lanka: On the Resolution ... Continued from page 11

and socially and economically oppressed sections from their own burning issues. All of them are united in diverting the people from the path of class struggle, replacing it with Eelam as the one and only principal question.

This situation is neither helping the emergence of a genuine communist party in Sri Lanka nor paving the way for strengthening the revolutionary movement and party in Tamilnadu. In effect all

these chauvinist forces of various shades are only helping in prolonging of the comprador ruling systems in India and Sri Lanka.

While explaining the relation between nationalism and internationalism (On New Democracy), Mao Tsetung has taught that the best way to serve the cause of proletarian internationalism is to successfully carry forward the national task of developing the revolutionary

movement in one's own country. The cause of the oppressed Tamil peoples of Sri Lanka can be served only by advancing the People's Democratic Revolution in India forward. The petti bourgeois chauvinists, those who pretend as champions of Eelam people are only helping the enemies of national liberation and democratic revolution by effectively and consciously counterposing the tasks of Indian revolution with romantic phrase mongering about campaigning for Eelam people.

Lessons of the CPI(ML) Campaign during 15th Lok Sabha Elections

FOR the CPI(ML) leadership and cadres the experience of the nearly three months of the vigorous election campaign from middle of February to May 13 was a really educative one. The CPI(ML), putting forward the Election Manifesto analyzing the concrete conditions in the country had exposed both Congress-led UPA and BJP-led NDA which are competing with each other to enslave the country to market fundamentalism and US imperialist subservience. It had utilized its total strength to expose the dangers of neo-colonisation taking place in the country under the ever-intensifying imperialist globalization by fielding finally 28 candidates in eleven states and organizing a vigorous campaign utilizing the small amounts its election committees could collect from the people.

As far as the leaderships of the Congress and the BJP are concerned, both colluded to establish that it is basically a struggle for power between them and their alliances. They also colluded so that none of the basic questions like the consequences of the global imperialist crisis, price rise, increasing unemployment, the Indo-US Nuke Deal, the 2005 defence agreement for surrendering to a US-Israel-India alliance etc. were made the central points of discussion. With the aid of the corporate media, the Rs. 500 billion election campaign of the UPA and NDA along with that of other ruling class parties and regional parties succeeded in almost

obliterating these issues from the main debates. Or imperialist globalisation had become the national agenda of these parties.

As far as the CPI(M) is concerned, though it had put forward a severe charge sheet against the five years of the UPA rule in its election manifesto in spite of propping up this government for more than four years, due to its leadership shifting main attention to marketing the so-called anti-Congress, anti-BJP Third Front with parties like AIADMK, TDP, BJD etc. which are totally wedded to the neo-liberal policies, its pseudo-left exercises did not go beyond its by-now notorious barking dog phenomenon. As a result of all these, the rightist agenda and diversionary tactics of the ruling class parties received predominance. Along with money power, communal-castiest factors dominated the campaign. Basic issues faced by the people were pushed aside.

Though the alliance of CPI(ML) Liberation with CPI and CPI(M) was limited to Bihar-Jharkhand alone, the social democrats succeeded to carry the rumours of an alliance of theirs with the revolutionary left confusing many. Similarly the anarchist actions of CPI(Maoist) in the name of boycott and its isolated actions were reported more as 'Naxalite' actions than 'Maoist' ones consciously by the corporate media distancing many more from the revolutionary left.

Along with these negative factors, another major question

which weakened the Marxist-Leninist election campaign was that even all the revolutionary left and democratic forces who could be united for an Anti-Imperialist People's Democratic Alternative, who are opposed to imperialist globalization and communal fascism could not be brought to a common platform at all India level. As a result, the CPI(ML) had to carry forward the campaign with whatever strength it has almost single-handedly.

When the CPI(ML) launched the election campaign, releasing its Election Manifesto calling for building up Anti-Imperialist People's Democratic Alternative by March beginning, its organization had spread from Kerala and Tamilnadu in South to Punjab, Jharkhand and West Bengal. Finally candidates were fielded in Kerala (9), Tamilnadu (3), Karnataka (4), Maharashtra (3), Chhattisgarh (3), Orissa (2), Jharkhand (1), MP (1), UP (1) and Rajasthan (1). In other areas wherever the party has any organizational strength, support was extended to the candidates of revolutionary left organizations who are opposed to imperialist globalization and communal fascism.

The most important achievement of this campaign was that involving all its organizational strength and the amount collected from the people the party could take the message of its Election Manifesto to a very large section of the people. Uncompromisingly opposing the Congress-led UPA and the BJP-led NDA, and exposing the CPI(M)-led opportunist Third Front, the party could take the message of the Anti-Imperialist People's Democratic Alternative to ever larger number of people. In this way the party could be established more firmly as the party of the revolutionary left

in more areas. More contacts could be established. Thus the campaign has helped to strengthen the state level and all India level struggles against the central and state government in coming days.

Vote-wise the performance of the party in Kerala could not be improved much in this election, though surmounting all the organizational problems and limitations an effective campaign could be organized. Due to organizational weaknesses the party could not benefit from the dissatisfaction and inner party struggle within the CPI(M). The negative votes of most of the sections dissatisfied with the CPI(M) leadership and the LDF rule in the state went to benefit the UDF. The CPI(ML) has to go a long way forward politically and organizationally to mobilize the left masses for a revolutionary alternative to the ruling system. As such the total votes polled by the nine CPI(ML) candidates was only a little over 20,000 with com. Hasina from Chalakudi seat getting the maximum number of votes, 4441.

In TN, though the TUCI has a membership of more than 10,000 in Kanyakumari district, party has a good influence among the agricultural workers and landless-

poor peasants in Krishnagiri district, and though the influence of both the party and the TUCI is spreading in Chennai city, the organizational weaknesses reflected in the campaign. The message of the party could not be carried to the people effectively in the middle of the multi-billion campaign of the ruling class parties. As a result the vote share in all the three seats was very poor, with com. Meena from Krishnagiri getting 1500 votes, the highest.

In Karnataka, though numerous struggles were waged during the last five years mobilizing tens of thousands of people, the organizational strength of the party has not developed much. The task of the politicization of the masses has not advanced still. At the same time the BJP, BSP like parties have succeeded to channelise the dissatisfaction among the masses on the communal fascist, casteist lines. In this situation, the party had to wage a bitter struggle to consolidate its political influence among the workers and most down-trodden masses. The party candidates got 8412 votes in Raichur, 4416 in Koppal and 3283 in Uduppi, while the party supported independent candidate got 3000 votes in Chamaraj Nagar.

In Chhattisgarh, though the party candidate in Bastar increased his vote share to 9840, in both Raipur and Bilaspur in spite of an effective political campaign the vote share remained insignificant. In MP, the party candidate in Sidhi seat could get 4142 votes.

In Orissa, the party had faced extreme difficulties as in other states to organize a campaign against the ruling class parties and to win over people's votes, combating money, liquor and muzzle power extensively utilized by the opponents. In spite of the bitter fight, in Bhubaneshwar seat com. Pramila received 9637 votes,

while at Bhadrak, Com. Sushant Jena received 10166 votes.

In Maharashtra amidst the rightist waves promoted by Congress-NCP, BJP-Shiv Sena and Raj Tackeray's MNS, amidst the obliteration of all political issues and criminalization of the campaign, in spite of consistent work among the working class, the party faced major challenges to take its message to the people. As in other states, the organizational weakness prevented an extensive campaign. As a result, in spite of the revolutionary campaign the vote share of the party candidate at Kalyan was only 2803 and in Mumbai Northwest and Thane (rural) was still less

In Jharkhand and UP the state organizing committees were formed in February and March only. In spite of it, candidates were fielded in one seat each in order to take the party's message to the party members and supporters. A vigorous campaign was organized. In Jharkhand com. Anjani Pandey got 2426 votes from Ranchi seat and in UP com. Ashok Kumar got 3204 votes from the Unnao seat. In Rajasthan, in Ganganagar seat the party candidate received 4500 votes, following a good campaign.

Based on the experience gained during the election campaign, and based on Lenin's teachings about utilization of parliamentary struggles to advance class struggle a serious discussion is called for throughout the party about utilization of the election campaign as part of the revolutionary movement. A uniform ideological, political and organizational approach has to be developed uncompromisingly struggling against right opportunist and anarchist trends in order to effectively utilize the parliamentary forms of struggle as part of advancing the People's Democratic Revolution to victory.

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Resurgence of Manmohanomics

P.J. James

WITH the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) retaining power in India's month-long, multi-phase election and the selection of Manmohan Singh as the prime minister, the stage is set by both imperialist finance capital and comprador Indian corporate houses for a resurgence of the reactionary neo-liberal agenda with intensified vigour. The corporate and comprador Indian media was equally emphatic in demanding that the government use its strengthened mandate to press forward with big business' agenda. The *Hindustan Times* in its editorial entitled "Use this historic victory" has emphatically asked the new government to boldly come forward for fulfilling the unfinished tasks remaining in the "reform" agenda.

As a manifestation of the enthusiasm among speculative sections following the "massive mandate" that belied the political establishment's projections, *sensex*, the sensitive Mumbai stock exchange index sky-rocketed by an unprecedented 2111 points- more than 17 percent- in one single day, an all time high ever recorded in stock market history. Its immediate cause was the all of a sudden inflow of foreign speculative finance led by the so called foreign institutional investors enthused by the ascendancy of Manmohan Singh as the prime minister once again. It certainly signals the direction of economic policies in the days ahead.

Of course, it is well known that the super imposition of

Manmohan Singh as India's finance minister in 1991 was the outcome of a well thought out neo-liberal strategy engineered by US-led imperialism for unleashing the globalization-liberalisation-privatisation agenda in India in the place of what ever of left of Keynesian welfare statism. Manmohan's bureaucratic experiences as India's Reserve Bank governor, Deputy Chairman of Indian Planning Commission, etc., followed by his innings at global neo-colonial institutions propped up by America and western powers contributed in the choice of Manmohan who at that time was little known in Congress circles, as India's finance minister. At one stroke, that is in his first budget itself, Manmohan demolished the foundations of Nehruvian model of planning and development, the so-called Indian version of Keynesianism and replaced the concept of 'state led development' with that of 'market led development'.

As finance minister, he unleashed the Fund-Bank dictates and later that of the WTO in all fields of economic activity. Public sector was systematically demolished and their assets were auctioned at open markets. Steps were initiated for privatizing public sector banks and financial institutions. Public distribution, public health and state sponsored education were dismantled through rolling back the state from social security and welfare schemes. The entire tax system was liberalised in favour of the rich.

Appropriate fiscal, monetary and tax regulations came into force to facilitate the withdrawal of the state from key economic and social sectors.

Foreign speculative capital was allowed to enter and exit freely and import liberalization was allowed to integrate Indian economy with global market. Speculative sectors reflected galloping growth while productive sectors such as agriculture and industry that provided sustenance and employment to the people shrank. A minority associated with speculative spheres amassed huge wealth leading to the growth in the number of billionaires while the vast majority of the toiling masses due to the destruction of their livelihood were increasingly driven to destitution and pauperization. The gap between the rich and the poor widened to unprecedented levels. To be precise, it was the people's fury against these anti-national and anti-people policies that kept the Congress the leading ruling class party in India out of power during 1996-2004.

However, though the Congress party and Manmohan, had not been in power at the centre for eight years, Manmohanomics continued unabated. Thus the CPI(M) supported UF government during 1996-98 and the BJP led Vajpayee government during 1998-2004 did carry forward the neo-liberal policies with intensified vigour. In fact, the NDA government led by Vajpayee took initiative in launching what is called the 'second generation of reforms' spreading the devastation of neo-colonial policies to wider and deeper levels. Taking India's ruling elite into confidence, the BJP fought the 14th Lok Sabha elections with the catch word 'India shining'. Obviously, common people's wrath led to BJP's debacle in the elections and in the absence

of a revolutionary alternative to the ruling classes, the CPI (M) supported UPA government led by Congress managed to come to power. However, the forces that lead neo-colonization in India utilized this opportunity to install Manmohan who had never won an election, as the prime minister.

Manmohan fully utilized this opportunity to complete the neo-liberal agenda initiated by him in 1991 as finance minister. As prime minister he also took steps to extend the American- imposed neo-liberalism to political and military levels. From India's declared non-alignment policy including its pro-Arab and Palestinian approach, Manmohan totally transformed the country's foreign policy as that of a junior partner in America's notorious "anti-terrorist global war."

In signing the Indo-American nuclear treaty which is harmful to India both economically and militarily, Manmohan had mortgaged the country's interests before his Yankee masters. Through his neo-liberal policies Manmohan had fully integrated India with imperialist global economy and polity. As a result, India has also become a destination devastated by the present imperialist crisis. For almost four-and-a-half years the CPI (M) led so called Left Front wholeheartedly supported the Manmohan government in all these neo-liberal policies.

The second coming of Manmohan as prime minister in 2009 is to be evaluated in this background. Since the Congress Party and its UPA government have emerged from the elections greatly strengthened, it has the luxury of choosing its allies without depending on the CPI (M) for its sustenance. Along with the Congress's liberation from having to secure the support of the CPI (M) led Left, the comprador media had

also hailed the reduction in the strength of the regional and caste-based parties, whose factional struggles and populist promises have at times cut across the agenda of big business. The *Hindustan Times* opined: "...with the UPA now without albatrosses like the Left around its neck, we expect the Congress-led government to press its foot more firmly on the gas of reforms."

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) President Harsh Pati Singhania said: "Industry is happy that we have a verdict which is clear and not fractured ... This will help the government take quick and decisive action. We already have a 100-day agenda for the new government and we will hand it over to the prime minister as soon as he takes charge. Reform will happen with a much faster pace."

The chairman of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, Suresh Tendulkar, responded to the election results by saying, "Economic reforms would certainly be on top of the agenda of the government." In fact all organizations of Indian big business have applauded the election results and are demanding that the Congress-led UPA use its new political strength to dramatically accelerate the pace of pro-investor "reforms." This includes elimination of restrictions on the closing of factories and contracting out, the sell off of remaining of Public Sector Units, greater latitude for foreign investment in the retail sector, the opening up of India's booming arms industry to private investment, convertibility of rupee in the current account, further deregulation of banking and financial services including pensions and insurance, implementation of pending dictates with the WTO, etc.

In his second innings as prime minister, Manmohan is expected to further strengthen the strategic partnership that exists between the United States and India by signing the Non proliferation Treaty and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. The Obama administration has particularly welcomed the re-election of the Congress-led UPA with Manmohan Singh as the prime minister.

In this context, it is to be reiterated that this neo-liberal ascendancy reflected in the resurgence of Manmohanomics is due to the lack of an effective people's alternative against imperialist globalization and ruling class policies. The CPI (M) conspicuously refrained from carrying out a political campaign against globalization and the nuclear treaty in the name of which it withdrew support for the UPA. In the absence of such a campaign by the CPI (M), the comprador and elitist view that the Indo-US treaty broke international nuclear embargo against India prevailed in the mainstream media.

If popular anger against imperialist globalization enabled the CPI (M) to have its best result in 2004, on account of its four-and-a-half years backing of Manmohan government and due to its heinous record in implementing neo-liberal policies in West Bengal and Kerala, people's wrath turned against it resulting in the latter as the biggest loser in the election this time. It lost 25 seats in West Bengal and Kerala.

On the other hand, Congress turned out to be the gainer from the populist programs originally devised by the CPI(M) theoreticians. People's anger against the pro-rich policies of UPA government fell on the CPI(M) which in those states where it holds office, came into open conflict with the working class and peasantry as it sought to attract corporate and

The Collapse of Pseudo Left and its Third Front

THE STEEP fall of the strength of the CPI (M)-led Left Front from 62 to 24 this time is a sharp reflection of the growing contradiction between its theory and practice. This contradiction was manifested at both national level and in West Bengal and Kerala where it is in power.

At national level, during 2004 Lok Sabha election campaign CPI(M) had virulently attacked the economic, defence and foreign policies of the BJP-led NDA rule for six years, besides the Gujarat genocide and other rabid communalization pursued by the Sangh Parivar during BJP rule. During this campaign it had also strongly criticized the communal appeasement policies of the Congress leadership along with its commitment to Neo-liberal policies. As a result the CPI(M) and its LF could win a record number of seats during 2004 elections, as the left masses rallied for it.

When both the Congress-led UPA and BJP-led NDA failed to get majority, instead of allowing the Congress which had more numbers to seek ways to form the govt, instead of playing the role of a revolutionary opposition, the

CPI(M) leadership plunged itself into the role of a kingmaker. In the name of keeping the NDA out of power, it declared its support to the UPA government from outside based on a Common Minimum Programme (CMP).

But the Manmohan Singh government had its own well defined agenda. The CPI(M) in its election manifesto 2009 from which we had quoted extensively in May issue of Red Star itself has exposed how dangerously the UPA government led the country on the path of neo-colonisation. The CMP was reduced to a useless piece of paper. After propping up this rightist government for more than four years, as the Lok Sabha elections were coming nearer, the LF had to withdraw its support in the name of opposing the Indo-US Nuke Deal which was already in the anvil in order to hoodwink the masses in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura where Congress is its main rival. But however hard the LF tried it could not escape from the responsibility of propping up such a reactionary govt. for so long.

Immediately after withdrawing support to the UPA government, the CPI(M) went for

forging a non-Congress, non-BJP Third Front with much fanfare. A front was of course formed with such opportunist forces like AIADMK, TDP, TRS, JD(S) and BJD, most of whom were in BJP company for long, and all whom as wedded to the neo-liberal policies as Congress and BJP. It further exposed the pseudo-left character of CPI(M) and its LF. It was seeking alternatives within the ruling system. It had abandoned the concept of building a revolutionary alternative to the ruling system.

But the collapse of the 'parliamentary left' became so steep due to the perusal of the hated ruling class policies in West Bengal and Kerala where it is in power. In Bengal abandoning its class line when it went for an 'industrialisation-SEZs' policy to make the elite classes happy, Singur and Nandigram happened, and they continued to haunt it. In Kerala, on the one hand the LDF was reduced to a replica of UDF abandoning all pro-people policies. On the other hand the factionalism and infighting became ridiculous, along with the notorious Rs. 374 crore. Lavalin Scandal and the opportunist alliance with PDP like Islamic fundamentalist forces. All these factors together led to the collapse of the pseudo-left. It helped the Congress-led UPA to win decisively in a number of states at the expense of the pseudo left and its opportunist Third Front.

speculative capital by curbing workers' rights, slashing taxes, and establishing Special Economic Zones. In West Bengal, the CPI (M) used bloody police and goon violence in an unsuccessful attempt to quash popular opposition to its expropriation of peasant land for Special Economic Zones at Nandigram and Singur.

During the last five years, the Manmohan government could

serve the interests of imperialist and comprador capital with a dose of populism and with the support of the pseudo-left thereby diffusing the wrath of the people against it.

But the second term of Manmohan as prime minister is taking place under entirely different conditions. The imperialist world economy is passing through an unprecedented recession and unemployment is

galloping. Capital is urging for a cut in workers' share in national income through a reduction in wages and social security expenditures. No amount of populism or neo-Keynesianism is going to diffuse class struggle this time. Taking stoke of the unfolding situation, the revolutionary Left should come forward with a genuine anti-imperialist people's democratic alternative.

Sri Lanka: On the Resolution of National and Ethnic Questions in the Neo-Colonial Phase of Imperialist Era

Karthik

THE ALMOST three year long ruthless military campaign launched by the Sri Lankan Government from August 2006 has now come to an end with its comprehensive military victory decimating the LTTE including its leadership. It was a victory achieved by the Sri Lankan Government with the full political, economic and military support of all imperialist powers, especially US imperialism and of the governments of India and Pakistan. All these forces are naturally celebrating this victory. All of them are reducing the question of the problems faced by the Tamil people in Sri Lanka to one of 'humanitarian' aid and rehabilitation.

This question, however hard the ruling system in Sri Lanka, imperialism and the world reaction may try to obliterate, is basically a question of the right of self-determination of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. After decades of ethnic oppression it had come out as an outburst in the 1970s. In the Sinhala majority Sri Lanka the Sinhala chauvinistic ruling classes, their political representatives and the Sinhala-dominated army had its own approach to this problem. They had sought a military solution to this basically political question right from the beginning. But so long as the massive Tamil people's movement focused on a political solution based on right of self-determination and self-rule, the Sri Lankan state could not impose a

military verdict to it. By eliminating all other liberation groups when the LTTE gained dominance and ventured for a separate Tamil Eelam as the only solution through military means the situation changed. Military conflict engulfed the region.

Though the ceasefire agreement of February 2002 provided a historic opportunity to achieve the democratic rights of Tamil people in Sri Lanka through political means, the LTTE was not ready to opt for it. It was not ready to opt for anything short of a separate Eelam. So it utilized the ceasefire to re-arm itself and strengthen its parallel government in the territory. In the 2005 November presidential elections, when the ceasefire architect Ranil Wickremasinghe and the hawkish Mahinda Rajapakshe closely contested, the boycott enforced by the LTTE in the Tamil region helped Rajapakshe to get elected. Soon the hawkish president equipped the army and vested it with full powers to go for an all out war at any cost till final victory. The military has achieved the comprehensive victory over the LTTE. As a result, after three decades of ruthless conflict and grievous misery to the Tamil people, the problem has come back to square one.

NATIONAL LIBERATION AND DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

When the Tamil people's movement for democratic rights had reached massive proportions

in 1983-84 period and many militant groups like TELO, PLOTE, EPRLF and LTTE were emerging with the Indira Gandhi Government and its RAW playing overt and covert role to train them and arm them, under the initiative of then CRC, CPI(ML) a meeting of the Marxist-Leninist activists of South India was held at Satyamangalam, near Coimbatore. A good number of leading comrades had participated in this three day long discussion.

After serious debates and discussions the meeting had come to the almost unanimous conclusion that even while participating in and extending support to all the struggles taking place for the democratic rights of the Tamil people, it should be recognized that in this era of imperialism, especially when imperialism led by US imperialism has resorted to intensification of plunder and oppression through neo-colonial methods, any struggle for national liberation, for the right of self-determination, should be combined with the anti-imperialist democratic revolution. It was imperialism, especially then Soviet Social imperialism through the comprador government in India under the 1970 Indo-Soviet Treaty which was trying to intensify the Sinhala-Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka to weaken the pro-US government in the island so that Soviet influence in Trinkomalee port and over the island in general can be established.

So the meeting called on the Marxist-Leninist forces in Sri Lanka to support and participate actively in the Tamil people's struggle and to develop their activities among both Sinhala and Tamil peoples, to reorganize the communist party so that it can lead the struggle against both US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism when both are contending for hegemony in the island, against Indian expansionism, and the comprador ruling classes of Sri Lanka. The Marxist-Leninist party should establish its leadership over the working class and lead the struggle for national liberation and democratic revolution of both Tamil and Sinhala people's to achieve a people's democratic Sri Lanka advancing towards socialism. In short, separating the struggle for right of self determination from the struggle for people's democracy will be suicidal in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, when the neo-colonial form of plunder is intensified day by day .

The meeting called on the Marxist-Leninist forces in India to not to become victims of the chauvinist propaganda offensive of the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois forces and to support the Marxist-Leninist forces in Sri Lanka for seeking a proletarian resolution to the problems of the Tamil people. It called for opposing the heinous policies of the Indian government to interfere in Sri Lanka. It called for all CPI(ML) forces to support the struggle of the peoples of Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland and Mizoram and to intensify the struggle for unity of India based on the right of self-determination of all nationalities. The best way to support the struggle of the Eelam people in Sri Lanka is to oppose all forms of Indian interference there, while becoming capable of leading the struggle of, the oppressed

nationalities in India as part of the People's Democratic Revolution. These decisions of the Sathy meeting were published in then Mass Line. Though these decisions were explained in the Pennadam convention later and some campaigns were organized much headway on these lines could not be achieved.

ALIEN TRENDS TO THE DOMINANCE

This was a period when following the degeneration of socialist Soviet Union to social imperialism, socialist China to capitalist path and the severe set back suffered by the international communist movement, various alien trends were dominating the 'left' forces who were claiming to uphold Marxist positions. While the social democratic Sri Lankan Communist party became part of the ruling party alliances representing dominant Sinhala capitalist-landlord forces, almost all the 'Marxist' forces including the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) working among Sinhala started taking Chauvinistic positions. The leadership of the Tamil-majority plantation workers' union took a political position and adjusted itself with the ruling parties. After decimating all its rivals, the LTTE took the stand that only a separate Eelam and nothing else can satisfy it. With the demise of Soviet Social imperialism, the US imperialism almost like a uni-polar power started dominating at global level and in the region. The Indian government had signed a long term Defence Framework with it in 2005 serving as its trouble shooter in the region. It is in this situation, with the comprehensive military victory over the LTTE, the Tamil people's question of democratic rights has come back almost to square one. Unless and until a major ideological-political organizational polarization and rebuilding

of the Marxist-Leninist forces take place in Sri Lanka, qualitatively significant development cannot be expected there. The challenge before the Marxist-Leninist forces in Sri Lanka is to take up the question of democratic rights of the Tamil people as an integral part of the national liberation and democratic revolution led by the working class, uniting the Sinhala and Tamil people with international perspective.

What happened in India, especially in TN was tragic and more farcical. Even within the CRC, CPI(ML) itself the alien trend of chauvinism emerged making it incapable of taking the earlier decisions forward. Even after recognizing it as CPI(ML) Red Flag, it remained a nominal force incapable of effectively putting forward its line in practice. Even after splitting, all the factions of CPI (ML) people's war got reduced to a one-point programme of worshipping the Eelam question abandoning the revolutionary practice here. This petty-bourgeois tradition is mechanically followed still by all the tiny 'Maoist' factions.

The once significant TNOC got transformed to TNMLP in its adulation of the Eelam question as its only programme and got decimated by now in this process. Almost same is the question of SOC, CPI(ML) and other local groups. A good number of petty-bourgeois sections are working hard influenced by the NGO ideology and raising Eelam liberation as the only goal. They are joined by a number of Dravidian groups including prominent sections like DKM MDMK etc. During the Lok Sabha election campaign all the parties including DMK and AIADMK were competing with each other to champion Eelam. In this way all of them are diverting the attention of the toiling masses

☞ ***Continued on page 4***

THE CRUSHING military defeat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has been accompanied by immense suffering by the Tamil people of northern Sri Lanka. The merciless offensive carried out by Sri Lankan army and the right-wing regime of Rajapakse has slaughtered thousands, wounded many more, driven over a million people from their homes and forced hundreds of thousands into wretched internment camps. The LTTE fighters and their leadership have been massacred in cold blood by the Sri Lankan military. Sympathy for the plight of the Tamil people and for the cruel fate of fighters of the LTTE, however, must not prevent fundamental lessons from being drawn.

In the final analysis, the debacle suffered by the LTTE was the outcome of a perspective that lacked any progressive economic or political rationale: that the answer to government-backed anti-Tamil discrimination was the carving out of a separate ethnically based state for the Tamil minority on one section of the small island of Sri Lanka.

The methods that this movement employed, including terrorist attacks on the majority Sinhalese civilian population, did not represent an excess or a tactical error, but rather were the inevitable product of this false perspective, which was based on the substitution of ethnic struggle for class struggle. This movement was utterly incapable of making a political appeal to the Sinhalese workers and oppressed or countering the ceaseless attempts of the Sinhalese bourgeoisie to whip up anti-Tamil chauvinism.

Because of its separatist outlook, it was unable to make such an appeal even to the Tamil workers in India. And its anti-democratic character, which found expression in the ruthless repression of any political opposition—particularly within the working class—in the areas under its control, led to the disaffection of wide

Sri Lanka: Defeat of LTTE and the Dead-end of the Bourgeois Nationalism

layers of the Sri Lankan Tamil population itself.

From the outset of the civil war 26 years ago, the LTTE's armed struggle was wedded to a strategy of winning the support of one or another of the major powers for setting up a statelet in the North and East of the country. In 1987, the LTTE's support for the Indo-Lankan accord brought the Indian army into the North of Sri Lanka where it slaughtered thousands of Tamil civilians. The LTTE had agreed to subordinate itself to the Indian bourgeoisie in the vain hope that it would help it create an independent state. Over the following decades, the LTTE has appealed for imperialist backing, consistently making it clear that its aim in carving out a mini-state on the island was not the betterment of the social conditions of the masses of Tamils, but rather the creation of a capitalist economy that would provide cheap labor for international capital.

The whole experience of the post-World War-II period has demonstrated the bankruptcy of bourgeois nationalist programs. The formal granting of independence and the creation of new national states in Africa, Asia and the Middle East in no fundamental sense realized the democratic and social aspirations of the masses. Rather these states became the medium for preserving the interests of imperialism and a bourgeoisie subservient to it, while in many cases—as in Sri Lanka—ethnic and communal tensions were manipulated to divide and weaken the working class and oppressed masses.

In the more recent period, all of the national liberation movements,

from the PLO in Palestine to the ANC in South Africa, have entered into reactionary settlements with imperialism that imposed new conditions of oppression upon the masses.

Changes in the structure of world capitalism—the development of transnational production and the global integration of finance and manufacturing—have struck at the foundations of these movements as well as all those social and political organizations that based themselves on “nationalism”.

The military defeat of the LTTE has done nothing to resolve the issues underlying the civil war. It has merely proved that the unity of the Sri Lankan state on a bourgeois basis could only be maintained through bloody repression and atrocities. The right-wing Sinhalese chauvinist regime in Colombo was in a sense defending its own form of “nationalism”, the “right” to maintain the unity of the comprador bourgeois state by military force. In the end, the problems of discrimination and poverty remain, while the Colombo regime's “victory” has only inflamed the hatred felt for it by masses of Tamil working people.

This bitter experience has confirmed that the struggle against imperialism and the fight to secure democratic rights and equality can only be advanced on the basis of a working class program with an Internationalist outlook.

And the answer to discrimination and communal oppression is not to be found in a separate state, but rather to unify the oppressed in a common struggle for peoples' democracy and socialist revolution.

Developments in Nepal: Greater Challenges Before Democratic Revolution

THE developments leading to the resignation of Pushpa Kamal ministry led by UCPN(Maoist) are principally due to the violation of the terms and conditions of the agreement worked out between it and the Seven Party Alliance led by the Nepali Congress under UN auspices. This agreement had led to laying down of arms by CPN(Maoist) after pursuing the line of armed struggle for almost ten years. The events leading to the resignation of the ministry and the attempts made by Nepali Congress and CPN(UML) to form a ministry without the Maoists may cause serious damage to the democratization taking place with the abolition of almost 250 years of monarchy and with the declaration of Nepal as a multi-party secular federal republic.

Compared to the ideological, political and organizational line of the CPI(Maoist) in India which is degenerating from the revolutionary movement and ultimately serving the ruling class interests as proved by its latest 'boycott election' campaign including the so-called hijacking of a passenger train full of people, after almost a decade of its sectarian line, the CPN(Maoist) had dared to re-examine its line and join the mighty people's movement against the monarchy. It advanced the struggle for the abolition of the monarchy and for establishing a federal republic immensely.

But from the beginning the US imperialists and the comprador government in India joining hands with the monarchists and other vested interests in Nepal were trying to sabotage any revolutionary changes in the country. They were aiding and

abetting the Nepali Congress which was leading the interim ministry, the social democratic CPN(UML), the chauvinistic Madhesi groups etc. to prevent any radical changes in the socio-economic-political fields. As a result the expansion of the interim ministry including the CPN(Maoist) was delayed. Then the elections to the Constituent Assembly to chart the new constitution was also delayed.

The victory of the CPN(Maoist) in getting more than one third of the 601 seats in the Constituent Assembly worsened the attitude of both Nepali Congress and CPN(UML) which were having first and second positions so far. As the CPN(Maoist) refused to accept Nepali Congress leader Koirala as the new president, formation of a ministry led by the CPN(Maoist) was again delayed for four months. And once the Pushpa Kamal ministry took over, citing numerous problems, the implementation of the agreement as well as the initial steps towards the charting of the Constitution were delayed. The rightist Nepali Congress and the social democratic CPN(UML) with the support of the forces of reaction from both outside and inside the country were trying to prolong the status quo. They were against any revolutionary socio-economic changes.

INTENSIFICATION OF THE CONTRADICTIONS

The contradictions of the CPN(Maoist) led government with the US imperialists and the reactionary Indian government, which were openly interfering in

the internal affairs, with the Nepali Congress outside the ministry and with CPN (UML), Madhesi parties which were inside the ministry went on intensifying on all issues. And it is the contradiction with regard to democratising the existing army and integrating the former CPN(Maoist) guerrillas into the army which has created the flash point leading towards the resignation of the ministry.

According to the agreement signed under UN auspices the former royal army was to be democratized by bringing it directly under the defence ministry. The chief of the national army (NA), Gen. Katawal, is an officer trained in India. He was loyal to King Gyanendra always. He, like other monarchists are against the throwing out of the old feudal order. Violating the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of November 2006, the army under him went for recruiting 3000 more men to the army in October-December 2008 even after the defence ministry objected. Then even against the order of the defence ministry he extended the services of ten Brigadier Generals. In spite of specific decisions of the CPA he sabotaged all efforts for recruiting the members of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) into the National Army. It was in this situation the cabinet decided to dismiss the army chief. While Nepali Congress opposed it from outside, CPN (UML), Madhesi Parties etc. opposed it from inside, reducing it to a minority decision. Under this pretext the president rejected the cabinet decision allowing Katawal to continue. So there was no other alternative before the CPN(Maoist) leadership other than submitting the resignation of the ministry.

INNER PARTY STRUGGLE WITHIN THE CPN (MAOIST)

The CPN(Maoist) leadership had to take this decision very fast against the machinations of the forces of reaction as it is facing a

serious inner party struggle on the ideological-political questions. As the debate in its recent national conference revealed, on various central points put forward under the banner of 'Prachanda Path' there are serious differences. The way 'Maoism' is put forward replacing Mao Tsetung Thought as the Marxism-Leninism of the new era defined by Lin Biao, the way democracy is defined as multi-party system to suit the concrete conditions of 21st century, the way different phases of democratic revolution are defined, on all these questions there are serious differences within the CPN(Maoist). The steps taken to invite foreign capital to speed up development is also challenged.

From all available recent documents of the CPN(Maoist) it can be seen that after gaining a tactical gain by forming a coalition ministry, the CPN(Maoist) leadership was in a hurry to theorise it and arrive at hasty conclusions. No doubt, the strategic shift in policy to join the mass upsurge for abolition of the monarchy was a positive step. But before going through the process of advancing the democratic revolution to its completion utilizing all forms of struggle including the parliamentary struggle, before testing them in practice, before working out necessary tactical steps to confront the challenges from the forces of reaction, the way the 'Prachanda Path' was put forward and it was asserted as the international line of revolution was a far fetched step.

Naturally in the national conference a sizable section of the party had challenged this approach. Finally a compromised position had to be arrived at. In this situation any further compromises with the status quoists would have isolated the leadership further. The decisive action to dismiss the army chief, and the decision to tender resignation of the ministry when

this decision was rejected by the president with the support of all sections of the forces of reaction should be seen in this context. Any vacillation, any further compromises would have damaged it.

CRISIS DEEPENS

Though the CPN(Maoist)-led ministry had taken over under the conditions of the CPA and its options for going ahead with independent decisions were limited, the US imperialists and the reactionary Indian government from outside, the monarchists, the rightist Nepali Congress, the social democratic CPN(UML), the Madhesi parties and all other reactionary and reformist forces had joined hands to prevent any radical socio-economic initiative by this government. The CPN(UML) and its advocates in India – the CPI(M), CPI, CPI(ML) liberation – claim that it only differs in tactics with CPN(Maoist), but is also for completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks of the democratic revolution. With the change of line by the CPN(Maoist) and formation of a ministry under its leadership, the CPN(UML) could have utilized this opportunity for its professed goals, if it is sincere to them. On the contrary it conspired with the imperialist lackeys and all other forces of reaction to isolate the CPN(Maoist) and to force it to submit resignation of the ministry led by it. It once again proves that whatever the social democrats may repeat, they are basically counter-revolutionary in class character.

All the forces of reaction had a two pronged line: one, put pressure and force the CPN(Maoist) to adopt a reformist line; two, utilize all available means to suffocate and force the government to quit. Even when the CPN(Maoist)-led government was functioning under the bourgeois parliamentary system, in the present international situation, especially in the situation in South Asia the imperialists and their lackeys regarded the existence

of a government with radical slogans in power in Nepal as a threat. So all of them joined hands to precipitate the present situation.

Though all of them have succeeded to push out the CPN(Maoist) from power, their action is going to intensify the crisis in this region. All of them have played the game in such a way that the army's role has increased manifold in deciding Nepal's future. The sabotaging of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to democratise the army and to include the PLA within the NA shall make the army's say in the country's political future decisive. This is happening when army is having an almost commanding role in both Pakistan and Bangladesh, and when with the crushing of LTTE militarily in Sri Lanka, the army is going to become a decisive player there also. The US imperialism is succeeding to destabilize the whole region utilizing its lackeys and the army. All the major political forces in these countries, true to their comprador character, are serving the Yankees in this game. It is going to spread the crisis in the West Asia to South Asia also.

All the progressive democratic forces in India should strongly denounce the role being played by the reactionary Indian state in Nepal to help the forces of reaction. At this crucial juncture it is the responsibility of the CPN(Maoist) and all other Marxist-Leninist forces to join hands to expose and defeat the heinous machinations of the US imperialists and their lackeys of all shades to turn the clock back in Nepal. All genuine Marxist-Leninist forces should extend full-fledged support to the revolutionary forces in Nepal at this critical juncture. The Marxist-Leninists in India should expose and oppose uncompromisingly the machinations of the UPA Government in connivance with the US imperialists to interfere and sabotage the revolutionary movement in Nepal.

Nepal: The UCPN(M) Resists Elite Coup

THE RESIGNATION of the UCPN(M) led Interim Government was forced by the insubordination by the military high command, backed by the president and sections of the coalition government. The UCPN (M), which had led the coalition government until its members walked out on May 3, had tried to use constitutional means to sack the chief of the army, General Kul Bahadur Katwal. The army high command had refused to obey instructions from the elected civilian government. The high command refused to implement key parts of the peace accords that, in 2006, ended the armed conflict with the UCPN (M)-led People's Liberation Army. Sections of the high command in the Nepalese Army, infamous for its human rights abuses during the armed conflict, even spoke openly to the Times of India on April 24 about an aborted plot for a military coup against the elected government.

It is difficult to imagine a more blatant threat to democracy. If the military is not subordinated to an elected civilian government, but is allowed to defy it openly on central issues, then there is no democracy — merely military rule with a civilian government as window-dressing.

However, Nepalese President Ram Baran Yadav from the conservative Nepalese Congress party (NC), issued a decree countering the UCPN-M decision to remove Katwal from his post. This is despite the fact that under the interim constitution, the power of the president is largely ceremonial. The result was the creation of two military heads: the Maoist-appointed head and Katwal, who, backed by the president, refused to recognise his sacking. Coalition partners, such as the social-democratic Communist Party of Nepal (United-Marxist-Leninist), despite internal divisions, refused to support the UCPN (M) decision.

With little choice, the Maoists called a press conference announcing they were withdrawing from the government. The Maoists called for street protests to defend democracy. Just over a year since the historic declaration of a republic, which brought people out into the streets in celebration, Nepal was thrown into a fresh political crisis. The monarchy was overthrown through a combination of the decade-long Maoist-led "people's war" and the 2006 mass democratic uprising. A central demand of the Maoists was for elections to a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution to create a "New Nepal". The central role of the UCPN (M) in the democracy movement, and the degree to which the poor identify with it, resulted in the Maoists winning over 1 million votes more than their nearest competitor.

Seeking the widest-possible consensus, the UCPN (M) established a broad coalition government. However, the UCPN (M)'s proposals for a peaceful and democratic pro-poor transformation of Nepal that were endorsed at the ballot box have been frustrated by opposition within the parliament, the state and even the coalition government. The cause of the crisis is the moves of the elite, based in the political and military establishment, that seek to frustrate the popular mandate for a New Nepal based on equality and social justice.

The Nepalese elite are backed by the government of India and the United States — both of whom fear the example of radical, pro-poor change in the region. The Indian Government, in particular, played a big role in bringing the Maoist-led government down. The former king and leaders of NC and the CPN (UML) all visited India under various pretexts in the weeks before the anti-Maoist coup. For the poor majority, the

program the UCPN (M) seeks to implement includes an increase in workers' rights, land reform for the peasants, equal rights in a federal structure for ethnic and national minorities, access to education and health care, and a plan for extensive pro-people economic development.

The elite, and their foreign backers, are terrified of the consequences of implementing the 2006 peace accords. These require the integration of PLA fighters into the existing army to create a new, democratic armed forces. This could mean the military would no longer be a weapon in the hands of the elite to violently repress the struggles of the poor. The poor, however, have every reason to fear the continuation of the unreformed old army, which committed great crimes against the people.

The situation remained uncertain for days. The UCPN(M) refused to take part in any government and boycotted the parliament.

After prolonged discussions with the backing of the rightist forces within and the Indian Government and the U.S. Imperialist, the social democratic CPN (UML) has succeeded to form a coalition Government now, with support of the Nepali Congress and other rightist parties. The taking over of power by this Government is the result of the conspiracy of the counter revolutionary forces. It is an attempt to reverse the 2006 Agreement as well as the progressive impact of the expulsion of the Monarchy. The progressive forces should denounce this conspiracy by the forces of reaction.

The latest development shows that as far as the fighting people of Nepal and their vanguard forces like the UCPN(M) are concerned, it is going to be a long and arduous struggle ahead to re-capture the revolutionary initiative. As far as the progressive forces in India are concerned, they should uncompromisingly oppose the expansionist designs of the Indian Government in collaboration with U S Imperialist.

Venezuela: Moving Against Capital and Market Fundamentalism

VENEZUELAN President Hugo Chavez proclaimed on February 28, as he ordered soldiers to take over two rice-processing plants owned by Venezuelan food and drink giant Empresas Polar, “This government is here to protect the people, not the bourgeoisie or the rich”. The move was made in order to ensure that the company was producing products subjected to the government-imposed price controls that aim to protect the poor from the affects of global price rises and inflation. Under Venezuelan law, companies that can produce basic goods regulated by price controls must guarantee that 70-95% of their products are of the regulated type. Four days later, Chavez announced the expropriation of a rice-processing plant owned by US food giant Cargill after it was revealed the company was attempting to subvert the price controls.

“Venezuela’s National Institute of Lands (INTI) [took] public ownership of more than 5000 hectares of land claimed by wealthy families and multinational corporations and is reviewing tens of thousands more hectares across the nation”. This includes the March 5 expropriation of 1500 hectares of a tree farm owned by Ireland’s Smurfit Kappa. The government has pledged to move away from eucalyptus trees, which were drying up the land, and turn the land over to co-operatives for sustainable agriculture. On March 14, a new fishing law was proclaimed, banning industrial trawl-fishing within Venezuela’s territorial waters. “Trawling fishing destroys the sea, destroys marine species and benefits a minority. This is destructive capitalism”, explained Chavez. The government will invest US \$32 million to convert or decommission trawling boats, as well as to develop fish-processing plants. “Thirty trawling ships will

be expropriated, due to the refusal of their owners to cooperate with the plans to adapt the boats to uses compliant with the new fishing regulations.” Small-scale fisher people will have access to the converted boats.

ANTI-CRISIS MEASURES

This latest wave of radical measures by the Chavez government should be seen in the context of the ongoing process of nationalisation since early 2006, the onset of the global economic and food crises and the February 15 referendum victory. The government has re-nationalised privatised industries such as electricity, telecommunications and steel. Cement companies, milk producing factories and one of Venezuela’s major banks have either been, or are in negotiations to be, nationalised. Unlike the state interventions currently being undertaken in the imperialist centres, the aim of these moves is not to bail out bankrupt capitalists, but to help shift production towards meeting people’s needs — in service provisions (phone lines, electricity, banking) and production of essential goods (concrete, steel for housing and factories, and food).

Last July, the government made strong signals that its next targets would be two strategic sectors previously barely touched — food and finance. The day after announcing the planned government buyout of Banco de Venezuela (which, once completed, will give the government control over close to 20% of the banking sector), Chavez issued 26 decrees,

a number of which increase government and community control over food storage and distribution — and allow the state to jail company owners for hoarding. Moves aimed at increasing government control over food production come amid soaring world food prices and 30% inflation within Venezuela — which is still dependent on imports for 70% of its food supply. The government also faces an ongoing campaign of food speculation and hoarding carried out by the capitalist food producers and distributors in order to destabilise the anti-capitalist government. With oil prices plummeting by almost \$100 per barrel from a high of more than US \$140 last year, the government is tightening the screws. Oil accounts for 93% of the government’s export revenue and around half of its national budget. The government has already announced the restructuring of its ministries, merging a number of them in order to cut down on bureaucracy. The Chavez government is making it very clear that it will be the capitalists, not the people, who will pay for the mess that the capitalist system has created.

These latest moves follow the government’s victory in the February 15 referendum. Officially, the referendum concerned whether to amend the constitution and remove limits on the number of times elected officials could stand for re-election. At stake was the possibility of Chavez standing for re-election in 2012. In the context of the intense class struggle, it

became a referendum on the socialist project pushed by Chavez. Chavez noted that those that had voted "yes" had "voted for socialism, voted for the revolution". The referendum was proposed by Chavez as a "counter-offensive" against the opposition following the November 23 regional elections. Candidates from Chavez's United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV) won the overwhelming majority of governorships and mayoralties.

However, opposition victories in key states on the Colombian border (where there is growing right-wing paramilitary activity) and the Greater Caracas mayoralty were viewed as important gains for the counter-revolution. Opposition governors and mayors began to use their new positions to attack community organisations and the pro-poor social missions. The rapid mobilisation to defeat these attacks by the poor and working people was converted into the formation of 100,000 "Yes committees" to campaign in the referendum, in poor communities, workplaces and universities across the country. These committees were the backbone of the successful referendum campaign.

NATIONALISATION OF PETROLEUM INDUSTRY

Venezuela's National Assembly passed a law on May 7 that assigns control over goods and services connected to the country's petroleum industry to the state. The law re-establishes government control over a range of activities previously contracted out to foreign transnational companies. Activities fundamental for petroleum production are now legally under state control. On May 8, the government expropriated 300 boats, 30 barges, 39 terminals and docks, 5 dams and 13 workshops on Lake Maracaibo, where there are large crude oil reserves.

Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez said that next week they will also start expropriating some petroleum complexes in Monagas state. Companies affected include US-based Williams Company and the British-based Wood Group consortium.

The National Assembly's statement motivating the expropriations said: "Such activities, which are of strategic character and necessary for the principle industry of the country and that are carried out by PDVSA and its affiliates, were [contracted out by pre-Chavez governments] with the consequent loss of direct control and vulnerability of the Venezuelan state." Energy minister Rafael Ramirez said the expropriations fulfill Venezuela's constitution, which states that "primary activities are reserved for the absolute control of the Venezuelan state through its national company".

Venezuelan troops occupied about 60 privately owned companies that provide support to

the country's oil industry. The move follows an order from President Hugo Chavez, who ordered the full or partial takeover of about 60 firms in the state of Zulia. Chavez's order came after legislative enactment of a new hydrocarbons bill. According to media reports citing Energy and Oil Minister Rafael Ramirez, more than 80 per cent of those companies now find themselves under the control of the state-owned PDVSA oil company. Zulia is in the country's north-west, near the border with Colombia.

Chavez says the nationalization will save Venezuela about 700 million dollars a year. The move also places about 8,000 employees on the government's payroll. Venezuela is the fifth-largest producer of oil worldwide. Government officials said that money that would have gone to the private companies will now become state profit, which can be redistributed for social development projects across Venezuela.

German police help Fascists attack May Day demonstrations

IN THE German city of Dortmund, in the Ruhr area – which is the heartland of the steel and industrial belt in Germany – a massive family gathering was attacked by a mob of around 200 neo-Nazis. The neo-Nazis had gathered near the railway station and then used public transport to get to the demonstration site and attack the rear of the demonstration, concentrating their attacks mainly on Turkish and immigrant workers. The police say that they were aware of the gathering of the neo-Nazis at the railway station and even questioned those gathered but say that they answered that they were going to Siegen, about a 100 kilometres away, where a Nazi gathering had been authorised that day. However, the police were more interested in around 30 anti-Nazi protestors who had also come there and harassed them rather than the Nazis themselves. The photos and videos taken by independent people during the clashes clearly show the police brutally attacking the workers, rather than the Nazis.

The Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD) has given a call for the banning of the Nazi organisations in Germany.

JOB LOSSES in Britain continue to mount, with more large companies announcing this month that thousands of jobs are to go. On May 12, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) announced official unemployment in the UK had increased by 244,000 for the last quarter and had reached 2.2 million. The quarterly increase in the jobless rate was the biggest since 1981. The total number of jobless is now at the highest rate since 1996, the year before the Labour government came to power.

With the new figures the official rate now stands at 7.1 percent, up by from 6.7 percent on the previous quarter. The numbers claiming unemployment benefits in April rose by 57,100 to 1.51 million. Those being made redundant have also markedly increased. Redundancies rose by 27,000 in the first quarter of 2009, bringing the total number for the last year to 286,000.

The available vacancies have fallen in equally drastic terms. According to the ONS, there were just 455,000 job vacancies in the first three months of the year. Job vacancies fell 51,000 from the previous quarter and stood at 232,000 less than the same period in 2008. This represents the lowest number of available vacancies since records began in 2001.

Many urban regions of the UK reliant on what remains of manufacturing industry in Britain have been particularly hard hit by the job losses announced in the sector since September last year. The unemployment rate in the West Midlands, once the heartland of auto manufacturing in Britain, is nearly one in 10—9.3 percent. Included in the West Midlands region is Birmingham, the second largest city in the UK.

Figures in from other regions paint a similarly bleak picture. In the first three months of the year

Britain: Job Losses Escalate Across all Sectors

the unemployment rate in Greater Manchester reached 120,700, the highest level since 1994. The unemployment rate in the region, with a population of just over 2.5 million, has increased from 9.3 percent to 9.5 percent.

Unemployment has risen in all 32 London boroughs, increasing by a total of 80,000 over last year. The number of workless households has increased by 100,000 in the three months to December.

Job losses have continued apace in May, with more than 15,000 announced in the private sector alone. This month telecommunications firm BT announced that it was to shed 15,000 jobs globally this year, with an estimated 10,700 in the UK. The company announced the job losses after revealing a £134 million loss in the first three months of the year. These job losses will follow the 15,000 that were cut in 2008. Further job losses announced include: 400 at defence research and technology company QinetiQ; 1,200 at fashion retailer Bay Trading. Bay Trading announced that 125 of its retail outlets were also closing after administrators reached a deal to sell the chain; 625 at the Lloyds Banking Group; 600 at the industrial supply firm, Cookson; 170 at the Sheffield-based building products group, SIG; 560 at the insurance group, Legal and General; 400 at the newspaper distributor, John Menzies; 120 at Kesa Electricals, Europe's third largest electrical retailing group and owner of the Comet electrical and household goods chain.

Overall the unemployment rolls have increased by 592,000 in

the past year. Commentators and economic analysts forecast unemployment rising to three million or more by the end of the year.

On May 22, the retiring Monetary Policy Committee member Professor David Blanchflower, told BBC Newsnight programme that he believed that unemployment was increasing amidst a "financial crisis that we really haven't seen for a century". In his opinion unemployment would rise "by an average of about 100,000 a month, at least until the end of this year". Total unemployment would rise "by perhaps a million, perhaps by more". An analysis of the British economy published by the Economist Intelligence Unit last week described the state of the British economy as "very weak" and stated, "Reflecting the importance of financial services in driving growth in recent years and the severe weakness of the housing market, the UK is forecast to experience its most brutal contraction since 1931... Employment has also started to fall, and we expect the rate of unemployment to rise sharply, to close to 11 percent by 2011".

According to the ONS, the 6.5 percent drop in manufacturing output between the three months to February and the previous quarter was the steepest since records began in 1968.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the auto industry, which as a result of plant closures and short-term working, has seen production cut by 45 percent on last year. The Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders

Kerala: Struggle for House Rights Intensifies

THE one year old struggle for house rights led by the Parpidavakasa Samara Samiti (House Rights Struggle Committee) in Kochi, the metropolitan city of Kerala reached a higher level with hundreds of landless and homeless poor people including women and children occupying common lands under the custody of government in Fort Cochin area in Ernakulam district. On May 18 early morning, while the Achuthanadan government was celebrating its third anniversary, the poor women and children of Fort Cochin captured the lands and erected hundreds of hutments there. The district administration and police forces came to know of the developments only after hundreds of people gathered around the struggle area and declared solidarity with the agitators.

By 8 AM in the morning, led by the executive magistrate, a large contingent of police comprising more than 2000 in number cordoned off the entire area where struggle was going on and conducted root marches for threatening people around. By 10

AM, the police surrounded the place and forcibly arrested almost 300 agitators including women and children and took them to the Fort Cochin Police Station and were released after registering cases of trespassing into government property.

Led by the CPI (ML) and Parpidavakasa Samara Samiti, a reception was accorded to them in front of the Police Station followed by a protest meeting in front of Corporation Office, Fort Cochin. Com. P.J. James, state secretary, CPI(ML) who inaugurated the meeting appealed the members of the Samiti to carry forward the struggle by forcibly occupying all surplus lands, lands under the custody of corporation authorities, lands illegally held by land mafia and real estate developers and warned the government that struggle will be extended to the entire area in the city. To coordinate the struggle an 'agitation centre' was opened in front of the Cochin Corporation office in Ernakulam Town. Hundreds of homeless people are visiting the agitation centre and registering

with the Samiti. The toiling people are prepared to go any extent for getting a plot of land for house. The struggle is going to develop further in Kochi and surrounding areas.

The latest struggle culminating in forcible occupation of surplus land by the landless and houseless poor in Kochi, the so-called financial capital of Kerala is the outcome of a long drawn out process started since May 1, 2008 in a convention held at Mattanchery Town hall attended by more than a thousand homeless people mainly women who do not have a roof over their head for years. The convention was inaugurated by Com. KN Ramachandan all India Secretary, CPI(ML). Following the convention Parpidavakasa Samitis were formed in each colony where thousands of people live in godowns and rented houses. Coordinating these samitis, district level Parpidavakasa Samara Samiti was formed. The Committee led a march to the Collector's Office followed by a blockade of two main bridges namely Gosree and Thoppumpady, which respectively link the Fort Cochin and Vypeen islands with mainland. The present capture of land is a continuation of these struggles. It is to develop further in the days to come.

(SMMT) announced that only 68,258 cars were made in the UK in April, a fall of 55.3 percent on April 2008. Commercial vehicle production has fallen at an even faster rate with just 7,655 units being manufactured last month—a decline of 65.2 percent. Total vehicle production for the first four months of this year is down by 56.2 percent.

Thousands of jobs are set to be lost in the public sector. According to a survey of 40 local authorities

published in the Times earlier this year, some 7,000 job losses were planned. These included Nottingham City Council and Buckinghamshire councils who are set to cut more than 400 jobs each. Oldham plans to slash 544 jobs, while Northumberland plans 800 job losses. Other councils proposing job losses include Newcastle with 500, Bristol with 400 and Westminster with 200.

The Local Government Association found that one in

seven of the 388 councils in England were planning to make redundancies. Councils are also being forced to impose budget cuts, due to government instructions to make efficiency savings of more than £1.5 billion. Cuts are also being made as a direct result of councils losing millions of pounds invested in banks that collapsed in Iceland last year. A total of 127 local authorities had £954 million deposited just in the Glitnir and Landsbanki banks when they went into administration in October.

25th May: Naxalbari Day Observed

FOLLOWING the call of the Central Committee the Naxalbari Day was observed in hundreds of places all over the country upholding the great Telengana-Naxalbari path to compete the People's Democratic Revolution and advancing towards the socialist revolution. Explaining the changes that have taken place in the agrarian relations with the intensification of neo-colonisation, the tasks of the agrarian revolution according to present conditions were explained at all places. The task of organizing the working class as the leader of the PDR and organizing the agricultural workers and landless-poor peasantry for agrarian struggle based on "land to the tiller" slogan were explained. The importance of task of building CPI(ML) at all India level uncompromisingly struggling against right opportunism and anarchism when the ruling class politics is taking a more distinct rightist turn following the return of Manmohan Singh government after the 15th Lok Sabha elections, in order to carry forward the task of mobilizing the masses for anti-imperialist people's democratic alternative was put forward by the speakers addressing the meetings.

In Kerala, where public meetings were planned at every district headquarters and few other places, though they were obstructed at few places due to incessant rain with the onset of monsoon, they were held militantly at other places with the CC and state committee members addressing them. In the post-election atmosphere when the LDF has suffered serious setback and the rightist forces are celebrating their victory, exposing UDF, LDF and BJP, the politics of revolutionary alternative was put forward as the only way out for the people.

In Karnataka the party state committee gave call to observe Naxalbari Day for intensification of land struggle. With large number of poster, handbills and wall-writings a good campaign was organised at all place where party is active. On 25th May morning red flags were hoisted in number of villages. At Raichur



Naxalbari day Rally at Raichur

town a rally was organised with slogans like for fighting against imperialist globalisation, Naxalbari is the only way; for fighting against landlordism, Naxalbari is the only way; for fighting against casteism and communalism, Naxalbari is the only, For building Nava Barath, Naxalbari is the only way. As police did not allowed mike permission, some clashes took place between comrades and police. At Ambedkar Chowk a public meeting was organised which was addressed



com. R. Manasayya, H.N. Badiger, district secretary Shekharayya and Basavalingappa. At Koppal public meeting was held which was addressed by comrades D.H. Poojar, state committee member, K.B. Gonal, district secretary and M. Gangadhar, state president of RYF. Similarly, militant rally meeting was organised at Chikkamanglur in which hundreds of comrades participated. Here public meeting was addressed by comrades B. Rudrayya and I.M. Poornesh.

There are reports of observation of Naxalbari day at other centres in all other states also.



Naxalbari day Rally at Koppal

Sakhav

Organ of Kerala State Committee of CPI(ML)

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

Abolition of Parliamentarism

V.I. Lenin

(LENIN), in his famous work; *The State and Revolution* started his Marxist analysis of the State and Revolution with the following words: “What is now happening to Marx’s theory has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the theories of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes fighting for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the “consolation” of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it.

Today, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labour movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism. They omit, obscure or distort the revolutionary side of this theory, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie”.

Each and every aspect of Marxist-Leninist theory is distorted, revised and vulgarized to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie against whom it was developed. The same is happening to the struggle against the parliamentarism which Marx and Lenin had launched concretely analyzing the experience of contemporary Western Europe and of Tsarist Russia.

Marx had subjected parliamentarism to a genuinely revolutionary proletarian criticism. Analysing the brief, but valuable, experience of the Paris Commune, Marx called for revolutionizing the parliament in to an executive and legislative body at the same time. Marx did not call for mechanical acceptance of the bourgeois parliamentary system, but its critique and revolutionary transformation assimilating the experience of the Paris Commune. But while the anarchists abandoned the utilization of the parliamentary forms of struggle altogether, the revisionists of all hues including present day social democrats reject any form of criticism of parliamentarism as anarchism. It is extended today to become part of the bourgeois parliamentary system as

the CPI (Marxist) does, or to boycottism of the CPI (Maoist), the Mensheviks and Narodniks of today.

Lenin emphasizes that the bourgeois parliamentary system should be subjected to ruthless criticism even while utilizing it as a form of struggle to develop class struggle, to revolutionise the society. He links it with his search for developing the concept of the proletarian state including the concept of the proletarian democracy. For him the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat was not an end in itself. For him it was a concept to be continuously developed to reach the stage of *all powers to the people*. He subjected multi-party system and all aspects of bourgeois parliamentary system not in an abstract, mechanical or negative way. His critique of all of them was part of his search for developing democracy in both form and content.

The experience during the 15th Lok Sabha election campaign revealed how the various alien trends are approaching the question of utilization of elections in totally erroneous ways. As far as the CPI-CPI(M) parties and all those who are influenced by them are concerned, they have integrated themselves to the bourgeois parliamentary system, condemning any critic of it as anarchist. As far as the CPI (Maoist) and other anarchists like it are concerned, they are for boycottism and different opportunist tactics in the name of it. They abstractly adhere to the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as something finally settled, in spite of the grievous experience in the erstwhile Soviet Union and socialist China. Some of the groups do not give any significance to a significant event like the elections even when such vast sections are participating in it. Some others participate only nominally. In countries like Nepal, in the name of developing the understanding on democratic system, the multi-party system is eulogised as an end in itself. In short what is happening is almost similar to blind men explaining the elephant.

The 15th Lok Sabha elections have shown how elitist, corrupt they are becoming with the neo-colonisation intensifying under neo-liberal policies. A Marxist-Leninist critique of the bourgeois parliamentary system is of paramount importance in this context. The ideological-political-organisational approach towards utilization of the elections for

advancing the struggle for people's democracy and socialism has to be developed. Besides the question of developing the forms and content of the proletarian democracy has become vitally important. It is in this context we are publishing below a section of Lenin's important work *The State and Revolution* to help this discussion - **Red Star**)

"THE COMMUNE," Marx wrote, "was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time...."

"Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent and repress [ver- and zertreten] the people in parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people constituted in communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for workers, foremen and accountants for his business."

Owing to the prevalence of social-chauvinism and opportunism, this remarkable criticism of parliamentarism, made in 1871, also belongs now to the "forgotten words" of Marxism. The professional Cabinet Ministers and parliamentarians, the traitors to the proletariat and the "practical" socialists of our day, have left all criticism of parliamentarism to the anarchists, and, on this wonderfully reasonable ground, they denounce all criticism of parliamentarism as "anarchism"!! It is not surprising that the proletariat of the "advanced" parliamentary countries, disgusted with such "socialists" as the Scheidemanns, Davids, Legiens, Sembats, Renaudels, Hendersons, Vanderveldes, Staunings, Brantings, Bissolatis, and Co., has been with increasing frequency giving its sympathies to anarcho-syndicalism, in spite of the fact that the latter is merely the twin brother of opportunism.

For Marx, however, revolutionary dialectics was never the empty fashionable phrase, the toy rattle, which Plekhanov, Kautsky and others have made of it. Marx knew how to break with anarchism ruthlessly for its inability to make use even of the "pigsty" of bourgeois parliamentarism, especially when the situation was obviously not revolutionary; but at the same time he knew how to subject parliamentarism to genuinely revolutionary proletarian criticism.

To decide once every few years which members of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics.

But if we deal with the question of the state, and if we consider parliamentarism as one of the institutions

of the state, from the point of view of the tasks of the proletariat in this field, what is the way out of parliamentarism? How can it be dispensed with?

Once again, we must say: the lessons of Marx, based on the study of the Commune, have been so completely forgotten that the present-day "Social-Democrat" (i.e., present-day traitor to socialism) really cannot understand any criticism of parliamentarism other than anarchist or reactionary criticism.

The way out of parliamentarism is not, of course, the abolition of representative institutions and the elective principle, but the conversion of the representative institutions from talking shops into "working" bodies. "The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time."

"A working, not a parliamentary body"—this is a blow straight from the shoulder at the present-day parliamentarian country, from America to Switzerland, from France to Britain, Norway and so forth—in these countries the real business of "state" is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries, and General Staffs. parliament is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the "common people". This is so true that even in the Russian republic, a bourgeois-democratic republic, all these sins of parliamentarism came out at once, even before it managed to set up a real parliament. The heroes of rotten philistinism, such as the skobelevs and tseretelis, the Chernovs and Avksentyevs, have even succeeded in polluting the Soviets after the fashion of the most disgusting bourgeois parliamentarism, in converting them into mere talking shops. In the Soviets, the "socialist" Ministers are fooling the credulous rustics with phrase-mongering and resolutions. In the government itself a sort of permanent shuffle is going on in order that, on the one hand, as many Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks as possible may in turn get near the "pie", the lucrative and honorable posts, and that, on the other hand, the "attention" of the people may be "engaged", meanwhile the chancelleries and army staffs "do" the business of "state".

Dyelo Naroda, the organ of the ruling Socialist-Revolutionary Party, recently admitted in a leading article—with the matchless frankness of people of "good society", in which "all" are engaged in political prostitution - that even in the ministries headed by the "socialists" (save the mark!), the whole bureaucratic apparatus is in fact unchanged, is working in the old way and quite "freely" sabotaging revolutionary measures! Even without this admission, does not the actual history of the participation of the Socialist-

Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in the government prove this? It is noteworthy, however, that in the ministerial company of the Cadets, the Chernovs, Rusanovs, Zenzinovs, and other editors of *Dyelo Naroda* have so completely lost all sense of shame as to brazenly assert, as if it were a mere bagatelle, that in “their” ministries everything is unchanged!! Revolutionary-democratic phrases to gull the rural Simple Simons, and bureaucracy and red tape to “gladden the hearts” of the capitalists—that is the essence of the “honest” coalition.

The Commune substitutes for the venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians themselves have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality, and to account directly to their constituents. Representative institutions remain, but there is no parliamentarism here as a special system, as the division of labor between the legislative and the executive, as a privileged position for the deputies. We cannot imagine democracy, even proletarian democracy, without representative institutions, but we can and must imagine democracy without parliamentarism, if criticism of bourgeois society is not mere words for us, if the desire to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie is our earnest and sincere desire, and not a mere “election” cry for catching workers’ votes, as it is with the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, and also the Scheidemanns and Legiens, the Smblats and Vanderveldes.

It is extremely instructive to note that, in speaking of the function of those officials who are necessary for the Commune and for proletarian democracy, Marx compares them to the workers of “every other employer”, that is, of the ordinary capitalist enterprise, with its “workers, foremen, and accountants”.

There is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a “new” society. No, he studied the birth of the new society out of the old, and the forms of transition from the latter to the former, as a mass proletarian movement and tried to draw practical lessons from it. He “Learned” from the Commune, just as all the great revolutionary thinkers learned unhesitatingly from the experience of great movements of the oppressed classes, and never addressed them with pedantic “homilies” (such as Plekhanov’s: “They should not have taken up arms” or Tsereteli’s: “A class must limit itself”).

Abolishing the bureaucracy at once, everywhere and completely, is out of the question. It is a utopia. But to smash the old bureaucratic machine at once

and to begin immediately to construct a new one that will make possible the gradual abolition of all bureaucracy—this is not a utopia, it is the experience of the Commune, the direct and immediate task of the revolutionary proletariat.

Capitalism simplifies the functions of “state” administration; it makes it possible to cast “bossing” aside and to confine the whole matter to the organization of the proletarians (as the ruling class), which will hire “workers, foremen and accountants” in the name of the whole of society.

We are not utopians, we do not “dream” of dispensing at once with all administration, with all subordination. These anarchist dreams, based upon incomprehension of the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, are totally alien to Marxism, and, as a matter of fact, serve only to postpone the socialist revolution until people are different. No, we want the socialist revolution with people as they are now, with people who cannot dispense with subordination, control, and “foremen and accountants”.

The subordination, however, must be to the armed vanguard of all the exploited and working people, i.e., to the proletariat. A beginning can and must be made at once, overnight, to replace the specific “bossing” of state officials by the simple functions of “foremen and accountants”, functions which are already fully within the ability of the average town dweller and can well be performed for “workmen’s wages”.

We, the workers, shall organize large-scale production on the basis of what capitalism has already created, relying on our own experience as workers, establishing strict, iron discipline backed up by the state power of the armed workers. We shall reduce the role of state officials to that of simply carrying out our instructions as responsible, revocable, modestly paid “foremen and accountants” (of course, with the aid of technicians of all sorts, types and degrees). This is our proletarian task, this is what we can and must start with in accomplishing the proletarian revolution. Such a beginning, on the basis of large-scale production, will of itself lead to the gradual “withering away” of all bureaucracy, to the gradual creation of an order—an order without inverted commas, an order bearing no similarity to wage slavery—an order under which the functions of control and accounting, becoming more and more simple, will be performed by each in turn, will then become a habit and will finally die out as the special functions of a special section of the population.

A witty German Social-Democrat of the seventies of the last century called the postal service an example of the socialist economic system. This is very true. At

the present the postal service is a business organized on the lines of state-capitalist monopoly. Imperialism is gradually transforming all trusts into organizations of a similar type, in which, standing over the “common” people, who are overworked and starved, one has the same bourgeois bureaucracy. But the mechanism of social management is here already to hand. Once we have overthrown the capitalists, crushed the resistance of these exploiters with the iron hand of the armed workers, and smashed the bureaucratic machinery of the modern state, we shall have a splendidly-equipped mechanism, freed from the “parasite”, a mechanism which can very well be set going by the united workers themselves, who will hire technicians, foremen and accountants, and pay them all, as indeed all “state” officials in general,

workmen’s wages. Here is a concrete, practical task which can immediately be fulfilled in relation to all trusts, a task whose fulfilment will rid the working people of exploitation, a task which takes account of what the Commune had already begun to practice (particularly in building up the state).

To organize the whole economy on the lines of the postal service so that the technicians, foremen and accountants, as well as all officials, shall receive salaries no higher than “a workman’s wage”, all under the control and leadership of the armed proletariat—that is our immediate aim. This is what will bring about the abolition of parliamentarism and the preservation of representative institutions. This is what will rid the laboring classes of the bourgeoisie’s prostitution of these institutions.

France: May Day Warning

WHEN the former prime minister Dominique de Villepin warned that there was a risk of revolution in France, it was not just because he wanted to make life difficult for his arch-rival Nicolas Sarkozy. It was also because social unrest is genuinely on the rise. Yesterday thousands of protesters took to the streets - not as many as the millions who protested in March, but this was a respectable turnout, considering that it was the third national protest at the government’s handling of the global downturn in four months.

They are not just marching: universities have ground to a halt for three months over attempts to rewrite the terms of employment contracts for lecturers. There has been a wave of “bossnappings”, where chief executives arriving at plants to announce layoffs found themselves barred from leaving. There have been commando-style “picnics” in supermarkets, where people feast from shelves shouting “we will not pay for your crisis”. The protests are local and apparently spontaneous. Union officials find themselves not so much leading the action as trying to head it off. In five

out of seven cases, bossnapping was used against foreign-owned companies (Sony, Caterpillar, 3M) which are reputed to be more cavalier about laying off workers than their French counterparts. Nor are strikes mere stunts. They represent a widespread feeling that if the president can pay billions to preserve the boss class, and their shares, he should do the same to protect workers. Popular outrage at the banking bailout may be similar around the world, but it finds different forms of expression. Barack Obama may have told AIG bosses that the White House was the only thing standing between them and the pitchforks. But in France the feeling is that the pitchforks are not just metaphorical.

International comparisons are deceptive, but on paper there is no glaring reason why the outrage in France should be so much more acute. The public deficit is high, but little more than half of Britain’s. Nor is unemployment so much higher, although it is climbing faster. France entered the global turndown later than Britain, and fewer banks were in trouble. Social protection, although under attack, is still substantially more generous than in Britain.

The big picture, however, masks structural problems. France has one of the highest rates of youth unemployment in the developed world, with about one quarter of its 2.5 million unemployed under the age of 25. The truth is that no government in Europe has the luxury of treating French, German or Greek social unrest as a spectator sport. The breakdown in the social compact, the gulf between promise and delivery, should concern everyone. ●

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APOLOGISTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Fourth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

By the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)* and *Hongqi (Red Flag)*, October 22, 1963 (Concluding Part)

THE PATH OF NATIONALISM AND DEGENERATION

In their Open Letter of July 14, the leaders of the CPSU attempt to pin on the Chinese Communist Party the charge of “isolating the national-liberation movement from the international working class and its creation, the socialist world system”. They also accuse us of “separating” the national liberation movement from the socialist system and the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries and “counter-posing” the former to the latter. There are other Communists, like the leaders of the French Communist Party, who loudly echo the leaders of the CPSU.

But what are the facts? Those who counter-pose the national liberation movement to the socialist camp and the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries are none other than the leaders of the CPSU and their followers, who do not support, and even oppose, the national liberation movement.

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently maintained that the revolutionary struggles of all peoples support each other. We always consider the national liberation movement from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, from the viewpoint of the proletarian world revolution as a whole. We believe the victorious development of the national liberation revolution is of tremendous significance for the socialist camp, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the cause of defending world peace.

But the leaders of the CPSU and their followers refuse to acknowledge this significance. They talk only about the support which the socialist camp gives the national liberation movement and ignore the support which the latter gives the former. They talk only about the role of the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries in dealing blows at imperialism and belittle or ignore the role of the national liberation movement in the same connection. Their stand contradicts Marxism-Leninism and disregards the facts, and is therefore wrong.

The question of what attitude to take towards the relationship between the socialist countries and the revolution of the oppressed nations, and towards the relationship between the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the revolution of the oppressed nations, involves the important principle of whether Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are to be upheld or abandoned.

According to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, every socialist country which has achieved victory in its revolution must actively support and assist the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations. The socialist countries must become, base areas for supporting and developing the revolution of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world, form the closest alliance with them and carry the proletarian world revolution through to completion.

But the leaders of the CPSU virtually regard the victory of socialism in one country or several countries as the end of the proletarian world revolution. They want to subordinate the national liberation revolution to their general line of peaceful coexistence and to the national interests of their own country.

When in 1925 Stalin fought the liquidationists, represented by the Trotskyites and Zinovievites, he pointed out that one of the dangerous characteristics of liquidationism was: lack of confidence in the international proletarian revolution; lack of confidence in its victory; a sceptical attitude towards the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries . . . failure to understand the elementary demand of internationalism, by virtue of which the victory of socialism in one country is not an end in itself, but a means of developing and supporting the revolution in other countries.^[20]

He added: That is the path of nationalism and degeneration, the path of the complete liquidation of the proletariat's international policy, for people afflicted with this disease regard our country not as a part of the whole that is called the world revolutionary movement, but as the beginning and the end of that

movement, believing that the interests of all other countries should be sacrificed to the interests of our country.^[21]

Stalin depicted the line of thinking of the liquidationists as follows: Support the liberation movement in China? But why? Wouldn't that be dangerous? Wouldn't it bring us into conflict with other countries? Wouldn't it be better if we established "spheres of influence" in China in conjunction with other "advanced" powers and snatched something from China for our own benefit? That would be both useful and safe. . . . And so on and so forth.^[22]

He concluded: Such is the new type of nationalist "frame of mind," which is trying to liquidate the foreign policy of the October Revolution and is cultivating the elements of degeneration.^[23]

The present leaders of the CPSU have gone farther than the old liquidationists. Priding themselves on their cleverness, they only take up what is "both useful and safe". Mortally afraid of being involved in conflict with the imperialist countries, they have set their minds on opposing the national liberation movement. They are intoxicated with the idea of the two "super-powers" establishing spheres of influence throughout the world.

Stalin's criticism of the liquidationists is a fair description of the present leaders of the CPSU. Following in the footsteps of the liquidationists, they have liquidated the foreign policy of the October Revolution and taken the path of nationalism and degeneration.

Stalin warned: it is obvious that the first country to be victorious can retain the role of standard-bearer of the world revolutionary movement only on the basis of consistent internationalism, only on the basis of the foreign policy of the October Revolution, and that the path of least resistance and of nationalism in foreign policy is the path of the isolation and decay of the first country to be victorious.^[24]

This warning by Stalin is of serious, practical significance for the present leaders of the CPSU.

AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

Similarly, according to proletarian internationalism, the proletariat and the Communists of the oppressor nations must actively support both the right of the oppressed nations to national independence and their struggles for liberation. With the support of the oppressed nations, the proletariat of the oppressor nations will be better able to win its revolution.

Lenin hit the nail on the head when he said: The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries

would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by capital.^[25]

However, some self-styled Marxist-Leninists have abandoned Marxism-Leninism on this very question of fundamental principle. The leaders of the French Communist Party are typical in this respect.

Over a long period of time, the leaders of the CPF have abandoned the struggle against U.S. imperialism, refusing to put up a firm fight against U.S. imperialist control over and restrictions on France in the political, economic and military fields and surrendering the banner of French national struggle against the United States to people like de Gaulle; on the other hand, they have been using various devices and excuses to defend the colonial interests of the French imperialists, have refused to support, and indeed opposed, the national liberation movements in the French colonies, and particularly opposed national revolutionary wars; they have sunk into the quagmire of chauvinism.

Lenin said, "Europeans often forget that colonial peoples are also nations, but to tolerate such 'forgetfulness' is to tolerate chauvinism."^[26] Yet the leadership of the French Communist Party, represented by Comrade Thorez, has not only tolerated this "forgetfulness", but has openly regarded the peoples of the French colonies as "naturalized Frenchmen",^[27] refused to acknowledge their right to national independence in dissociation from France and publicly supported the policy of "national assimilation" pursued by the French imperialists.

For the past ten years and more, the leaders of the French Communist Party have followed the colonial policy of the French imperialists and served as an appendage of French monopoly capital. In 1946, when the French monopoly capitalist rulers played a neo-colonialist trick by proposing to form a French Union, they followed suit and proclaimed that "we have always envisaged the French Union as a 'free union of free peoples'"^[28] and that "the French Union will permit the regulation, on a new basis, of the relations between the people of France and the overseas peoples who have in the past been attached to France".^[29] In 1958, when the French Union collapsed and the French Government proposed the establishment of a French Community to preserve its colonial system, the leaders of the CPF again followed suit and proclaimed, "We believe that the creation of a genuine community will be a positive event."^[30]

Moreover, in opposing the demand of the people in the French colonies for national independence, the

leaders of the CPF have even tried to intimidate them, saying that “any attempt to break away from the Union of France will only lead to the strengthening of imperialism; although independence may be won, it will be temporary, nominal and false”. They further openly declared:

The question is whether this already unavoidable independence will be with France, or without France and against France. The interest of our country requires that this independence should be with France.^[31]

On the question of Algeria, the chauvinist stand of the leaders of the CPF is all the more evident. They have recently tried to justify themselves by asserting that they had long recognized the correct demand of the people of Algeria for freedom. But what are the facts?

For a long time the leaders of the CPF refused to recognize Algeria’s right to national independence; they followed the French monopoly capitalists, crying that “Algeria is an inalienable part of France”^[32] and that France “should be a great African power, now and in the future”.^[33] Thorez and others were most concerned about the fact that Algeria could provide France with “a million head of sheep” and large quantities of wheat yearly to solve her problem of “the shortage of meat” and “make up our deficit in grain”.^[34]

Just see! What feverish chauvinism on the part of the leaders of the CPF! Do they show an iota of proletarian internationalism? Is there anything of the proletarian revolutionary in them? By taking this chauvinistic stand they have betrayed the fundamental interests of the international proletariat, the fundamental interests of the French proletariat and the true interests of the French nation.

AGAINST THE “THEORY OF RACISM” AND THE “THEORY OF THE YELLOW PERIL”

Having used up all their wonder-working weapons for opposing the national liberation movement, the leaders of the CPSU are now reduced to seeking help from racism, the most reactionary of all imperialist theories. They describe the correct stand of the CPC in resolutely supporting the national liberation movement as “creating racial and geographical barriers”, “replacing the class approach with the racial approach”, and “playing upon the national and even racial prejudices of the Asian and African peoples”.

If Marxism-Leninism did not exist, perhaps such lies could deceive people. Unfortunately for the manufacturers of these lies, they live in the wrong age, for Marxism-Leninism has already found its way deep

into people’s hearts. As Stalin rightly pointed out, Leninism “broke down the wall between whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the ‘civilised’ and ‘uncivilised’ slaves of imperialism”.^[35] It is futile for the leaders of the CPSU to try and rebuild this wall of racism.

In the last analysis, the national question in the contemporary world is one of class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle. Today the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, anti-imperialist and patriotic bourgeois elements and other patriotic and anti-imperialist enlightened people of all races — white, black, yellow or brown — have formed a broad united front against the imperialists, headed by the United States, and their lackeys. This united front is expanding and growing stronger. The question here is not whether to side with the white people or the coloured people, but whether to side with the oppressed peoples and nations or with the handful of imperialists and reactionaries.

According to the Marxist-Leninist class stand, oppressed nations must draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the imperialists and colonialists. To blur this line represents a chauvinist view serving imperialism and colonialism.

Lenin said: the central point in the Social-Democratic programme must be the distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations, which is the essence of imperialism, which is *falsely* evaded by the social-chauvinists, and by Kautsky.^[36]

By slandering the unity of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the anti-imperialist struggle as being “based on the geographical and racial principles”, the leaders of the CPSU have obviously placed themselves in the position of the social-chauvinists and of Kautsky.

When they peddle the “theory of racism”, describing the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America as one of the coloured against the white race, the leaders of the CPSU are clearly aiming at inciting racial hatred among the white people in Europe and North America, at diverting the people of the world from the struggle against imperialism and at turning the international working-class movement away from the struggle against modern revisionism.

The leaders of the CPSU have raised a hue and cry about the “Yellow Peril” and the “imminent menace of Genghis Khan”. This is really not worth refuting. We do not intend in this article to comment on the historical role of Genghis Khan or on the development of the Mongolian, Russian and Chinese

nations and the process of their formation into states. We would only remind the leaders of the CPSU of their need to review their history lessons before manufacturing such tales. Genghis Khan was a Khan of Mongolia, and in his day both China and Russia were subjected to Mongolian aggression. He invaded part of northwestern and northern China in 1215 and Russia in 1223. After his death, his successors subjugated Russia in 1240 and thirty-nine years later, in 1279, conquered the whole of China.

Lu Hsun, the well-known Chinese writer, has a paragraph about Genghis Khan in an article he wrote in 1934. We include it here for your reference as it may be useful to you.

He wrote that, as a young man of twenty, I had been told that “our” Genghis Khan had conquered Europe and ushered in the most splendid period in “our” history. Not until I was twenty-five did I discover that this so-called most splendid period of “our” history was actually the time when the Mongolians conquered China and we became slaves. And not until last August, when browsing through three books on Mongolian history, looking for history stories, did I find out that the conquest of “Russia” by the Mongolians and their invasion of Hungary and Austria actually preceded their conquest of China, and that the Genghis Khan of that time was not yet our Khan. The Russians were enslaved before we were, and presumably it is they who ought to be able to say, “When our Genghis Khan conquered China, he ushered in the most splendid period of our history.”^[39]

Anyone with a little knowledge of modern world history knows that the “theory of the Yellow Peril” about which the CPSU leadership has been making such a noise is a legacy of the German Kaiser William II. Half a century ago, William II stated, “I am a believer in the Yellow Peril.”

The Kaiser’s purpose in propagating the “theory of the Yellow Peril” was to carry the partition of China further, to invade Asia, to suppress revolution in Asia, to divert the attention of the European people from revolution and to use it as a smoke-screen for his active preparations for the imperialist world war and for his attempt to gain world hegemony.

When William II spread this “theory of the Yellow Peril”, the European bourgeoisie was in deep decline and extremely reactionary, and democratic revolutions were sweeping through China, Turkey and Persia and affecting India, around the time of the 1905 Russian Revolution. That was the period, too, when Lenin made his famous remark about “backward Europe and advanced Asia”.

William II was a bigwig in his day. But in reality he proved to be only a snow man in the sun. In a very

short time this reactionary chieftain vanished from the scene, together with the reactionary theory he invented. The great Lenin and his brilliant teachings live on for ever.

Fifty years have gone by; imperialism in Western Europe and North America has become still more moribund and reactionary, and its days are numbered. Meanwhile, the revolutionary storm raging over Asia, Africa and Latin America has grown many times stronger than in Lenin’s time. It is hardly credible that today there are still people who wish to step into the shoes of William II. This is indeed a mockery of history.

RESURRECTING THE OLD REVISIONISM IN A NEW GUISE

The policy of the leadership of the CPSU on the national-colonial question is identical with the bankrupt policy of the revisionists of the Second International. The only difference is that the latter served the imperialists’ old colonialism, while the modern revisionists serve the imperialists’ neo-colonialism.

The old revisionists sang to the tune of the old colonialists, and Khrushchev sings to the tune of the neo-colonialists.

The heroes of the Second International, represented by Bernstein and Kautsky, were apologists for the old colonial rule of imperialism. They openly declared that colonial rule was progressive, that it brought a high civilization to the colonies and developed the productive forces there. They even asserted that the “abolition of the colonies would mean barbarism”.^[40]

In this respect Khrushchov is somewhat different from the old revisionists. He is bold enough to denounce the old colonial system.

How is it that Khrushchev is so bold? Because the imperialists have changed their tune.

After World War II, under the twin blows of the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution, the imperialists were forced to recognize that “if the West had attempted to perpetuate the *status quo* of colonialism, it would have made violent revolution inevitable and defeat inevitable”.^[41] The old colonialist forms of rule “on the contrary, . . . are likely to prove ‘running sores’ which destroy both the economic and the moral vigour of a nation’s life”.^[42] Thus it became necessary to change the form and practise neo-colonialism.

Thus, too, Khrushchov singing to the tune of the neo-colonialists flaunts the “theory of the disappearance of colonialism” in order to cover up the new colonialism. What is more, he tries to induce

the oppressed nations to embrace this new colonialism. He actively propagates the view that “peaceful coexistence” between the oppressed nations and civilized imperialism will make “the national economy grow rapidly” and bring about an “uplift of their productive forces”, enable the home market in the oppressed countries to “become incomparably greater” and “furnish more raw materials, and various products and goods required by the economy of the industrially developed countries”^[43] and, at the same time, will “considerably raise the living standard of the inhabitants in the highly developed capitalist countries”.^[44]

Nor has Khrushchov forgotten to collect certain worn-out weapons from the arsenal of the revisionists of the Second International.

Here are some examples.

The old revisionists opposed wars of national liberation and held that the national question “can be settled only through international agreements”.^[45] On this question, Khrushchov has taken over the line of the revisionists of the Second International; he advocates a “quiet burial of the colonial system”.^[46]

The old revisionists attacked the revolutionary Marxists, hurling at them the slander that “Bolshevism is in essence a warlike type of socialism”^[47] and that “the Communist International harbours the illusion that the liberation of the workers can be achieved by means of the bayonets of the victorious Red Army and that a new world war is necessary for the world revolution”. They also spread the story that this position had “created the greatest danger of a new world war”.^[48] The language Khrushchov uses today to slander the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties is exactly the language used by the old revisionists in slandering the Bolsheviks. It is hard to find any difference.

It must be said that in serving the imperialists’ neo-colonialism, Khrushchov is not a whit inferior to the old revisionists in their service of the imperialists’ old colonialism.

Lenin showed how the policy of imperialism caused the international workers’ movement to split into two sections, the revolutionary and the opportunist. The revolutionary section sided with the oppressed nations and opposed the imperialists and colonialists. On the other hand, the opportunist section fed on crumbs from the spoils which the imperialists and colonialists squeezed out of the people of the colonies and semi-colonies. It sided with the imperialists and colonialists and opposed the revolution of the oppressed nations for liberation.

The same kind of division between revolutionaries and opportunists in the international working-class movement as that described by Lenin is now taking shape not only in the working-class movement in capitalist countries but also in socialist countries where the proletariat wields state power.

The experience of history shows that if the national liberation movement is to achieve complete victory it must form a solid alliance with the revolutionary working-class movement, draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the revisionists who serve the imperialists and colonialists, and firmly eradicate their influence.

The experience of history shows that if the working-class movement of the capitalist countries in Western Europe and North America is to achieve complete victory, it must form a close alliance with the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the revisionists, and firmly eradicate their influence.

The revisionists are agents of imperialism who have hidden themselves among the ranks of the international working-class movement. Lenin said, “. . . the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism.”^[49] Thus it is clear that the present fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism must be linked closely with the fight against the apologists of neo-colonialism.

However hard the imperialists disguise their intentions and bestir themselves, however hard their apologists whitewash and help neo-colonialism, imperialism and colonialism cannot escape their doom. The victory of the national liberation revolution is irresistible. Sooner or later the apologists of neo-colonialism will go bankrupt.

Workers of the world and the oppressed nations, unite!

^[20] J. V. Stalin, “Questions and Answers”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, p. 169.

^[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

^[22] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

^[23] *Ibid.*

^[24] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

^[25] V. I. Lenin, “The Second Congress of the Communist International”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 472-73.

^[26] V. I. Lenin, “A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. XIX, p. 250.

^[27] Maurice Thorez, Speech in Algiers, February 1939.

^[28] Léon Feix, Speech at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of France, June 1959.

^[29] Maurice Thorez, Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the New Term at the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, October 10, 1955.

^[30] Léon Feix, Speech at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of France, June 1959.

^[31] Raymond Barbé, "Black Africa in the Age of Guinea?", *Démocratie Nouvelle* of the French Communist Party, No. 11, 1958.

^[32] Documents of the September 24, 1946 Session of the Constituent National Assembly of France, Appendix II, No. 1013.

^[33] Florimond Bonte, Speech at the Constituent Assembly of France, 1944.

^[34] Maurice Thorez, Report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of France, 1945.

^[35] J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, p. 144.

^[36] V. I. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 284.

^[39] Lu Hsun, *Collected Works*, Chin. ed., People's Literature Publishing House, Peking, 1958, Vol. VI, p. 109.

^[40] Eduard David, Speech on the Colonial Question at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, *Internationaler Sozialistenkongress, Stuttgart, 1907*, Verlag Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin, 1907, p. 30.

^[41] J. F. Dulles, *War or Peace*, Eng. ed., the MacMillan Company, New York, 1957, p. 76.

^[42] John Strachey, *The End of Empire*, Eng. ed., London 1959, p. 194.

^[43] N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960.

^[44] "Liquidation of Colonialism — Command of the Times", *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 2, 1961.

^[46] "Resolution on the Territorial Question", adopted by the International Socialist Conference in Berne, 1919, *Material on the First and Second Internationals*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1926, p. 380.

^[47] N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960.

^[48] Otto Bauer, Speech on the Oriental Question at the International Socialist Congress in Marseilles, 1925, *Material on the First and Second Internationals*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1926, pp. 468.

^[4] "Resolution on the Oriental Question", adopted by the International Socialist Congress in Marseilles, 1925, *Material on the First and Second Internationals*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1926, p. 474.

^[49] V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 560.

Revolutionary Homage to Com. PA Arumugam



COM. PA Arumugam, a member of Tamil Nadu State Committee of CPI(ML) passed away on 20th May 2009 at Rajapalyam. He started from Chennai on 19th May 2009 to Rajapalayam (Moogavur) his native place, where he died of heart attack. He led his life as a

communist revolutionary till his last breathe. His sacrifice and dedication for the liberation of working class and oppressed masses will always remain a source of inspiration.

The revolutionary life of Comrade PA Arumugam began after Naxalbari uprising. He was deeply influenced by "Spring Thunder over India" and joined party along with his 13 comrades from his native place. He was born in a weaver family. He dedicated his life to the emancipation of the oppressed people. He organized the working class, landless poor peasants and agricultural workers in different districts of Tamil Nadu. Though he did not have proper education, he made so many students join revolutionary politics. Earlier he started his political-organizational work at Thirunelveli and in Tuticorin. Later he went to Nagapatinam and engaged himself in building agricultural workers' organization. After that he engaged in building construction workers union in Kanchipuram and Thiruvallur District. He was known as Muthaiah and Chinnavar in various areas.

He was a member of CPI (ML) Liberation. Later he left Liberation because it adopted rightist line of peaceful transition. Then he decided to join our party. During last one and half years he was working hard to organize party and class/mass organizations. He was a State Committee Member of the party and also the General Secretary of Agricultural Workers' Union. During 15th Lok Sabha elections he was actively engaged in campaign as convener of the state election committee

His last ritual was performed in Moogavur Burial ground on 20th May 2009. Around 200 comrades and supporters joined his funeral procession and paid last homage.

A Vote Against Pseudo Left and Sangh Parivar Continued from page 2

efforts no major gains could be made by him. Only in Karnataka, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand BJP could win more seats. Instead of gaining, BJP alone lost 22 seats. There are reports from Delhi like areas that RSS tried to shoot down Advani's prime ministerial attempt, by voting for Congress. Tactical statements from RSS leaders that there is no harm in going for a Congress-BJP alliance also resembled a mini 1984 operation. So out of the two, the *lesser evil* swept the benefits.

The tall claims made by the Congress leaders, the vested interests, the corporate media etc. that it is a vote for continuity, it is the result of the smart moves of Rahul Gandhi etc. are nothing but nonsense. What did not happen in UP since 1989 happened now because of the re-alienation of the 'vote banks' including the distancing of the Muslim minorities from the regional parties.

As was exposed repeatedly both the Congress and the BJP, and along with them the Third Front succeeded to keep the fundamental economic-political issues including the basic shift in economic, political, foreign policies started with the imposing of the imperialist globalization policies in 1991, especially their intensification under six years of NDA rule, and their more speedy implementation during the UPA rule under the cover of the 'Common Minimum Programme'. All of the basic issues like the pauperization caused after cutting down of all welfare measures, the disastrous consequences of the global imperialist crisis threatening the country, the unprecedented price-rise and unemployment etc. were kept out of the election debates. All of them were competing with each other to win over vote banks through communalization or communal appeasement, casteism and other peripheral issues. Even after withdrawing support for UPA government after propping it up for more than four years on the Nuke Deal, the LF did not try to project it or the Defence Agreements with US or shift in the foreign policy as central issues for debate in the campaign. Thus the pseudo-left through its social democratic economic policies, Nandigram and Singur like anti-people operations organizational in-fights and absolutely opportunist alliance policies making the entire left an object of ridicule before the public by the exposure of the media, and the RSS through tactical moves helped the Congress to return to power with increased strength.

The return of the Congress led UPA with more decisive strength, with Manmohan Singh, the number one agent of US imperialism as the Prime Minister,

has enthused the imperialists, especially the US imperialists, the corporate houses and all other sections of the ruling classes immensely. All of them are calling for all round intensification of the 'reforms package' to open the country fully to market fundamentalism. When the US and other imperialist countries are reverting to protectionist methods, the clamour here is for more liberalization-privatisation.

Besides as recent statements from the CIA and other US sources reveal, the imperialist plan is to turn India into the centre of imperialist activities directed against the South Asian countries. The Defence framework signed in 2005 is going to be made fully operative, with Israeli presence here increasing day by day.

Dangerous days are ahead. As we have pointed out throughout our election campaign, this unprecedented grave challenge can be met only by mobilizing the working class and all other revolutionary classes and sections for a country-wide struggle against the Indian State and imperialist forces behind them. While the ruling classes and the corporate media are celebrating the return of Manmohan Singh as prime minister, it is the task of the revolutionary left to mobilize all like-minded forces for developing uncompromising struggle against the neo-colonisation of the country and pauperization of the masses.

May Day Observed

THE International Workers' Day was celebrated in Maharashtra by the TUCI and its affiliated organisations in three different functions on the same day. In Dadra & Nagar Haveli, a massive rally with around 500 workers was taken out through the streets of Silvassa. The rally was preceded by a public meeting at the Vandhara Gardens and then wound its way around the town. The District administration tried its best not to allow the rally using the excuse of the elections (though the elections had been completed here on the previous day, the 30th of April). Another program was held at the Dharmapur in the district of Nanded. A rally of around 200 persons was taken out there on May 1st to commemorate the Workres' Day for the first time, under the banner of TUCI and the CPI (ML). Yet another program was held in Malvani in Mumbai under the banner of the Mazdoor Sangharsh Union which is affiliated to the TUCI. The meeting was attended by over 300 persons. In all there was great enthusiasm among the workers and the programs were successful. ●

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